

THE



**ANDRE MARTY  
ON  
SPAIN**

# Communist

GERMANY - - NEW TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

ULBRICHT

JAPANESE PEOPLE AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR: NISIKAWA

U.S.A. - - STRUGGLE OF PEOPLE'S FRONT: BROWDER

SCANDINAVIA - DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE AGAINST

FASCIST AGGRESSION: MAGNUS

SPAIN - - - INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES: LEONE

DIMITROV AND DE BROUCKERE

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# NEW TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

By WALTER ULBRICHT

## 1. THE GROWTH OF THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF FASCISM

THE domestic and international position of Hitler-Germany bears witness to the growing difficulties of the Fascist regime.

When Hitler came to power, the lowest point of the economic crisis had already been passed. By using up all the country's reserves in dictatorial fashion, so as to create a boom in armaments, and by utilising the economic revival which set in with the end of the cyclical crisis and was accompanied by a decline in unemployment, Hitler tried to convince the broad masses that a "real economic revival was taking place."

Now, after four years of the Hitler dictatorship it is becoming ever more clear that, as compared with the improved economic position in most of the capitalist countries, German Fascism *creates especially serious obstacles to the development of the economic life of capitalist Germany*. Under the cloak of "providing work" for the unemployed, Fascism squandered its gold reserves, reserves of raw materials and food, the enormous deposits in the savings banks, and insurance companies, the social insurance funds and the funds of the mass organisations, etc., for armaments purposes. German exports in 1936 were only half of what they were in 1929. The totalitarian war economy and war policy have become a most serious obstacle to the further development of exports. During the last four years the debts of the Hitler Government increased by some 20 billion marks. The development of the home market is hindered by the declining purchasing power of the masses. Some 60 per cent. of the country's productions are concerned with rearmaments. And in 1928 the amount of capital investments by the Government was about 20 per cent. of the total, in 1936 the Government's share rose to about 70 per cent. of the total. It is becoming ever clearer that the Fascist economic policy serves the interests of the big capitalist plunderers, and that the fight of Hitler Fascism against "economic liberalism" is nothing but a propagandist cloak for strengthening the power and offensive of monopoly capital against the working class, the middle class and also the small and middle capitalists.

In the sphere of agriculture where Hitler wanted to make Germany self-sufficient through "the struggle to extend production," the result has been *a crisis in food*. The total sown area decreased from

29,368,000 hectares in 1931-33 to 28,447,000 hectares in 1936. The production of milk and meat is declining and there is a decrease in the number of livestock. At the same time the import of food products has been cut 50 per cent. in comparison with 1935, although the population of Germany increased by 4½ millions. Only the big landowners and a section of the rich farmers are getting the benefit of the Fascist agrarian policy in the shape of increased prices for grain and various subsidies. While the prices received by the large landowners are 20 per cent. above the average price level, the prices received by the working peasant for his produce are 3 per cent. lower than the average.

The economic and food difficulties of Fascist Germany are clearly shown by such facts as the introduction of ration cards for fats, "one course" dinners (on certain days only one course meals are permitted to be cooked), meatless dishes, the hiding away of products by the peasants, the worsening of the quality of clothes, which are increasingly being made of substitutes, and in the collection of brass and nickle waste and even rags by the Storm Troopers and "Hitler Youth."

The population are more and more frequently drawing comparisons with the position of the war period of 1914-18.

*The more inexorably German Fascism squanders the economic and financial resources of the country in the interests of its war policy, the more it decreases the purchasing power of the masses, and the greater become the economic difficulties of Hitler Fascism.*

Now already Fascism, with pistol in hand, is demanding economic aid and loans from the democratic countries, so as the better to carry out its military and economic intervention in Spain and to prepare for war against the democratic countries.

## 2. HITLERISM IS PLUNDERING THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

What is the position of the masses in these conditions of war economy? *Formerly* Fascism could make demagogic use of the want created by the crisis, the mass indignation against the burdens of the Versailles Treaty, and the disillusionment with the policy of the coalition governments, which placed unbearable burdens upon the masses. *To-day* the growing weight of armaments is a new burden upon the masses. The burden of taxation is being felt more

and more. Whereas in non-Fascist countries, in connection with the economic revival the purchasing power of the masses is slowly on the increase, as a result of the struggles of the workers; whereas in France, thanks to the People's Front, wages have risen and the burdens of the peasants and middle classes are being alleviated, in Hitler Germany, on the contrary, the entire force of the state power is set into motion to hinder wage increases and to obtain resources on as big a scale as possible for armaments.

"There go our wages," say the workers, pointing to the tanks and armoured cars. The Nazi press complains that the people say: "There flies our 'winter aid'" when they see the war planes.

It is true that the shortage of skilled labour led to wage increases for a small section of the skilled workers. In most industries exploitation was further increased through overtime work, and the introduction of the ten-hour day. At the same time the industries producing the means of consumption have introduced part-time work. In the provinces wages have been cut still more, those of the agricultural workers falling by about 12 per cent. together with a decrease in allowances in kind. To sum up it can be said that the wages of the upper categories of skilled workers (some two million) increased, while the nominal wages of the rest of the skilled workers (three million) remained the same, but real wages decreased, the intensity of labour increased and the working day was extended. The wages of the other 11 million industrial workers have fallen considerably. In this connection account must be taken of the fact that far reaching differentiation in wages has been introduced, and that the workers under the influence of National Socialism are, for the most part, under the same conditions as the other workers.

*The dissatisfaction of the workers is growing.* The workers are demanding wage increases in the most varied ways, protesting against the numerous deductions and asking: "Where is the promised fair wage?" They are comparing their low wages with the growing profits of the capitalists, and are endeavouring to secure greater freedom to defend their economic demands. The slogan, "Higher wages instead of millions for Franco," is meeting with growing sympathy amongst the masses. As soon as the danger of a broad opposition movement manifested itself, the Hitler Government concentrated its forces against it in order to split the workers' front and to hinder the development of mass resistance. This was done not only through terror, but often by means of temporary, partial concessions (extra allowances for Christmas, or bonuses at the end of the business year, special ration cards for miners, etc.).

*The masses of the peasants do not live any better than the workers.* Agricultural economy is being ruined through the low prices fixed by

the State, high taxes and tributes, as well as compulsory sales of the products of the State. The peasants say: "Hitler promised us that we would receive more for our products, and that the high salaries of the officials would be decreased to 1,000 marks. Now, however, not only have the prices of our products been reduced, but what we have to buy, *i.e.*, fodder, is considerably more expensive than formerly."

The small peasant receives 48 pfennig for a pound of live pork, but in the stores it costs from 1 mark 10 pfennig to 1½ marks a pound. The peasants are burdened with all kinds of increased taxes, such as the land tax, trade tax (increased by 25 per cent.), tax on the slaughter of cattle, tax on grain and potatoes, etc., as well as payments towards the cost of building roads and highways, and a new and higher individual tax schedule. The peasants say: "We deliver milk for 12 pfennig, but the consumer has to pay 24 pfennig, and the profiteers get the difference." The peasants speak of tyranny because they are no longer masters of their own farms.

The members of the *middle class*, who in the beginning received some advantages from the general economic revival and the partial increase in purchasing power resulting from the decrease in unemployment, are now suffering from the general increase in prices and costs of production. The members of the middle class are above all, indignant at the increase in taxes and other levies, especially since these were lowered for Big Business. Taxation in 1929-30 amounted to 12 per cent. of the national income, while in 1935-36 it amounted to 17 per cent. In addition, one must take into special consideration the transfer of taxation to the backs of the working people, and the special levies in the shape of the numerous donations and other tributes.

*Thus all sections of the people, with the exception of the big capitalists, the big landowners, a privileged section of the rich peasants and of the Fascist bureaucracy, are suffering more and more severely from the burdens of the war economy.* That is the reason for the growing opposition even amongst the masses of National Socialists. This development of the inner situation caused General Blomberg to declare:

"Modern war demands the triple unity of soldier, peasant and worker. This is easier said than done."

In the interests of war and because the inner difficulties and dissatisfaction are growing, Fascism is increasingly resorting to compulsion and terror in relation to ever wider sections of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, Storm Troopers, and lower officials of the Fascist mass organisations. The factories are being militarised to an ever growing extent, while the "Werkscharen" (Fascist factory organisations to "improve" relations between

workers and employers—Ed.) are being reorganised so that the members of the National Socialist factory organisations and those who have finished military service constitute their backbone.

The introduction of employment books, the prohibition of skilled workers to change their place of work, the cancellation of the "Confidence Council" elections, the check-up on the past of officials of the mass organisations and the dismissal of anti-Fascists from war factories—all this goes to show how concerned Fascism is to take preventive measures against the opposition of the people to its war policy.

The new civil servants' code according to which every official is threatened with arrest if he "does not report manifestations of hostility towards the National Socialist Party," the dissolution of Catholic organisations, the prohibition of collections for charitable purposes and the closing down of Catholic papers, the annulment of the most important points of the Concordat, the suppression of the former sport organisations, the liquidation of the guilds, and other handicraft organisations and their replacement by new statutes for handicraft organisations, the shortening of the study period in the higher schools so as more rapidly to provide the army with officers—all of this goes to show *that compulsion and terror are merely used more severely in the interests of the "totalitarian war."*

As far as the young people are concerned, forced labour, compulsory service on the land, and military service, occupy all their young days and deprive them of all perspectives other than that of destruction in the trenches.

In so far as these suppressive measures are directed against very wide masses of the people, the struggle of the anti-Fascist vanguard against the terror merges with the indignation of the masses aroused by the unbearable oppression.

### 3. THE GERMAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT WAR.

*German Fascism is also meeting with increasing difficulties and resistance in its international policy of conquest, proclaimed in an especially provocative manner at the Fascist Party Congress at Nurnberg, a policy which has already led to the dangerous and expensive military adventure of Hitler in Spain.*

Hitler's constant provocations and his disregard for treaties make it ever clearer that Hitler wants not only to be "master in his own home," but also in the home of the Spanish people, as well as of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Austria and other countries.

But the experience of the war has given rise to growing doubts in the military strength of Hitler Germany. Not only in workers' circles, but also in the leading circles of the German army, attention is

being directed to the military experiences in Spain and to the conclusions to be drawn as to the chances of winning the war that they are preparing.

Hitler's endeavours to create a bloc of the Fascist war instigators (the German-Japanese Pact, the Italo-German Agreement) have not only increased the mass hatred against the war policy of Hitler Fascism, but have also resulted in a growing resistance on the part of the capitalist countries. Despite the pro-Hitler policy of the conservative bourgeoisie of Great Britain, the contradictions between Fascist Germany and Great Britain are deepening, especially in connection with Hitler's colonial demands.

The strengthening of the People's Front in France, and the international peace movement make it ever more difficult for Hitler to convince the German people that it is these peace forces, these supporters of collective security that are threatening Germany.

In the recent period the machinations of Hitler Germany, of its direct agents, as well as of those elements that are orientated towards Hitler Germany have suffered defeats in a number of countries. This was expressed in the defeat of the Fascists in the presidential elections in Finland; in the failure of the Fascist onslaught in Rumania, and of the attempted putsch in Hungary, in the worsening of relations with Austria; and in the increased resistance of Czechoslovakia, etc. The insolent behaviour of Hitler's interventionist troops in Spain and the failure of German arms in this country are contributing to the isolation of Fascist Germany.

*From all of this follows that the most difficult period for German Fascism is now approaching.*

While Hitler Fascism is intensifying its war policy and driving the country towards a military catastrophe, the overwhelming majority of the German people do not want war; they want peace; they do not want to suffer any longer under the unbearable burdens of increasing armaments. Here lie hidden the profound contradictions of *the entire Fascist dictatorship, its Achilles' heel.*

It is becoming more and more clear that Hitler's policy is driving the German people to war, and is thus facing the German people with the *question of the fate of Germany.* This policy can only end in defeat, in hurling the German nation into the most terrible misfortunes. *That is why the struggle for peace, against the militarisation of economy, against the policy of conquest, against intervention in Spain* is the question that can and must unite all sections of the German people, with the exception of those who benefit directly from this policy of war.

The workers, office employees, peasants, artisans, small dealers and intellectuals, and even certain sections of the bourgeoisie are now already victims of Hitler's war policy. They must all stand together in order to avert the calamity that is threatening.

This decisive thesis has not yet been generally recog-

nised by the Communist Party of Germany and the German anti-Fascists. The struggle for peace has not yet become the central question with which must be linked all partial tasks, such as the struggle against the Fascist, chauvinist calumny of other peoples; against the burdens placed on the masses by the growing armaments; against the armament speculators; the struggle for higher wages, against terror and measures of compulsion, as well as the demands of the peasants, middle classes, women, youth, men of science and art.

Sentiments are still current to-day to the effect that it is impossible, in the present circumstances, for the anti-Fascists, to develop mass movements, successful mass work, and a mass policy, and that it is necessary to wait passively until Hitler begins a war in Europe which will automatically lead to the fall of the Hitler regime. Such sentiments are harmful because, under the mask of radicalism, they inculcate passivity among the masses and objectively facilitate Hitler's war policy.

This became clear in connection with the Fascist intervention in Spain. While German anti-Fascists have been heroically defending democracy and world peace at the gates of Madrid, in Germany itself, the struggle against Hitler's war of intervention has not been carried on with sufficient energy. The Communists and anti-Fascists in Germany have not developed such a mass policy for the maintenance of peace, for the withdrawal of the Fascist German troops and warships from Spain, for the stoppage of arms shipments, as would unite all sections who are not interested in war. Such an extensive mass movement is still lacking in Germany.

At the present time when Hitler is beginning to discard the mask of "defence," when it is gradually becoming more and more clear to the masses that Hitler is driving Germany into the catastrophe of a war, when the masses are groaning under the burdens connected with the preparations for war it is not enough to content oneself with a mere exposure of the war policy. What needs to be done is to carry on a *direct* struggle against the economic want and oppression that result from the war policy of ruling Fascism.

The anti-Fascists must realise that this struggle against the policy of war, this delaying of war—and international forces are working in this direction to an increasing degree—is increasing the difficulties of the Hitler regime and making it possible to overthrow it *before* it is able to realise its plans, *before* it hurls the German people into a horrible catastrophe.

If Hitler was able to come to power under the slogan, "Against the Versailles Treaty," then he can be overthrown under the slogan of peace, of the overthrow of a war government, of the establishment of a democratic regime, of peace, liberty and progress.

#### 4. WHAT IS HINDERING THE FULFILMENT OF THE DECISIONS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN?

Hitler promised the masses that when Germany received more "living space," that is, when she obtained possession of colonies and other foreign territories, there would be enough food and raw materials, and wages could be raised. The Nazi propaganda of "more living space" and "we are the masters in our own home," has had its effect upon the masses. Fascism has been able to utilise Germany's economic and social difficulties (shortage of foodstuffs, low wages, shortage of raw materials, high taxation and lack of fodder in the villages) as a lever for its policy of conquest. By means of its social demagoguery, by its measures against individual small business men, against Jewish shareholders, and against individual small speculators, Fascism has been able to deceive wide sections of people. It resorts to "symbolic" gestures, such as the distribution of gifts to *individual* poor people, the building of a "Strength through Joy" recreation camp on the island of Rugen, the establishment of *individual* model factories, where there are improved sanitary-hygienic conditions, etc. The excursions organised by the "Strength through Joy" organisation, the visitation of theatres and cinemas, and the sport circles and courses are also not without effect. Fascism has an especially strong influence upon the women, and the main mass of the youth, who are brought together into the "Hitler Youth" organisation under compulsion. The as yet unsurmounted passivity of the masses, and the feelings of helplessness are caused not only by terror, by the pressure of the Fascist apparatus and the influence of Fascist propaganda, but are also the result of the former Social Democratic policy of class collaboration, of many years of the negation of the class struggle and its suppression during the period of the Weimer Republic, as well as of the rejection of united proletarian struggle and the anti-Fascist people's front by the central committee of the Social Democratic Party and the trade union leaders.

If there have been no movements on any considerable scale, this is also the result of the following: *the sectarian lack of understanding, which still exists in the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany and of the anti-Fascists, of the new conditions and the changed forms of the class struggle and of the anti-Fascist struggle; the line of conducting propaganda exclusively on an illegal basis; the neglect or rejection of the struggle for the daily interests of the masses in the Fascist mass organisations, insufficient ability to utilise the social promises made by the Nazis to develop the mass struggle, and the delay in reorganising the Party's forces to correspond to the changed conditions of the struggle, and the obstinate*



insistence on old organisational forms and methods. Sectarianism and schematisation, and the failure to understand the changed conditions of the struggle in Germany to-day—all these still remain big hindrances preventing the operation of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and of the Brussels Conference of the Communist Party of Germany. It is especially necessary that the Party should appreciate how it is carrying out the advice given by Comrade Dimitrov, who gave us such a tremendous example of how to carry the struggle against Fascism. In his report to the Seventh Congress, which contained directions for the struggle against Fascism and for international peace, Comrade Dimitrov said:

“We can lead the masses to a decisive struggle for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship only by getting the workers who have been forced into the Fascist organisations, or who have joined them through ignorance, to take part in the *most elementary movements* for the defence of their economic, political and cultural interests. It is for these reasons that the Communists must work in these organisations. . . .

“Experience teaches us that the view that it is *generally impossible*, in countries with a Fascist dictatorship, to come out legally or semi-legally, is harmful and incorrect. To insist on this point of view means to fall into passivity, to renounce real mass work altogether.”

On the basis of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern and of the Brussels Conference of the Communist Party of Germany, it is necessary to bring about a more powerful development of the *initiative of the Communist Party groups and cadres* as well as of the active anti-Fascists, and to utilise the most varied methods of struggle. Use must be made of arguments that will make the masses listen to the Communists. The starting point should be the promises made by the Fascists while the main blow must be directed against the upper circles. Every Communist should become the best adviser of the working people in their poverty and want, and should become genuinely allied with the masses by capably and convincingly explaining the aims and objects of the struggle against the Fascist authorities. If in Germany to-day the sentiments in favour of the People's Front are extending, while the masses do not yet understand how the struggle of the People's Front can be carried on under the specific and difficult conditions in Hitler Germany, then it is the task of the Communists, as the vanguard of the anti-Fascist struggle, to join with the Social Democratic and Catholic workers in establishing points of support for the anti-Fascist struggle in all factories and mass organisations, to spread these bases, and lead the masses in their struggle for their immediate and urgent interests. In order to fulfil these important tasks *it is exceptionally important to strengthen the Party ideologically, and to create such Party organisations,*

*and such Party leadership, as will assure the consistent operation of the Party line.* In this connection, it is especially important to draw women into responsible Party work, and to help them in their work within the “German Labour Front,” the Hitler “Women's Society,” the “National Socialist Charity Organisation,” etc.

In view of the connections between *counter-revolutionary Trotskyism*, and German Fascism as the main instigator of world war and deadly enemy of the Soviet Union and the international proletariat, the Communist Party of Germany has the exceptionally important task of carrying on energetic work within the Party, amongst the Social Democratic masses, as well as amongst all friends of peace in Germany, to explain the role of Trotskyism as being hostile to the people. Trotskyism is especially dangerous for the anti-Fascist movement in Germany because it is connected with the Gestapo, and plays into the hands of the Gestapo through its undermining, disintegrating work.

## 5. UNITY IS ESSENTIAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE MASSES.

At a meeting of the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, devoted to an estimation of the situation and the new tasks of the Party, Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, chairman of the Party, indicated the further development of, and methods of giving concrete shape to the decisions of the Brussels Party Conference, to correspond with the changed conditions of the struggle. What is required is bold initiative for the creation of a German People's Front, the aim of which must be the victorious struggle for a democratic people's republic. By fighting in this way to save the German people from the catastrophe of war the Communist Party of Germany is thereby defending the genuine national interests of the German people.

*What changes have taken place in the last months in the conduct of the masses of Germany? The masses are beginning to act in a new way, in that they are beginning themselves to defend their economic interests and rights within the framework of the Fascist regime, within the Fascist mass organisations. The unity of the workers is growing, and there is to be seen increased activity on their part in defence of their daily economic interests, in the attempt “to win something at any rate.” The example of France where wage increases were won as a result of the struggles of the French workers is making itself felt. For example: In a large mining enterprise where comradely relations developed between the workers of various political trends, complaints about conditions in six pits were sent to the “German Labour Front” (D.A.F.). The D.A.F.*

organised an inquiry among the workers by a commission composed of representatives of the D.A.F., the Department of Mines and of the company management. The commission went down the pits and questioned the workers employed there. In all cases the workers, including the Storm Troopers, stood by their complaints. An "old fighter" (a Storm Trooper) declared: "I'm no grouser, I'm a National Socialist; but such conditions in the mine cannot be tolerated." Afterwards a general meeting was called where the management tried to justify itself. While the representatives of the management were speaking there were interjections such as "Beware of the consequences if anyone is dismissed." The management agreed to take measures to eliminate the bad conditions and promised that "no one will be discharged for making complaints." But on the following day two workers, Storm Troopers, were not permitted to go down the mine, orders to this effect having been given by the management. Thereupon all the workers of this shift refused to go down and the two Storm Troopers had to be reinstated. This example proves that the workers know how to act together, *utilising legal methods to defend their interests*. In a number of other cases the workers complained about bad conditions to the "German Labour Front" and at the same time tried themselves to secure the elimination of these conditions with the help of the "Amtswalter" (representatives of the "Labour Front" in the given factory). A certain local office of the "Labour Front" received 200 complaints from only one factory. In their struggle against the worsening of working conditions and for improvements, the workers make reference to the promises of the Nazis to introduce a "fair wage," and the laws concerning the observation of minimum wage rates, as well as the statements of the Fascists that the "labour power must not be abused." The workers protest against the many fines, speak of the "honour and dignity" of the workers, in connection with the "Safety First" week in the factories put forward proposals for safety precautions, for improved sanitary conditions in the factories, for higher wages, oppose the special privileges of the employers and partially insist on the extension of the rights of the lower officials of the "Labour Front." The Nazi press complains of the fact that the slogan "The nobility of labour" is being utilised by the Marxists. *This activity in the "Labour Front" stimulates the collective activity of the workers, thereby gradually removing the danger of the dissipation of forces*. All movements of resistance show that partial demands are almost always won where they are linked up with the daily interests of the people, and where legal methods of struggle are utilised to achieve them. And even where the supporters of the National Socialists are a small minority

in the works departments, the pre-requisites for success are the *united front of the workers, including the majority of the National Socialist workers and a large number of the officials of the "Labour Front."* The majority of the workers, who, it is true, are anti-Fascists, but who adopt a waiting position, are now inclined to engage in joint action only if the demands put forward are of a legal character and if the entire department or staff can be drawn into support for these demands. There is a growing recognition that certain economic improvements can be won even now, in spite of the Fascist regime. The basically similar interests and common discontent of the anti-Fascists and the masses of National Socialists open up possibilities for the organisation of action on a very wide basis. In this regard it is becoming clear that the National Socialist working people are honestly desirous of bringing about social justice, and of achieving the fulfilment of the other demagogic promises of Hitler, and are actively striving to secure the fulfilment of his old promises. Whereas the anti-Fascists formerly would frequently only jeer at the National Socialist workers, they are seeing now in the process of the joint struggle how these workers are learning to differentiate between the friends and the enemies of the people.

What lesson follows from this experience? *The lesson that the initiative of the masses in defence of the workers' interests, and above all in the "Labour Front," must be developed so as to bring the decisive force, the working class, into movement*. The polemics in the Fascist press about social political questions and the endeavours of the leadership of the "Labour Front" completely to turn the organisation into an instrument of war show the urgency of this task. The Communists must know best of all the demands of the workers, their wage demands, as well as the Fascist labour legislation. They must strive within the "Labour Front" to bring about a joint movement of all the workers and office employees in support of higher wages to meet the increased cost of living, for the introduction of safety measures against accidents, and against fines. It is essential that in the fixing of piece rates the interests of the workers should be defended collectively by their representatives or commissions, that the election of the "Labour Front" "Amtswalter," of the "Blokwardte" (Fascist representatives who look after the amenities in tenement blocks) and shop stewards should be insisted upon, that in some instances even the extension of the rights of these officials should be demanded, as well as those of the members of the "Labour Front." The more numerous the positions won in the "Labour Front" by anti-Fascist trade unionists and honest defenders of the workers' interests, the easier will it be to defend the interests of the workers in and through the "Labour Front" organisations. In the

same way it is necessary to defend the cultural needs of the working people in the "Strength through Joy" organisation, and to influence its organs so they can be utilised in defence of the demands of the workers and office employees (contributions by the employers for vacation trips, the right of the members of families to take part in these trips, discounts on theatre tickets, the supply of clothing, shoes, and sports goods).

In the struggle for these daily interests of the workers comradesly relations have developed between the *Communists and Social Democrats* in the factories, and to some extent in the mass organisations, on the basis of joint activity. The progressive clarification of the problems of the struggle for a democratic republic, and the comparison between the bitter experiences of the former Social-Democratic coalition policy and the successes of the People's Front policy in France and Spain, have also contributed to the establishment of the united front in various factories and localities. Until recently the united front has been limited, for the most part, to agreements between Communists and the most active Social-Democratic workers concerning measures for defending workers engaged in illegal activity against the Gestapo, concerning aid to the families of those arrested, and the distribution of illegal leaflets. Only seldom were efforts directed towards developing the initiative of the workers for the defence of their daily interests and rights through legal methods of struggle. This *extension of the content of the united front*, the development of a policy which is orientated towards the entire mass of the workers, will also bring the *main mass of the Social-Democratic comrades*, who to-day take no part in the illegal work, into active participation in the movement. To-day we can already see that collaboration with the Catholic workers is also developing in the main on a legal basis. But the example mentioned above shows that the National Socialist workers can be better won for joint struggle by utilising the joint initiative of the Communists and Social Democrats in the "Labour Front." In the decisions of the Brussels Conference of the Communist Party of Germany it was already stated that we extend a fraternal hand to the National Socialist working people. But in practice this task has, for the most part, been treated as something quite exceptional. If the united front of the Communists, Social Democrats and Catholic workers advances such demands and operates such tactics as render it possible to establish unity of action of the entire mass of the workers, then the *winning of the National Socialist working people to support the united front of the proletariat and the anti-Fascist people's front will become an integral and component part of anti-Fascist policy.*

The struggle for the economic interests and rights

of the working class and for peace is also connected with the problem of the restoration of an independent trade union movement. To accomplish this it is necessary to pursue a firm line towards rousing to activity in the "Labour Front" the former members of the free and Christian trade unions and the various office employees' unions, and towards involving them in joint activity there. The mustering of the active anti-Fascist trade union cadres is of tremendous importance for the organisation of the resistance of the masses and of strike movements. But trade union activity itself is only possible in legal forms. Therefore the *struggle for the workers' interests within and through the medium of the "Labour Front" is the basis for the creation of a united, independent trade union movement as the class organisation of the workers and office employees.*

To-day it can already be seen how the *class struggle* is coming to the surface in the most varied forms, above all in the "Labour Front." In many cases the justification of wage demands is sought for in increasing profits, high dividends or directors' salaries. "An end must be put to such disgraceful profits," say the workers. And the press of the "Labour Front" is forced to criticise annual balance sheets which omit to mention cases where the salaries of directors are almost doubled, but which quote expenditures on social services, insignificant though they are. In developing such resistance a decisive point in the discontent of the masses is the protest against injustice, the struggle for "*social justice.*" The Communist Party of Germany directs its main blow against the *upper sections of society* through its struggle against the armament profiteers, against "the upper ten thousand," against the millionaires, and is striving to spur as wide masses as possible to take the path of class struggle. In this connection it is important to link this up with the promises of the National Socialists to introduce a tax on millionaires, to confiscate war profits, etc. Not only does this not mean weakening the struggle against the main enemy—Hitler—but, on the contrary, still further facilitates the exposure of those who are interested in war, and *helps graphically to expose to the masses the essence of the Hitler dictatorship as a dictatorship of big business*, to show that the Krupps, Thyssens, Voglers and Henkel-Donnersmarks are an old ulcer in the body of Germany. They always gained more than everybody else from the war, the inflation, the Young Plan and the armaments. In this way we shall succeed in bringing those masses who still believe in Hitler to the struggle against the Hitler dictatorship. Therefore, we must use not only illegal means to inculcate and strengthen the principles of the proletarian class struggle and of Marxism-Leninism among the conscious anti-Fascist workers, but must at the same time utilise legal means to assist in the awaken-

ing and deepening of anti-capitalist sentiments among the masses. All legal and semi-legal ways and means must be used in order to explain to the masses of Germany the victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the growing well-being, cultural development and genuine people's democracy being enjoyed in the Soviet Union.

There can be no doubt that the overthrow of Hitler would only be possible through the struggle of the widest masses of the people. *Hitler fears nothing more than unification of the people in the struggle for peace, for the basic, vital interests of the masses.* That is exactly why Hitler accuses us, Communists, of being "splitters of the people." Against the "unity" desired by Hitler, which is nothing other than the subjection of the entire life of the people to the Fascist war policy, to the interests of the most reactionary circles of monopoly capital and the Fascist bureaucracy, it must be the task of all German anti-Fascists to do everything to *unite the people for the struggle for peace, and against Hitler's war policy.*

Only through uniting the masses of the German people in the struggle for peace, for their vital interests, for their rights and for justice can Hitler be overthrown. Such, and only such, was the content of the October (1936) appeal of the Communist Party of Germany, whereby the Party endeavoured to develop a broader mass policy. It is basically wrong to interpret this as an appeal for reconciliation with the National Socialist Party, as the Social-Democratic papers tried to do—utilising a single unhappy formulation ("the reconciliation of the German people for freedom, liberty and well-being"). Such a distortion of the idea of rallying the masses of the people for *the struggle for peace and against Hitler's war policy must be resolutely opposed. The unification of the people demands, however, not only the unity of the working class and of all anti-Fascist forces, but that wide masses of National Socialists be drawn into the struggle.* The bearer of this unification can only be the German People's Front, which will also be the guarantee that after the overthrow of Hitler the unification of the anti-Fascist forces will be preserved to maintain the newly-won freedom.

## 6. FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, FOR A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Nevertheless, the unification of forces against Hitler cannot be achieved only through an agreement concerning immediate, partial demands. The unification of the forces of the working class with those of the peasants, middle classes and the supporters of democracy amongst the bourgeoisie, the mustering of all of these forces in the German People's Front can be attained and achieve victory only if *all the anti-Fascist forces have a single common aim.* This common aim is the democratic republic. This

aim, at the present stage, unites very wide sections of the masses. In Germany, Fascism has liquidated all the people's rights and democratic institutions, it has thrown Germany back hundreds of years. That is why a number of tasks of a bourgeois character are again on the order of the day in Germany. *A profound urge for democratic forms exists and is growing in Germany,* embracing workers, peasants, the middle classes, intellectuals, and to some extent even bourgeois circles. This urge has received added strength from the success of the People's Front in Spain and France, and the introduction of the new Stalin Constitution in the Soviet Union. This urge is expressed in the most varied and sometimes very primitive forms. The workers want to state their opinions, they demand that they be drawn into participation in drawing up piece-rate prices; as members of the "Labour Front" and in other organisations they are striving to secure additional rights and themselves want to elect the people who enjoy their confidence to the posts of "Blockwarte" and "Amtswalter." In the municipalities the working people are demanding that public reports be given by the municipal authorities, and are insisting on the convocation of the meetings of the municipalities, and in some cases have succeeded in having especially brutal Nazi mayors removed from office. In the City Council of Gelsenkirchen, in connection with the discussion of the Budget, a representative of the middle classes openly made a proposal to maintain the former low business taxes, otherwise the burden would fall upon the shoulders of those least able to bear them. These sentiments find their expression in an article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* about municipal self-government.

"At least once in every four weeks" it stated, "*the municipal councils should meet publicly;* and here the task of the Press begins. If the meetings of the municipal councils take place in such a way that only the order of business is announced while as far as possible no reports at all are made, then even the best Press report cannot awaken any interest amongst the public in such meetings. The interest of the public can only be awakened and maintained by a genuine spark, and this genuine spark is called "freedom of opinion."

In connection with the struggle of the Catholics in Oldenburg against the prohibition of the crucifix in the schools, meetings of the inhabitants and deliberations in peasants' homes in the village were successfully carried through. Should not the demand of more rights for the inhabitants and the election of municipal councils be raised in the name of moral cleanliness, as a most immediate and pressing question? Thus the *struggle for the right to elect* in the factories the "Labour Front," the organisations of the "Reichsnährstande" (Imperial Peasant Estate) in the municipalities and everywhere becomes one of the main demands in the movement for democratic liberty.

The new prohibition of the election of the "Confidence Councils" shows how Fascism is afraid of this struggle, is proof that Fascism cannot now rely upon a considerable section of its own supporters. This is evidence of the correctness of the tactics of the Communist Party of Germany in the struggle for the election of the "Confidence Councils." The Communist Party of Germany was correct when it demanded that reports be given by the former "Confidence Councils" and that new "councils" be elected, demanding also the right to put forward such candidates as could be depended upon to defend the interests of the working class. But this lesson also shows that the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party, which rejected the struggle for the election of the "Confidence Councils," by its shortsighted tactics only played into the hands of Hitler, who succeeded in cancelling the elections without any great difficulty. It is essential to develop all democratic strivings, especially in the mass organisations, to achieve joint action by the members of these organisations, to call for disobedience to the orders of the Fascist leaders, and to place at the head of these organisations people who have the confidence of the rank-and-file membership.

It is worth while to consider such a fact as the speech of Professor Sauerbach at the Physicians' Congress in Dresden, where, before an audience which held its breath only to break into stormy applause, he expressed the opinion of all progressive scientists:

"The higher schools have the right to decide for themselves where their place is, and they are able to do this, in spite of all attempts to refuse to recognise this right. . . . The new path, now being recommended, is no path at all. . . . *The essence of science and of the scientists is inner freedom.*"

No less characteristic is the fact that at the performance of Schiller's "Don Carlos" in the State Theatre in Berlin the words "Give us freedom of thought, sire," are greeted by stormy applause. *The German youth* also desire the free development of their forces. They protest against the suppression of the ardent spirit of youth through drill and the blind discipline hammered in by the club; they want to decide the content of their lives themselves, and in this regard make reference to the rights of the young generation freely to display their initiative and critically to estimate the existing situation.

The great, militant task of the German People's Front is systematically to develop and to support all these strivings for freedom. Hitler's calumny against democracy only proves his fear of the urge of the masses of the people for the extension of their rights; he fears that this will lead to joint action and to big mass struggles. The enemy understand very well that at the present stage the slogan: "*For the rights of the people, for a democratic republic,*" rallies together

very wide masses of the people. Certain "Socialist Workers' Party" leaders and Left Social Democrats do not see the great progressive significance of this struggle. They are for ever looking backwards, and pointing to the Social-Democratic coalition policy and the capitulation of the Social-Democratic trade union leaders. They are right when they condemn this policy, but they completely forget that the social and democratic achievements after 1918 were the results of the struggles of the German working class, and that these achievements were liquidated step by step by the Social-Democratic coalition policy. They, that is certain "Socialist Workers' Party" leaders and Left Social Democrats also overlook the changes that have taken place in this period. The bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic coalition policy, the shameful capitulation of the Social-Democratic Ministers who fled at the sight of a lieutenant and three soldiers on July 20, 1932, now stands out in sharp contrast to the successes of the People's Front in France, and the lessons of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people on the basis of the People's Front. In the interests of the struggle against Hitler, the supporters of the People's Front must declare their opposition to those falsifiers of history who wish to identify the heroic struggle of the German working class with the coalition policy of the Social-Democratic Ministers. It is no accident that Hitler in general vilifies democracy, for he wants in this way to hit at the struggle of the workers for freedom, for the right to organise, for freedom of assembly and the press, and the right to hold elections, and for social insurance. He wants in this way to hinder the working people from recognising that the struggle for a democratic republic is the way out of Fascist barbarism.

In the coming democratic republic, a republic of a new and higher type, the people will enjoy predominant influence, the privileges of big business being destroyed, and the roots of Fascism extirpated. *In advancing the slogan of the democratic republic, the working class come forward as the bearer of, and foremost fighter for, the unification of the people to overthrow the Hitler dictatorship.* In the last period sentiments in favour of the People's Front have been growing in Germany. This reflects the successes of the Front Populaire in France and of the struggle of the Frente Popular in Spain, but it is also the effect of the propaganda of the preparatory *Committee for the establishment of a German People's Front*, and the inspiring declarations of the great German writer, Heinrich Mann. The masses are aroused.

In the struggle for the establishment of the People's Front in Germany it is necessary to take into consideration the concrete situation: the Fascist terror, the destruction of the legal organisations of the working class, peasants, middle class and of the democratic bourgeoisie. Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, chairman of

the Communist Party of Germany, has shown, in his directions regarding the creation of a German People's Front, how to organise the struggle for peace, freedom and well-being, in the spirit of a broad People's Front policy, by making the starting-point the immediate interests of the masses and by working first and foremost in the Fascist mass organisations. Just as the workers, either voluntarily or through compulsion, belong to the "Labour Front" and other such organisations, so the peasants are covered by the organisations of the "Imperial Peasant Estate," and the middle class, doctors, scientists, writers, etc., by the Fascist mass professional organisation. It is within these organisations that they are striving to defend their interests, and there, better than anywhere else, lies the possibility for joint action.

If the movement for the People's Front in Germany as yet only covers a narrow circle of the anti-Fascist forces, this is because it has only just begun to deal with the immediate questions affecting wide masses of the people. It is essential to support such partial and urgent demands of the masses, as the masses themselves consider practicable. In this sense it is necessary, on the basis of the central question of the struggle against Hitler's war policy and for the main-

tenance of peace, to make a careful study of the question of wages, the food supply, problems of the rights of the people, economic and financial policy, the position of the peasants, the middle classes, the women and the youth. Further, legal demands must be drawn up for the various sections of the people, and the masses shown the way to make use of all legal possibilities in the struggle to improve their conditions of life.

It is not enough merely to expose the policy of Hitler Fascism as inimical to the people; what must be done, in addition, is directly to develop the initiative of the masses in the struggle to improve the conditions of the working people; they must be shown the goal and the means whereby the People's Front will solve the vital problems of the German people in the coming democratic republic. Thus it is necessary to strengthen the *consciousness of the working class and mass of the people*, and their faith in their own strength, in convincing fashion to explain to all the people that by its struggle to maintain peace and against Hitler's war policy, the People's Front is defending the genuine national interests of the German people and is the power that will lead the German people to a happy future.

# THE JAPANESE PEOPLE AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

By V. NISIKAWA

THE central question at the Japanese Parliamentary elections of April 30 was that of the attitude of the electors to the Hayashi Government and to its policy. It was on this plane that the Government itself arranged the elections when it dissolved Parliament with brutal offhandedness, accusing it and the political parties of "... insincerity" and of "incorrectly understanding the difficult situation being experienced by Japan." In its election declaration the Government advanced the following two points as the basis of its policy:

1. Increase in armaments (this after Parliament had only just agreed to the unprecedented increase of 30 per cent. in military expenditures);

2. "To deepen the correct understanding of the State system of Japan—to use the intricate formula of the Fascist militarists, but which in plain language means to liquidate the last remnants of Parliamentarism and to establish a Fascist regime.

Thus on April 30 the electors were quite clearly confronted with the question of voting *for* or *against* the Hayashi Government put forward by the Fascist military clique, *for* or *against* its policy of Fascism and war.

Over eight million people, i.e., more than 80 per cent. of the voters who took part in the elections, voted against the Government and the Fascist military clique, against the policy of Fascism and war. It should also be remembered that only males over 25 years of age have the right to vote in Japan, and there can be no doubt that the youth, who are without voting rights, are also against the Hayashi Government and its Fascist policy. It can, therefore, be stated without any exaggeration that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people demand that the Hayashi Government resign, that the policy of war and Fascism be abandoned.

Hitherto, in Japan, the party that supported the Government was always victorious at the elections. This time the Government could not avoid defeat. By taking the step of dissolving Parliament and arranging new elections, the Government reckoned on establishing a "new party" which would support it, composed of reactionary elements of the old parties. But this plan failed for a time. The reactionary section of the leaders of the old bourgeois parties, taking into account that the sentiments of the people were hostile to the Government, were obliged to renounce their own intentions of forming a new party. What is more, during the elections they came

forward as the opponents of the Government, and now, following the elections, are demanding its resignation.

The strength of the anti-Fascist sentiments of the people prevented the authorities from interfering in the elections. At the conferences of governors, police chiefs and public prosecutors called at the beginning of the election campaign, Siono, Minister of Justice, and Kawarda, Minister of Home Affairs, gave the local authorities instructions "not to be disturbed at outcries about civil rights being trampled upon," but mercilessly to suppress "the opponents of the Government and to take all measures to ensure that real patriots who correctly understand the present situation in Japan are elected."

The Government proved unable to prevent its defeat in the elections, but it was more ferocious than ever in suppressing freedom of speech during the election campaign, at the very outset of which the Government prohibited criticism of the Fascist policy of the military clique and agitation for the establishment of a people's front. At the election campaign meetings, the arbitrariness of the police violence held full sway. Even Ando, secretary of the Seiyukai, was arrested for protesting against being deprived of the right to speak. It was precisely because not a single one of the political parties organised the mass movement in defence of freedom of speech at the elections that the Government succeeded in preventing the election campaign from being turned into an active anti-Fascist movement.

Basing themselves on military force, and utilising the absence of unity and the inadequate activity of the opposition, the Fascist military clique are forcing their policy on the people regardless of their desires. Actually, although at the lawful elections nearly the whole people openly expressed no confidence in the Government, the Government remains in power and, scornful of the wishes of the people, declares that it has no intention of resigning. Nine-tenths of the people rejected the policy of the Fascist military clique; but they, maintaining the right they have usurped to speak in the name of the entire army and setting the army against the people, are openly preparing, by violence and deceit, to force a Fascist regime and the horrors of war on the country.

The Fascist military clique are for the time being striving to postpone the resignation of the Hayashi Government. The military clique have all along been defiant and scornful towards the wishes of the people

and Parliament; hence the speedy resignation of Hayashi, which may arise in connection with the result of the elections, threatens the military clique with a greater "loss of prestige." What is more, the military clique have good reason to fear that the resignation of the Government, brought about by the results of the elections, may serve as a new impetus to the anti-Fascist sentiments of the masses.

The present position of the Government is also to be explained by the fact that the outcome of the elections has led to a new intensification of the struggle within the ruling circles themselves.

The future shows the danger of a new Fascist offensive developing along two possible lines. There is the one possibility of the Hayashi Government being replaced by a similar or openly Fascist Government. It should not be forgotten that the reactionary leaders of the bourgeois parties, Nagai and Nakadzima, despite their declarations, are not really opposed to the policy defended by Hayashi.

As hitherto, they are striving, if not even more energetically, to establish a pro-Fascist party. The outcome of the elections and the position taken up by them during the elections of forced opposition to the Hayashi Government have created big new difficulties for their plan of establishing a "new party." But a change of government and Hayashi's resignation would render it easier for them to set about forming this party under a new guise. The possibility is not excluded that, by using the method traditional in Japan of bribing deputies and of the military clique exerting pressure, a Parliamentary majority may be formed such as will support the plans for a Fascist change of the State system by Parliamentary means.

The other possibility is that of a Fascist coup d'état taking place by way of a new military revolt, or from above with the aid of extraordinary decrees (Chokugei) by the Emperor. The new Fascist offensive will undoubtedly meet with resistance from the people, if only they are warned in time of the danger threatening them, and if they are organised in one form or another into an anti-Fascist people's front.

The elections have shown that the people are ready to resist Fascism, and if up to now they have proved weaker than the handful of Fascist rulers it is only because they have no leadership, for the anti-Fascists are scattered as hitherto; they have not yet joined forces in an anti-Fascist front. The establishment of an anti-Fascist united front would radically change the relation of forces in the country. The unification of wide masses of the people would make it easier to win the army itself to the defence of the Constitution, Parliamentarism and Peace.

The results of the elections have created new and favourable conditions for the establishment of a united anti-Fascist front. Actually there has been

developed a programme of immediate demands acceptable to all the workers' and peasants' organisations and the big bourgeois parties (Minseito and Seiyukai), a programme which includes the defence of the Constitution and Parliamentarism, the defence of the existing suffrage, and the struggle against Fascism and reaction. It would appear that it is not difficult for agreement to be arrived at on certain other urgent demands as well, such as the liquidation of the special rights of the military clique, a foreign policy of peace, a lightening of the tax burden, etc. The elections have shown that an anti-Fascist front is assured the support of the overwhelming majority of the people. As a result of the elections, the relative importance of the workers' and peasants' party, Shaikai Taishuto, has grown considerably. In one year the number of those who cast their votes for this party practically doubled and is in excess of one million persons. Formerly the old Minseito and Seiyukai Parties could afford to ignore the Shaikai Taishuto, but now it is far more difficult to do so. The anti-Fascist, democratic elements in the bourgeois parties are more able to understand the worth of a bloc with the Shaikai Taishuto than they were before. The behaviour of the Government and the military clique is teaching all honest anti-Fascists, no matter to what party they belong, that the only way to save the country from Fascism is to unite all the democratic forces in an anti-Fascist people's front. The reactionary leaders of the Minseito and Seiyukai will undoubtedly strain every effort to resist the establishment of a common front with the workers' and peasants' organisations, but the movement of the masses for this front can become so powerful as to smash the resistance of the reactionary leaders or to create a differentiation in these parties. At any rate the possibility for establishing a united front between the Shaikai Taishuto and the local organisations of the Minseito and Seiyukai is quite a real one.

The elections have clearly shown that all the working people, the overwhelming majority of the people, are demanding a struggle against Fascism. And the Shaikai Taishuto will not fulfil its prime duty to the workers and peasants if it does not immediately set about the establishment of an anti-Fascist people's front. Aso, secretary of the Shaikai Taishuto, is playing a double game now as well, at one moment calling for a struggle against Fascism, and then lauding the fascist military clique as a progressive force.

A report has even appeared in the press to the effect that Aso quite recently met and negotiated with Colonel Hasimoto, the leader of the Fascists. At the same time, Aso pictures all agreements whatsoever with the bourgeois parties as the abandonment of the principle of the independence of the Shaikai Taishuto and the workers' and peasants' movement, as some sort of a "betrayal" of the interests of the working



people. Here's a fine man of "principles." But the international experience of the movement for the people's anti-Fascist front has smashed such sophisms to pieces. In those countries where the people's front has been established, the working class are successfully defending their interests, and the strength of the workers' organisations is growing at an exceptionally rapid rate. After the establishment of the Front Populaire in France, the workers gained more than in the ten preceding years. And the main thing is that they have saved the country from Fascism. As to Japan, only a blind man or an imposter will affirm that the Shaikai Taishuto alone is sufficiently strong to save the country from the horrors of war and Fascism, to safeguard even the Shaikai Taishuto itself from destruction by the Fascists. Aso likes to set 'the overthrow of capitalism' against the struggle against the Fascist military clique. In Aso's writings this "overthrow of capitalism" coincides with the slogan of "the reorganisation of capitalism" as advanced by the Fascist military clique, a slogan which means nothing other than an unparalleled strengthening of the domination of monopoly capital and the establishment of war economy.

By mouthing general phrases about the "overthrow of capitalism" Aso is only striving to push into the background the struggle against the most reactionary, terrorist storm detachment of the big capitalists and landowners—against Fascism which *to-day already* is seizing the working people of Japan by the throat.

The results of the elections have shown that the people did not succumb to Aso's sophisms, but understood that the main thing to-day is the struggle against Fascism. By their votes at the elections the masses rejected yet another of Aso's assertions to the effect that the Minseito and Seiyukai are just as much the enemies of the working people as are the Fascists. Such an assertion, of course, is an exaggeration which can be of benefit only to the Fascists.

The results of the elections have strengthened the position of the anti-Fascist majority of the Shaikai Taishuto, have strengthened the position of those of its leaders who are of the opinion that all the democratic forces should be united in the struggle against the Fascist military cliques.

An anti-Fascist people's front in Japan cannot be formed without the Shaikai Taishuto to which are affiliated the overwhelming majority of the trade unions as well as the Peasants' League. Consequently the anti-Fascist people's front cannot be formed unless the upper hand in the Shaikai Taishuto and in the unions affiliated to it is won by those leaders who consider the struggle against Fascism to be the primary task of the party and who recognise the need for uniting all the anti-Fascist and democratic forces for a joint struggle against Fascism. All this goes to

show that the indispensable condition of the establishment of an anti-Fascist people's front in Japan is that all conscious anti-Fascists, members of the Shaikai Taishuto and trade unions carry on tireless work to draw all their members, officials and entire organisations into the active movement for the establishment as rapidly as possible of a united anti-Fascist front; that all anti-Fascists, including the Communists, give energetic support to those leaders and active officials of the Shaikai Taishuto and trade unions who are in favour of establishing unity of action between the Shaikai Taishuto and other democratic organisations and groups in carrying the struggle against Fascism. This can be achieved if all the anti-Fascist workers' and peasants' organisations join the Shaikai Taishuto and carry on active work inside it, and help it as well as the trade unions and Peasants' League to grow and increase their strength.

The supporters of a people's anti-Fascist front in Japan are rapidly gaining in strength. There can be no doubt that those who voted for the Shaikai Taishuto and the Nihon Musanto support the people's front. These parties received 1,200,000 votes at the elections as against 650,000 at the 1936 elections, i.e., nearly doubled their vote in one year. A number of trade unions, the Peasants' League, as well as certain local organisations of the Shaikai Taishuto now support the movement for a people's front or are not far from doing so.

But the main thing is that the labour movement has begun to advance throughout the country. Workers who for a number of years endured wage cuts and worsened conditions of labour have now rallied their forces and are demanding 20-30 per cent. wage increases. In the first quarter of 1937 the number of strikes and labour conflicts attained a record level for the last 15 years. The number involved in these strikes and labour conflicts during these three months, according to data of the Ministry of Home Affairs, reached 63,000 persons, i.e., four and a half times more than the number for the corresponding period last year. Such workers as the railroad workers, postal workers and workers employed in the remote provinces who have hitherto lagged behind have been drawn into the struggle. Leaders of the trade unions who until very recently called upon their members to refrain from struggle have now given instructions everywhere to start a struggle for increased wages, true, with the reservation that it must be by "peaceful means." In the localities, however, the trade unions are displaying growing energy in heading the movements of the workers. The stay-in strike is the most widespread form of struggle, a form which has become very effective due to the fact that the workers are displaying an exceptional capacity for organisation, determination and solidarity. The militant spirit of the workers has

grown to such a degree that the capitalists in very many cases agree to certain concessions even before the workers decide on strike action. In such cases, the capitalists, of course, confine themselves to miserable wage increases, and the workers often undertake a struggle for further wage increases.

In a number of places economic demands are combined with political demands; thus, for instance, workers are advancing the demand that the trade unions be recognised.

The rapid increase in the militancy of the proletariat, the development of the class struggle, the million army of supporters of the people's front, and the vote at the elections of nine-tenths of the people against Fascism—all this shows that all the preconditions exist in Japan for the organisation of a vic-

torious mass movement of the people against the offensive of Fascism. But what is lacking is the unification of the scattered forces of the supporters of democracy; action is not co-ordinated, and there is a lack of leadership in this regard, filled with initiative and determination.

It is precisely for this reason, therefore, that the very immediate future of the Japanese people depends to a considerable degree on whether the Communists and other conscious anti-Fascists are able, by their work inside the Shaikai Taishuto, as well as in the trade unions and peasants' leagues, to give preponderating influence to those leaders of the Shaikai Taishuto who are capable of heading the movement for the establishment of a united working-class front and an anti-Fascist people's front.

# THE POWER OF THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR IN FRANCE

By H. RAYNAUD

**T**HE General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) in France has more than five million members to-day. It is the biggest and strongest of the national centres affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The C.G.T. is organised on the dual basis of federations of industry and of regional and inter-regional Trades Councils. It has 44 industrial federations and 86 regional and inter-regional Trades Councils. Numerically it is the strongest organisation in the country. If account is taken of the fact that there are about 11 million employed workers of all kinds in France, the above figures go to show that the C.G.T. is not far now from covering the majority of the workers eligible for membership of the trade unions in France. But its most characteristic feature is the rapidity with which the C.G.T. has developed since trade union unity was brought about. The present strength of the C.G.T. is the result of the trade union unity finally brought about at the Unity Congress that took place in Toulouse in March, 1936. In less than a year the membership of the C.G.T. increased from 1,091,500 to five millions.

Here are few figures to show the importance of this increase. Taking the data for February, 1936, and February, 1937, we see the following:

The Metal Workers' Federation	increased from 50,000 to 775,000 members
The Building Workers' Federation	increased from 65,000 to 540,000 members.
The Office Employees' Federation	increased from 15,000 to 285,000 members.
The Food Workers' Federation	increased from 15,000 to 300,000 members.
The Miners' Federation	increased from 75,000 to 270,000 members.
The Federation of Technicians and Designers	increased from 500 to 79,100 members.
The Railway Workers' Federation	increased from 165,000 to 320,000 members.
The Textile Workers' Federation	increased from 47,000 to 360,000 members.
The Civil Servants' General Federation	increased from 231,000 to 254,000 members.

A similar development is, of course, to be marked in the affiliated membership of the regional and inter-regional Trades Councils which cover all the trade unions in the various branches of industry in a given

region or group of regions. Let us point in particular to the inter-regional federation of "la Seine and la Seine-et-Oise" (Paris district) which began with 200,000 affiliated members in January, 1936, and reached the figure of 1,000,000 members in January, 1937, i.e., the absolute majority of employed workers in the Paris district.\*

There can be no doubt that the atmosphere of unity created by the Toulouse Congress, and especially the unanimous vote in favour of the resolution regarding the character and tasks of the movement indicate not only that organic unity has been achieved, but also the abandonment of war between groups. This has thoroughly corresponded to the hopes of the working class of France, and explains why the workers have begun to join the C.G.T. unions since March, 1936.

It is this confidence of the proletarians in their trade union organisation that has considerably increased their confidence in themselves—along with the electoral successes of the Front Populaire in May, 1936—and enabled the working class of France to develop the magnificent movement of June, 1936, the success of which exerted and still exerts a tremendous influence on the position and state of mind of the French workers.

The success of the strikes that took place in June, 1936, the signing of the Matignon Agreements,† the considerable and general increase in wages, the recognition of the C.G.T. as the organisation most competent to conclude the collective agreements, the signature of these agreements by the trade unions, the establishment of union stewards in the works, the voting in Parliament by the parties of the Front Populaire of the social legislation long demanded by the workers (holidays with pay, 40-hour week)—all these points determined this tremendous movement towards the General Confederation of Labour, the membership of which has increased by five times.

The bourgeoisie, who were already surprised by the extent of the victory of the Front Populaire in the May elections, were still further surprised by the scope and suddenness of the June strikes.

In a few days the movement began in the metal industry of the Paris district spread rapidly to all the

\* Comrade Henri Raynaud, author of the present article, is secretary of the Paris Regional Trades Council.

† The Matignon Agreements were the agreements signed at the Matignon Hotel, the premises of the Prime Minister's offices.

other industries in the district, and then to the whole province. Millions and millions of workers, together with even the most highly qualified technicians and the office employees, occupied their respective enterprises for several weeks, without even a screw being lost, without the slightest disorder, without the slightest incident.

As a result, collective agreements guaranteeing to observe the rights of the trades unions, the operation of social legislation, the payment of minimum wages to the respective categories of workers, were signed in the various industries. This showed the tremendous role played by the trade unions affiliated to the C.G.T.

But when the big employers, who had retreated before the attack, recovered from their surprise they collected and reorganised their forces, changed the leadership of their general staff, removed those who had signed the Matignon Agreements, and concentrated their forces, in preparation for a counter-offensive.

The devaluation of the French currency brought about by the law of October 1, 1936, was used by the employers and big trusts to increase the cost of living; at the same time the counter-offensive against the C.G.T. developed along two lines, namely, the line of establishing yellow unions, and of systematic dismissals of the best and most active members of the C.G.T.

On the political field during this period the employers, with the object of splitting the Front Populaire, strove to set the middle classes against the C.G.T. by making use of the prolonged period of the strike movement and the occupation of the factories, or the outbreak of new movements caused by the attacks and irreconcilable behaviour of the employers.

The C.G.T. and the "extreme Left elements"—this term has the Communists particularly in view—were presented to the peasants and the small tradesmen as being responsible for the continuation of the strikes, as elements of disorder preventing the economic revival. At the same time, the big employers, by creating a shortage of raw materials, did everything possible to paralyse the revival, the first signs of which were beginning to be felt in the country.

Loyal to the Front Populaire, of which it constitutes the main mass organisation, and having no desire in any way to become separated from the peasants and the middle classes, the C.G.T. succeeded, in the months of October, November and December, 1936, in overcoming the difficulties created by the counter-offensive of the employers, and deepened to a certain degree by the demagogy of the Trotskyist elements and other agents of the bourgeoisie.

In spite of the strike movements, which were occasionally abortive, there were in some places cases of the dismissal of workers on the pretext of closing

down departments or of reorganising production. But the C.G.T. succeeded in securing wage increases to meet the high cost of living, through the medium of compulsory arbitration, increases which, if not entirely satisfactory, were still quite considerable. On the other hand the C.G.T. has succeeded, contrary to the expectations of the bourgeoisie, in maintaining its membership to the present day, in spite of the manoeuvres of the yellow and Christian trade unions.

Many branches of industry have secured increases in wages amounting to from 10 to 15 per cent., according to the collective agreements of June last. With the abolition of the extraordinary decrees, civil servants and employees in state and municipal enterprises have received increases of 100 francs per month.

The increase in the cost of living, which was developing with remarkable rapidity, appears to be slowing down somewhat during the last few weeks.

The increase in wages is lagging behind the increase in the cost of living, since the prices of goods increased by 20 per cent. while the working class have received increases which are inadequate by comparison. But the workers understand the need for maintaining and strengthening the Front Populaire. They are continuing to demand the application of the sliding scale, so as thus to protect their wages against the fluctuations of prices, and to preserve their purchasing power. They are loyal as heretofore to the C.G.T. and are determined to secure the operation of the programme of the Front Populaire. They are maintaining all their vigilance in respect to the camouflaged Fascist Leagues, are demanding that these be finally and completely dissolved.

The bloody events at Clichy, at the bottom of which there lies provocation directed against the Front Populaire and chiefly against the Communist Party, enabled the working people of the Paris region to show their power, their discipline and their desire for order.

The several hours' strike carried through on an hitherto unparalleled scale in Paris and its outskirts by the Paris Regional Trades Council in agreement with the C.G.T.; the complete and conscious discipline with which more than two million Paris workers renewed work at the time fixed in advance, and in a few minutes radically changing the appearance of the capital; the participation of more than a million people in the dignified and calm funeral procession that followed the victims of the shootings at Clichy—all these are concrete manifestations of the strength of the C.G.T. which cannot fail to exert considerable influence on the further development of events.

It is clear that the big employers consider the existence of the General Confederation of Labour with a membership of more than five millions, and the Paris

Regional Trades Council with more than one million members, as intolerable. It is clear that these hostile forces have not given up their idea of smashing the Front Populaire, of breaking up the C.G.T. On the contrary, this desire and pressure of the enemy are growing in proportion as the Front Populaire consolidates itself and the C.G.T. develops its influence. Thus the struggle between the classes is developing without interruption, while the antagonism between the people and the two hundred rich families is growing.

With the successes of the Labour Movement, the responsibilities and dangers are increasing. The C.G.T. and its officials will avoid losing their heads from success, and are far from underestimating the forces and possibilities of the enemy. Of course, the rebel leagues and Fascism have been held up and driven back by the success of the Front Populaire and the C.G.T. But it only requires a moment's thought to understand how great the danger is when Big Capital is seeking all possible ways of profiting from the difficulties of the present situation in order to compel the Government to make important concessions and abandon the programme of the Front Populaire.

The C.G.T. has to understand this situation if it desires to strengthen its unity, and not only to preserve its present membership but to win to the trade unions those millions of workers who are still outside of their ranks. Inside the Front Populaire it must remain the decisive mass core, capable of taking the initiative in the forward movement, and at the same time displaying sufficient prudence and political acumen so as not to be isolated from the other forces of the Front Populaire—from the middle classes and the peasants.

The C.G.T., which plays a foremost role in the Front Populaire, is recognising more and more its responsibilities in this movement which the bourgeoisie are engaged in attacking so fiercely, because they realise that it is the main obstacle in the road to Fascism and war. By preserving its unity and increasing its membership, the C.G.T. will thereby effectively preserve the Front Populaire against all disastrous schisms.

The C.G.T. will be able not only to maintain its membership but constantly to secure new members, if it carries on regular organisational work, if it copes with all the numerous tasks which face it.

It must constantly respond to the desires of the workers and follow their daily lives.

The immediate tasks facing the C.G.T. are to organise the leisure time of the workers, to organise and train the union stewards who constitute its main support in the struggle for the economic demands of the workers.

It depends on the degree to which the trade union remains united whether it will secure its members a number of advantages and concrete gains. It depends on the extent to which it bases itself on the class struggle, to which it is realistic in the struggle for economic demands, whether it will be able to withstand all the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

At the same time, the C.G.T., which is to-day the strongest section of the International Federation of Trade Unions, has a particularly big responsibility in respect to its international policy. Inside the I.F.T.U. it has to pursue its efforts in favour of united international action, with more energy than ever before. What is at stake is the cause of peace and liberty, the fate of the Spanish Republic and consequently the future of the French working class.

At the February Conference, held in London, of the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, the C.G.T., in conjunction with the Spanish delegates, demanded that an enlarged international conference should be called to which all the anti-Fascist forces in the world should be invited. Under the pressure of the British trade union leaders the I.F.T.U. still resists international united action. This will only be overcome if the C.G.T. speaks out loud and with sufficient firmness, if it is active.

In spite of the farce of non-intervention and control, the Fascist countries continue to give all possible aid to the Spanish rebels. The war in Spain is not only a civil war, but a war of the Fascist countries against the Spanish people, a war which will continue if the forces of the international proletariat remain inactive.

The Conference of the I.F.T.U. and the L.S.I. declared itself for the organisation of an international week of aid for the Spanish Republic. What is needed is that the C.G.T. should take the lead in developing the international campaign in favour of Spain. The C.G.T. from the outset demanded that international law be respected and, in consequence, that Republican Spain—and Republican Spain alone—be given the right to purchase arms and munitions wherewith to defend itself. Can it hesitate now, when the Italian and German expeditionary corps are continuing to engage in action in Spain, to waver as regards as to whether everything possible should be done to help to bring about the triumph of free Spain?

The maintenance of the Front Populaire, the defence of trade union unity, and the maintenance and further development of the C.G.T. will depend in no small degree on the outcome of the struggle for liberty on the Iberian peninsula. The C.G.T. will not forget this and will always take this into account in its activity.

# THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN THE U.S.A.

By EARL BROWDER

## 1. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SUPREME COURT AND FOR THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

**T**HE results of the work of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. in the presidential election campaign, and since, have fully confirmed the correctness of its policy.

In the analysis before the elections, evaluating the political forces in the country, the Communist Party pointed to the Republican Party as the rallying centre of all the reactionary Fascist forces in America. The first task that our Party set itself was to secure the defeat of this reactionary camp in the elections. It was already clear to us that the mass Farmer-Labour movement which is arising in America would in the election campaign be committed to the re-election of Roosevelt, around whom the progressive forces of the country against Fascism and war were mainly centring. The Communist Party set itself the task in the campaign to secure the maximum possible independent organisation of these progressive forces which were supporting Roosevelt, to develop our united front relations with them, while maintaining our independent ticket and platform. While carrying out these tasks, the Communist Party set itself the aim of building the Party and extending its influence.

It is generally agreed that the Communist Party was one of the effective forces in the campaign that rallied the great mass movement that defeated the reactionaries in America as they had never been before. The defeat of the Republican Party was on such a scale that has not been seen in American politics for more than a hundred years. It, further, was of such a character as to react directly to the advantage of our Party, inasmuch as the Republicans carried out their campaign on the slogan of the fight against Communism, going to the extreme of charges that the Roosevelt camp was tainted with Communism. This campaign against Roosevelt served to discredit all anti-Red propaganda in America. Every Red-baiter in America was defeated in the elections, no matter to what group he belonged.

Progress was made in the building of the independent organisation of the Farmer-Labour Party movement. There was a wide extension of the idea among the masses, particularly in the progressive unions. There was a national conference which put

forward a draft programme for the Farmer-Labour movement nationally—a fairly satisfactory programme. This movement took on the general orientation of a People's Front against Fascism and war. The same trend was seen within some large organised movements inside the Democratic Party, much as the E.P.I.C. movement in California and the Commonwealth Federation in the State of Washington. These movements within the Democratic Party developed along united front lines to include, also, the Left-wing forces. The Farmer-Labour Party in Minnesota, with the support of the Communist Party, won a large degree of control of the State Government. The Progressive Party in Wisconsin won an electoral victory. Beginnings of Farmer-Labour Parties were established in Michigan, Iowa and in a few other States, which did not get a large vote, but which established themselves as propaganda centres which began to exert an influence on State politics. The Communist Party supported the creation of the American Labour Party in New York; although officially the Communist Party is excluded from it, Communists, representing trade unions, played a role in the mass work of this American Labour Party. This growing People's Front movement in various forms helped to bring the trade unions on a national scale, under the leadership of John L. Lewis, to establish a national political organisation—Labour's Non-Partisan League—which was a step forward beyond any political action taken in America by the whole organised Labour movement.

The growing organisation and influence of these independent movements was possible in the election campaign, only because it was combined with support for the re-election of Roosevelt. If these growing people's organisations had come out against Roosevelt, they would have been wrecked by the wave of mass sentiment which rallied the overwhelming majority of the population to Roosevelt's re-election. This fact greatly slowed down the tempo of building a new Farmer-Labour Party. It held within the Democratic Party large mass movements which, except for the influence of Roosevelt, were on the point of splitting and setting up a new party. There was, in fact, a united front with Roosevelt by all these organisations.

This Roosevelt hegemony over the Farmer-Labour

Party forces has grown even stronger after the election victory. At first the Roosevelt Administration for several months made a big swing to the Right on the current questions of policy that were being dealt with, especially unemployment relief. This greatly pleased the reactionaries. On this basis they launched what they called the "era of good feeling," a reconciliation of all camps that had been fighting in the elections. The worst reactionaries were leading the praise for Roosevelt. Hearst discovered that Roosevelt was not an "agent of Moscow," as he had thought a few weeks before, but a modern version of Andrew Jackson. During these months, the progressive and labour supporters of Roosevelt were very uneasy and sharply critical. But Roosevelt's swing to the Right for the time being came to an end with his proposals, in the beginning of February, for the reorganisation of the Supreme Court.\*

The Supreme Court had cancelled all of the main items of Roosevelt's legislative programme. One of our sharpest criticisms of Roosevelt has been his failure, up until the last weeks, to conduct any effective struggle against this judicial dictatorship. Roosevelt's proposals, however, have placed this issue squarely before the country, and started a political struggle which is going to change the whole face of American politics. The issue is splitting the Democratic Party from top to bottom. The Right-wing of the Democratic Party is forming a single camp with the Republicans. This is forcing the President to move more to the Left to mobilise the masses, who alone can win victory for him on this issue, which has become decisive for Roosevelt's whole course, as well as for the whole political situation at this time.

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\* The Supreme Court established by the Constitution of the United States for the administration of justice "arising under the Constitution, the Laws of the U.S. and Treaties" (Constitution of the U.S.) has usurped powers not granted it by the Constitution, particularly the power to declare certain laws passed by Congress "unconstitutional" and by this means set itself up as the supreme Power in the country. The Supreme Court is composed of nine members appointed for life by the President with the approval of the Senate. At every critical period in the history of the U.S. the Supreme Court was used by the reactionary group to struggle against the people. Thus, the Progressive Presidents of the United States, Jefferson and Lincoln carried on a struggle against the Supreme Court and for its reorganisation. The Supreme Court annulled in the last two years all the important laws passed by the Roosevelt administration which made concessions to the people, especially the N.R.A. and the A.A.A.

On February 5, 1937, Roosevelt, in his message to Congress, proposed to reform the Supreme Court aiming to increase it to 15 members. This proposal would make it possible for him to immediately appoint six new justices. These six new pro-Roosevelt judges would create the majority necessary to protect the Social and Labour legislation advocated by the Roosevelt administration.

Now again, more than ever, all the progressive forces in the country are ready to align themselves with Roosevelt in a great mass crusade which is everywhere developing under the banner of democracy against Fascism. Directly connected with this issue is the whole question of the improvement of the living standards of the masses.

The lines of struggle are drawn sharper than they have been in America since the Civil War. With the development of the Supreme Court issue, with all that flows from it, it has become clear that during Roosevelt's second term there is no perspective that those decisive forces that are necessary for building the Farmer-Labour Party, in the first place the trade unions of the C.I.O., will break with Roosevelt. Thus, we have the situation where the organisation of the forces making for the People's Front in America are growing at a great speed, and at the same time the movement for the organisation of an independent party, the Farmer-Labour Party, is for the time slowing down.

The forces that are consciously orientating on the slogan of the People's Front are growing tremendously. The whole C.I.O. movement is definitely under the influence of the French experience of the People's Front and of the disaster in Germany, caused by the absence of a People's Front. Mass movements inside the Democratic Party are openly operating under this slogan, like the Commonwealth Federation in Washington, which won a large section of the State Government. The same thing is equally true in other organisations. But they are to-day, less than a year ago, prepared to come together to establish the new Farmer-Labour Party. More and more, they tend to postpone their formal party independence. They are finding forms of independent activity within the legal structure of the Democratic Party.

The Supreme Court fight has thrown all the political camps into a state of fluidity. Reactionary forces, including the Right-wing of the Democratic Party, which last year stayed with Roosevelt, are now moving definitely for a new combination.

In this re-grouping of the political forces, it is possible for the Communist Party to broaden the fields of its contacts and co-operation. The work of the Communist Party in the election campaign, the role that it played before the country, had already opened up thousands of doors to it which were closed before. The Communists have close and sympathetic contact with all of the mass organisations that are actively taking part in the progressive side of the big political re-alignment in America. More and more it is possible to move toward collaboration with the socially progressive and democratic groupings.

This has also been proven by the success of a series

of conferences on social and labour legislation, carried through in January and February in 15 States. All of these conferences were successful beyond expectations. The breadth of the representation was unusual. Their unity on all questions of legislative proposals was almost complete and unexampled. At the same time each of these conferences also gave this characteristic—no unanimity on the Farmer-Labour Party. These State conferences in many cases also presented that new phenomenon of a broad united front in which the trade unions played a decisive role, and yet in which the Communist Party officially was accepted without question. This is of special importance; in much of the current united front work the Communists participate only as representatives of mass organisations, and the Party itself is not as yet fully recognised as a participant. It is already a higher stage of the movement when the Communist Party can officially send its delegates. This is a direct result of our constantly-improving position inside the trade unions. This is true, first of all, in the C.I.O., but even in the A. F. of L. our position is also improved.

We believe that in this period, in which it is clear that Roosevelt will be exercising hegemony over these trade union forces and others, that the most effective way towards the People's Front will be the collaboration of these movements inside the Democratic Party, together with the Farmer-Labour Parties where they exist, as in Minnesota, and the Progressive Party in Wisconsin, and the Left forces which are organising in other regions. This is not any change in our main political direction. The building of the Farmer-Labour Party remains the key to this general tactic that would include a broader field. It would enable us to maintain what proved so advantageous in the elections last year—a general unity of all the progressive forces against the semi-Fascist and Fascist reaction, and at the same time to continue, without a break, the building of the Farmer-Labour forces.

## 2. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The problem of organising a serious mass movement against war and Fascism, and for peace, is in America essentially and chiefly the problem of breaking through the ideology of isolation and neutrality. The mass sentiments for peace in America are still dominated with the idea that the road to peace is through neutrality. Our problem is to liberate the masses from this influence as a pre-condition for collective action with the peace forces of the world, a pre-condition for a real international peace policy.

We recently saw how the reactionary camp is able to manipulate the mass sentiments for peace through the neutrality programme. This was in the case of the adoption by Congress of an embargo against democratic Spain. There is really in the U.S. a broad

mass sentiment in favour of Spain. There is a great indignation against the Fascist invaders. This mass sentiment is even in Congress. Yet under the whip of the neutrality slogan, the vote in both Houses of Congress was unanimously for embargo, except one lone vote. It took considerable mass pressure to get a bloc of 18 Congressmen to come out with a measure in Congress directed against Hitler and Mussolini and denouncing the embargo on Spain.

This conception of neutrality, in spite of its appearance of growing strength, is, however, undergoing a crisis and beginning to break up. While being attacked from the Left, it is, at the same time, under heavy fire from the Right. The reactionary forces in America, trying to find the weak points in the Roosevelt administration, seized upon neutrality and have opened up their journalistic guns upon it. There is already general recognition that neutrality is not realisable. But there is not any generally recognised alternative policy.

The Communist Party is trying to find those links that will tie-up an international programme with the existing mass sentiments for peace. There is widespread mass prejudice in the U.S.A. against the League of Nations. This is not the best link to connect the mass peace sentiment in America with collective security. The C.P. is trying to find that link by placing the policy in terms of traditional American precedents, something clearly not imported from Europe of which the masses are suspicious. In spite of the fact that the League of Nations was the brain-child of Woodrow Wilson, America has disowned it and now looks upon it as an alien thing. The Communist Party is, therefore, taking up that American contribution to international policy which is not repudiated, namely, the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris, outlawing war "as an instrument of national policy," and signed by more than 50 nations. The C.P. has adopted the following programme on this question, which has met with a very friendly response from all sorts of circles:—

### "POINTS FOR LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH AN EFFECTIVE PEACE POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES

"The only way to keep America out of war is to help keep war out of the world.

"An effective peace policy for the United States could be worked out on the basis of established covenants already signed between the United States and the rest of the world, by a law with the following simple points:—

"1. Require that the President shall take notice when any nation signatory to the Kellogg Pact shall violate the provisions of that Pact by making war,



whether officially declared or not; and shall call it to the attention of Congress;

“ 2. That when the violation of this treaty with the United States is established, an embargo shall be placed against all economic transactions with the guilty Power until the aggression is stopped and reparation made;

“ 3. That any government not itself an aggressor, in violation of the Kellogg Pact, but suffering from an attack by enemies from within or without, shall not be hindered in its continuance of normal commercial relations with the United States;

“ 4. That a violator of the Kellogg Pact should be considered to be that State which is the first to declare war upon another State; which uses its armed land, naval, or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, to invade the territory, or to attack the vessels, or to blockade the ports of another State;

“ 5. That a State should also be considered the aggressor, in violation of the Kellogg Pact, when it gives support to armed parties or factions engaged in insurrection against the democratically-established government of another nation;

“ 6. That in accordance with the principles laid down in the Buenos Aires Conference, the United States shall consult with other countries in case of war or the imminent danger of war.”

### 3. THE EDUCATION OF THE MASSES

The Socialist Party in the election campaign thought it had secured a great advantage over the Communist Party by coming out with the “Left”-sounding slogan: “Socialism Against Capitalism!” as opposed to our slogan of: “Democracy Against Fascism!” The Socialists declared that this meant that they were the Party of Socialism, while the Communists had “abandoned” Socialism. The Communists met the issue squarely, and made use, precisely, of this Socialist Party attack against them in order to explain not only the slogan: “Democracy Against Fascism!” but also to explain what is Socialism, how Socialism can be achieved, and why the proposals of the Socialist Party are not calculated to bring Socialism?

The Communists also took advantage of the opportunity for polemising with all sorts of people to bring out the questions of Socialism, Soviet Power, etc. For example, while we were making a head-on attack against the Republicans, and criticising in milder terms the Democratic platform, we took advantage of one phrase in the Democratic platform in order to have an open discussion on Soviet Power. As an example of how this question was handled is one

paragraph of the radio speech that was broadcast over the country, we said:

“ The Democratic platform takes a gratuitous fling at the ‘despotism of Communism.’ It would have been the part of wisdom, not to speak of good taste, at least to be silent on this point, when the same platform complains that our American institutions are defeating the expressed will of the people, through the Supreme Court, at a moment when Communism in the Soviet Union has just proclaimed a Constitution, the most democratic in all history, which guarantees to every citizen a job at union wages, with full social insurance, paid vacations, and opportunity for education, leisure and culture. When America, the richest country in the world, gives its workers half of what Communism gives in the Soviet Union, it will be time to boast.”

Another example was the case where the big newspaper barrage was made against the Communist Party, that it, a revolutionary party, was but hiding its revolutionary face under a reformist programme. The Communists answered, of course: we are a revolutionary party, but we are not proposing revolution in this election; we are a revolutionary party, and about this there is nothing horrible or shameful, as the Hearst press likes to make it appear. By their attacks they are only dishonouring the American revolutionary traditions. Then the Communists proceeded to bring forward all of the revolutionary traditions of the founders of America, and proclaimed our Party as the American representative of these people.

The Communist Party has developed an energetic campaign against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism coming forward in the role of the agents of the most reactionary forces of the country, ready for any criminal and wrecking activity against the working class. In California, Minneapolis and other localities the Trotskyists allied themselves with the bosses against strikers. They are in alliance with the A.F.L. bureaucracy against the C.I.O. In the State of Minnesota, where the Farmer-Labour Party won a great victory, winning a majority in the State Legislature, the Steel Trust utilised the Trotskyists in an attempt to smash the results of this victory. Every Socialist, who supports the united front, is attacked by the Trotskyists. Penetrating into the Socialist Party, the Trotskyists began immediately their provocative work there, first and foremost trying to hamper the joint activities of the S.P. and C.P. Masking themselves behind the slogan: “Defeat your own imperialism first!” the Trotskyists won the S.P. to objective support of Trotsky’s pact with Hitler and the Japanese militarists. While they openly spoke about the coming war between the U.S. and Japan, they preached the necessity to fight, by all means, against all tendencies to rapprochement between the U.S. and the bulwark of peace, the Soviet Union; they most bitterly assailed collaboration between the U.S. and the Soviet Union for the preservation of

peace. In the solidarity campaign for Spain, the overwhelming sentiment of its membership favoured the entrance of the S.P. into the united front, but here, again, the Trotskyist wreckers showed their counter-revolutionary colours. Using the name of the S.P., they distributed leaflets at all meetings for the Spanish people, attacking the People's Front, calling for its dissolution, even issuing the slogans of open treason: "Turn the guns against the People's Front!" "The People's Front is betraying the Spanish revolution!" Although the Trotskyist reserves in the U.S.A. are insignificantly small, it would be the most serious mistake to under-estimate their capacity for bringing harm to the working class and the people of the U.S.A.

In its entire mass work, the Communist Party explained in detail the essence of capitalism, of Socialism, of the present stage of capitalism as tending to the destruction of democracy, and how only in a Socialist society is there complete disappearance of all those factors that breed Fascism and war. In

addition to this mass agitational phase, in which by radio, leaflets, pamphlets, etc., the C.P. has reached millions, we have a growing circulation of Marxist-Leninist classics, reaching hundreds of thousands, as, for example, "The Communist Manifesto"; Lenin—"The State and Revolution"; Stalin—"Foundations of Leninism," all in single editions of 100,000; Stalin—"On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R." (530,000 copies); Dimitrov—"Report at the VIIth Congress of the Comintern" (350,000 copies), etc. In addition, the Party has published a few serious Marxist books by American authors.

The C.P.U.S.A. is faced with the tremendous task of further bringing before the broadest masses of America the full significance of the question of Socialism and its relation to the immediate situation of the country, the immediate struggle of the American masses for the creation of the People's Front against Fascism and war. This requires even more serious and sustained attention by the C.P.U.S.A.

## THE RENAISSANCE OF THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

By WM. Z. FOSTER

FOR many years the conservatism of the trade union movement in the United States, represented chiefly by the American Federation of Labour, has been world-notorious. The A.F. of L. leaders, open defenders of capitalism, have opposed from the Right even the most opportunist forms of Social Democracy, considering the Second International "too revolutionary" for their affiliation. They have fought against the formation of a Labour Party, their policy being to keep the workers affiliated to the big capitalist parties. They have clung to the antiquated craft union system in a country of trustified industry and mass production. They are indeed "labour lieutenants of the bourgeoisie." The general effects of their regime of corruption and class collaboration have been to render the American working class almost powerless: the workers have no mass political party of their own, and their trade unions, largely composed of skilled workers, include hardly more than 15 per cent. of the organisable workers.

At bottom, the causes for this ultra-conservative trade unionism were to be found in a number of economic, political and social factors, including the relatively favourable economic position of the large labour aristocracy; the presence of millions of immi-

grant workers of many nationalities with different social and cultural conditions; the passage of many workers into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and some even into the capitalist class during the period of rapid industrial expansion, etc. All these factors tended to check the growth of class consciousness among the workers, to stimulate petty-bourgeois illusions among them, and to prevent the growth of powerful trade unions, a mass working-class party, and a revolutionary perspective.

Now, however, the picture is rapidly changing in the United States. Seven years of crisis and depression, with millions of unemployed living in semi-starvation and with the employed workers suffering heavily reduced living standards, with the growth of an incipient Fascist reaction, etc., are having profound effects. The working masses are rapidly becoming radicalised. They are beginning to cast off their capitalistic illusions, and to develop a more militant spirit. They are at last taking up seriously the questions of building a powerful labour movement and developing class political action. In short, the American trade union movement is at a turning point; it is breaking with its old conservative past and is crossing the threshold of a new era of progress.

## THE RISE OF THE C.I.O.

The centre of this new trade union renaissance is the Committee for Industrial Organisation (C.I.O.). The C.I.O., headed by John L. Lewis, is composed of 15 unions with some 2,000,000 members. It was formed about a year ago with a programme of organising the armies of unorganised workers in the mass production industries into industrial unions. The actual establishment of the C.I.O. did not take place until after Lewis had fought for two years to induce the A.F. of L. itself to undertake this work. Lewis himself has a very conservative background, but he saw the necessity for industrial unionism. His proposals, however, were rejected by the craft union reactionaries — Green, Woll, Frey, Wharton, Hutcheson, etc.—who dominate the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. The Lewis forces then launched the C.I.O. and began this fundamental organisation work themselves, meanwhile maintaining their regular affiliation with the A.F. of L.

In the intervening months since then the C.I.O. has been signally successful in its organisation work. In the automobile industry, in February of this year, the C.I.O. carried on a strike against the giant General Motors Corporation, involving 150,000 workers. This was followed by another strike of 70,000 against the Chrysler Co. Both were sit-down strikes (occupation of the factories) and both were won, forcing the automobile kings to grant many economic concessions and, for the first time, to recognise trade unionism in their plants. The auto workers' union grew almost overnight from a skeleton organisation to a union of 300,000 members and it is still rapidly expanding.

This great success of the C.I.O. in the automobile industry was even surpassed by its victory in steel. After a several months' organising campaign, and right upon the heels of the General Motors strike, the C.I.O. forced the great moguls of the United States Steel Corporation to meet with Lewis and agree to recognise the C.I.O. steel workers' union. This union has also leaped from almost nothing to an organisation of at least 300,000 members and is still growing swiftly. The powerful General Electric Company was also compelled to sign an agreement with the rapidly developing C.I.O. radio and electrical workers' union.

Besides these notable victories, the C.I.O. has won strikes and is conducting big organising campaigns in a number of other industries, such as glass, shipbuilding, rubber, oil, textile, etc. The success in auto and steel have created a veritable fever of organisation and struggle among the workers in various industries. Most of the many strikes taking place are of the sit-down type and are extremely militant in character. The workers, fresh from their victory over the Landon-Hearst reaction in the November elections,

are in a fighting mood and ready for vigorous action. The C.I.O. struggles are also favoured by the improved economic situation and by the tolerant attitude of the Roosevelt Government towards the trade union organisation of the workers in the mass production industries.

In the many C.I.O. organisation campaigns and strikes the Communists are playing an important role, co-operating freely with the C.I.O. Especially is this true of the auto and steel industries. In the vital General Motors strike the Communists were an important factor and this was also true in the bitterly fought strike of 40,000 marine transport workers (A.F. of L.), the winning of which stimulated the workers' fighting spirit generally.

## THE SPLIT IN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

The reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L., fearing for the safety of their fat jobs and their corrupt regime, are bitterly fighting against the advance of the militant C.I.O. No sooner was the C.I.O. formed early in 1936 as an organising committee than the A.F. of L. Executive Council condemned it as a rival, dual organisation. Then, a few months later, the Executive Council, in flagrant violation of the A.F. of L. constitution and in the face of a great mass protest of trade unionists generally, arbitrarily suspended the C.I.O. unions from A.F. of L. affiliation. The Tampa Convention of the A.F. of L. in October, 1936, made up principally of craft union bureaucrats and in which the C.I.O. unions were denied the right to vote, confirmed the suspension of the Lewis unions.

The Communist Party had played a very active part in mobilising the trade unionists against the suspension of the C.I.O. unions by the A.F. of L. Executive Council, and it now also took up the cudgels against the splitting action of the packed Tampa Convention. The Party put out the slogan, "Keep the split from spreading." It called upon the workers to refuse to suspend the C.I.O. locals from the city and state central labour councils, and thus to keep the movement intact at the bottom in spite of the split among the officialdom. The Party also outlined a policy for re-uniting the warring groups under the banner of the A.F. of L.

Realising the mass resistance to their splitting policy, the Executive Council reactionaries did not dare at that time to order the local councils to suspend the C.I.O. unions. Thus was presented the peculiar situation of a split at the top of the Labour movement and unity in its basic organs. This unity at the bottom was highly favourable to the C.I.O. as it was thus enabled to go ahead with its organising campaigns in auto and steel unmolested by local A.F. of L. sabotage. In fact, the friendly co-opera-

tion of many A.F. of L. city labour councils was of great, if not decisive, importance in the crucial General Motors strike.

Deeply alarmed at the significant General Motors strike, the A.F. of L. Executive Council renewed its splitting offensive. President Green, of the A.F. of L., denounced the strike as an outlaw affair, he condemned the sit-down tactics as illegal and imported from Moscow, and he repudiated the victorious strike settlement as a defeat and a betrayal of trade union principles. Later Green issued an instruction to the city central labour councils to unseat delegates of C.I.O. local unions and he has already revoked the charter of one council, of the very many such councils that have refused to obey his splitting orders.

Meanwhile, the C.I.O. has not taken these blows lying down. The Miners' Union (C.I.O.), of which Lewis is President and Green was a member, expelled Green as a strikebreaker and a traitor. The C.I.O. locals and sympathisers are resisting Green's suspension order in the local labour councils and the C.I.O. has announced that it will issue charters for new councils where its locals are expelled. Meanwhile, the C.I.O. has redoubled its organising efforts in steel, auto, oil, textile and many other industries.

Thus the situation now is that Green wants the split and is doing all possible to deepen it, while Lewis, with his supporters growing rapidly both inside and outside the A.F. of L., is resisting the disruptive efforts of Green.

The C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. now practically constitute two distinct national trade union centres. The split, although steadily deepening, is, however, not fully completed. The C.I.O. unions are not yet officially expelled from the A.F. of L. (their status is one of suspension) and, besides this, the trade union movement still remains united at the bottom, in the city and State labour councils, to which the C.I.O. unions, in the main, are still affiliated. And there the situation stands at the present time of writing, the end of March, 1937.

#### THE RELATION OF TRADE UNION FORCES

As between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. is numerically considerably the stronger, although its forces are not yet fully consolidated. The A.F. of L. claims a total membership of 3,586,567. But from this figure must be deducted over 1,000,000 C.I.O. members who have been suspended and who have since hugely increased their numbers. Besides, there are several unions in the A.F. of L. (printers, lumber workers, fur workers, etc.) totalling at least 200,000 members, which would promptly quit the A.F. of L. and join the C.I.O. if called upon to do it. Besides this, the C.I.O. has a tremendous body of active sympathisers in the A.F. of L., several hundred thousand at least. Not counting its large general

following in the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. has now at least 2,000,000 actual members and it is growing with extreme rapidity, because of its successful organising campaigns in auto, steel, textile, etc. Actually, therefore, the C.I.O. is numerically larger than the A.F. of L., and this factor daily grows more favourable to the C.I.O.

The C.I.O. is also far more strategically situated in industry than is the A.F. of L. The main strength of its 15 affiliated unions lies in the basic and mass production industries—coal mining, 500,000; auto, 300,000; steel, 300,000; textile, 90,000; oil, 80,000; and some 300,000 in the rubber, electric, aluminium, metal, mining, shipbuilding, printing and other industries. Besides this, the C.I.O. has a solid bloc of 400,000 members in the clothing industry. On the other hand, the A.F. of L. finds its chief strength in the lighter, non-trusted industries, and especially among skilled workers and government employees. Its main force is the building trades, 700,000 members. The other important industrial positions of the A.F. of L. are some 400,000 shop, trade and office workers in the railroad industry (the running trades are in independent unions) and a strong organisation in the marine transport, although the great bulk of these workers are open supporters of the C.I.O. and will eventually probably join it.

The advanced position of the C.I.O. over the A.F. of L. also expresses itself in a variety of other ways. It is based on the principle of industrial unionism, while the A.F. of L. still clings to craft unionism; it is developing a new and progressive leadership, as against the hard-boiled reactionaries of the A.F. of L.; it is awakening the political consciousness of the workers and arousing their militancy; whereas the reactionary A.F. of L. leaders have always been a brake on the class development of the workers.

Thus the C.I.O. is superior to the A.F. of L. numerically, in strategic position and in general political tendency. It is the more decisive of the two national trade union centres and it represents the broad path along which American labour needs to progress. When the A.F. of L. reactionaries rejected Lewis' programme and suspended the C.I.O. unions they signed their own political death warrants as the major leaders of American trade unionism.

#### THE FIGHT FOR TRADE UNION UNITY

The split in the American Labour movement raises sharply the question of establishing trade union unity. The great employers are quite alert to use the right wing of A.F. of L. against the progressive C.I.O. In the auto and steel industries they worked openly with the bosses against the C.I.O., even offering to furnish leadership to the company unions to beat the new industrial unions. Hence, the workers need impera-

tively to put an end to such a menace by moving towards the achievement of trade union unity.

In the eventually unified trade union movement the C.I.O. forces and policies will doubtless play the central role. In fact, the fight for unity resolves itself into a matter of extending all possible support to the new C.I.O. centre, while at the same time developing a movement looking towards the uniting of all the unions in one general federation.

Of first importance is to give the maximum possible support to the C.I.O.'s campaigns to organise the millions of unorganised workers. Success in this vital work is the dynamic factor in the whole situation; the key to the future development of the American trade union movement.

Also every effort should be put forth to keep the Green reactionaries from further splitting the trade unions. Especially important in this respect is to encourage the widespread refusal of the A.F. of L. city and State labour federations to carry out Green's order to exclude the C.I.O. delegates. This refusal, where successful, has the effect of keeping the Labour movement intact at the bottom and of throwing the rebellious local federations definitely into the orbit of the C.I.O.

It would seem necessary also to contemplate the eventual holding of a well-prepared national union convention, called by the C.I.O., the A.F. of L. and the independent railroad unions to unify the whole Labour movement. And in the meantime, so far as possible without deepening the split, the C.I.O. should consolidate its forces, both outside and inside the A.F. of L.

Of course, the Green reactionaries will bitterly fight this great unity movement as long as they can. But unless the writer is generally mistaken, they face in the C.I.O. a mass movement that they cannot beat down. The handwriting is on the wall for them and their reactionary regime; the American Labour movement is going to experience a New Deal of its own.

## THE PERSPECTIVE

The basic significance of the broad organising campaigns of the C.I.O. is that the American workers are finally beginning to organise as a class, both economically and politically. Heretofore the A.F. of L., with its narrow craft unionism and its anti-working-class political politics, has definitely hindered such class organisation. The class unionism of the C.I.O. is rapidly changing the make-up and outlook of the trade unions.

The advance of the C.I.O. is already resulting in vast changes in the Labour movement. It is producing a new and progressive Labour leadership, the Lewis-Hillman group; it is developing the new trade union form, industrial unionism; it is applying new tactics, the sit-down strike; it is extending trade

unionism into new fields, the basic trustified industries; it is winning real victories, instead of the defeats and weak compromises of A.F. of L. craft unionism; it is rousing the militancy of the working class generally and dealing heavy blows at the A.F. of L. theories and practices of class collaboration.

The C.I.O. is also advancing the working class in politics. It displays many progressive political tendencies; it has a sharp and growing anti-Fascist, anti-war trend; it was a powerful factor in defeating the Landon reaction in the November elections; it presses Roosevelt from the Left and, as it organises the Left wing in the Democratic Party, it is driving in the direction of a Farmer-Labour Party; it strongly supports the trade union organisation of Negroes; its leaders, unlike those of the A.F. of L., are carrying on no slander campaign against the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Party. In short, around the C.I.O. are grouping the major mass forces that should, with effective leadership, eventually crystallise into a great American People's Front.

The C.I.O. has already forced a sharp change in the traditional anti-trade union policy of finance capital. Hitherto the big trust magnates enforced their infamous shop policy in the mass production industries. But the C.I.O., by its big organising campaigns and aggressive strikes, has broken this down, shattered the company union system and compelled the reluctant great capitalists to recognise the C.I.O. unions in the strategic auto, steel and electrical manufacturing industries. This is a big achievement and it places John L. Lewis in a strong position of leadership of American labour.

It would be idle, however, to think that finance capital will tamely submit to the advance of the militant C.I.O. unions. Already their publicity agents are singing the praises of "strikeless England," are advocating that various methods of State incorporation, semi-compulsory arbitration, strike right limitation, etc., be enacted so as to hamstring the American unions somewhat as was done to the British unions after their betrayed national general strike. They will doubtless try to make a bargain with the C.I.O. upon some such class collaboration basis.

The big employers are also manœuvring for a more favourable time to smash violently the new unions if they cannot otherwise destroy their effectiveness. In fighting the C.I.O., the employers now face the triple handicap of a militant working class, a rising economic situation and the policy of the Roosevelt Government. But they expect all this will soon change. For one thing they expect a fresh economic crisis within a year or two, and they hope to either defeat Roosevelt or to "take him into camp" by an agreement with him. In any event, we may be sure they are biding their time for a good opportunity to castrate or destroy the C.I.O. unions.

Great struggles are now taking place in the United States and still greater struggles are in immediate prospect. The masses are being rapidly radicalised. So swift is the realignment of class forces that in the past year it has caused deep splits in the Republican Party, Democratic Party, Socialist Party, Townsend movement, Coughlin movement, as well as in the A.F. of L. itself.

The Communist Party gives all possible support to

the present great organising campaigns; it exercises the maximum initiative of leadership in these mass struggles; it is the indefatigable champion of trade union unity; it strives to develop the C.I.O. movement in the direction of creating a great People's Front. And in the doing of all this it must be alert to extend its own leadership among the workers and in the developing struggle, to build itself into a mass Communist Party.

## THE NEGRO MASSES IN THE U.S.A.

By JAMES W. FORD

THE Negro people occupy a special position in the economic, political and social life of the United States. The ruling class has developed special forms of oppression of the Negro people, such as racial discrimination, social antagonisms, political inequalities, economic distinctions, and cultural hindrances. The Negro people, in the interest of their liberation and cultural advancement, have made a rich contribution to the advancement of the cause of democracy and the revolutionary and democratic traditions in the United States.

According to the official figures of the Government, there are 11,900,000 Negroes, but actually there are closer to 14 million, or over 10 per cent. of the total population of America. The majority of the Negro people occupy a special section in the U.S., the "Black Belt" in the south, where four-fifths of the Negro people live.

There are eight large cities in the U.S. with a large Negro population: New York City, 327,000; Chicago, 233,000; Philadelphia, 219,000; Baltimore, 142,000; Washington, D.C., 132,000; New Orleans, 129,000; Detroit, 120,000; Birmingham, 100,000. The Negro people in these large cities have developed a special life; they live a ghetto existence. In New York City we have the "Negro city of Harlem." Harlem is the political, cultural and social centre of the Negro people of the U.S.A.; it exerts influence among Negroes throughout the world.

In the Southern States there is the basic concentration of the Negro people. Thus, for example, the State of Alabama has 2,600,000 total population—with 944,000 Negroes. In some places in the State of Alabama, the Negroes are 80 per cent. of the total population. South Carolina has 793,000 Negroes, just a little less than 50 per cent. of the population. The State of Mississippi has 1,009,718 Negroes and 996,000 whites, the only State that has a majority of Negroes.

One-half of the Negro population in the U.S. is

engaged in agriculture. Eighty per cent. of the Negro farm population are farm labourers, sharecroppers and tenants; only 20 per cent. of the Negro farm population are part or full owners. Thus farming is the basis of the economic life of the Negro people in the U.S.A.

There are about 2 million Negro workers in industry, i.e., 14.3 per cent. of the Negro population. They are found, primarily, in the following industries: steel, mining, packing, automobile and railway. There are about 1,600,000 women Negro domestic workers or servants. In the mining industry, about 250,000 are Negroes. In the steel industry, out of 450,000 workers engaged in that industry, about 100,000 are Negroes. The Negro proletariat was drawn into industry particularly during and after the world war; in other words, it is relatively a new proletariat.

There are about 50,000 Negro school teachers, 6,800 physicians, lawyers and dentists. A considerable Negro "intelligentsia" has developed in the U.S.A. This is a tremendous cultural force, aiding the advancement of the Negro People's Front.

There are about 20,000 retail store operators; altogether, there are about 70,000 Negro small business enterprises.

Since 1880 there have been developing Negro banks. In 1927 there were 21, and after the economic crisis they were reduced to about 12. There are several Negro millionaires.

The economic and social status of the Negroes is characterised by Jim-Crowism. In industry the Negroes receive less pay for the same kind of work as the white workers, and worse working conditions. The ruling class uses the cheap labour of the Negro workers against the white working class. This was one of the main causes on the basis of which the bourgeoisie has been able to develop antagonism between the Negro and white workers. The middle class is also effected by the Jim-Crow policies and

practices of the American ruling class. The Negro teachers receive about half the pay of the corresponding white teachers, and only in some of the rural sections they get as much as 500 dollars a year.

Illiteracy among the Negroes in 1930 was estimated by the Government as 16.3 per cent., whereas for whites it was 4 per cent. In the State of Mississippi, whose population is more than 50 per cent. Negroes, for each white child 45 dollars is spent per year, for the Negro 5 dollars per child.

In the U.S. more than 5 million Negro people belong to churches.

A number of political inequalities hinder the Negroes from exercising their political rights guaranteed by the Constitution, such, e.g., is the system of poll taxes as a requirement for voting; the poverty-stricken Negroes are unable to pay these poll taxes. A second hindrance for the Negroes is the requirement of certain educational qualifications, e.g., the ability to interpret the Constitution to the satisfaction of an election official. These election officials can disqualify a Negro voter for not knowing the meaning of a word. A third factor is the barring of Negroes from the democratic primaries by resolutions in the Democratic Party; for example, in the State of Texas.

Inter-marriage among whites and Negroes is forbidden in most of the States, and in all the Southern States, and even in those States where there is no law against it, custom is against it.

Another factor in the life of the Negro people, which is well-known throughout the world, is lynching. There were officially reported 5,000 Negroes lynched since 1880.

These are the things that unite the Negroes in a struggle against their special forms of exploitation and oppression.

During the last year, particularly, our Party has in the field of its Negro work begun to realise on a mass scale the line of the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, particularly during the election campaign. The Negroes have traditionally been tied up with the Republican Party. The Republican Party was in its time the party of emancipation. And for that reason, up until the recent elections, the Negroes have held complete allegiance to this party. But in the recent elections there was a great turn of the Negroes from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party. One has to understand this traditional tie of the Negroes to the Republican Party in order to understand fully the significance of the swing of the Negroes to Roosevelt in the last election.

The Negroes hold important positions, politically, in a number of northern key States, where they have a numerical voting strength of about two millions—in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, New York, New Jersey. Because of the American voting

methods and forms, they sometimes exercise a greater influence in the elections than their numbers would indicate. All of the parties make a special effort to win the Negroes in the elections. They make special appeals to them on the basis of race. But in the recent elections, despite the fact that the Republican Party made every effort to win the Negroes, there was a landslide for Roosevelt in the election. In the New England States, 75 per cent. of the Negroes voted for Roosevelt, in New Jersey 65 per cent., in West Virginia 60 per cent., in Missouri 60 per cent., in New York (Harlem and Brooklyn) the Negroes voted 80 per cent. for Roosevelt. And even in certain sections of the south the Negroes voted for the Democratic Party. In Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina, 3,000 Negroes voted in each of these two cities for the Democratic Party, and two Negro magistrates were elected on the democratic ticket there.

Twenty-five Negroes were elected to the State Legislatures of nine States on the Democratic Party ticket. One Negro was elected to the U.S. Congress. Our Party had a lot to do with this achievement of the Negro people, by its general programme for the Negroes and also around the campaign of a Negro candidate for Vice-President (the author of the present article), which was well received by the Negro people.

Of special importance was the unusually big election campaign in the south. Comrade Browder, our presidential candidate, made an extensive tour of the south, particularly in Florida, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia. The campaign made in these States had a great influence among the Negroes and whites, and helped in popularising our Party programme.

As the vice-presidential candidate of the Communist Party, I was scheduled to speak in Durham, the first time since the Civil War that a Negro running for high office had ever spoken in the State to a mixed audience. We had engaged the County Court House in that city. Reactionaries had threatened to break up the meeting. I came to Durham on a Sunday afternoon. The situation was very tense. I was scheduled to deliver a radio broadcast before the meeting. It was because of the correctness of our approach generally, and in particular in this radio speech, that we were able to overcome the reactionary opposition and hold our meeting. I dealt with the democratic traditions of the people in the south, we showed that the interests of the Negroes and whites in the south coincided at many points. In part, I stated:

“It was the statesmen of this part of the country who, in the revolutionary period ushered in the birth of the United States of America. It was they who gave us those fundamental principles of democracy that every American cherishes and ought to defend. No one can speak of these

contributions without recalling the illustrious services to us and to all mankind of Thomas Jefferson, the writer of the Declaration of Independence. Nor can we speak of the Constitution of these United States without recalling that it was the influence of Thomas Jefferson that gave us the first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights.

"No one can recall the highlights of our history without paying homage to a fighter against certain privileged elements of his day—Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Likewise, the whole world pays tribute to that great son of the South, Abraham Lincoln, of Kentucky.

"But when we recall these names and their achievements we must to-day pause to consider those sinister forces that have combined to destroy all that these men fought for. . ."

Then I dealt with the relation of Negroes and whites. I stated:

"It is these Democratic leaders, that is, the reactionary Democratic leaders, who maintain Jim Crow laws in plain violation of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States that guarantee rights to the Negroes. Segregation, Jim Crowism, lynching, legal and otherwise, are some of the methods whereby the greedy ruling class of the South holds my people down. And by so doing they also enforce misery, poverty and degradation upon the poor white people of the South, keeping them as well as the Negroes, in a condition of serfdom."

It is this approach in the south that made it possible for us to attract to us support of the more progressive elements of the whites.

The same can be said of the city of Richmond, Virginia, where the reactionaries of the city developed a campaign against Communists speaking in the south, and particularly a Negro Communist. They were successful in getting the majority of the Board of Education to cancel the permit (the meeting was scheduled in a public school). But there developed a broad campaign among the more progressive sections of the white population, who demanded that the right of freedom of speech should be allowed even to a Negro Communist in the south.

As a result of our election campaign among the Negroes, there is going to take place a political realignment among the Negroes, even in the south. A differentiation is taking place, and will further develop in the Democratic Party generally, and in particular in the south. The Negro people, although held back by political inequalities, are going to play a role in the progressive development in the Democratic Party in the south. This will depend, however, on how much the Communist Party develops the campaign against the political inequalities, for the right to vote, against the poll-tax, etc. There is only one party in the south, the Democratic Party, and the Negro people are taking a definite position on support to Negro candidates on the Democratic Party ticket. The reactionary southern landlord class is fighting against the progressive section of the Democratic Party. The mass of the toilers, Negro and white, as well as the progressive sections of the Liberal south-

ern whites, are going to be a force around which a progressive section in line with a Farmer-Labour Party movement will develop.

Historically there is a precedent on the progressive role of Negroes politically in the South, in the Reconstruction period. Following the Civil War, most of the States of the south were controlled by Negro Legislators, who, of course, were placed there by the Republican Party in order to consolidate its power over the defeated southern ruling class. I want to give one example. In the State of South Carolina, in 1869, there were 88 Negroes in the State Legislature, and 67 whites; in 1871, 85 Negroes and 69 whites; in 1873, 96 Negroes and 59 whites. There were seven Negro Congressmen elected to the U.S. Congress from that State. There were two Lieutenant-Governors, there was one State Treasurer and one State Secretary. To-day, Negroes occupy no positions in local or State governments in the south. During the Reconstruction period, the Negroes who dominated the State Legislatures instituted the present public school system in the south.

The Southern Negro Youth Congress is a very important part of the development of the whole Negro movement in the south. The important decisions taken by this Youth Congress on the right to vote, on the unity of Negroes and whites, the special problems of the Negroes in the south, share-cropping, supporting of trade union organisations among Negro workers, was an historic step forward. This movement is important, because it is the first open legal movement in the south. Heretofore, broad, progressive movements of the Negro people in the south have been very narrow and not tolerated by the white ruling classes. This Congress was important, also, because young southern white workers spoke from the same platform, representing the interests of the southern whites.

The proclamation of the Southern Negro Youth Congress said the following:—

"We are proud of every inch of Southern soil, we and our fathers before us have given toil and sweat of their brow that the land of our birth might prosper. . . ."

"We realise that the majority of the white Southerners are not responsible for the conditions under which we live. These conditions are caused not by the many, but by the few, those who profit by placing white labour against black labour to the harm of both."

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The American Federation of Labour, since its existence, has followed a policy of Jim-Crowism and isolation; a policy against Negroes joining the trade unions. But with the advent of the C.I.O. movement, the Negro question is taking on a new trend that will have tremendous possibilities for organising Negroes in trade unions, and will have, also, great significance for the whole Negro population of the U.S.A. The



C.I.O. has taken steps to organise the Negro workers in the trade unions. The C.I.O. Negro organisers prepared a preliminary conference that took up the question of bringing Negroes into the steel union, and on the basis of this preliminary conference went to the Steel Workers' Organising Committee and got their co-operation in organising another conference of Negroes at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on February 6, 1937. They got the full co-operation of the Steel Organising Committee. They had 110 organisations represented at this conference by 165 delegates from 80,000 workers.

Phil Murray, one of the right-hand lieutenants of John L. Lewis, came to this conference and spoke. He made a very great impression upon the delegates, pledging the support of the union for the organisation of the Negroes. This conference not only consisted of delegates of the Negro steel workers, but also of other sections of the Negro population, leaders of fraternal organisations, leaders of the various national organisations of the Negro people, preachers. This conference is significant not only for the further organisation of Negroes in steel, but for the Negro movement as a whole. The Communist Party, particularly the Negro Communists, are throwing their full support to the further development of this campaign.

At the same time, a struggle is being carried on for equal rights for Negroes inside the A.F. of L. Recently, in a meeting in New York, called by national

Negro leaders, a programme was worked out for breaking down the bars in the railroad unions, and a committee was organised for this purpose.

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The National Negro Congress was representing a cross section of the Negro people from all parts of the country, and was the first step toward creating a Negro People's Front in the U.S.A. Its programme was a people's programme, involving the varied special interests and demands of the Negro people.

The further broadening of the National Negro Congress depends on bringing in the outstanding Negro organisations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People which has a long history in the struggles of the Negro people, and the Urban League. Some of the leaders of these organisations participate in the Congress individually, but they do not do so in the name of their organisations. The Congress is still further broadening its approach to other sections of the Negro people, such as the Negro petty-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, in order to become a broad organisation of the Negro people.

The struggle for the creation of a broad Negro People's Front in the U.S.A. against race oppression, against Fascism and war, is assuming an ever-broader scope, involving the various strata of the Negro people of the U.S.A. This movement can become a powerful factor in the struggle for a general anti-Fascist front in the U.S.A.

## THE IDEA OF A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE AGAINST FASCIST AGGRESSION IS MATURING IN SCANDINAVIA

By R. MAGNUS

**I**N March, Stauning, Social-Democratic Prime Minister of Denmark, gave a number of public lectures in Sweden and Norway. In the Swedish university city of Lund he lectured at the Students' Union; in Stockholm he spoke at the festival of the "Norden Association"—in Oslo—on the invitation of the Norwegian Labour Party. The audiences were of a varied character, but the subject was the same, namely, co-operation between the northern countries. In effect, however, Stauning spoke *against* such co-operation.

The Prime Minister of Denmark carried on a real campaign. Against whom? Was it against Hitler Fascism and its destructive work in the Scandinavian countries? No! it was against the idea that defence

against German Fascism is possible and necessary. He asked:

"Is it the task of Denmark to be the watchdog of the north or to carry out other sentry functions? A northern defensive alliance is a Utopia."

The problem of a northern defensive alliance is a constant feature on the pages of all trends of the Scandinavian press. This alone is proof of the great interest taken by the masses of the people in this question. And there can be no doubt that public opinion in the Scandinavian countries, and especially among the working class, is inclined towards a positive solution of the problem. The head of the Danish Government engages in "prophylactics" against such

sentiments. For instance, on the eve of the conference of Ministers of four northern countries (including Iceland and Finland), which was convened on April 20th in Helsingfors, he let it be understood that the Danish Government did not wish the question of the danger of Fascist aggression to be raised at the conference.

German Fascism welcomed Stauning's declaration. It did not miss the chance to give him some further advice about Danish foreign policy and, so as to make it more convincing, backed it up with threats.

Hitherto, Hitler Germany has had good grounds for being satisfied with the policy of the Danish Government. When, in April, 1935, after the re-introduction of compulsory military service in Germany, the Council of the League of Nations unanimously condemned this act, the only member of the Council to refrain from voting was the Danish Foreign Minister, Munch. After the occupation of the Rhineland, the *Völkischer Beobachter* showered praises on this same Munch for having "defended Germany with extraordinary zeal in the League of Nations."

German Fascism is able to "work" unhindered in Denmark itself. The country is covered with a network of National Socialist organisations. German "correspondents" and "commercial representatives" uncerimoniously engage in military and economic espionage, while the Government radio station broadcasts Hitler's speeches just as though Denmark were already a province of the "Third Empire." Hitler Germany forced a commercial agreement, extremely profitable for itself, on Denmark. According to this agreement, Denmark undertook to supply Germany with agricultural produce to the value of 88 million kroner, and in return to take from Germany industrial goods which she could produce herself or buy cheaper in other countries. Denmark does not receive stable currency for her goods, while she herself is compelled to pay for part of the imports from Germany in non-German currency.

Naturally, in such conditions, German Fascism has no need to be bashful as to its other claims. The "green frontier," the new post-war Danish-German frontier, is not infrequently referred to in Hitler's speeches as one of Germany's "bleeding wounds." The German newspaper, *Militär-Wochenblatt*, asserts that Germany's "air frontier lies to the north of the Belte." Thus it is not only a question of the narrow frontier strip, of Lower Jutland, populated throughout by Danes and transferred to Denmark as the result of a plebiscite. The point is that Hitler Germany needs bases for its air fleet, situated considerably further to the north, and requires wider gates for the German navy. This is why it does not want to leave the "key" to the Baltic in the hands of Denmark. Besides this, Fascist Germany needs the rich food

resources of Danish agriculture for the war it is preparing, as well as the technically highly-developed branches of Denmark's industries of military importance. Thus the very situation of Denmark and its resources make of it, so to speak, an object of military attack by Fascist Germany. Not very long ago, General With, chief of the Danish General Staff, described the situation as follows:—

"The word 'invasion' is written in letters of fire on the walls of Denmark."

But the Danish Prime Minister calmly declares that he "sees no dangers abroad."

Hitler Germany has also had no special reason to be dissatisfied with the "Scandinavian collaboration" which has existed up to the present. The so-called northern collaboration of the Scandinavian countries, based on an agreement with the reactionary Government of Finland, virtually signified toleration of the machinations of Hitler Fascism, which is trying to draw the Scandinavian countries into the anti-Soviet front of the war-mongers.

The Fascist paper, *Volk und Reich*, has called Sweden a "territory without people," thus giving it plainly to be understood that the "Third Empire" regards it as one of the spheres of colonisation for its "people without territory." German capital is invested in Swedish armament works and in Norwegian chemical enterprises. German Fascism is stretching out its tentacles to North Sweden and North Norway. Last autumn, Blomberg, German War Minister, made a regular tour of inspection in those regions. Without giving any previous warning, German warship anchored at Narvick, the Norwegian port where Swedish ore is loaded. Blomberg, accompanied by twenty specialists, travelled by rail from Narvick to the Swedish iron mines, and right up to the borders of Finland. With the aid of his bogies—"Red aeroplanes and aircraft carriers"—Goebbels is trying to create the myth of the danger menacing the north from the Soviet Union. This is the first result of a conference recently held in Berlin, at which it was decided to stake more on Scandinavia and carry on a propaganda campaign against the "Red danger in the north."

But to "stake" does not mean to win, and howls about the "Red menace" do not convince the sober-minded people of Scandinavia. The events of the last half-year have eloquently shown them the real and very positive danger. The keynote of the Nürnberg congress of the German Fascists was the organisation of war against all the democratic countries of Europe. This is also known in Scandinavia. Hitler's brazen intervention in Spain, the piratical attacks on Scandinavian merchant ships, are producing a definite impression on public opinion by no means favourable to the war-mongers. Fascism was

defeated in the general elections in all the Scandinavian countries. In Finland, the pro-German President, Svinhufvud, met with defeat. In the programme declaration of the new Finnish Government, it states that in the interest of a policy of peace, it is necessary to

“draw nearer to the Scandinavian countries and improve relations with the Soviet Union.”

All of a sudden, General Hierl, leader of the German “labour service,” abandoned his proposed visit to Finland.

The well-known Swedish military specialist, Colonel Bratt, recently published a book in which he showed that, due to various circumstances, noteworthy changes had taken place in the military and political situation of Sweden and Finland, and also of Norway:

“The traditionally accepted danger from the east,” he wrote, “is evidently sinking into the background. The idea that the Soviet Union, in a war against Germany, would choose a line of operations over Finland and Sweden, is too ‘airy’ in spite of the ‘ghost aeroplanes.’ We have to reckon with the possibility of the occupation of Southern and Western Sweden by Germany.”

Sandler, Swedish Foreign Minister, recently went to London and Paris to improve relations with those countries. Goering was forced to make a wry face and inform a delegation of Swedish reactionaries in Berlin that “trends had recently appeared” that were not favourable to the establishment of firm bonds between Germany and Sweden. In Norway, Ole Colbjørnson, one of the theoreticians of the Norwegian Labour Party, came to the conclusion that in case of war, which he considers possible and likely, the neutrality of Norway would be violated by Germany.

Thus, ever-wider circles in Scandinavia are beginning to understand from whence the danger threatens, and to realise that it threatens only from the side of German Fascism. Even Stauning cannot completely deny the Fascist peril that threatens the Scandinavian countries. During his stay in Lund, where he gave his first lecture, Stauning granted an interview in which he stated that “in my opinion, the international situation does not fill me with high spirits.” But if anyone expected him to draw corresponding conclusions for the Scandinavian countries, he was bitterly mistaken, for he simply received the reply that Denmark must continue its former policy of isolation, i.e., the policy of subordination to Berlin. In his speech at Lund, Stauning said:

“Of course, outside Denmark, measures are being conducted by a certain party which do not increase our security.”

What, then, should be the attitude of the Danish people to this? The following, it would appear:

“But Danish public opinion does not even dream of interfering in the military and political measures of other

countries, and it absolutely does not consider it necessary to present demands dealing with our security.”

Could any better encouragement for the German Fascists be wished for? Gentlemen, you may threaten the independence of Denmark as much as you wish; you may interfere as much as you like in Danish affairs, the Danish Government does not present any demands concerning the security of its country! Those who are so little concerned with the question of security feel no need for allies.

“In 40 years of political life, it has never entered my head to interfere in the question of how Sweden or Norway organise their defence.”

But does not the new situation demand a closer approach to other democratic countries, and especially the Scandinavian countries? To this Stauning replies:

“There is something else besides basing one’s calculations on the north, and this ‘something’ is of importance in estimating the military and political line of Denmark.”

Does this mean basing calculations on the south? On a bandit, armed to the teeth, who is stretching out his hand to the north? This is even going beyond the excessively sage policy of “not irritating the savage beast,” so pointedly characterised by Comrade Dimitrov. For it means to leap right into the jaws of the Fascist beast: “Here you are, feast yourself, take another bite. We shall not defend ourselves, anyway.”

It is not at all surprising that after this, German Fascism speaks with the greatest praise of the leader of such a policy.

The *Völkischer Beobachter* recommends the head of the Danish Government to continue the same “policy of neutrality.” The *Völkischer Beobachter* also finds it reasonable for Denmark not to arm, because “even if Denmark provided itself with comparatively gigantic armaments, even this would not be an unquestionable guarantee of security.” How splendidly this harmonises with Stauning’s statement:

“To seriously take up the question of a northern defensive alliance means to create a new danger zone.”

There is someone else to whom Stauning’s speech is as welcome as it is to Berlin. This is the Trotskyist, Flyg, in Sweden, one of the foulest of renegades. Since Stauning’s views aroused protests, Flyg hurried to his aid, and declared that he was also against any form of armaments whatever (except Hitler’s, of course), and he considered that what Stauning said about Denmark was also applicable to Sweden. Flyg was consistent in “demanding” that Sweden follow the example of Germany and Japan, and resign from the League of Nations. What a specimen of corrupt fawning on German Fascism! But this is merely a link in the whole chain of treachery. Flyg is an

ardent defender of the Trotskyist gang of murderers, an individual who helps the Spanish Trotskyists in their splitting and undermining work, and who slanders the People's Front in France.

The German Fascists and their accomplices in Scandinavia have given indisputably clear proof by their comments on Stauning's speech that Stauning's policy does not correspond to the interests of the Scandinavian countries and does not serve the ends of the preservation of peace.

The Danish and Swedish Conservatives opened up a particularly energetic campaign on the occasion of the Stauning speeches. The reactionaries would like to utilise the general situation to carry out their own reactionary plans of armaments, to strengthen their own positions, which would mean a threat to the democratic liberties won by the working people of the Scandinavian countries.

One thing is certain, the bourgeoisie of the Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Norway, Denmark—are raising the question of the line of war policy, and, taking into consideration the uneasiness of the masses of the people regarding the war danger which threatens from German Fascism, they are carrying through various measures for strengthening the defences of the country.

What should be the attitude of the working class to this?

"The proletariat," said Comrade Dimitrov, "cannot get on without their own policy in these questions. Without under any circumstances allowing itself to slip into the position of the bourgeoisie, the Party of the proletariat must actively intervene with its own platform, with its own demands, in foreign policy and in the sphere of the question of the defence of the country."

The position of the Scandinavian working-class movement on the war question bears the historic imprint of pacifism. The question of defence against aggression has only become urgent in the Scandinavian countries since the advent of Hitler to power. The necessity for such defence was long denied by the Social-Democratic Party leadership. But when the danger of a Fascist attack could no longer be denied, a profound pessimism began to spread, a disbelief in the possibility of taking any steps to strengthen security. "What is the use?" is the reply to all proposals in this direction. "The strength of the northern peoples lies not in arms, but in community of culture," said Stauning, when in Oslo he once more rejected the "mirage" of a defensive alliance.

But the origin of the idea of such an alliance, particularly at the present time, has a very real foundation. It is for the Scandinavian working class to settle this question, to reply to it. The reactionary leaders of the Social-Democratic Party are trying to sidetrack the working class, trying to conceal from it the causes of their opposition to this idea. In

practice, all the efforts of the Social-Democratic leaders, especially in Denmark, are directed towards smothering discussion on this question. The Copenhagen *Social-Demokraten* writes:

"In our opinion, this discussion does not reach its aim. It can only be harmful, because it is one-sided and helps to give rise to suspicions regarding the aggressive aims of a certain country bordering on Denmark. On the whole we consider that the open polemic on this subject, for the above-mentioned reasons of foreign policy, had better be closed."

But his view is evidently not shared by everyone in the Swedish Social-Democratic Party. In reply to Stauning's lecture in Lund, P. A. Hanson, the Social-Democratic Prime Minister of Sweden, stated, very definitely:

"No government in the world will stop Sweden fighting on the side of Denmark if Denmark gets into a difficult position. . . . The idea of a defensive alliance between the countries of the north should be developed. For that which is a misfortune for Denmark, Norway and Finland means misfortune for Sweden as well."

The Scandinavian workers, who have to settle this question independently, in the interests of maintaining peace, are acting properly in not allowing themselves to be side-tracked either by the speeches of the Conservatives or by the uproar raised by many of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party. In the first place, the workers must not allow the discussion of this vitally-important question to be suppressed, for otherwise only Fascism would benefit.

The working-class movement in the Scandinavian countries has 50 years' experience of working in collaboration. It is ahead of other capitalist countries in the degree to which it is organised. It is true that most of its reformist leaders belong to the Right-wing of the 2nd International and the I.F.T.U., and are out-and-out opponents of the united front with the Communists. Their Socialism is "Socialism led by the King." But the working-class movement here is continually developing, anti-Fascist sentiments are increasing, while reaction has suffered repeated defeats at the elections in recent years. In Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Social Democrats are at the head of the coalition governments, while in Finland, as well, five Social-Democratic Ministers have entered the new Cabinet. The working class wants these Social-Democratic positions in the administration of the State to be utilised to bring even small benefits to the working masses.

The working people of the Scandinavian countries have much to defend and much to strive for in the struggle against capital and reaction. The right to strike is restricted by all kinds of laws and compulsory measures. The right of assembly has also been cut down in places. In Norway and Sweden, the authorities have used troops against workers' demon-

strations, and in Sweden six people were killed. Sentences of many years of imprisonment have been meted out against revolutionary leaders of the working-class movement. The Communist press is constantly in the prisoner's dock. In short, freedom of organisation, assembly and the press is interpreted to the advantage of the bourgeoisie. In Denmark and Sweden there are Upper Chambers which can annul the decisions of the Lower Houses which have been elected by the votes of the whole people. The workers have to carry on a constant class struggle against the bourgeoisie for their social rights. In short, Scandinavian democracy is bourgeois capitalist democracy, through and through. Nevertheless, the working people of the Scandinavian countries know that *it would be far worse under Fascism*, that they would not be able to have the same food and clothes that they now have if German Fascism succeeded in drawing the North of Europe under its yoke, that this would mean the end of all freedom and of life worthy of human beings. The democratic and social rights won have consequently to be defended. The national independence of the Scandinavian peoples and their comparatively high culture have to be defended against Fascist barbarism.

The masses of the people in Scandinavia are therefore deeply interested in putting an end to a policy which is making their countries politically and economically dependent on Fascist Germany. This applies particularly to Denmark. No one demands the stopping of the commercial relations between Danish agriculture and industry, and Germany. But the Danish people can rightly demand that the independence of the country and the people themselves should not be sold to Germany along with bacon, butter and eggs. The Danish population in Lower Jutland see themselves helpless before the danger of a Fascist invasion. In Sweden, the southern border of Denmark is justly regarded as the border of the north in general. Only the Hitlerites and those who lick their boots are interested in depicting the situation as if it were impossible to secure themselves against attack. When a Communist question was put in the Danish Parliament as to whether Hitler had prohibited the fortification of the southern border of Denmark, Stauning gave no reply.

Ever-wider circles of people in Denmark and other Scandinavian countries are, for various reasons, demanding that the army be strengthened. Certain democratic circles are doing so, honestly desirous of defending the security and independence of the country against the Fascist aggressor. The reactionaries, on the other hand, are doing so with the aim of strengthening their influence through the army, and their forces in the army, in the attempt to bring about a *Fascist* line, both in the home and foreign policy of the country.

The Communists demand that the army be purged of Fascist elements. They declare that the mere strengthening of the army is no guarantee for the security of the country. At the same time, however, the Communists understand that a small nation, completely defenceless from a military point of view, may still easier become the prey of the Fascist bandits. But as there is no guarantee in the present circumstances that the bourgeoisie will not utilise the army against the working class and the working people in general, the Communists cannot undertake the responsibility for a war budget and a military apparatus controlled by the reactionaries. But they seek all the more to bring about the democratisation of the army. The Scandinavian Communist Parties want to make "Spanish" surprises impossible. They energetically defend the demands of the lower ranks and non-commissioned officers. The Communists demand that funds be voted to organise the necessary defence of the population against the horrors of air and naval bombardment. In view of the situation in Lower Jutland, they stand for the fortification of the frontiers and for other defensive measures such as will make it difficult for the Fascist aggressor to occupy the country.

The Communists consider that the most effective method of defending security to be a correct and active foreign policy, a policy of the joint defence of the Scandinavian countries against the dangers that threaten them from German Fascism, and the co-ordination of this policy with the League of Nations. The Scandinavian Communists are guided by the directions given to the masses by Comrade Dimitrov on the question of the struggle for peace, when he said:

"It is by no means a matter of indifference to the working class and to all toilers what foreign policy the Government carries on towards the Fascist enemies of peace, whether this policy will help to strengthen collective security or hinder it; whether the Government aids the agents of the Fascist aggressor or takes effective steps against them. . . . In every concrete situation, the representatives of the working class will come out in support of such proposals and will seek to secure the carrying out of such measures as open up the greatest possibility for bringing the pressure of the masses of the people on the widest scale to bear upon the foreign policy of the Government, and also provide for their effective control over the activity of the Government in the questions of the defences of the country. They will also give their support to all those measures which hinder the capitulation of the bourgeois governments to the Fascist aggressor and the betrayal of the independence and liberty of the people by these governments."

The conduct of the Fascist aggressors makes it impossible for the Scandinavian countries to be able to remain neutral during the war that is looming ahead. Italian Fascism attacked Abyssinia, German and Italian Fascism have flung themselves on the Spanish Republic and, in doing so, are attacking Scandinavian

merchant vessels. How much less will it be possible to maintain neutrality when Fascism creates a theatre of military operations that is not so distant from the Scandinavian countries as Abyssinia and Spain, or when the northern countries themselves become the scene of action by Fascism?

The Scandinavian countries as separate units cannot successfully defend themselves against an offensive by German Fascism. But should they be ready for joint defence, the 16 million population of Scandinavia and Finland will be a serious opponent to the Fascist enemy, especially if this defensive alliance can reckon on the support of the mighty land of Socialism in the east and the bourgeois-democratic countries in the West in defence of the independence and inviolability of these countries.

The thinking workers of the Scandinavian countries, therefore, consider that their peoples are vitally interested in strengthening cultural, economic and political co-operation between the Scandinavian

countries; in bringing about mutual support in the struggle against Fascist espionage and disruptive work; in ensuring the inviolability of the borders of their countries; in the joint defence of the national independence of the northern countries; and in mutual military aid, if this is required, for their defence against attack by German Fascism.

Such a defensive alliance of the Scandinavian countries would undoubtedly help, within the bounds of the League of Nations, to give an impetus to the establishment of collective security and the protection of universal peace.

The point at issue is to bar to Fascism the road to the north. Herein lies the real peace policy of the Scandinavian countries. It is clear that the most important pre-requisite for this is the struggle of the working class further to strengthen democracy in the Scandinavian countries, and to bring about the united front of the proletariat and a wide Popular Front against bourgeois reaction and Fascism.

## THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

# THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES YESTERDAY AND TODAY

By FRANCESCO LEONE

*(Captain of the "Garibaldi" Battalion).*

ONE of the most vivid forms in which the international solidarity of the anti-Fascist workers with Republican Spain found expression was the formation of the International Brigades, which, ever since the beginning of November last year, have been fighting in the trenches of Liberty shoulder to shoulder with the gallant Spanish warriors.

In the most difficult days of the desperate defence of Madrid, the 1st International Brigade (XI) was already at the gates of the heroic city, competing in daring with the Republican troops.

The 2nd International Brigade (XII) received its baptism of fire on November 12 at the storming of the fort of Sierra de los Angeles. On November 19 it was sent to defend the left bank of the River Manzanares, at the Porta di Ferro, behind the buildings of University City. These buildings were in the hands of the Fascists, who had penetrated into them at the beginning of November over the French Bridge.

Meanwhile other brigades were being formed in Albacete, and at the present time there are six International Brigades.

Who are the men in the International Brigades?

Anti-Fascist workers and intellectuals who have come from all parts of the world to take part in the defence of Liberty, Progress and Peace. They have come to show their Spanish brothers that the international solidarity of the working people is not an empty phrase.

It was at the moment when the Spanish Democratic Republic was deserted by the democratic countries of Europe which it had trusted so much, at the moment when the legitimate Government of the Spanish people was denied the right of unhindered commerce with other countries, whereby it might have rapidly secured the necessary means for crushing the rebellion of the traitor generals in the pay of German and Italian Fascism, that the whole weight and the entire significance of international solidarity could not help making itself felt.

But unfortunately, even in the sphere of the international solidarity of the working people, there was not that unity of action which from the very outset

of the Spanish rebellion could have decisively influenced the course of the struggle, which had now turned into a real robber war of international Fascism against Republican Spain. It is now definitely established as to who is responsible for this inadequate unity of action. And the international proletariat, but first and foremost the Spanish workers, will, we hope, be able to estimate this at its worth.

Only one government of a great Power stood on the side of the Spanish Republic—the Government of the Soviet Union. The gratitude, the thankfulness felt by the Spanish people towards the great Russian people can only be realised by those who have lately been in Spain.

Not to speak of Madrid, we call to mind that, on the 19th anniversary of the October Revolution, half a million people in Barcelona took part in a huge demonstration in honour of the Soviet Union.

And here are other examples of the tremendous love felt by the Spanish people for the people of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet steamer which was anchored in the port of Barcelona, after the unloading of the foodstuffs sent as a mark of solidarity by the Soviet workers, was literally overwhelmed by a crowd of women who brought enormous bouquets of flowers. The steamer set out on the return journey smothered in flowers.

And the episode of the Soviet freight cargo steamer Komsomol, sunk by the rebels? A wide campaign is going on all the time throughout the country for the collection of funds, which, at the initiative of the United League of Socialist Youth, are being collected among the Spanish people to make up the loss to Soviet shipping by providing a vessel identical with the one that was sunk.

The Spanish people give the same warm and spontaneous expression to their feelings of love and gratitude to the fighters in the International Brigades, not to mention official demonstrations in honour of our brigades. In Madrid, at the tensest moments of the defence of this heroic city, the name of the International Brigades was on the lips and in the hearts of all the people of Madrid. Our men were vociferously and enthusiastically greeted wherever they went, both by the people and by the members of the Republican Militia. I shall never forget an episode in Colmenar de la Veja. Our "Garibaldi" Battalion had halted in this village and we were quartered in a huge monastery. On the same day, many refugees—women, old people, children—arrived from Madrid.

Our kitbags were opened generously for these unfortunate refugees. Many cans of food were distributed. The attention of the refugees was particularly attracted to the labels on the cans printed in some language they could not understand. They swallowed the contents of the cans with great appetite,

but with still greater joy. The reason for this we understood later.

The gallant men of our "Garibaldi" Battalion did not limit themselves to this. They organised a collection for the refugees. In half an hour they gathered over 1,500 pesetas and handed the money over to the local village committee of the People's Front. We distributed sweets to all the children. There were also many children with their mothers. Soon the time came for us to march on. The whole crowd rushed to embrace us.

One woman shouted: "Long live Russia!" The cry was taken up by the others and was repeated in unison time after time.

"But we are Italians."

"No, we read it on the tins that you gave us. . . ." And in Fuencarral? The women washed our clothes and refused to take money for payment.

"What do you want to pay us for? Why, you are shedding your blood for us."

And in the hospitals of Madrid? The doctors and nurses cannot think of ways to express their gratitude and love. And when, touched by such anxious care, we said:

"Thank you, comrades."

"And we thank you!" they replied.

Representatives of the I.L.D. came, loaded with food and clothes, and said:

"Excuse us, comrades, that there is so little. We are organising other workshops, and many women are already working there without pay!"

The doctors and nurses work 12 and 14 hours a day, and none of them demand to be relieved.

One night a German comrade died in the bed next to mine. He died from loss of blood. He was brought to the hospital too late, so that the operation was already useless. He died without a complaint. Beside him sat a nurse.

"I am dying," he said in French in a weak voice. "Sit by me. My name is Heinrich. I am satisfied to die here. Let me hold your hand. . . ."

And he died, pressing the hand of the nurse, as though he were trying to express through her his feelings towards the whole Spanish people.

The feelings were mutual. . . .

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From the very first moments of contact, the warmest and most brotherly feelings were established between the Spanish fighters and the men of the International Brigades.

I remember a battalion of Carabineros which was acting in conjunction with the "Garibaldi" Battalion. Our staff proved to be without quarters, whereupon the commander of the Carabineros immediately offered us a room in a house they had occupied near the front line, almost completely concealed by trees. The commanders and

officers of the two battalions immediately established the closest relations with each other. This ensured friendly and fruitful co-operation.

The men became still more friendly, if that is at all possible. In addition to love, the Spanish fighters felt a sort of deep admiration for us.

The mere fact that we were "foreigners" raised us in their eyes, so much so that they even exaggerated our fighting qualities.

For them we were all veteran soldiers, steeled in the battles of the world war. Of course, their opinion was exaggerated, but in any case it did no harm and only caused a noble-spirited competition between us.

And the value of our participation in the ranks of the Republican troops is from this point of view undoubted.

It would be untrue as well as unjust to say that the International Brigade alone saved Madrid in the bloody days of November. But it must be recognised that all the battalions of various nationalities in the International Brigades competed with the Spanish units in gallantry and heroism. Much valuable blood was shed by all of us in these tragic days. By the end of November the strength of our battalions had sunk to almost half.

It should be noted that we were not yet sufficiently prepared when we were thrown into the thick of battle. We suffered many losses because of insufficiently close co-operation between the infantry, artillery and aviation. But it should also be stated that at that time we were as badly off for artillery as we were for aeroplanes.

The unexampled courage of the defenders of the Spanish Republic, the defenders of Madrid, made up for this shortage.

Facts? What about the fifty German comrades who were cut off in front-line positions and, not receiving in time the order to retreat, preferred to be crushed by enemy tanks rather than retreat.

And what about the sixty Polish comrades who barricaded themselves in a house, where they fiercely beat off all the attacks of the enemy? Though surrounded they did not surrender to the Fascists, who were forced to use tanks to destroy the house. Our heroes were without hand-grenades and could not keep back the tanks which advanced inexorably upon them. Only two of these heroes escaped death and got through to our lines in the darkness of the night.

Eternal glory to these heroes, these valiant sons of the international proletariat!

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The International Brigades entered the war in difficult conditions and helped to overcome many of the difficulties which arose out of the entire Spanish situation and owing to which the remarkable heroism of a whole people was for months not properly

rewarded in the fight against Franco's hordes. The presence of our men and their heroic struggle shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish comrades in the trenches of Liberty, undoubtedly helped to raise their spirits and to strengthen their belief in victory.

Thanks to their contact with all their "foreign" brothers, our Spanish comrades felt more clearly that their struggle was the struggle of the entire international proletariat, of all progressive trends in every country against Fascist barbarism, and that they were not alone in this struggle. From the purely military point of view, the effectiveness of our organised and disciplined units undoubtedly had its beneficial influence.

Now that the people's army can be counted a reality, the men of the International Brigades have the right to be proud of the fact that they participated in its formation. In this army, which has to its credit such brilliant victories as Guadalajara, the functions of our brigades cannot remain what they were formerly. In the process of assimilation which is taking place in the incessant joint fighting, the International Brigades have, so to speak, become "Spainified" and have merged into a single whole with the valiant people's army of Republican Spain.

We will mention one more pleasing truth. The soldiers of the Spanish Army are now quite confident in themselves and no longer look on their "foreign" brothers with that naïve admiration that we spoke of above, though they still maintain to the full a deep feeling of gratitude and thankfulness towards them. This is a mark of the strength and military skill achieved by the Spanish soldiers, as proved by the brilliant and outstanding successes that they have gained on the various fronts in battle against the regular divisions sent by Mussolini and Hitler.

The men of the International Brigade, on the other hand, are joyfully merging with the units of the Spanish People's Army which are on the road to extensive development and consolidation. When they set out for Spain, the volunteers of the International Brigades were inspired by one single desire—to assist in bringing about the victory of the Spanish people, which will be a victory for the anti-Fascists in their own countries. They did not and do not demand special distinctions for themselves, as befits conscious fighters who are able simply to do their duty.

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The experience of the International Brigades is above all of tremendously positive significance on the wide field of the anti-Fascist struggle in all countries. The International Brigades gathered together into their units anti-Fascist fighters of all trends—Communists and Socialists, Anarchists and Catholics, workers, peasants and intellectuals. In many respects, these brigades represent, as it were, a wide people's front.



Characteristic in this respect is the composition of the "Garibaldi" Battalion.

The very name chosen by the battalion is a symbol which does not permit the exclusive predomination of any party. It has the character of asserting the noblest traditions of the Italian people, traditions of freedom and independence, which are resuscitated in the legendary figure of the most popular hero in the history of the Italian national democratic struggle for emancipation, and which Fascism has not and never will be able to crush in our people.

The commander of the "Garibaldi" Battalion, Pacciardi, a barrister by profession, is a Republican. The battalion has two political commissars—a Socialist and a Communist. The senior adjutant of the battalion is a Communist. In the companies of the battalion there are several Socialists and about forty Anarchists.

Among the company commanders are two Social-

ists, two Communists and one Anarchist. Although the overwhelming majority of the battalion are Communists, the most friendly and comradely relations exist between all the men. The distribution of posts proves in turn that the "Garibaldi" Battalion is guided not by party considerations, but exclusively by the desire to ensure that the battalion possesses the greatest possible fighting efficiency. It thus gives a splendid example of unity of action, *in action*.

The "Garibaldi" Battalion is a living and effective example, a living proof of the possibility of uniting all anti-Fascist forces on the basis of the fight against the common enemy.

All the grounds exist for anticipating that the various parties represented in the battalion will be able to draw the proper lessons from this striking experience and transfer the experience to the sphere of the struggle against Fascism in Italy itself.

The example of the International Brigades must be an important step toward the unification of all anti-Fascist forces for a similar struggle in other countries.

**(See page 1083 for important article by Andre Marty)**

## EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS BETWEEN DIMITROV AND DE BROUCKERE

De Brouckère, Chairman of the Labour and Socialist International, sent the following telegram to Georgi Dimitrov, General Secretary of the Communist International, in reply to Dimitrov's second telegram to the L.S.I. arising out of the appeal of the Spanish Socialist and Communist Parties and the Spanish General Workers' Union (U.G.T.) for international working-class unity in defence of the Spanish people:

DIMITROV, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL,  
MOSCOW

We, too, think that what is important is the essence, and the essence is agreed action in favour of Spain. We are always ready to meet your representatives for information purposes and to exchange views on the best way of pursuing this action, by common agreement where possible, without useless friction. We can meet your delegates in any place you may select in Geneva or its environs. We ask you to give us 48 hours' notice. We shall come to an arrangement as to the time of the meeting.

DE BROUCKERE.

\* \* \*

Dimitrov, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, sent the following telegram in reply:

DE BROUCKERE, CHAIRMAN, LABOUR AND  
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, BRUSSELS

In reply to your telegram we wish to inform you that the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has appointed the following delegation to negotiate with representatives of the Labour and Socialist International on the question of aid for the Spanish people: Maurice Thorez, Marcel Cachin, José Diaz, Franz Dahlem (members of the

Executive Committee of the Communist International) and Luigi Gallo (member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy). Comrade Thorez has been commissioned to communicate with you directly regarding the place and the date of meeting.

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International,

GEORGI DIMITROV (General Secretary).

\* \* \*

Maurice Thorez, leader of the delegation appointed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to meet the representatives of the Labour and Socialist International to discuss agreed action between the two Internationals in defence of the Spanish people, has sent the following telegram to De Brouckère, chairman of the Labour and Socialist International:

“On behalf of the delegation of the Communist International, I propose Saturday, June 19, Paris, as the date and place of our meeting for the purpose of arriving at the agreement demanded by the Spanish workers' organisations for joint action of the international proletariat.”

Meanwhile, Racamond, Assistant Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), has declared that having examined the proposals made by the Spanish workers' organisations, “which correspond to the efforts which the C.G.T. never ceases to make for international unity,” the Administrative Commission has instructed the C.G.T. delegation to the Warsaw meeting of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to support the unity proposals.

## DECISION OF THE L.S.I. ON THE RESIGNATION OF DE BROUCKERE, ADLER AND ROOSBROEK

*Paris, June 27.*

The Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International, at to-day's conference, dealt with the resignation of the President, De Brouckère, the Secretary, Fritz Adler, and the Treasurer, Roosbroek, and unanimously adopted the following decision:

“The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International, which met on June 25 and 26, is convinced that it cannot accept the resignation of its President, Louis de Brouckère, its Secretary, Fritz Adler, and its Treasurer, Joseph van Roosbroek, without endangering the activity of the International.

“The Executive Committee expresses in this

decision not only its full appreciation of and complete confidence in these three comrades, but also expresses the certainty that, in their relations with outside organisations, these comrades will be able, better than all the others, to make use of those powers which were laid down by the Labour and Socialist Inter-

national itself and its active propaganda.

“By this means, at the present moment which is so critical for all the forces opposed to the fascist intervention, the best means for the L.S.I. to work in defence of democracy and of peace will be safeguarded.”

## DIMITROV'S NEW PROPOSALS TO THE L.S.I. AND THE I.F.T.U.

*Moscow, June 26, 1937.*

Georgi Dimitrov, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has sent the following message to the representatives of the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions in Paris, via Maurice Thorez, leader of the Communist International delegation, which met De Brouckère and Adler, Chairman and Secretary respectively of the L.S.I., on June 21, at Annemasse:—

During the meeting at Annemasse it was unanimously recognised that “it is now more necessary than ever before that action in defence of Spain be carried out in general agreement wherever possible, with every means and without unnecessary friction.”

Both delegations also agreed on the necessity for a new meeting as quickly as possible to discuss concrete measures for rendering moral and material aid to the Spanish people.

The capture of Bilbao by the German and Italian interventionist armed forces and also the open threat of further aggressive action and provocation on the part of the fascists makes it even more necessary to hasten the carrying out of joint actions by the international Labour organisations.

The presence of different opinions within the leadership of the Labour and Socialist International, as well as the announcement of the resignation of its Chairman and Secretary, should not in any way hinder co-ordination at this moment when the question is one of the very existence of the Spanish people and of the maintenance of world peace. This is all the more so since the joint meeting of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. on June 24 unconditionally accepted the proposals of the Spanish comrades.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International instructs its delegation to present to the joint meeting of the L.S.I. and I.F.T.U., or to their delegation, when meeting it, the following concrete proposals for joint discussion:—

(1) The international Labour organisations jointly to address the Parliaments and Governments of all non-fascist States, primarily Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union, with the demand that they shall undertake urgent joint measures for the immediate recall of the Italian and German interventionist forces from Spain; for the lifting of the blockade of the Spanish Republic, and for the recognition of all the international rights of the constitutional Spanish Government.

(2) The international Labour organisations to address together the League of Nations with the demand for the application of the Covenant against the aggressors who have attacked Spain.

(3) Simultaneously to address jointly the working class of all countries and world opinion with the call to do everything in their power in order to realise these demands and also not to allow any new acts of aggression on the part of the interventionists and to bring about the quickest liquidation of the criminal war against the Spanish people.

The delegation of the C.I. is also instructed to discuss any proposal on the part of the L.S.I. and I.F.T.U. regarding joint or co-ordinated actions of the international Labour organisations in defence of the Spanish people.

*In the name of the Executive Committee  
of the Communist International,*

GEORGI DIMITROV.

# AUSTRALIA AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

By S. MASON

THE British Government took early steps to prepare and mobilise the Australian Federal Government (a coalition of the bourgeois United Australian Party and the United Country Party—the big squatters) for support in its reactionary foreign policy. Characteristic of this policy are huge armaments accompanied by a deviation from the principles of collective security directed against the Fascist instigators of war.

Immediately on their return from London in the latter part of last year both the Federal Attorney-General and the Premier of the Government of New South Wales (the political counterpart of the Federal Government) commenced expatiating in the most demagogic manner on the need for a “strong Empire to defend peace and democracy; democracy as the whole Empire’s heritage and it being the privilege and duty of all to defend it.” Simultaneously, Menzies also indicated the future policy of looking for a common language with capitulation and retreat before the aggressors, which has been followed up till now by both the British and Australian Governments, when he said in Parliament :

“The Government feels that non-member States, in particular the United States, Germany and Japan, shall be fully consulted. If unanimity on the proposal to hold such a consultation can be secured, we believe there will be a reasonable chance of obtaining a Covenant of a kind which would bring about universal membership, without which the League cannot fulfil its functions.”

Following this, the Federal Parliament endorsed a “defence” budget of £8,876,000, an increase over the previous year of approximately £2 million, and as against £3,200,000 in 1932.

In furtherance of its policy, the Coronation of the new King George VIth has been utilised by the Australian Government to the utmost; boosting the departure from Melbourne\* of part of the Australian contingent on February 17, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in true Jingo style, reported :

“Remarkable scenes of enthusiasm, reminiscent of troopship sailings during the war, marked the departure for London by the Oronsey to-day of the Australian Services contingent for the Coronation.

“A crowd estimated at 10,000 was on the pier, and, to the accompaniment of the Royal Australian Air Force

Band, hundreds joined with the troops in singing ‘Rule Britannia,’ ‘Keep the Home Fires Burning,’ and ‘Auld Lang Syne.’”

In order to give the Australian Federal Government a helping hand to carry through its programme, every British Government representative visiting Australia, immediately on arrival, commences making speeches in the same demagogic strain mentioned above. The recent visit of the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, K. M. Lindsay, M.P., was no exception.

But when faced with the effective defence of peace and democracy the Australian reactionaries endeavour to outdo their tutors in London.

Immediately the Fascist revolt broke out in Spain the Australian people responded in support of the Spanish Government. Despite the great distance and expense, in a very short time nurses, supplied with medical equipment, were on their way, money was being collected by the Spanish Relief Committee and the Australian Council of Trade Unions launched a financial appeal. To counter this, the Prime Minister, Mr. J. A. Lyons, political counterpart of Ramsay MacDonald in the Antipodes, made a public appeal against the contribution of funds for Spanish relief, whilst the Government has been fanatical in its support of “neutrality.” In boosting and distorting the work of the Non-Intervention Committee, the reactionary *Sydney Morning Herald* carried daily articles which are summed up in such a false headline as “Intervention in Spain to Cease,” appearing in its issue of February 17, 1937.

Similarly with volunteers who declared their readiness to go to Spain to fight against Fascism. After the departure of two such volunteers, the Government’s reaction was to make it known that it would take all possible measures to prevent further volunteers from leaving the country.

Supporting the Government and expressing the pro-Fascist and anti-collective security tendencies of dominant ruling circles, the *Sydney Morning Herald* flirts with the aggressors. Thus, for instance, in connection with the Japanese brigandage in China, it says :

“In the long run, the Western nations, since they have imposed severe restrictions upon Japanese goods in their own lands and colonies, must recognise the necessity of this close and natural market to Japanese industry.”

Such statements of the paper in defence of Japan

\* Melbourne is a city with a population of 1,000,000.

and also Germany and Italy, accompanied by attacks on the U.S.S.R., aim at laying the basis for embroiling Australia and the "defence" forces of the Government in a counter-revolutionary military bloc against the Soviet Union if common language be arrived at with the Fascist and militarist incendiaries of war.

However, there is a differentiation within the ranks of Australian ruling circles, not all of whom are in agreement with pro-Fascist policy. For instance, the popular *Smith's Weekly*, controlled by the very wealthy Sir Joynton Smith, recently carried a special article, written for it by Viscount Churchill, in which the German and Italian intervention in Spain was condemned as threatening the interests of the British Empire, including Australia and New Zealand; and in reference to the Australian delegation to the forthcoming Imperial Conference, concluded as follows:

"They should go armed with powers to ask the British Foreign Office, frankly and bluntly, what its foreign policy really is, and to insist on getting an unequivocal answer. If they could succeed in introducing light and clarity into the dark recesses of the Foreign Office they would be rendering a service not only to Australia, but to this country as well."

Amongst middle-class and other liberal people there is also wide support for collective security and a strong League of Nations, two of their most prominent representatives being the wife of Sir Justice Street and Mr. Raymond Watt, secretary of the League of Nations Union and delegate to the Brussels Peace Congress.

Within the Labour Movement, militant unity and opposition to the war-mongers is highest. A number of trade union leaders and trade unions take up a consistent position against the war danger in speeches and resolutions, while even amongst the Labour parliamentarians, who in the main reflect the same confused attitude as the middle classes, there are one or two voices raised (notably Maurice Blackburn, of Melbourne) in sharpest opposition to the war-mongers.

In January, the New South Wales trade union centre, after an address by Ralph Gibson, delegate to the Brussels Peace Congress, carried a resolution expressing gratification at the achievements of the Congress and endorsing the programme it had laid down. This was a step forward, for, under the influence of Labour Party leaders, and the slogan of "absolute neutrality and splendid isolation," this important trade union organisation had refused to endorse the application of sanctions against Italy during the invasion of Abyssinia.

The leadership of the growing Communist Party (33 per cent. increase 1936), as events develop, is striving to give a more clearly defined character to the mass sentiment for peace and to direct it towards active struggle. As elsewhere, the struggle in defence of Spanish democracy in Australia has aroused, in a

manner formerly unknown, both a hatred and understanding of the cancer that is Fascism. Side by side with this is the growing recognition of the danger of the robber designs of Japan in the Pacific.

For a long time the Japanese rape of China was not connected with Australia by the peace movement, but the economic expansion of Japan southwards and the numerous declarations of its politicians, and especially the influential militarists, as to Japanese plans for political expansion, including the seizure and invasion of Australia, are becoming widely known to the people of Australia. The *Labour Daily* recognised in a much clearer manner the threat to Australia and the peace of the Pacific, and amongst other things said:

"Japan is just as active and, through the recently formed South Seas Development Company, is preparing for southward expansion.

"Germany is apparently reconciled to Japan's retention of Micronesia and other mandatory possessions, so any clauses affecting the Pacific must of necessity deal with British or Australian mandates. But once the peace of the world is broken, armed nations do not think solely in terms of recovering lost territory."

The significance of this statement is that the *Labour Daily* is the mouthpiece of the official leadership of the New South Wales branch of the Labour Party, whose policy is "absolute neutrality and splendid isolation."

With the Australian Government and ruling circles participating in the policy of attempting to find a common language with the aggressor in face of the threat by Japan to Australia and its connection with the Fascist threat to peace in Europe, opposition from the democratic and peace-loving Australian people to this policy will grow, and more insistent will arise the demand for honest co-operation of the British Empire with the mighty, impregnable Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France and other peaceful States for consistent and determined collective security against the instigators of war in defence of peace. The Australian people will not agree to allow the class interests of the reactionary Government to interfere with national interests.

But despite the growing unity and clarity in the struggle for peace there are still serious weaknesses existing which hinder it.

Firstly, the failure of large sections of the population to understand the character of the foreign policy of the Baldwin Government. The demagogy by means of which it is carried through deceives many who support collective security and imagine that the re-armaments programme is to strengthen it. They do not see that if the British Empire were to participate decisively and consistently in collective security, to unite its forces with the existing strength of the Friends of Peace, there would be forces enough without the furious armaments to cause the aggressors to cease their war instigation. They do not see that certain financial interests and political and military

circles in Great Britain openly back Hitler against democracy, nor do they see that the British Government is anxious to find a common language with the enemies of peace.

Secondly, the fact that the majority of Labour Party leaders allow themselves to be drawn along at the tail of the Government instead of developing a vigorous, constructive policy for collective security.

Thirdly, the difference amongst the State Labour Parties of the six States which make up the Commonwealth of Australia. In Western Australia, Queensland and Tasmania, where there are Labour Governments, the tendency is to be aligned with the policy of "collective security"—as interpreted by the British Government. But there is another tendency, as shown by the leadership in New South Wales (the most important State), of "absolute neutrality and splendid isolation." This slogan has never found enthusiastic support and is becoming more discredited from day to day. Nevertheless, due to Australia's geographical isolation, it causes confusion, weakens the Labour Movement, and its result is to help the reactionary ruling circles to sabotage the struggle against war and for collective security.

However, the growing mass movement for peace makes the elimination of these weaknesses possible and makes favourable the conditions for the election of a Labour Government on December 6.

The people are demanding a share of the "prosperity," of the increased profits enjoyed by the rich, whilst wage cuts remain and rents and prices of basic

foodstuffs increase. The people are not content to bear the burden of millions for armaments.

The unity and militant opposition to the limitations of democratic rights is increasing. The banning of an anti-Fascist play at the instigation of the German Consul, corrupt police practices and bureaucratic use of the immigration laws and the literature censorship are recent events which have aroused very broad sections of the population, causing considerable embarrassment to the Government.

In the Tasmanian elections of February last, the State Labour Government won five additional electorates and now has a majority of twenty seats as against the Conservatives' ten, whilst in a Federal Referendum held early in March, in which the Federal Government asked for increased powers to control marketing and aviation, on both issues the people refused to give increased powers to this reactionary Government.

Finally, the growing unity and activity of the trade union movement, in which the Communists play a leading role, together with the growth of the Communist Party and the increase of its influence in developing the Labour Movement, enhance the possibilities of returning a Labour Government.

Such is the position and, with the democratic peace movement expanding in Britain and throughout the British Empire, the Australian people can play an important part in adding their weight to swing the scales in favour of an Empire foreign policy of collective security and peace.

## HITLERISM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IT

By A. WOODWARD

THE uplift in the economy of South Africa, the considerable expansion in trade and industry derives mainly from the boom in gold-mining, the basis of South African economy.

The abandonment of the gold standard in 1932 had the effect of raising the value of gold produce in 1935 from its nominal value of £45,765,005 to the realised value of £76,532,830. It resulted in a re-starting of several old low-grade mines and the investment of large sums in opening up new mines, etc., and together with the general improvement in world trade in a boom period in the building industry, especially on the Rand, increased revenue from railways and harbours, a considerable expansion of secondary industries and an increase in the trade balance for the year.

But who are to benefit from these higher profits and increased revenues? Certainly not the diggers of gold, neither European or native. The latter constituted, in 1936, approximately nine-tenths of the workers employed in the large mines, and thus wages are approximately two shillings per day for more than 300,000 of them. Nor has benefit come to the poor whites, numbering 400,000 of the European population, driven from the land by imperialist exploitation and the agrarian crisis that still continues, a crisis which is reflected in a landed indebtedness of £100,000,000. Many of these poor whites are employed on Government relief works at from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. per day, or given employment in industry, in many cases, at wages very little above the native level.

With labour disunited and badly organised,, the employers are not slow to take full advantage of this so as to prevent the workers obtaining higher wages and better conditions. However, in spite of this disadvantage, with a willingness to struggle, the workers have made slight advances in several sections of industry, i.e., transport, textiles, railways, etc. But in the gold mines the workers failed to obtain their ten per cent. increase in wages for Europeans; the owners only conceding an annual holiday with pay and a yearly grant to the Provident Fund (out of which only a fraction of the miners can ever hope to benefit). With the failure of the leadership to lead an open struggle, the owners managed to deprive the miners of any but the smallest advance to meet the rising prices and increased rents.

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The growing Fascist movement constitutes the main danger in South Africa. The Nazis have not been slow to realise the strategic importance of South Africa in their war plans and their demand for colonies. Therefore, every support is given by them to the Greyshirt Fascists—the “National Workers’ Party of S.A., who no doubt are receiving direct material aid and personal guidance from Nazi agents and spies who have become very numerous. The Greyshirts are reinforced by the Nazi organisation in South-West Africa, the former German colony. Here the Reichs-Bund, under the guidance of the Nazi Consul at Windhoek, carry on systematic terrorism against former German citizens who refuse to give support to the plans of Hitler carried through in S.W.A. This became so great that the South African Government Commission appointed to investigate the political situation was forced to admit that this terror included even assassination.

A blow has been dealt at the activities of the Nazis in South-West Africa by the Proclamation published on April 2 curtailing the political activities in S.W.A. of non-British subjects and in particular aiming to prevent Nazi activities in S.W.A. and the recruitment of British or Union subjects for the German Army or volunteer bodies.

The Greyshirt movement was started about three years ago, mainly among the poor Afrikanders and farmers. Now they feel strong enough, with a weekly paper to support them, to come out openly in the large towns and have even commenced to break up meetings. They not only attack anti-Fascist meetings, but have also attempted to break up meetings of the United Party, when prominent members of the Government spoke.

Evidently the Nazi officials in Berlin are planning a further advance. This is shown by the departure of Admiral Foerster, who sailed recently for Tanganyika to “investigate the conditions of German citizens,” after which he will also visit South-West

Africa ostensibly for the same purpose. This indicates direct interference in South African affairs since the mandate of S.W.A. is held by the S.A. Government.

The Blackshirt Fascists differ in no wise from the Greyshirts. They have the same demagogic approach to the poor-white population and the intensity of their anti-Semitic propaganda is the same. They, while pretending to differ, relying more upon support from the British Blackshirts, have raised the question of the Afrikanders being of “pure Aryan” stock. Therefore, in a critical situation these two Fascist organisations will be united unless defeated beforehand by the forces of peace and democracy. Already the Blackshirts have entered electoral fights in the last provincial elections, polling over 3,500 votes in five small constituencies. But this does not end the Fascist danger.

The base for Fascist development has been widened by the adoption of an anti-Semitic programme by the Nationalist Party Conference under the leadership of Dr. Malan. The adoption of this potentially Fascist programme by the Party which constitutes the largest of the opposition parties in Parliament is a new departure.

A series of mass meetings followed the Woodstock Conference to popularise this new platform as one of opposition to the Government’s new Immigration Bill. Malan demanded that the Bill include prohibition of Jewish immigration and the withdrawal of the Jewish language as a recognised European language for emigration purposes. He tabled a motion in Parliament demanding that Jewish persons be excluded from certain trades and professions, making it an offence to change their names, or to receive employment in any industry when other Europeans were available for work, etc. Thus the Nationalist Party creates favourable ground for the extension of the influence of the Fascists. This is a most dangerous development for the working-class movement, and indeed also for British imperialism when related to Fascist aggression in North Africa and the Mediterranean. It is worthy of note that the Cabinet Minister, Pirow, in charge of the defence forces and the railways and harbour services, together with two other Ministers, Grobler and Fourie, have made distinctly Fascist utterances, the former being in favour of the “return of Germany to Africa.”

As the C.P.S.A. pointed out long ago, there are two roads open before the Nationalist Party: either the rank and file, who constitute a large section of the poor-whites and poor farmers, put an end to Malan’s demagogy which exploits their anti-imperialist and republican sentiments, their poverty and misery, force the leadership to bring forward an organised national demand for higher wages, relief for the unemployed at trade union rates of wages, land for the landless rural population and relief for the poor farmers, etc.,

unite with all other organisations prepared to defend peace, democracy and freedom as the only way to develop the Republican movement; or the Nationalist Party will go the inevitable road to Fascism already indicated by Malan's anti-Semitic line.

The Government, taking advantage of the economic uplift to claim all the "good things" to be a result of its own policy, is subsidising agriculture and exports, thereby winning large sections of the richer farmers away from the Nationalists and influencing backward sections of the population with their demagogy and false promises, etc.

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This whole situation confronts the Communist Party of South Africa and the forces of Labour and Democracy with the urgent task of uniting and strengthening the disunited and rather weak Labour movement.

Out of 750,000 industrial proletarians, native, coloured, Asiatic and European, not more than 100,000 are organised. Therefore a tremendous field is open to developing trade unionism among the workers, especially among the natives employed in industry.

Every effort must be made, as a first step to this task, to get an understanding between the South African Trades and Labour Council—with between 50,000 and 60,000 members—and the Cape Federation of Labour—with approximately 15,000. The aim must be to establish one national T.U. centre, and one union for each industry. Having regard to the fact that every attempt is now being made by the Government and the Chamber of Mines to split existing organisations—organising withdrawal of Afrikaan-speaking members from the trade unions and creating their own unions, creating new movements among native and coloured peoples, etc.—the immediate issue becomes the need for unity within every trade union.

A magnificent contribution to the possibility of developing the mass movement was made by the organisation of the All-African Convention. This body is very representative of the native people. Fifty-two organisations attended the Bloemfontein Conference which created the A.A.C. as a permanent organisation. The representation amounted to 206 delegates from native trade unions, the African National Congress, farmers and religious societies, sports organisations, native Advisory Boards and communities, women, teachers and progressive bodies as well as the Communist Party—all native delegates representing African people.

This national movement can be given a wide mass basis by engaging the leadership of all its constituent parts in developing the national liberation movement of the native people. This can be done around the slogan: Work and Bread, Land and Liberty! Con-

cretely carried out this means to develop the fight against the oppressive anti-native laws and taxes, using the right to elect representatives to Advisory Boards and the Representation Council in a positive way, electing only those prepared to work for raising the miserable living standards of the natives and for their democratic and equal rights as citizens. In every location, township and reserve local A.A.C. Committees elected from the people must carry through the daily work of defending the natives and must actively engage in organising natives into trade unions, and create for the A.A.C. a proletarian reinforcement.

The most tragic feature of the Labour movement is the anti-native prejudices existing in its ranks. This assists employers to engage native labour at starvation rates of wages, and reacts upon living standards in general. Demagogically the Government raises the question of a "white civilised labour policy," when the whole economy of S.A. is based upon native exploitation, there being nine natives to one European employed in gold mines, with approximately 400,000 engaged. Thus the so-called Government's white labour policy is merely an attempt to overcome the political difficulties arising from the poor-white problem, an attempt to disarm its political opponents who constantly use this problem to politically attack the Government.

Anyone who does not see this will surely fall into the trap laid for them by Generals Hertzog and Smuts. The continued employment of poor-whites, who are constantly drifting into the cities at rates of pay so low as to leave only a small margin between them and the natives, will inevitably prevent the higher-paid workers from taking full advantage of a very favourable situation, and will finally bring down wages. This can be prevented by the Miners' Union organising the natives, whom they have hitherto refused to organise, and by the South African Trades and Labour Council, as well as its affiliated unions, engaging in the task of organising natives in every industry.

Such an effort, supported by the All-African Convention, will result in raising the living standards of the natives and rob the Government and the employers of the possibility of dragging down the wage levels of the white workers.

By uniting the organised natives within the Trades and Labour Council and the A.A.C. the gulf separating the native and European workers can be bridged. The creation of fraternal relationships between these two bodies and common action upon all questions of direct interest will make it possible to smash down these prejudices and enable a real united movement to emerge.

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All the necessary conditions exist for the establish-



ment of the People's Front on a mass basis. The rising Fascist danger is growing, supported by the Trotskyist gangsters, who recently united in an effort of the Greyshirts to smash up a Communist meeting in Johannesburg. The movement must be organised of all who are desirous of peace, of preserving and extending democratic liberties and satisfying the urgent needs of the poor people and landless farmers, the movement against Fascism and the war-mongers.

The perspective for such a united movement must be to obtain a Government really representative of the people, one which will make a complete break with a policy of harbouring Nazi agents on South African soil. Such a movement would commence by demanding that the Government take immediate action to put a ban on all Fascist organisations and their activity, demanding that Nazi diplomats cease their propaganda in South Africa and terrorism in South-West Africa.

Supporting such demands, the C.P.S.A. must raise the fight for the repeal of all anti-working-class and anti-native laws, restoring the right to strike, unhampered by the Industrial Conciliation Act, giving freedom of movement and democratic rights to native people now, unhampered by the Urban Areas Act and other laws; abolishing the slave conditions of natives under the Master and Servants Act and the Pass Laws, etc.

But naturally these proposals cannot be carried through without recognising that first and foremost there must be driven out of the Government all such supporters of Fascism as Pirow, Grobler and Fourie, coupled with a demand to clean the police and armed forces of all Fascists and their supporters.

Although the Labour Party Conference went on record not to affiliate to the People's Front Movement, nevertheless the supporters of the united and People's Front are not allowing things to rest at that and are anxious to come to an agreement upon even a limited platform, without giving up the right to criticise and expose the harm resulting from the unreserved support given by the Labourists to the Government's foreign policy, which is hooked-up to the policy of the British National Government, as well as their segregationist native policy.

The best representatives of the peoples of South Africa are rallying their forces to secure from the Government a change in its external policy, a change to a policy of collective security, mutual assistance and the indivisibility of peace, the abandonment of the non-intervention farce, the restoration of the full right of the Spanish Government to defend the interests of their people, and the lifting of the blockade on the Spanish Republic.

The best representatives of the South African

people are bringing pressure to bear on the members of the Government to ensure that they demand of the National Government that it change its policy of support for Fascist States.

Can the Cabinet, which is pursuing its present reactionary policy, be given the possibility of increasing armaments? Can increased military power be placed in the hands of Pirow, who has openly declared Fascist sympathies? Where are the guarantees that they will really be used to defend the South African people? Under the present policy of Hertzog-Smuts they can be used, and most likely will be used, on the side of Fascism and against the workers. This is why people are saying in South Africa that there can be no support for the armaments policy of the Government.

The Communists explain to the South African people, particularly the Labour Party members and the rank and file of the Malan Party, that collective security, under a mutual assistance Pact embracing all democratic peoples, based on the League Covenant, constitute the best guarantee for South African defence.

A united people's front built upon such a platform can rally large masses of the people, and obtain a government that will really defend democracy, peace and freedom, a step in the direction of bread and work for all working people. Such a government would make the rich pay by taking away their swollen profits with which they will supply the needs of the poor farmers, etc. Such a government would end Fascist activity and restore democratic liberties, and would have the support of the entire people, who would also defend South Africa against Fascist aggression.

Such an approach would produce a platform around which a formidable bloc could unite, that would definitely challenge the existing reactionary Government at the next General Election.

To secure the carrying through of such a programme what is demanded is a complete cleansing of the Labour Movement of all Trotskyist agents of Fascism in the first place and of all those provocateurs, adventurists and other enemies who are now doing all possible to prevent the movement from attaining the maximum unity both industrially and politically. However, great care must be exercised in dealing with each individual case so as to differentiate between avowed enemies of the working class and those who are merely influenced by them.

All traitors, those who seek to disrupt the Labour movement, and all Trotskyists must be definitely exposed upon their concrete anti-working-class deeds committed in South Africa. It is not sufficient to point out that they constituted a "fifth column" of Fascism within the Soviet Union, as brought out

clearly at the Moscow trial of the anti-Soviet "Trotskyist Parallel Centre," and as they do in Spain, France, etc. The workers will sooner understand their acts of treachery and treason in South Africa if they are shown examples of the connections between the Trotskyists and Fascism. Thus that part

of the Labour movement sincerely prepared to fight for unity will be able to take full advantage of this very favourable situation and confront Fascism with the forces of the working class gathered together in a powerful united front—the basis for the creation of a strong anti-Fascist people's front.

## BOOK REVIEW

# A POSTHUMOUS WORK OF RALPH FOX\*

By T. D.

Ralph Fox, who recently fell in battle in Spain, where he fought in the ranks of the International Brigade, was not only an outstanding Party worker, but also a well-known author and literary critic.

In his book, *The Novel and the People*, Ralph Fox set himself the task of showing what have been the causes gradually serving to bring about the crisis of the bourgeois novel and of showing that there is a way out, the way of Socialist realism.

The book, which is written in an easy style, would be of independent interest as a popularisation of the utterances of Marx and Engels on questions of literature and art. The main theme of the book is the history of the novel, its rise, decay and re-birth.

Regarding the novel as the highest artistic product of the capitalist epoch, Fox shows how the novel writers gradually retreat from the realism of the founders of the modern novel.

This retreat from realism in England during the 19th century was conditioned by the fact that although the great realists of the "Victorian epoch"—Dickens, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë and Mrs. Gaskell—were able to castigate the bourgeoisie, and to expose their vices, their attitude to the working people was one of a certain aloofness and weariness. And so refuge was taken in sentimentalising reality.

In France, where the class struggle developed much more fiercely, men like Flaubert, who though filled with bitter hatred for the bourgeoisie yet regarded the working class as a purely destructive force, sought refuge in "pure formalism" divorced from the sum total of life.

The development of capitalism into imperialism, the intensification of class conflicts to an hitherto unheard-of degree, the war and its accompanying

destruction and then the horror of Fascism—all this increased the movement away from reality.

And so the bourgeois novel loses its inner force. Obscurantism and pessimism begin to prevail.

What is the way out? In the new realism which "must show man in action to change his conditions, to master life, man in harmony with the course of history and able to become the lord of his own destiny" (p. 101). Such is the hopeful, fighting message of Fox, who calls on the writers to link themselves with the proletariat, to imbibe their revolutionary ideology, to see in them the advanced heroic class struggling to liberate mankind. And it is in this regard that Fox spends almost an entire chapter of his book giving an outline of the epic story that could be written about the worker, printer Comrade Dimitrov, and his world-shaking victory over the Fascist barbarians.

Fox shows how many-sided such a story could be, how full of possibilities for showing the development of the Titanic figure of Dimitrov both in relation to his fellow-prisoners and in relation to the whole gang of Fascist degenerates whom he overwhelmed by the greatness of his spirit. Such a story, worthy of our epoch, a story whose treatment calls for the best that the literary art can give, stands waiting to be written by an author whose own fighting spirit and technique render him worthy of his subject.

Fox made his appeal to others to write about Comrade Dimitrov, but he himself was obviously very much attracted by this theme, as is shown by the fact that he again returns to it in the chapter following.

Fox's book is no mere theoretical tract, but a call to action, a call to writers bourgeois and proletarian.

"In the battle of ideas in the world to-day," he wrote, "the majority of the best writers of the bourgeoisie have begun to move sharply to the Left, and . . . this movement has brought them into contact with declared revolutionary writers. From this contact we may be justified in hoping that there will come the fertilisation of genius which we are seeking . . . (p. 112.)"

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\* *The Novel and the People*, by Ralph Fox. London. Lawrence & Wishart. Price 5/-.

# THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

ANDRE MARTY

FOR ten months now the people of Spain have been waging a struggle in defence of the independence of their country, for land and liberty, for bread, work, and peace. For six and a half months Madrid has been holding out as the invincible citadel of anti-Fascism. Meanwhile, in spite of the difficulties with supplies, in spite of bombs and bullets, the people of Madrid are fighting to-day with the same courage as during the terrible days of November 1936.

Throughout the whole of Spain, among all sections of the population, there is an unparalleled spirit of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice which is keeping back the barbarous hordes of Fascism.

In the face of such heroism (and in order to find anything to compare with it, we have to rise to the heights of the Paris Commune and the years 1917-1919 in Russia), why is the outcome, that is to say the crushing of the Fascists, so long delayed? This question has been raised throughout the world by millions of factory workers, of working people generally who are following with anxiety and hope the great struggle that is taking place in Spain. They fully understand that "the liberation of Spain from the aggression of the Fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spanish people, but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind." (Stalin).

## I.

### WHAT IS THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SPAIN?

At the end of April there was a considerable improvement in the military situation as a whole. The month of February saw the Fascists, who had taken Malaga, held back at Motril. But above all their great offensive against Jarama not only failed to cut Madrid off from Valencia, but resulted in a crushing defeat and seriously exhausted their best troops.

March brought the republican forces a great victory at Guadalajara, their first since the beginning of the war. The defeat of the Italian Fascist divisions had such military and political consequences in Spain, such political consequences in Italy and throughout the whole world, that certain "well-intentioned" spirits from London and Paris, who refused to move a finger so long as the Republican forces were being beaten, or when the women and children were being massacred, were immediately moved to talk about *mediation*, and to demand that an armistice be concluded. Then there was the difficult Republican counter-offensive of March and April on the Southern front, the re-occupation of the mercury mines of Almaden, the success at Pozzoblanco and the taking of the Cabeza monastery.

Everything goes to show that the months of March

and April marked the beginning of a change in the entire military situation in favour of the republicans, the beginning of the passage of the initiative into their hands. The frenzied offensive of the Fascists against Bilbao, despite the partial successes gained by them, has not changed the general situation.

Whence these favourable changes in the situation? The causes must be cleared up if we are to establish the methods and the line to be adopted to win as quickly as possible the war started by the reactionary and Fascist rebels in Spain, and their instigators, the German and Italian Fascist invaders.

1. *The victories at Guadalajara, on the Madrid front and on the Southern front are incontestably due to the appearance on the scene of the great Republican People's Army.* They are due to the formation of an army built up on modern lines of numerous "columns," and the entry into this army of new forces of volunteers and recruits.

The Guadalajara victory was a very difficult one from all points of view, and was won because the forces of the Central Front had been under the united command of General Miaja and his General Staff since the early days of November. Guadalajara could only happen because General Miaja as the President of the "Committee for the Defence of Madrid," which embraced all parties, unions and anti-Fascist organisations of the Madrid area, effectively co-ordinated all the forces, political, economic and moral.

The secret of the effective resistance and then of the victory on Madrid front lies in *the united army, united command, and the concentration of all political, economic and moral forces to help the war.*

Certainly everything is not perfect on the Central Front; that is understood. Enormous efforts have yet to be made there in all spheres: military, industrial production, transport (roads and rolling stock), supplies, and the mobilisation of the whole of the population. But those who saw Madrid in November could not longer recognise it in March.

One felt everywhere a desire for organisation, for order, for the elimination of all the talk about revolution, in favour of achieving positive results. Therein lies the secret of the effective defence and later of the victorious counter-attack by the Central Army. And this decisive experience clearly shows the ways and means to be put into operation in all countries in order to obtain decisive victories.

2. *The new Spanish People's Republican Army already, to a considerable degree, constitutes a united political bloc.* The Republican Army is the armed Popular Front; it is an army animated by a clear understanding of the causes of the war and the aims to be achieved. It is not a "non-political" army, to use the notorious lying formula which serves to keep armies in the service of the interests of the capitalist

class; on the contrary, it is an army with a high level of political understanding, definitely aimed against Fascism. It is an army which knows what it is fighting for, the aims and objects it expects to achieve.

This political unification of the army is due above all to the enormous work accomplished by the political commissars under the direction of Commissar-General Alvarez del Vayo and his leading committee composed of representatives of all parties and trade union centres. It is they who, on all the Spanish fronts, have hammered out the people's army; it is they who, ever since the first days of the Fascist rebellion, as agitators and organisers have become at one and the same time the men most loved by the soldiers. It is they who have sacrificed their lives and given their blood to cement the former isolated and undisciplined militia units into squads, sections, companies, battalions, brigades and divisions. It is they who have built up discipline by explaining incessantly to each fighter the aims and reasons of the great liberation struggle of the Spanish people. It is they who have been able to discover the best commanders, sons of the people; it is they who have advanced them to their posts, helped them during every hour of the battle and assisted in making them what they are to-day, namely, popular leaders, beloved and obeyed. The presence of political commissars, commissars of the People's Front in all the army units, has been the effective and indispensable guarantee against betrayals by officers of the former army who were undermining the forces of the militia during the months of August, September and October. The political commissars transformed the "columns" and militia battalions which met defeat during the whole of the summer of 1936 into brigades, divisions and army corps of a victorious army, the army of Madrid, of Guadalajara and the Southern Front.

3. *The months of March and April saw the first real turn in the development of an active campaign of enlightenment and propaganda among the enemy troops and the people still under the bloody dictatorship of the rebels.* This policy originated in particular in the great speech delivered by Alvarez del Vayo, Commissar for War and Minister of Foreign Affairs, entitled "To the Spaniards in the Rebel Zone" (Valencia, April 14). This appeal addressed to that section of the Spanish people who are groaning under the heel of Franco and the German and Italian invaders, has already brought forth fruits.

March and April saw the spectacle on all the fronts for the first time, of squads, sections and even a whole company deserting fully armed from the ranks of the rebels to those of the Republican Army.

If these efforts are continued and extended, if more details and better arguments are given showing what lies behind the rebellion, namely the aims of German

and Italian Fascist intervention, and emphasising what the Spanish Republic has already given to the people, then a still more extensive movement will develop.

4. *The development of international solidarity action was of tremendous support to the Spanish fighters and all the people of Spain and increased their faith in victory.* In the face of the open, cynical entry of the two big Fascist states into the war against the Spanish people, in the face of the "unique kind of neutrality" displayed by the European democracies, the working class and people of Spain have strongly appreciated the effective, powerful aid afforded to them by the international proletariat, by the peoples of all countries and above all by the proletariat and peoples of the Soviet Union. The shouts of "Long Live Russia," which greet the stranger whoever he may be, in the most outlandish villages of the Republican zone, clearly and concisely indicate how great is the affection of the working people of Spain for the great Soviet Union, how much they appreciate the tremendous political and moral aid it has given them, and its supplies of food and medicines. The Spanish people have also been inexpressibly moved by the action of the thousands of volunteers who have come from all countries to fight by their side against Fascism. More than ever before, the Spanish people are in need of this international aid which in all its many forms: political, moral and material, represents one of the most important conditions for victory.

How, then, can we fail to be indignant at the fact that many of the leaders of the Second International who play a decisive rôle in determining its policy, take their stand against uniting the efforts of the working class of all countries in aid of the Spanish people, against such unity as would make this aid a thousand times more powerful. How, for example can we fail to be indignant at Adler, Secretary of the Second International, who will not understand that

*"the achievement of united action by the international proletariat against the common enemy, Fascism, the mortal enemy of all mankind is the fundamental and urgent task of working class organisations throughout the world; it is the supreme demand of the present moment."*

(Dimitrov).

## II.

### THE EXISTING DIFFICULTIES.

And yet, in spite of the lessons of the experience of ten months of warfare, the situation became difficult, at times even critical, at the end of April and in May. Why?

*Because instead of creating, developing and strengthening the factors which would ensure victory,*

*too little, and at times nothing at all was done in this direction by the Minister of War.*

Here are some examples. The great battle of Jarama was a big setback for the Fascists; not only did they fail to cut off the road to Valencia; not only was their offensive checked, but they suffered greater losses than any they had sustained since the beginning of the war. But this setback could have been made a complete disaster for them if there had been fresh Republican troops in the vicinity ready to undertake a counter-attack. But there were no such reserves. They did not exist.

*Guadalajara* was a very heavy defeat for the Spanish and Italian Fascists. It could have been made a disaster for them, had the Republican divisions been relieved by bringing in fresh divisions. This was impossible; *there were no reserves.*

The Spanish people understand the need for building up reserves. But they are only being built up extremely slowly. Why? For one thing, because over entire areas of the country, in Catalonia for example, the Trotskyists (including the P.O.U.M.), numerous anarchist leaders and organisations, for five months refused to apply the decree for the general mobilisation of the five classes, renewed in February, and because Largo Caballero, President of the Council and Minister of War, did nothing to enforce its application. In addition, regional military authorities made the absence of barracks for the recruits a pretext for sending them home, and the Minister of War did not intervene at all. Finally, in entire regions like Catalonia, the Republican Army is not yet organised as it is in the rest of Spain; on the Aragon Front the armed forces are still divided up according to parties and trade union organisations. This what led to the disasters suffered in August, September and October in the valley of Tago.

In his speech in Albacete on February 14, 1937, Citizen Martinez Barrio, President of the Chamber of Deputies, declared that the Republic must demand of its military leaders that they "*enter into marriage with victory.*" This was the formula of the Great French Revolution in 1792-93. In spite of this, one great military chief, referred to in the press, and rightly so, as "the organiser of all the defeats," was able to remain for months at his post in the high command and was not removed, except to have conferred upon him an equally important post. No enquiry, no penalty followed the loss of Malaga, although everyone in Spain knew that this very important town could and should have been victoriously defended. One of the vital conditions for success is to purge the command of all those who nourish any sympathies in their hearts for the Fascist enemies of the people, and who prove it by being incapable of fighting the enemy and defeating them. In spite of a big press campaign and of the acceptance in principle

of this fact, no purging of the command was undertaken, because certain sectarian interests were put above the interests of the People's Front, above the interests of the victory over Fascism.

Who can deny that an essential condition for speedy victory is the security of the rear, the clearing out of it of all suspicious elements, provocateurs and spies. Not only was this measure not adopted, but no sooner, for example, did Gasorla, member of the Madrid Defence Committee arrest a gang of spies and provocateurs, and the governor of Murcia proceed to undertake a serious drive against the Fascists infecting the region, than the anarchist and Trotskyist press launched a most violent campaign against these two men because they happened to be Communists. Once again sectarian interests were put above the interests of the People's Front and of the anti-Fascist struggle.

It is absolutely clear that the extremely strict blockade of Spain that followed on the application of the decisions of the London Non-Intervention Committee, demands that an exceptional effort be made by the Republican Government rapidly to develop and unite the whole of the war industry. However, the output of munitions is too low, because each union wishes to run a factory or enterprise itself, etc., etc.

Why is such a situation possible?

Because in certain of the trade union organisations, and in the mind of the former Minister of War himself, the victory at Guadalajara, the victorious advance of the Republican troops on the Southern front, created the false impression of the situation, according to which all obstacles and difficulties have been overcome and surmounted. These organisations and these people who were influenced by the first important, though not decisive, victories of the Republican army, have forgotten *that it is necessary now more than ever before to concentrate all forces against the chief enemy, against Fascism*; that is to say, that it is necessary now more than ever before to concentrate all forces in order *to win the war*. In forgetting this, these organisations, or rather certain elements in these organisations, and certain members of the Government, influenced by the enemies of the united front, have engaged in a most violent attack against the supporters of unity who have built up the People's Front in Spain and whose forces are growing every day; and above all have undertaken a violent attack against the Communist Party. Here are a few examples.

The commissars constitute the veritable backbone, the heart and soul of the Republican Army. But Caballero, Minister of War, issued an unexpected circular restricting the powers of the political commissars and subjecting their nomination to strict rules, leaving the final decision to the Minister of

War. The circular was an attempt to transform the appointment of the political commissars, these energetic, active and heroic men into a simple bureaucratic business, to deprive them of all autonomy and initiative of their own and to place them entirely at the disposal of the Minister of War.

The Madrid Defence Committee, under the presidency of General Miaja, showed how it was possible to carry on successful defence and then to pass on to the counter-attack. Instead of being given assistance in correcting shortcomings, and above all instead of being imitated throughout the Spanish Republic, it was suddenly dissolved on April 24 and replaced by the Municipal Council, which is far from expressing the strength of the different working class and democratic organisations of Madrid, and in particular the role and influence of the Communist Party. At a time when it is indispensable in all besieged towns like Madrid for the leadership to be thoroughly concentrated, the former President of the Council separated the two authorities, the military (General Miaja) and the civil (the Municipal Council) and thus very considerably weakened the defence of the town. In a word, for certain fractions of the parties and organisations, for certain members of the former government, the enemy now is no longer Fascism, but Communism. And it has to be admitted that the development of this violent offensive against unity coincided with the arrival in Spain of certain leaders of the Second International, and in particular of citizen Fritz Adler, secretary of the Second International. This so-called working-class leader not only remains a violent enemy of the united front, but is now striving to smash the united front, to smash the united organisations of the people and of the Spanish working class.

The delegation of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain and of the U.G.T. (trade union centre of which Largo Caballero is the president) to the London Conference of the Second International and the Amsterdam International left the conference profoundly disappointed at not having succeeded in obtaining united action to aid Spain on an international scale. Citizen Fritz Adler responded to their appeals not only by not assisting the development of the united front, but by coming to Spain to justify and to try to apply the criminal anti-unity policy of Citrine and his like, agents of the British Conservatives. For it was Fritz Adler indeed who wrote the following on March 21, 1937, in the *Adelante*, the Socialist newspaper published in Valencia:

"Many among you Spanish comrades have a false idea of the situation in England. The Socialist and trade Union organisations of England are completely on the side of the Spanish working class. Many think that these organisations can completely change the political situation in the country; this is not so, for this policy cannot be modified until there has been a complete change in the government."

As though by accident, the same number of the *Adelante* published three violent articles against the Communist Party! Fascism was forgotten!

By this abominable splitting work which Fritz Adler and his like are trying to achieve in Spain, they once more underline the justice of the words of Comrade Dimitrov that "as far as these leaders are concerned, the chief enemy is not Fascism, but Communism. . . The chief enemy is not Franco, but Dolores Ibarruri, heroine of the Spanish people."

### III.

#### THE BARCELONA PUTSCH.

In Catalonia, the working class, the whole of the people, are animated with a profound and irrepressible hatred of capitalist oppression, against semi-feudal oppression in the countryside. These people who have been so oppressed, these workers who have been martyred during the course of sixty years, are imbued with a splendid heroism. Unfortunately, under the influence of anarchist sectarianism, of which it has always been the centre, Catalonia is now that part of Spain where the working class and the people are more divided than anywhere else. Three big organisations play a very important political rôle there: the Left Republican Party, which always obtains the vast majority of votes during elections and is closely connected with the Sharecroppers' Union—this is the party of the Republican bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, the P.S.U.C. (United Socialist Party of Catalonia), which includes four small proletarian or popular parties, is affiliated to the Communist International and has influence over the U.G.T. of Catalonia—was formed after the Fascist rebellion; and lastly the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist trade union centre) which is closely connected with the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation).

Besides these three chief organisations, there are other organisations in Catalonia which are, and remain violently hostile to the People's Front and Unity. Since the Fascist rebellion at the end of July 1936, all the suspicious elements in Barcelona have naturally declared themselves members of some organisation or another so as to protect themselves, to procure arms and to maintain them. Barcelona swarms with Fascist spies. During the imperialist war one of the main centres of the Intelligence Service of the German General Staff was installed there. It is quite natural that Barcelona is therefore one of the chief operating centres of the Gestapo in the Mediterranean. And of the Italian Fascist secret police as well. That is one of the reasons why Barcelona is the strongest hotbed of demoralisation existing in Spain, is one of the principal rallying centres of hostile elements.

The Trotskyist P.O.U.M., led by Nin and his col-

laborators, was the organisation which grouped around itself all the criminal elements and provocateurs, and at the same time brought influence to bear upon what are known as the uncontrollables, upon a number of anarchist organisations and above all upon the organisations of the anarchist youth.

The decree requisitioning all arms, and unifying all the forces of the Republican Army, was made on October 12. It was renewed on March 27, and immediately brought about the resignation of the Catalonian defence delegate (anarchist), who had refused to apply the mobilisation decree issued in Valencia, and caused one of the crises of the Catalonian Government. Unfortunately, Largo Caballero, Minister of War, accepted the fact that his decree had not been applied in practice.

At the end of April, at the time of the very powerful Fascist attack on Bilbao, effective aid could have been extended to Biscay by the action of the Catalonian forces at Teruel and on the Aragon front. To this end, what was then required was the application of the decree for the requisition of arms and the establishment of a united regular army. Immediately it began to be applied, the anarchy-loving youth, uncontrollable elements, and overt and covert Trotskyists, in obedience to the Trotskyist slogans which had been advocated, propagated and discussed for several months by the P.O.U.M., replied by undertaking an armed putsch. The launching of this putsch was facilitated by the attitude adopted by certain members of the late Government, whose heads had been turned by the first military successes; they permitted a violent discussion to be started in the newspapers and inside the organisations of the People's Front, with the result that anti-Fascist unity was weakened the Trotskyists then immediately began their attack. The following is what the P.O.U.M. wrote in its appeal for May Day, published in the *Bataille*:—

"It is two years already since the working masses awoke. Day and night the workers in the factories and mills are in anxiety about the outcome of the revolution which is endangered by the reformist policy. We will continue to be vigilant for we cannot tolerate the policy of the central government and the government of Catalonia, a policy directed against the working class, against the revolution, and towards the return to power of the bourgeoisie, a policy which has brought July 19 to ruin . . . The government of Valencia, like the government of Catalonia, has created conditions which are weakening the working class movement and aim at crushing the proletariat."

The situation is clear. What order could Franco, or more exactly Hitler, have given his agents in Republican Spain with a view to paralysing the Republican troops, the war industry and the whole life of the country? It could have been no other than this: "Do everything possible to introduce schisms, to reduce confidence in the Government, to effect acts

of sabotage, to engage in assassination, and, if possible, in putsches, try all possible means to weaken the armed forces of the Republic and the war industry."

"Do everything possible to divide the united forces of the Republic, of the People's Front." The whole of the campaign conducted by the Trotskyists in Spain since July, 1936, aimed at dividing, disintegrating the rear, at weakening the whole of the anti-Fascist struggle. The flight abroad of a number of Trotskyist "leaders" is yet another sign of their guilt."

To refuse to provide the front with rifles, to steal and hide machine-guns and armoured cars in Barcelona is tantamount to disarming the men fighting at the front, to stabbing them in the back, to murdering them. To start an armed rebellion in the biggest proletarian and industrial town of Spain, in the biggest port of Spain, is, quite obviously, to sabotage the arrival of foodstuffs and provisions, to sabotage the making of arms and munitions; it is the very best service they could possibly render to Franco.

It is for this reason that our Party has demanded over and over again that the most energetic and implacable measures be adopted against the Trotskyists, agents of Franco in Spain and, above all, in Catalonia.

What has been their attitude during the last three years?

During the events in Asturia (October, 1934), the Communist International invited the Second International to conduct joint action in aid of the Spanish people in their struggle against reaction. Immediately the P.O.U.M. conducted a campaign of unprecedented violence, declaring that instead of united action a Fourth International ought to be established in place of the Third and Second Internationals; in a word, it replied to the appeal for unity by engineering a split at a time when the guns of the legionaries were shooting down the workers.

After October, 1934, thanks to the campaign for unity waged particularly by the Communist Party, the big unity campaign of the two trade union centres, the U.G.T. (General Workers' Union) and the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour), began to develop. The Communist Party, which was the ideological leader of a trade union organisation, the C.G.T.U., immediately dissolved it; its members were invited to join the U.G.T. The P.O.U.M. responded by creating the Trade Union Federation of Working-Class Unity in Catalonia "to prevent the trade unions from falling into reformist hands"—in other words, another manoeuvre to divide the movement in reply to the appeal for all the workers to join a united U.G.T., capable of barring the way against Fascism and acting as a powerful working-class force in the struggle for bread and liberty.

Immediately following the events in Asturia, a great unity campaign developed among the youth, and especially the Communist and Socialist Youth. Immediately the Trotskyists violently attacked this campaign. They hurled insults at the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Youth; at the same time they set about the establishment of a new organisation, the so-called *Iberian Communist Youth*. Once again, attempts at splitting in opposition to the drive for unity, and this in a period of reaction.

When a big campaign for the People's Front was launched at the end of 1935 and the beginning of 1936, the Trotskyists violently protested against it, asserting that the workers would lose their revolutionary outlook in such a bloc and would find themselves under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. At a time when all the democratic and progressive forces of Spain were entering the People's Front and preparing for the election victory of February 16, 1936, at a time when the anarchists themselves were asking their adherents to vote for the People's Front, in view of the struggle to be conducted against Fascism, the Trotskyists were conducting the most violent splitting campaign to divide the ranks of the People's Front.

The Fascist rebellion of July, 1936, came. At that time the slogan of the day was defence of the democratic Republic, the only slogan capable of rallying all the anti-Fascist forces, the only one capable of creating the conditions necessary for a struggle for the real liberation of the proletariat and all the people of Spain. The reply of the Trotskyists to this was to demand the immediate establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a slogan calculated to smash the People's Front by separating the middle classes from the proletariat and depriving the latter of their allies, thereby facilitating German and Italian Fascist intervention.

On the international field the slogan of the Trotskyists for the immediate establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Spain could only serve to aggravate the lack of confidence of the European democracies in the Spanish Republic, and consequently could only result in a further restriction of the already limited aid being rendered to Spain. Thus the slogans of the Trotskyists aimed at smashing the People's Front in Spain and restricting or altogether putting a stop to international solidarity.

Against the international brigades made up of Communists, Socialists and anti-Fascists of all countries, who have come to defend the people of Spain, the Spanish Trotskyists make the following slanderous statement: "Anarchist comrades, do not trust the brigades of the Communist International fighting beside us to crush Fascism. They are the army corps which the Communists of Catalonia and Spain will send against you, as they did during the Russian



revolution against the anarchists." It was a criminal act of provocation designed to arouse the hatred of honest anarchist workers against the international brigades engaged in rendering such great aid to the Spanish people. Only an agent of Franco could express himself in these terms.

To sum up, Trotskyism in Spain has been fighting against everything that signifies unity and the strengthening of the People's Front. It has fought and is still fighting against the formation of the regular army, the powerful armed expressions of the Spanish people. The Trotskyists oppose it in the following terms: "We do not want a regular army, because it would mean that we recognise militarism, it would mean imposing the same methods and forms as those of the previous army; we want only the revolutionary militia." The Trotskyists thus give exact expression to the thoughts of the agents of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. They rally together and organise all the "uncontrolled" elements and Fascist provocateurs, and thanks to their "revolutionary" talk, they succeed in influencing the less conscious anarchist workers.

Since the putsch, that is to say the crime has been accomplished, energetic measures must be adopted; the Republicans, the rank and file Socialists, the Anarchists, the Communists insist upon this; it is demanded above all by those who have not had a single day's leave since the beginning of the battle for Madrid, who demand to be defended in the rear.

Thus, the Barcelona putsch has once more demonstrated the truth of Dimitrov's words that: "What is needed is, while carrying on the struggle against Fascism to be absolutely merciless in dealing blows at its Trotskyist agents, who are a gang of spies, diversionists, terrorists and police provocateurs, in the service of German Fascism and the Japanese militarists. The Trotskyist degenerates, on instructions from the Fascist intelligence services, are carrying on subversive work against the land of Socialism, are doing everything possible to deepen the split in the working-class movement and to prevent its unity, and are striving to disintegrate the People's Front movement from within. Everywhere their actions are those of wreckers of the working-class movement and disorganisers of the struggle of the masses of the people against Fascism. International proletarian unity against Fascism and war is unthinkable and impossible unless a struggle is carried on against the Trotskyist agents of Fascism."

And the Barcelona events once more confirm the words of Comrade Stalin at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., held in March this year:

"Present-day Trotskyism is not a political trend in the working class, but a gang without principles and without ideals, a gang of wreckers, diversionists, intelligence service

agents, spies, assassins, a gang of sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of the intelligence services of foreign states."

In order to understand how great are the services rendered by the Trotskyist bandits to the Fascist interventionists, it will be enough to quote the *Temps*, organ of the big French bourgeoisie, of the Comité de Forges, dated May 9, 1937:

"It seems, on the other hand, that the appearance of the black banner in Catalonia has only served to facilitate the final alliance between Italy and Germany on the line to be followed in Spanish affairs, and on their common desire to continue in their efforts."

#### IV

#### THE CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT

The changes which have taken place in the Government began with the resignation of Largo Caballero, the President of the Council, and Minister for War.

The Caballero Government formed at the end of August, 1936, had to play, and did play an important and necessary role. It was the first Government to unite all the forces of the People's Front, from the Communists to the moderate Republicans and Basque Catholic Nationalists. It was enlarged at the end of October by including the C.N.T. (the Anarcho-Sindicalist Trade Unions), thus uniting in its ranks all the anti-Fascist forces. Its leader, Largo Caballero, played an important role in the work accomplished, but he failed to understand that new tactics and efforts were required for the new situation.

The month of March brought about an intensification of the blockade of Spain at the same time as the victory at Guadalajara. At this moment it needed the exertion of every effort in all spheres, military, industrial, economic and political, in order to deliver a decisive blow against Fascism. All the parties and the majority of the members of the trade unions of the U.G.T. and C.N.T. insisted upon the adoption of resolute, energetic and immediate measures. Our Communist Party, which had grown considerably in prestige, influence and membership, also insisted upon this. Our Communist Party, all the slogans of which, issued since July, have been proved by experience to be correct; our Communist Party, thousands of members of which have fallen in the front line of battle under Fascist machine-gun fire, and whose members, working in the political, military and economic spheres, are the pride of all the people, demanded this.

But the President of the Council and Minister for War did not understand that the relation of social forces inside the People's Front had completely changed. He paid heed, rather, to certain members of the E.C. of the U.G.T., who no longer represent the outlook of the trade unions and their members;

for example, those in the Madrid region, in Catalonia, Asturias and Biscay. He would not pay heed to the voice of the workers, the soldiers and peasants. He did not adhere to the slogans of the February 14 demonstration which almost half a million demonstrators carried under the windows of his apartment. He did not see the new polarisation of forces. And this breach between the demands of the workers and the people on the one hand, and the leader of the Government on the other, forced him to resign.

There are several examples to show clearly that after having rendered good service to the anti-Fascist cause, Largo Caballero was unable to understand the profound changes which have taken place among the people of Spain. For two months Catalonia refused to establish a regular army, which, had it been formed, would have immediately hindered, and perhaps checked, the formidable attack against Biscay. For two months the Trotskyists and "uncontrollable" elements accumulated arms, including machine-guns and tanks, in Barcelona, instead of sending them to the Aragon front, where they were so much needed. A head of the Government, who is at the same time Minister for War, and permits of such practice without adopting any measures, thereby cuts himself from the masses. A head of the Government who, when the situation especially demands it, fails to raise the productivity of the factories to the maximum. While there is a working class ready to increase production threefold and fourfold, as shown by the Stakhanov shifts in Madrid, thereby cuts himself off from the masses. A head of the Government and Minister of the Interior who fail or do not want to perceive the open preparations for a counter-revolutionary putsch, thereby cut themselves off from the militant anti-Fascist masses at the front and in the rear.

It is to be regretted that the Government was forced to reorganise itself at such a decisive moment of the war. It is still more to be regretted that certain members of the Government allowed themselves to be influenced by the "pilgrims" who were not to be seen in Spain at a time when it appeared that everything was lost. I am referring, primarily, to Fritz Adler, Secretary of the Second International.

The visit of Fritz Adler and some of his friends immediately let loose a violent polemic in the Spanish press against the united forces of the People's Front and, first and foremost, against our Communist Party, of whose 240,000 members, 135,000 or more than half, are fighting at the front; these discussions favoured the Barcelona putsch. Fritz Adler took the liberty of defending Sir Walter Citrine before the Spanish workers, by identifying him with the trade union organisations in Great Britain, just as though Sir Walter has anything in common with the miners, dockers, metal workers and sailors of Great Britain.

The truth is that by coming to defend Sir Walter before the Spanish workers, Fritz Adler came to defend the policy of the British Conservatives, which has the support of Sir Walter. It is a policy of strangling the Spanish Republic, and has been in force ever since the first day of the rebellion, when the British Government refused coal and oil to Spanish warships at Gibraltar, when it drove the Republican fleet from Tangiers in order to permit Franco's troops to cross the Straits. This policy has continued right up to the present day, when it demands mediation each time the Fascist rebels and the interventionist troops are defeated by the Republican Army.

This is the policy that Fritz Adler, who never allows an occasion to pass wherein to declare himself violently opposed to the People's Front, came to defend and operate in Spain. It is infinitely regrettable that certain leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party allowed themselves to be influenced by this man whose arrival in Spain coincided with the frantic attacks of the Trotskyists aimed at dividing the People's Front and arousing a violent campaign against our Communist Party.

Especially at the present moment, the men fighting in Spain have no time for these "tourists at the front." There is room for everybody in the Spanish Republican Army, but only for the purpose of fighting against Fascism, and not for sowing germs of dissension.

One can only regret the tenacity and obstinacy of a number of the leaders of the Second International who oppose the creation of an extensive united front, of unity of action which in Europe would result in a tremendous wave of aid for the Spanish Republic and would overcome all resistance.

All working people understand that the victory of the people of Spain must be hastened on by every possible means, by breaking down the abominable policy of what amounts to sanctions against the legally constituted Government (not a quarter of these sanctions have been applied to Italy and Germany). They understand that all the forces of the working class need to be rallied to blockade the supplies and assistance arriving from all parts for the Spanish Fascists, and to ensure aid to the great Spanish people in the shape of provisions, clothing, milk and medicaments, of which they stand in such dire need, and to evacuate women and children en masse to places of safety away from the bombardments.

It is not behind the scenes in the Government offices of Valencia, or in the ante-chambers of fictitious General Staffs that service can be rendered to the Spanish Republic.

*The place for those who are not fighting in Spain is in their own country. There it is that they should*

bring about the united front, and arouse the masses.

Dimitrov quite rightly reminded us recently that the 7th Congress of the C.I. declared:

"Joint action with the Social Democratic Parties and organisations not only does not preclude, but on the contrary renders still more necessary the serious and well founded criticism of reformism, of Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the patient exposition of the principles and programme of Communism to the Social Democratic workers."

Our Spanish brother Party was right, then, in criticising the mistakes and shortcomings of the Largo Caballero Government.

It is to be regretted that the attitude adopted by the former President of the Council and Minister for War and the former Minister for the Interior—an attitude contrary to the spirit of collective work—provoked the recent ministerial crisis because it refused to allow of any criticism whatsoever, criticism indispensable to the progress of the war, and levelled not only by the Communist Ministers, but also by the Socialist and Republican Ministers. But the criticism will have a salutary effect if it leads to more collective work, more real achievement, more energy and activity.

## V

### FOR VICTORY OVER FASCISM!

The Spanish people will be victorious. They will crush the rebels and traitors to the country, they will liberate themselves from the German and Italian Fascist invaders.

1. The Spanish people will be victorious because our Communist Party has grown considerably in strength and prestige in the fire of the *struggle*, has actually become the most important factor in the victory of the revolution and of the war of national independence.

Our glorious brother party has increased from 35,000 members in February, 1936, to 249,000 members to-day, of whom more than half (135,000) are at the front, supported by 50,000 members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia and 12,000 members of the C.P. of Biscay, and has proved the correctness of all its proposals and directions. The "8 conditions for victory," in particular, which have been posted on all the walls of Spain since December, form a remarkable charter which, if applied, would mean a decisive step forward in the direction of success.

The prestige and influence of the Communist Party are high in the U.G.T. and are growing strong in the C.N.T.; its influence is considerable in the countryside, and is tremendous in the army.

Its political leaders, Ministers, commanders of

army corps, divisions, brigades, and battalions; its commissars, its men fighting at the front, its administrators; all are modest, serious-minded working people whose loyalty is unshakable. They serve as examples in the training and moulding of new fighters.

Thanks to its activity and influence, the anti-Fascist movement is growing broader and deeper with every day that passes. Our Communist Party is witnessing its first successes in the campaign to unite the two parties, Socialist and Communist. It continues to work incessantly for the fusion of the two great trade union centres, the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. Finally, it is the essential element in the rallying together of all the forces of the working class and all working people, of all democratic and progressive forces in the People's Front. We are proud that thanks to the activity of the Communist Party such important results have attended the Spanish people in their struggle against Fascism.

2. The Spanish people will be victorious because ten months of warfare have created a *new Spain*. In blood and suffering there has been born a democratic, parliamentary Republic of a *new type*, quite different to the French, Belgian and British democracies. In Spain, the material basis of reaction and fascism has already been severely undermined and partially *destroyed*. And it is on these ruins that true democracy will grow up. The Communist Party of Spain constantly reminds all those who accuse it of forgetting the revolution, of just this point. What forms the basis of this new type of democracy which ensures victory?

(a) The land is in the hands of the poor peasants and agricultural *workers*. The decree of October 7, 1936, "*expropriated* without compensation and in favour of the State all lands and agricultural enterprises which on July 18, 1936, belonged to persons who directly or indirectly participated in the insurrectionary movement against the *Republic*." Thus there are no longer any big landed proprietors in the Spanish Republic! Therefore, hundreds of thousands of people exploited down the ages by the feudal lords and big landlords are to-day the masters of the soil they cultivate!

(b) The enterprises abandoned by the reactionaries and Fascists are, in the majority of cases, in the hands of the State, and all are under the control of the *workers*. The proletarians are masters of production and are responsible for it.

(c) *The banks*, the financial wealth of the country, are controlled by the State and the workers' organisations.

(d) *Arms are in the hands of the people*. In Republican Spain there is no longer a caste army. The working people have seized arms and are using them to defend their rights, liberties and well-being. The

People's Army, with its commanders, who have arisen from the people and have proved their loyalty to the people with their blood, with its heroic commissars, is firmly anti-Fascist; it is also a politically united new type of army.

(e) The economic and political power of the Church has *disappeared*. The priests and bishops who took up arms against the people, and are in the ranks of the rebels, have been dispossessed of the enormous wealth they had accumulated.

(f) The Republican Army is the expression of the people's *will*. It is formed of all the parties of the People's Front, from the Communists to the Basque Catholics. The recent ministerial crisis partly originated in the healthy reaction of the vast majority of the members of the Government against certain elements who tried to operate individually, above any control, and in an impermissibly dictatorial manner. In a short time, the Cortes will be called upon to sanction the alteration in the composition, that is to say the policy, of the Government.

Is there not the basis here for a revolution which will rid Spain of its semi-feudalism and its age-old obscurantism? Comrade José Diaz was quite right in reminding us, on May 9 at Valencia, *that it is impossible to separate the revolution from the war. It is by making war against the Fascists that this deep social transformation can develop and deepen.*

(g) *The Spanish people will be victorious because on this solid basis the anti-Fascist movement brings about the concentration and unification of all the forces of the people.*

When the Communist Party, during the first days of the rebellion, declared that the prime need was the defence of the democratic Republic, many important Socialist leaders demanded, on the contrary, that a Socialist Republic should be immediately established, failing to understand that this would immediately smash the People's Front and lead to the victory of Fascism. To-day, thanks to the activities of the Communist Party, many of the leaders of the Socialist Party have changed their attitude and adopted the point of view of the Communist Party, which alone will make it possible, with victory and after it, to prepare the real march towards Socialism.

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. have recently declared that we must wait for the end of the war before trying to set up "*libertarian*" Communism. In October they raised the question of an insurrection to set up a dictatorial Council of Defence. Then they demanded a "*revolutionary alliance*" between the C.N.T. and U.G.T., with a view to setting up a "*government on trade union lines,*" charged with the immediate accomplishment of the social revolution. What a tremendous change has taken place in these organisations!

At the beginning of the Fascist rebellion, the *Re-*

*publicans*, while declaring it impossible to return to a Republic of the April 14 type, nevertheless in the majority of cases were against the acceptance of a social programme which could provide the Republic with a new type of economic and political content. To-day they are loyally supporting the viewpoint of the Communist Party and are helping to put it into practice.

*To have successfully united* these different trends, including the Basque Catholics, on the basis of the anti-Fascist People's Front, to have succeeded in securing the acceptance of the principle of the creation of a united People's Army, and the operation in Spain of a united army command, nationalisation of the factories, and at the same time respect for the small and middle property-holders in town and country, is no small success. A year ago nobody would have believed that such a large anti-Fascist and national force could be possible.

True, the difficulties facing the new Government are *tremendous*. The most serious lies in a certain lack of trust on the part of the majority of the E.C. of the U.G.T. and of organisations of the C.N.T. towards the new Government. It seems, however, that this resistance will not persist for long.

For example, the U.G.T. cannot forget that it has considerably increased in membership since July, 1936, and that three-quarters at least of the unions affiliated to it are strong supporters of unity and the People's Front. But the central councils of the trade unions and the executive committees of the U.G.T. have not been re-elected since October, 1934. They do not, thus, represent the real feelings of the members which, moreover, vary in the different regions. For example, there is not a single Communist on the Executive Committee of the U.G.T., although the U.G.T. trade unions in Madrid and Catalonia are Communist in the majority of cases.

Moreover, the resolutions congratulating the new Government, adopted by the U.G.T. organisations in Madrid, Catalonia, Biscay and Asturias, are sufficient proof that the Executive Committee in Valencia does not reflect the opinion of the members.

On the other hand, faced with the actual realities of the war, the mass of the C.N.T. members have also evolved very considerably in the sense of unity and anti-Fascism. For this reason many of the leaders, of whom Vasquez is the secretary of the National Committee, exerted all their efforts to put a stop to the Trotskyist-Fascist putsch in Barcelona, which has done so much harm to the Spanish people. All this leads us to hope that in a short time the two trade union centres will be, if not directly represented in the Government, once more vigorous supporters of it in the anti-Fascist struggle.

The Spanish Communist Party demands of the new Government that the serious mistakes committed

in the past be repaired as quickly as possible. It demands:

1. *The final entry of the Catalonian armed forces into the Spanish People's Army under a united command;*
2. *The purging of the army command of all those who have shown themselves to be inefficient;*
3. *The elimination of the chaos which reigns in industry, now entirely nationalised;*
4. *The purging of the rear of people belonging to the "Fifth Column" of spies, provocateurs, defeatists, i.e., primarily the open and masked Trotskyist groups of the P.O.U.M. type. This requires that an unhesitating and energetic policy be pursued as is demanded by the people.*

All this must be done in order to win the war as quickly as possible.

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It is true that the situation in Spain is still grave. The Fascist enemy is strongly armed; in spite of the control, they have the support of two big Fascist States, while the European democracies, and primarily England and France, against the will of the people of these countries, are helping to stifle the Spanish people.

The prohibition against the purchase of arms and ammunition by the legally-constituted Government of Spain, the prohibition against the entry of international volunteers into Spain, the "control" which is really a blockade of the Spanish Republic, while the warships and aeroplanes of the German and Italian Fascists continue to supply Franco with all the aid he requires, all these "neutrality" measures are, in reality, only of advantage to the Fascists.

So that international aid should not only be continued, but be considerably increased, it is necessary for foodstuffs, medicaments, ambulances, medical accessories, doctors and surgeons to go in a constant stream to Spain. The women and children must be saved by withdrawing them from the burning soil of Spain, bombarded as it is on all sides. The Republican Government must have the same rights as the other legal governments. Further, the action taken by the working people of the great Soviet Union must without delay be complemented by action on the part of the united front of the workers of all countries, of all those who love liberty. Thus, the sooner this is achieved and amplified, the sooner will the barriers erected by the reactionary leaders of the Second International be broken down; the stronger will this international aid be, the more will it consolidate and weld together the People's Front in Spain, the anti-Fascist unity of the workers and peoples of the Peninsula, and the sooner will it lead to victory.

## THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

"A government is judged by its deeds, not by its words." Jesus Hernandez, Minister of Public Education, made this his starting point when on May 28 he asked the working people of Spain to express their opinion as regards the Negrin Government, as well as the policy of our Communist Party. This Government has been in existence only a few days, but it has already reorganised and concentrated the Army High Command. It has begun to incorporate the Catalonian forces in this army; in the heat of the struggle it is carrying out similar work in Biscay and Asturias, where the militia and armed units of parties and trade unions still exist. It has taken the first steps towards purging the country of spies, agent-provocateurs, "uncontrollable elements," and has already suppressed the Trotskyist newspaper *La Bataille*, which led the counter-revolutionary putsch in Barcelona. The generals who were responsible for the loss of Malaga, whether through treachery or inefficiency, are to be tried.

This is a good beginning. The enthusiastic approval of tremendous masses of working people and soldiers is a good indication that the Negrin Government represents the will of the people, the will so clearly expressed in the great demonstrations in Valencia on February 14, and which the Caballero-Galarza group refused to satisfy. The vote of the *National Committee* of the U.G.T., expressing its confidence in the new Government in opposition to the contrary gesture of its Executive Committee, throws light upon the recent ministerial crisis. It should not be forgotten that the origin of this crisis was the opposition towards the Caballero-Galarza group of all the Communist, Socialist and Republican Ministers, following on, as the *Temps* declared, the interference of Del Vayo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who on his return from Paris insisted on the need for the adoption of measures to prevent a repetition of acts like the Barcelona putsch, the repercussions of which were so grave abroad.

This group, as above explained, did not understand, nor wanted to understand, the profound changes effected during the last ten months among the masses of the workers and the people in general. This was because the main base of the Caballero group is a narrow section of trade union functionaries in the U.G.T., who being thoroughly bureaucratic did not and do not want to see the changes taking place among the workers and the masses of the people who are ardently desirous of doing everything possible to win the war. Caballero and Galarza are adding to this "association of interests" of certain trade union functionaries, the revolutionary talk of the Trotskyists and certain Anarchist elements who have not been

capable of anything better than terrorising the small peasants and launching the Barcelona putsch instead of acting energetically at the front and helping the production of munitions in the rear.

Unprecedented passivity and inertia hidden behind revolutionary talk was the policy of this group which stood so aloof from the sentiments of the workers and toilers of Spain and Catalonia. To those who pretend that the Negrin Government is "less revolutionary than the one which preceded it," our Party has already replied by pointing out what can be the only revolutionary way out in the conditions prevailing in Spain to-day. The way out is to form a strong people's army, well armed and skilled in military technique, a single General Staff purged of traitors and incompetents; it is to build up a big war industry and increase agricultural and industrial production; it is to ensure the security of the rear and the front against provocateurs and spies. In a word, the only revolutionary policy is to carry on the war, to win the war against the Spanish fascists and the German and Italian invaders. *Because to win the war is to win the revolution.* This revolutionary policy is that which the new Negrin Government has begun to carry out, composed as it is of Socialists and Communists (the proletarian conscience of the Govern-

ment)—together with the Republicans—representing the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, and the delegates of the peoples of Catalonia and Biscay, who are also striving to liberate themselves from imperialist and Fascist slavery.

Berlin and Rome are under no illusions. Hardly had the Negrin Government been formed when all the brutality of the Fascists broke over it with unprecedented violence. The air-raids over Barcelona and Valencia were begun again. Madrid is being systematically and savagely bombarded, while Almeria has been devastated by Hitler's warships. And Italian and German pirate submarines are sinking Spanish merchant ships, without either British democracy or French democracy raising a finger in protest.

Hitler and Mussolini are aware that Franco is going to lose; he has met with a setback in Biscay. He is again retreating on the Sierra de Guadarrama front. And so they are also doubling their violent efforts.

And it is for this reason that there should be still greater, still more persistent united action of all the working people. It is for this reason that each Communist Party must double its efforts to obtain united action on an international scale, the strongest trump-card which guarantees the rapid success of the Spanish people against Fascism.



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# IT CAN BE DONE



Speeches and  
Resolutions of the  
Fourteenth Congress  
of the C.P.G.B.

**6<sup>D</sup>.**