

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 17. No. 10

6th March, 1937

CONTENTS

S. Gopner: Unforgettable Moments	255	The Balkans	
World Politics		Stephan: Fascist Dictatorship Prepares for Municipal Elections in Bulgaria	264
Foreign-Political Review of the Week	256	New Zealand	
Georges Soria: Background of German Penetration in Morocco	257	L. Sharkey: The New Zealand Labour Government	265
Franz Lang: The Eucharist World Congress	258	India	
Great Britain		M. Slater: India After the Elections	266
R. Bishop: Hitler's Labour Lord	257	Iraq	
Germany		Selim Abud: The Situation in Iraq	267
H. Behrend: Sharp Discords Disturb the German Symphony	260	China	
E. B.: Ernst Thaelmann, Four Years Hitler's Prisoner	261	The Plenum of the Kuomintang	268
Italy		The "Isvestia" on the Manifesto of the Kuomintang	268
Adami: The Fascist Grand Council and the Control of Non-Intervention	262	Soviet Union	
Czechoslovakia		A. M. Ivanov: The Leningrad District in 1937	269
F. Werner: The Czechoslovak Government and the German		C. Bobrovskaya: A Glorious Page from the Life Story of Ordjonikidze	269
Spain		In the International	
Nicola Ferretti: Spain, the Battleground of Freedom	263	The United Socialist Party of Catalonia Shows the Catalan People the Road to Victory	270
Hungary		After the Trial of the Trotskyist "Parallel Centre"	
J. R.: The Struggle of the Miners in the Pécs Coalfield	264	Straightforwardness and Honesty	272

International Women's Day

On March 8, International Women's Day, the great army of working women will present their demands for equality in the sphere of labour, in the sphere of public life, for the right to a happy motherhood, for the full emancipation from all slavery, and will call upon all democratic, all progressive sections of the people to support the struggle for the realisation of these demands.

The Communist International and the Communist Parties in the different countries support and organise the struggle of the women for the defence of their interests and rights, for their emancipation, linking up this struggle with the general tasks of the class struggle of the proletariat and the establishment of a united people's front against fascism and war.

This year, when the struggle of the whole of progressive mankind against fascism and the fascist war instigators is most acute, the campaign of International Women's Day will mainly be directed against fascism, first and foremost against *German fascism* as the most aggressive fascism.

German fascism is preparing to seize Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Balkan countries, to split up the Soviet Union. It wants to turn the U.S.S.R. into a fascist colony, for which purpose it has concluded a military alliance with Japan. These hopes of Germany had the full support of the bandit Trotsky and his mirmydons, the counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc.

German fascism is feverishly preparing for a war of conquest. This explains the characteristic change in its attitude to women. Instead of the former high-sounding slogans that women must be freed from difficult injurious work in production and returned to the bosom of the family hearth, the Hitlerites are now ever more

frequently and ever more openly calling upon the women and girls to participate in the war preparations. For example, "*Junges Deutschland*" (December, 1936, No. 12), in an article entitled "*Girls in the War Industry*," states:

"The movement and the State did not shrink from adopting drastic measures for removing women and girls from production when the growth of new families promised to give the best results, to increase the population, and contribute to the decrease in unemployment. To-day, due to the particularly acute defence character of the new economic policy, it is the duty of every girl to enlist for work."

From the tendency of the "defence" policy of German fascism, it is clear that Hitler is already now preparing cadres from among the 337,000 women and girls employed in production to be used predominantly in the war and chemical industries. At the same time the fascists are training hundreds of thousands of women and girls in the Red Cross, the various military organisations, as well as in the forced labour camps, for active participation in war.

Hitler has retained in force not only all the former laws on the militarisation of women, but has extended the powers of these laws so that all the women and girls who graduate from military training courses have to take the oath like the regular soldier. In paragraph 1 of the law of March, 1935, it is stated:

"In the event of war, every German woman, like every German man liable for war service, pledges himself or herself to serve the fatherland."

The drawing in of a section of women in production did not greatly decrease unemployment among women, for the number of

unemployed women and girls, even according to the official German statistics, is three times greater than the number of women given employment in 1936.

As the result of big unemployment and poverty, the number of prostitutes has increased, the number of marriages decreased and the birthrate fallen. In a number of cities in Germany, prostitution reached such dimensions that even the fascist women's paper "*Kämpferin*" (June, 1936) was obliged to note the fact. The number of marriages in the first half of 1936 decreased by 33,863, as compared with 1935, and the birthrate by 4,147 ("*Wirtschaftspolitik*," No. 20, 1936).

German fascism destroys culture. It destroys the best monuments of human thought, it persecutes scientists, it dissolves marriage by force, etc. But the fact which most strikingly shows the cultural barbarism of German fascism is the tens of thousands of women crippled by sterilisation. In its criminal race theory, German fascism has committed monstrous crimes deforming children through sterilisation. "*Die Frau*" (September, 1936, No. 12), in its report on the 33,700 pupils in the charity schools in Prussia, writes:

"By the end of the year under review (1934-1935), an inquiry was sent in to the court on questions of heredity regarding the sterilisation of 8.5 per cent. of the pupils. The inquiry covered practically the same number of girls and boys. However, the outcome of the inquiry affected the girls most (9.5 per cent. of the girls and 7 per cent. of the boys). In 1,520 cases the court sentenced 4.8 per cent. of the total number of the pupils to be sterilised. No final decision has yet been reached with regard to 3.3 per cent. of the pupils, and as far as the remaining 5.3 per cent. of the pupils are concerned, who are suspected of having a hereditary 'disease,' the court has not yet completed the examination. The total number of pupils with hereditary 'diseases' and those suspected of such (excluding the cases rejected) is 4,279, i.e., 13.4 per cent. of the total number of pupils."

On March 8, when the working women will expose fascism's war preparations and the barbarity of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, they will also, in contrast, show the Soviet Union as the bulwark of peace, as the country where the millions of builders of Socialism won and wrote down in the Stalinist Constitution their great achievements in all the spheres of economic, cultural and political life.

The equality and freedom of women in the U.S.S.R. stands out particularly glaringly in contrast to the oppression of women by fascism. In their Constitution, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are most proud of the full equality of women. Article 122 of the Constitution states:

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

"The possibility of exercising these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, maternity leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens."

The guarantees of equality given the women in the Constitution are real. The Soviet Union has provided every woman with work, combined with happy motherhood. The 1937 budget appropriates about four milliard roubles for the protection of mother and child. The tremendous network of maternity homes in the cities and villages guarantee the women hygienic conditions for birth. The number of children in the nurseries equals Belgium's population. Approximately 5 million children are placed in kindergartens and children's playgrounds.

The women in the U.S.S.R. is respected as a human being, as a worker, as a mother. She and her children are surrounded by the care and solicitude of the Party and government. This has given women in the U.S.S.R. the possibility to become acquainted with science, culture and art. Hundreds of thousands of women teachers, doctors, professors, engineers, technicians, agronomists, laboratory workers, combine and tractor drivers, mechanics, Stakhanovites and collective farmers are in the front ranks of the builders of Socialism. The list of glorious names is long: *Maria Demchenko, Maria Gnatinko, Pasha Angelina, Molyakova, the Vinogradovas* and many others are known far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union.

Within the last few years a movement has started which has attracted large masses of women into the work of socialist construction. This is the movement of housewives, the wives of engineers, artists, doctors, scientists, the wives of commanders in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. These women are carrying out great work in the Soviets and are helping to improve the work of the cultural institutions in industry and in the Red Army.

A profoundly important moment on International Women's Day this year is the campaign in defence of the Spanish people and the stopping of intervention started by the Spanish fascists in alliance with German and Italian fascism. It is clear that the victory of fascism in Spain would not only mean the suppression of democracy, but the general restriction of all the democratic rights of the people and the establishment of the same barbaric regime to-day existing in Germany. The victory of fascism in Spain would mean the unleashing of a world war. That is why one of the main slogans on International Women's Day is: *Solidarity with the Spanish people in its heroic struggle against world fascism. Help for the women of Spain, preservation of the lives of the Spanish children, help for the fighters of the People's Militia.*

On March 8, all the working women will remember, again and again, the heroic struggle of the Spanish people and the Spanish women, the heroic fighters *Dolores Ibarruri*, the members of the Cortez, *Marguerita Nelken* and *Victoria Kent*, the Minister of Public Health, *Frederica Monseni*, the enchanting heroic image of the fallen *Lina Odena*, *Encarnacion Fuola*, the Secretary of the Anti-Fascist Women's Committee who changed her pen for a rifle and joined the ranks of the People's Militia, and other fighters, fighting with arms in their hands on all the fronts. The masses of the women will call to mind what the women and children of the Soviet Union are doing to help Spain and what has been done by the women in every country, and on this basis will mobilise the women to increase help in all ways.

The warm sympathy for the fighting Spanish people, displayed by the broadest masses of women, makes it possible to organise these women to force the governments of the democratic countries to lift the blockade, and to allow the lawful Spanish government to buy all that it requires, and to stop the intervention of the Italian and German fascists.

The danger of war is very great. War can be avoided only by means of the unity of all anti-fascists, all progressive forces of the world. That is why the main slogan of International Women's Day is the unity of all progressive women, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, for the struggle against the inequality of women, against social and cultural reaction, i.e., against fascism—the instigator of a world war.

This year various sections of women and various women's organisations (trade union, co-operative, Christian, Catholic, Social-Democratic, etc.) will be drawn into the campaign of International Women's Day.

It is understood that, in accordance with the conditions and concrete situation existing in every country, the campaign will acquire various forms. For example: the writing of articles in the press and the publication of special issues devoted to March 8th, articles in aid of Spain, the organisation of social evenings, of meetings, of women's meetings with prominent anti-fascist speakers and leaders of the Communist Parties, and the organisation of demonstrations putting forward demands to aid Spain and for women's rights.

The Communist Parties and all progressive organisations of the working women will bend all efforts to turn International Women's Day, wherever possible, into a mighty demonstration not only of women, but of all working people in general. This will serve as a new stimulus to the development of the women's movement against the enslavement of women, against fascism and war.

Women's Day and the Beginning of the Russian Revolution

On March 8 (February 23), 1917, on International Women's Day, meetings took place in the factories of Petrograd. The Bolsheviks spoke at them. In response to the appeal of the Bolsheviks, political strikes began in a number of factories. On this day (March 8, 1917) strikes took place in 50 factories with 87,543 workers. The strike movement turned into political demonstrations and conflicts with the police. Thus the February revolution began in Russia.

Unforgettable Moments

By S. Gopner (Moscow)

There are unforgettable moments in the history of millions as well as in the life of individual human beings. They are never repeated under the same conditions. Of this kind were the days, hours and minutes of the Leipzig trial and Comrade Dimitrov's behaviour at this trial. In those unforgettable days not only every individual fighter of the great Communist world army, but millions of toilers of the most varied political opinions were united by the same feeling of joy and pride, the feeling of the triumph of truth over falsehood, of light over darkness, humanity and culture over barbarism, reason and noble human feeling over narrowmindedness and baseness. Revolutionary heroism, clearness of mind and strength of will power, as well as the superior Communist morale, found the strongest expression in the attitude of Georgi Dimitrov before the Court of the fascist hangmen, that Court which was converted by the accused in the dock into a Court in which his hangmen were standing trial.

The memory of the first days after the fascist upheaval come to our mind. The bitter truth had become a fact. . . . A heavy blow had been dealt the German and international proletariat. The German proletariat, which had not yet shed its illusions and its confidence in the Social-Democratic Party, proved to be powerless to bar the way to fascism.

Dimitrov's attitude at the Leipzig trial illuminated like a powerful searchlight the European horizon. When previous to the Leipzig trial the international campaign in defence of Dimitrov announced the first stage of the anti-fascist wave, Dimitrov's attitude became a powerful stimulus to a unity movement comprising millions of toilers.

The Leipzig trial attracted the attention of the whole of the world press. Literally the whole world followed the unique duel between Dimitrov on the one side and German fascism on the other. Dimitrov, who had been imprisoned in the first days of the upheaval, placed in chains and thrown into jail and accused of having burnt the Reichstag, was for months threatened with the executioner's axe in spite of the fantastic absurdity and the obvious falsity of the accusation. Cut off from the outer world, Dimitrov thought over quite alone his attitude before the Court, an attitude upon which he knew his life depended. He elaborated a definite plan, not a plan for the defence of his own life, but a brilliant strategic plan of battle between Communism and fascism. In this battle, which was fought out during the trial, there stood on the one side of the barricade the handcuffed Dimitrov, quite alone. The faintheartedness of the renegade Torgler, for whom the miserable fear for his "precious" life was the sole guiding idea of his shameful attitude, led Torgler to betrayal of his class. The passive, vacillating attitude of the two Bulgarian Communists, Tanyev and Popov, who were unable to grasp the great implications of the moment and their whole historical responsibility, could not serve as a support to Dimitrov in any way. On the contrary, they rendered his position more difficult. But Dimitrov was confronted with wild, brutal fascism, drunk with blood and thirsting for fresh bloody deeds, a fascism which had just achieved a great electoral victory.

Dimitrov accepted the challenge. He did not feel alone and deserted. He felt that there existed the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the international proletariat, the country of victorious socialism, the greatest guarantee of the invincibility of Communism. He felt that he had to defend a revolutionary position. He felt himself to be the spokesman of millions of toilers, their champion and leader. He realised that he was the son of the great army of workers, and before all the son of the Communist world army. He spoke as the representative of the party of millions, of the Communist International. He did not defend himself; he was the accuser. He went into battle and won it. This battle was won not only by Dimitrov, but by the whole of world Communism, by the international proletariat. Fascism, which had just scored a victory, received the first heavy blow and the first serious warning.

The framed-up charge against Dimitrov collapsed. The fascists did not dare to kill Dimitrov: they felt they were not strong enough for that. The extraordinary accuracy with which Dimitrov aimed his shots at his accusers, his unexampled replies, questions and answers tore the mask from the fascists.

Thanks to Dimitrov's attitude, the Leipzig trial became one of the most disgraceful pages in the history of fascism, one of the

most brilliant pages in the history of the Communist world movement. Dimitrov's name became the banner of millions of anti-fascists, the banner of unity in the struggle against war.

Dimitrov was kept in prison even after his acquittal. But in the whole world the united front movement for his defence grew. Dimitrov's acceptance as a Soviet citizen was welcomed by the whole world. And then the day came when Dimitrov arrived by aeroplane in the Soviet Union. With lightning rapidity the news reached Moscow, and tens of thousands rushed to the airport. It is impossible to describe the joy which filled not only Dimitrov's closest comrades and friends and the rank and file of the Communist International, but millions in the Soviet Union and in the whole world.

For weeks thousands of letters poured in to Dimitrov; workers, toilers, intellectuals, the best representatives of science and art from all corners of the world sent letters of greetings to him.

On the same evening of his arrival in Moscow Dimitrov gave an interview to representatives of the press in the Hotel Lux. Simply and quietly he related the facts of his imprisonment, trial and release, and declared that he did not intend to cease the struggle against fascism even for a minute. Another interesting detail of his journey to Moscow is worth mentioning: when the plane which brought Dimitrov to the country of Socialism stopped for a few minutes at the Koenigsberg airport, Dimitrov succeeded in declaring to the official representatives of the town who had assembled at the airport that he hoped to return to Soviet Germany in the not very distant future.

The Communist International received Dimitrov as its pride, as its hero covered with glory, as its faithful standard-bearer, as its leader. Some months afterwards Dimitrov, at the head of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, called with burning words for unity, for the proletarian united front and the broadest people's front in the struggle against fascism and war. This call aroused lively response throughout the whole world.

The fourth anniversary of the burning of the Reichstag, the third anniversary of the release of Dimitrov, are characterised by the victories of the anti-fascist people's front and the international solidarity of the toilers in the struggle against fascism, which openly comes forward in the international arena as the incendiary of a fresh world war.

But during these four years the forces which are opposing fascism and war have grown tremendously. The peoples of the world and whole States which are not interested in war are more and more rallying round the Soviet Union, which, thanks to the fact that it has finally and irrevocably established socialism, has become an important factor barring the way to war.

The growing international front in defence of the Spanish people is the greatest achievement of the peoples of all countries in their struggle for peace, in their struggle for bread and freedom.

Neither the intervention in Spain, nor the German-Japanese agreement for combating of Communism and for war on the Soviet Union, nor the Trotskyist agency of fascism, is able to retard the progress of the mighty advance of the People's Front in all countries—a movement whose mission it is to carry fascism to its grave.

The name of Dimitrov will continue to be the guiding star of this movement; it will call the masses to the fight, inspire them with enthusiasm, and lead them to victory. The complete shattering of fascism, the triumph of the international anti-war and anti-fascist front, will be bound up indissolubly with this name.

Women and the United Front

Communists, above all women Communists, must remember that there cannot be a successful fight against fascism and war unless the broad masses of women are drawn into it. And agitation alone will not accomplish this. We must find a way of mobilising the masses of toiling women around their vital interests and demands, taking into account the concrete situation in each instance, in the fight for their demands against high prices, for higher wages on the basis of the "principle of equal pay for equal work," against mass dismissals, against every manifestation of inequality in the status of women, and against fascist enslavement.

(G. Dimitrov: Speech at the VIIth World Congress C.I., 1935.)

World Politics

Foreign-Political Review of the Week

Republican Spain Must Not be Left in the Lurch

The blockade of Spain is to begin on Saturday at midnight. The Italian and German warships on the Mediterranean coast of the Peninsula will have every opportunity of mining the republican ports and organising diversions. The half-open door of the Spanish-Portuguese frontier will allow munitions to pass through for Franco under the nose of the British "controllers." But the French frontier is rigorously closed to all traffic while the German and Italian ships will have no difficulty in unloading arms and munitions and disembarking "volunteers" (ordered to "volunteer" by their military superiors) in Malaga or Cadiz.

Yet M. Yvon Delbos declared the other day in the French Senate that he was going to increase his efforts towards recalling the loyalist volunteers. It is to be feared that France will once again take the initiative in this before any agreement is concluded or any beginning of execution is made by Italy and Germany, although there is no possible analogy between real anti-fascist volunteers, defending liberty and democracy in the ranks of the government forces, and the regular Italian and German troops who fight for Franco against the lawful government of Spain. The right attitude is that of the C.P. of France, which is demanding that instant measures be taken for the rapid evacuation of these foreign interventionist regulars.

All these Italian and German troops, with up-to-date equipment and technical personnel, must number about 70,000 to 80,000 men. Mussolini has repeatedly declared that they would not leave Spain before having ensured Franco's victory. Does France, by banning volunteers and trying to recall those already in Spain, again try to appeal to the "honour" of Hitler and Mussolini?

Neither in Spain, nor in France, nor anywhere else would the workers understand such a policy.

At the meeting on March 10 of the L.S.I. and I.F.T.U. the Spanish Socialists and trade unions will be represented. Numerous delegates have already been won over to the idea of a resolute defence of the Spanish Republic against the forces of fascism. They know very well that the German and Italian fascists want at the same time to destroy the People's Front in Spain and prepare their great war against democracy. It is to be desired that they should be able to convince the London conference of this, for, as the Spanish Socialists will show, united international action must save the anti-fascists of the Peninsula.

The danger of fascism is so imminent everywhere that the meeting of the two Internationals can no longer reject the proposals of unity they will again receive in the interests of martyred Spain and world peace.

It is probably for this reason that in France the right wing has at present started a campaign for the recognition of Franco by the French government. Although in Oviedo, on the Madrid front, before Toledo and Cordova the Republican forces have won evident and important advantages, the "*Temps*" coolly wrote on Sunday evening that the victory of Franco is certain, and that Madrid will fall very soon. The mouthpiece of the 200 families recommends mediation, but all in favour of Franco and the fascists.

"Despite the fighting still proceeding, the time is near when a solution of the crisis may be reasonably envisaged. But in order to prepare effectively a sincere conciliation with the hope of ensuring an expression of the Spanish national will in its full sovereignty we should already now prepare the way by establishing contacts with Burgos as well as with Valencia."

Thus it is suggested that Léon Blum should recognise Franco, should get in touch with the rebel general with a view to a "conciliation" which would in the end make Franco dictator of Spain.

But there is more to come. On the next day (Monday) the "*Echo de Paris*" took up the argument and developed it. The precious iron pyrites of Spain are in the hands of the rebels, the paper wrote, and Germany is now getting her hands on them. Franco can deprive the French armament industry of this material. Therefore we must negotiate with Franco and by negotiating with this man who "is occupying more than half of Spain" we might "recreate a machinery enabling Franco to receive in exchange for iron ore and pyrite which he possesses, certain other products he might need."

So now, just when a control of non-intervention is being established, those who demanded non-intervention in 1936 (to help Franco) are now demanding open intervention in favour of Franco, although it is precisely the policy of unilateral neutrality which enabled Franco to seize the Spanish ore mines.

We cannot imagine that Blum and the French Foreign Office will allow themselves to become involved in this abominable plot. But it shows once more that the French reactionaries are in League with Hitler and Mussolini against republican Spain and hence against the direct interests of France and the peace of Europe.

Austria at the Cross-roads

In Central Europe there is an effervescence which augurs ill for the future. The visit to Vienna of von Neurath did not give the results Germany expected with regard to the Anschluss, but did, it seems, strengthen the Italo-German entente.

Von Neurath told Schuschnigg that Germany opposed the restoration of the Habsburgs in Austria. Schuschnigg made no promises and wanted to fall back on Rome. But it suddenly turned out that this Habsburg problem, which was believed to be an element of permanent divergence between Germany and Italy, now no longer divides the two fascist powers. Virginio Gayda, mouthpiece of Mussolini, announced in the "*Giornale d'Italia*" that the question of the Habsburg restoration was not being considered by Italy, that Italy is all in favour of maintaining the status quo, i.e., the present régime in Austria as defined by the agreement of July 11, since when Austrian independence is entirely dependent on the good will of the Reich.

The rulers of Italy obviously do not want an open clash with Germany which is opposed to the restoration. It is now being said in Rome that there is no need for a change of régime in Austria to fortify Austro-Italian friendship and that the restoration itself would create unrest in the country and thus prejudice its stability.

This change of front is significant enough. Italy wants to play at all tables. She does not want to oppose Germany nor come back unequivocally to a rapprochement with France and Britain. Austria is serving her as a trump card. It is almost certain that Italy has received guarantees from Berlin in respect of Austria and the Anschluss. Moreover, the international situation (Spain, British rearmament, Ethiopia) does not permit Mussolini to take up an attitude which might detach Italy from Germany.

There is a "Rome-Berlin axis." No one can tell how long it will last, but it is there now, and dominates international relations at present. In organising the protection of pacific nations against attacks by armed violence, its existence must be taken into account.

On the other hand Nazi Germany has no interest in compromising the Austrian Chancellor. It is much better to let London and Paris believe Schuschnigg to be a champion of Austrian independence. This belief permits Germany to carry on her work with greater safety. For a long time, and especially since July 11, members of the German secret police have been forming nuclei within the Austrian police force. Their activities have just been sanctioned in a way. Moreover, the Austrian government will in future allow Nazi officials of the Austrian police to be flanked by assistants specially trained in Munich for this work.

However, in view of the considerable unrest created in Austria by all these intrigues (the proletarian democratic movement is developing; in 80 per cent. of the Austrian factories at the recent shop steward elections the government candidates were defeated by the representatives of the old trades unions; many old Christian Socialists have for some time been trying to effect a rapprochement with left-wing groupings, even with the Communists, and the journal of the Catholic paramilitary organisations, "*Storm Over Austria*," is opposing the anti-Czechoslovak campaign now carried on by the Nazi press), Schuschnigg has certainly arrived at the parting of the ways. The visit of von Neurath and the attitude now taken up by Italy put the rulers of Austria in a difficult position. This is why Schuschnigg's visit to Rome had been postponed.

Certain symptoms seem to indicate that the Austria of black-green fascism is turning towards the Little Entente. The rulers of Austria, it is rumoured, are trying to persuade Czechoslovakia to take up a less intransigent attitude with regard to a Habsburg restoration. The argument in favour of this seems to be resistance to Nazi Germany. Italy, on the other hand, is hoping that the rulers of Yugoslavia will understand the need for better relations with Austria and Hungary. But the states of the Little Entente are afraid that Otto, once on the throne, will be forced to come to

terms with Hitler in order to maintain himself there. In other words, the Austrian promises about resistance to Nazidom cannot be considered very substantial.

In any case, Vienna is now turning towards Paris and London. Herr Schmidt, Foreign Minister of Austria, will visit Paris and be present at the Coronation in London. His object is to get Franco-British support for the plans conceived in Vienna of a rapprochement between Austria and the Little Entente based on a Habsburg restoration.

France cannot lend herself to a game so dangerous and constituting such an incontestable encouragement of revisionism. Only the restoration of democracy in Austria can ensure the independence of that country and check the Italian and German designs in Central Europe.

Hitler and the Small Neighbouring States

But the democracies must also be able to forestall all the manoeuvres of the warmongers with regard to the small States. The Austria of clerical fascism is torn by dissension because in 1934 Dollfuss assassinated democracy before he was himself assassinated. The other neighbours of Nazi Germany are victims already threatened by the beak of the Nazi vulture. Henlein in Czechoslovakia is destined to be the Franco of that country. Denmark is overrun with Nazi agents provocateurs and Hitler is constructing fortifications and establishing arms dumps on the Danish frontier. Sweden is flooded with Nazi pamphlets and an exchange of university professors gives a copious supply of Nazi agitators. Holland also is struggling in the German grip, and in Belgium the pro-Nazis are gaining ground even among the Belgian Socialists (Spaak and de Man).

The manoeuvre, which is to advance the Nazi plans, consists in promises of non-aggression lavishly given by Hitler to the small countries. Thus Hitler, who wants to drive Switzerland towards a policy of autocracy, has just promised that he would respect Swiss neutrality. He said to Herr Schulthen, who went to see him in the name of M. Motta, "At all times, whatever happens, we shall respect integrally the neutrality of Switzerland."

He said "whatever happens." This is a thinly disguised threat to the peace of Europe. In reality these promises to the little States are meant to foster pro-German feeling in these countries and detach them from France and Britain, this being a part of the general scheme of the rulers of Germany.

For the rest, this general plan was also outlined by Goebbels in a speech made in Cologne on February 25. He said:

"In the Holy War again proclaimed against Communism, the German people, in order to open the eyes of the world to the Bolshevik peril, must have in itself the soul of a true apostle, of a pioneer, must feel that it has a true mission in Europe. . . .

"We have been called by destiny to become the torch not only of our own people but also of a new epoch in the history of the world.

"A decrepit world is crumbling and crashing into the abyss. We are the new world, the new and better Europe now arising."

There you are! A warning to those who believe that the words of the fascist leaders are pledges of peace and who in Spain or elsewhere are tempted to negotiate with the agents of fascism.

Background of German Penetration of Morocco

By Georges Soria

III

Since the Uprising—130,000 Tons of Iron Ore from Morocco to Hitler Germany—The Civilian Penetration

The territorial advantages which the Third Reich has been endeavouring to gain in Spain since July, and upon which it has made its material aid to the rebel generals dependent from the very beginning, have never been confined in the minds of the Nazi leaders to the Iberian Peninsula. Morocco has always been the great dream of imperialist Germany, and determined its policy during the first years of the century. After various changes of fortune, this dream has assumed a tangible form to-day: Spanish Morocco has almost become a German colony. Not only are German troops there, organising from day to day the defence of the

coast, but technicians, engineers, architects, geologists, etc., range the country in every direction, laying the foundations for gigantic colonial undertakings in which—as always—the native peoples are to be exploited.

The iron mines of the Riff have always been the object of the covetous eye of imperialist Germany. And for the Third Reich the attraction is even greater, now that its whole economic apparatus is concentrated on war. Here the iron ore contains an unusually large percentage of the metal, and no very complicated smelting process is required. The output of the iron mines of Morocco averaged 70,000 tons monthly from the time of the world war till the last few months before the military rebellion. This fact can be checked by reference to the colonial economic reports.

In July and August the output suddenly increased, reaching 130,000 tons monthly, all going to German ports. As a rule the iron ore has been taken straight on board the German ships after these have discharged their cargo of war material.

Since July over a million tons of iron ore has been sold by the rebels to Hitler Germany, in exchange for the war material supplied them. In giving these figures we greatly understate the truth, for in December and January the output increased even more. This may be judged by the following figures:

Between December 10 and the end of January 50 ships flying the swastika flag left the ports of Morocco; their average tonnage was 8,000, and they carried cargoes of iron ore for the blast furnaces of the German armaments industry. And yet certain people maintain that a German ship has never cast anchor at Morocco.

To-day the Spanish Riff Mines Company is completely in the hands of German agents and engineers, who have taken over the work of exploitation, in order to increase the output. On January 5 three German ships unloaded an immense quantity of electrical equipment at the port of Melilla, intended for the modernisation of the mines. Nazi engineers have also taken in hand the work in the mines of Uixan, where 4,000 tons of ore per day were produced on the old-fashioned backward methods. It may easily be imagined how the output of these mines has now been speeded up.

Nazi Colonial Market

One can estimate the number of German engineers already in Morocco, superintending the activities of the leading Spanish and foreign undertakings, at several hundred. But this is by no means all. For Hitler's agents are not content with increasing the output of the existing undertakings now under their control; they are organising fresh ones: In the first few days of January, 70 geologists landed at Melilla, among them a number of hydrographical experts. Is further proof needed of the seizure of Morocco by Hitler's agents?

There is, however, still further proof. Spanish Morocco has become not only a strategically important base and a source of iron ore for Germany, but an important colonial market. Since July nine-tenths of the imports landed in the ports of the Spanish zone have come from Germany. The natives, terrorised by Phalangists and other fascist rabble, are forced to buy goods made in Germany or coming from there, even such important foods as sugar. In a word, the country is under the foot of the commercial travellers from Germany, who are invariably accompanied by agents of the German State Secret Police.

"Local groups" and "bases of action" of the Nazis in Morocco are at the present time synonymous with centres of the conspiracy against France. The foreign organisation of the national socialists has four "main local groups" and "bases of action" in Spanish Morocco. Their headquarters are in Tetuan, Melilla, Ceuta, Larache; and there are three further groups of considerable importance on the Canary Islands, in Las Palmas, Santa Cruz, and Ifni. The leaders of these groups and bases are merchants or engineers long known in the places. A mining engineer named Adolf P. Langenheim, for instance, who settled in Morocco in 1905 and returned there after the war, is the head of an important mines syndicate, and at the same time leader of the Nazi local group in Tetuan.

The base at Larache is conducted by a Herbert Wilmer, owner of the import and export company H. Tönnies. He is aided in his work by a member of the firm named Gerado Braun, who is responsible, when not travelling on business to Melilla, for the "German Labour Front." Two or three important personages stand in the foreground besides these, including an engineer, the representative of a metal firm in Bilbao.

All these men are in close collaboration with the Resident General of the rebels in Spanish Morocco, Colonel Beigbeder, who is completely under the thumb of the German Consul in Tetuan, Dr. Brosch, the real deputy of the masters of Spanish Morocco. This is a gigantic organisation, with threads all running from Berlin, and working incessantly on the natives, either inducing them to buy goods, or systematically endeavouring to throw discredit on France and its "Jewish government."

Civilian Penetration

Nazi action in Morocco pursues two lines: Firstly, anti-Semitism; all over Morocco there is a fairly numerous Jewish population, settled here for several centuries. Secondly, a kind of whispered propaganda in the frontier zones against the "Jewish government which will not give independence to the Moors of the French zone, whilst (the Nazi agents add cunningly) General Franco has promised you this independence and will give it to you after the victory." In order to support this propaganda, soldiers are frequently landed on the coast, or oftener crews of the warships, the idea being to demonstrate the strength of Germany and to spread the whisper from frontier to frontier of the power of the German army and navy. A prominent dignitary in Larache, named Ouaffi El Bakkali, gave a reception in November—and on several subsequent occasions—to groups of German officers from German warships lying in the harbour. Not a week passes in which well-known Moorish dignitaries have not Nazi guests at their table. Future favours, and no less future independence, are foreshadowed in this way as in many others.

In this rapid survey of facts we make no mention of the innumerable agreements existing between these dignitaries who have sold themselves to foreigners and have betrayed their country, and the whole swarm of adventurers gathered round the rebel authorities—a collection of international spies and bandits who sell an anti-fascist for the mere pleasure of seeing him tortured.

We close this brief survey of the civilian penetration with a reference to the Nazi movement among the students in Spanish Morocco, and the action which Hitler agents were able to take during the Congress of the Mohammedan students (this Congress was to have been held in Fez, but was banned by Peyrouton with foreign approval. It took place in Tetuan.) The result: In the first week of January almost 1,000 pilgrims left for Mecca on board a ship provided by the German Consul and, when leaving the harbour, "gave thanks to Allah for giving a Hitler to the world."

This, then, is the point reached by means of the complicity of the French adherents of Hitler with the Spanish rebels.

Ifni, an Air Base in the Hands of the German General Staff.

The German General Staff was perfectly aware of what it was doing when it sent its fleet to the aid of the Spanish rebel generals at the beginning of the uprising. This aid was given at all strategically important points. The first stage of these operations, made possible by the weakness of certain European democracies, brought almost complete control by the fleet of the Canary Islands and of the ports on the Spanish coast. To-day the plan for the encirclement of France, laid down in Hitler's "Mein Kampf," has been realised in this zone at least. For now German control extends to Ifni.

Hitler's followers in France should take the trouble to look at a map, and they will see—if they are still capable of seeing anything at all—the menace to France represented by this triangle, with its base on the Canary Islands and Ifni, and its apex on the coast of the Spanish zone.

Ifni is a Spanish enclave on French territory. It is at the extreme south of the Moroccan territory, and its small area forms the connecting link on the road to Rio de Oro. Besides this, it lies opposite the Canary Islands. The only two townships in the place are Ifni, which gives its name to the whole enclave, and another insignificant port on the coast. Ifni possesses strategical importance solely as an aircraft base. The building of harbours would be an extremely expensive matter here, owing to the coast barrier common in the South of the Atlantic, and there are only a few bays and emergency harbours of little importance. The only reason for the presence of the Nazis in Ifni is the enormous advantages of a base here for aircraft, especially military aircraft, enabling the Third Reich to control all the frontiers of French Morocco. The German General Staff are hastening to increase these advantages.

The German engineers, who came from the Canary Islands at

the end of December in order to study the topography of the enclave, saw at once that the aircraft base which they intended hastily erecting here must be hidden as far as possible from curious eyes. Ifni is a spot lost in a wilderness of sand; regardless it lies on the well-known air route Casablanca Dakar. . . . It might have happened that too sharp-sighted pilots In short, the topographers in question went straight up the Oued Asif Arkis, and at about 60 km. from the coast they discovered an ideal stretch of water. Work commenced at once, and has proceeded uninterruptedly ever since.

Further to the north, in the Amar district, another aerodrome was built, and this is guarded day and night by Germans, who allow no one to enter. To the north of this aerodrome barracks have been run up, and great hangars. This aerodrome is provided with an anchor mast for airships. On a date which we have not exactly ascertained, the "Graf Zeppelin" and the "Hindenburg" visited this spot and landed a large number of technicians. There are always several Junker bombing planes in the hangar, with accompanying chaser planes, ready to fly at any moment. Less than a month ago a great six-engine German aeroplane landed here, and still remains.

Besides this actual technical work of German aircraft penetration, there is much to be related about the political work carried on among the population by a group of German engineers who were landed in Ben Abdallah about two months ago. We reserve, however, the details of the propaganda carried on here against France by the Nazis, and which cost a too obliging Cadi on French territory his post, for a later article. In the affair with this Cadi, nothing less than the supplying of arms to Moors was involved, with the intention of instigating an uprising.

The Eucharist World Congress

By Franz Lang

The 33rd Eucharist World Congress was held at Manila, Philippine Islands from February 3 till 7 (the First Eucharist Congress took place in 1881).

Of late the Vatican has been devoting considerable attention to the Far East. In the 16th and 17th centuries the Catholic Missionaries in the East encountered great difficulties on account of the special customs and beliefs prevailing in Japan and China: the religious worship of the Mikado, ancestor worship, and the like. About 300 years ago the Jesuits endeavoured to gain access for Christianity among the peoples of the Far East by permitting the natives converted by the missionaries to exercise their own cults at the same time. They recognised the native customs and rites and declared that they were compatible with Christianity.

The Jesuits were, however, combated by other religious orders, who condemned the native cults as "idolatry." For a century the struggle went on between the orthodox and the "opportunist" Jesuits. It ended in the failure of the Jesuits. The "Christian mission" in the east collapsed and was not able to gain a foothold again till the 19th century.

In July 1936 the Vatican Congregation "Propaganda Fide" (Spread of the Faith) issued fresh directions for the work of the missions in the Far East. These directions revert back to the former proscribed Jesuit methods. "New ways" are being sought to meet the "new needs." The Mikado cult in Japan is no longer rejected as "superstition." On Government orders the mission schools are permitted to hang the picture of Confucius on their walls. It is permitted to allow the children to make a genuflection before the picture. The new instructions from the Vatican repeat old instructions from the 17th century. . . . "Make no attempt to persuade these peoples to change their ritual or their manners and customs. . . ."

In this way it is intended to enable the masses of the population of the Far East to be converted to Christianity without breaking away from their own customs, rites and cults. The Vatican makes an "opportunist" move for the purpose of gaining a hold on the Far East.

The activities of the Vatican have achieved some successes in the Far East during the last few years. In 1927 there were 87,581 Catholics in Japan, in 1936 there were 108,934 and on the Mandatory Islands of Japan in the Pacific, in Korea and Formosa, there were 166,035. In China, too, the Catholic Church is making considerable headway. Catholic organisations are springing up, the

number of Catholic newspapers is increasing and the "Catholic Action" is extremely energetic and is penetrating into ever fresh spheres of work. In China it is running 26 Catholic printing works, publishing 35 periodicals; it organises lending libraries, opens reading rooms accessible to non-Catholics as well as Catholics. Students who are members of the Catholic associations visit the prisons, hospitals and workhouses.

The Vatican press accords much space to the missions in the Far East. When Chiang Kai-shek recently celebrated his fiftieth birthday, the Apostolic Vicar in **Nanking** was instructed to convey to him the "heartiest congratulations" of the Pope. The Eucharist World Congress just held was a further step on the way to gain influence over the masses of the Far East. The well-known Catholic daily "**La Croix**" (Paris) stated:

"The Eucharist Congress must be eucharist missionary congress."

The paper goes on to observe that although the Philippines are a Christian country, there is still much heathenism and idolatry in the countries of the Far East. The same idea is expressed even more plainly in the Vatican organ "**L'Osservatore Romano**," in a lengthy article on the Congress:

"... The missionary power of the Church is extremely powerful... To-day Jesus triumphs in Manila. But this is only a small section of these peoples... It is not a question of preaching our Western ideas to them, our own local customs, much less our politics... or our superiority."

The Congress was preceded by careful preparations. A number of Commissions carried out the preparatory work. On the Philippines themselves a parish congress was held in every parish. The Archbishop of Philadelphia, Cardinal **Dougherty**, member of the College of Cardinals and of the "**Oriental Church**" and "**Propaganda Fide**" Congregations, stayed in Rome for a long time before the Congress, and conferred repeatedly with the Pope and the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal **Pacelli**. Dougherty was sent to the Congress by the Pope as "papal legate." That he was entrusted with the representation of the Pope at the Congress was due not only to the fact that he worked in the Philippines 20 years ago, but it was at the same time a gesture to the **United States**, which the Vatican is endeavouring to win over by all possible means. The recent visit of Pacelli to the U.S.A., his interview of several hours with **Roosevelt** and the resultant persistent reports on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.A. and the Vatican, are still fresh in all memories.

The Church displayed its whole magnificence at this Congress. European, American, Japanese and Chinese bishops took part. The authorities gave a reception in honour of the papal legate and this was followed by a military parade. Enormous crowds of many nations took part in the Congress meetings, which were held out of doors on account of the heat.

For the most part the congress gatherings were purely religious in character. But there was no lack of attempts to misuse the religious feeling of the masses for political purposes. In one of the very first speeches, the **Archbishop of Manila** designated Communism "as the most dangerous movement of the present time." He endeavoured to persuade his audience that the "mighty wave of unbelief" is responsible for the rumours and fears of war.

But the masses refused to follow the lead. The Philippine Deputy **Noberto Romualdez** made a speech in favour of the Spanish rebel generals and appealed for a "world struggle against Communism." But his speech aroused lively resentment, as even the bourgeois and Catholic press admits. Only the Spanish section received this address "favourably."

The Pope, from his sickbed, broadcast a closing speech to the Congress. This was heard by the large crowds at the outdoor meeting. The Pope made a special appeal for the "furtherance of the holy missions" and complained that "far too many people are blinded by error and deception... and have departed from the path of truth."

The toiling masses and anti-fascists of the Far East will continue to take care that a cloak of "missions" is not permitted to hide descriptive activities and war agitation.

Great Britain

Hitler's Labour Lord

By R. Bishop (London)

Hitler's friends in Great Britain are getting busy and last week they staged a debate on foreign affairs in the House of Lords which had for its object the blackguarding of the Soviet Union and France and, by inference, the boosting of Germany. Naturally one would expect to find strong Nazi sympathies existing in an institution so dedicated to caste and privilege as the House of Lords, but the really disgraceful feature of the whole affair was that the debate was led by one of the small group of Labour peers, **Lord Arnold**.

This erstwhile Liberal, who joined the Labour Party in 1922 and was given a peerage and office in the first Labour Government, and again held office in the second Labour Government, moved a motion "calling attention to British Foreign policy and to the need for a change therein." Now such a motion could well be moved by a Labour member, for the foreign policy of the National Government deserves the abhorrence of every worker, of every progressively minded man and woman in Britain.

But the changes demanded by Lord Arnold were not of a "Left" character, but of a Right, and were such that he won the applause of all the Diehard elements in the House. He opened by condemning talk of policy being based on the League of Nations or upon collective security. He admitted that Government's policy was not based upon these things, but urged them to come out openly against the League and collective security as mere chimeras.

He followed this up with an attack on the Franco-Soviet Pact, stigmatising it as the greatest menace to peace existing in the world to-day. From this it was no long step to justify possible German aggression. Said this pillar of the Labour Party:

"If the Franco-Soviet Pact remains in being, Germany deeming herself encircled and faced with dangers east and west may, under the advice of her military staff, feel compelled to attack in the west."

In these circumstances, argued Lord Arnold, Britain must leave France to her fate. Czecho-Slovakia also came in for a measure of disapprobation from this remarkable Labour peer, who concluded by declaring for complete British isolation from Continental affairs. Little wonder that he was able to say: "I am not wholly a critic of the Government for their management of foreign affairs."

Some months ago Lord Arnold made another speech in the House, a speech of whole-hearted adulation for the Nazi regime. This time he was more cautious. But he put the same case forward negatively: Germany must be given a free hand by Britain to pursue her policy of aggression against the U.S.S.R., against France, against Czechoslovakia, and in return it is to be hoped that she will abandon any aggressive intentions against Britain.

Lord Arnold's plea was heartily endorsed by **Lord Mount Temple**, the leading figure in the Anglo-German Fellowship, the Nazi propaganda organisation in Great Britain. Mount Temple, for many years a reactionary Tory Member of Parliament, opened by congratulating Arnold "on the clearness of his views and the common sense of his arguments."

Lord Mount Temple endorsed what he termed "the Fuhrer's very clear and moderate claim to have not only our respect for Germany, but our esteem and friendship." Speaking of Germany, he said:

"They are of the same stock as ourselves. We have a great admiration for the way in which they waged the war."

The irony of this is that in 1918 Mount Temple was a Conservative candidate for Parliament carrying the Lloyd George Coalition coupon, running under the slogans of "Hang the Kaiser," and "Make Germany Pay," at a time when the whole reactionary press, backing his candidature, was making out Britain and its allies to be angels of light, and the Germans fiends from hell.

It would appear that it is not Germany and the Germans who hold the affections of Lord Mount Temple, but fascist reaction. Whilst his hatred throughout has been devoted to the Soviet workers, just because they have disposed once and for all in their country of all that Hitler fascism stands for.

The second supporter of Lord Arnold in this debate was **Lord**

Newton one of the half dozen most reactionary Tory peers in Britain.

A strong rebuke was administered to Arnold by Lord Strabolgi, better known as Commander Kenworthy, who commented acidly: "He got the whole-hearted support of Lord Mount Temple, and I hope he will think about that, and search his conscience about it." He went on to add that he was officially opposing on behalf of the Labour Party the line that Arnold had taken. Speaking of the Franco-Soviet Pact he said:

"It is said that the Franco-Soviet Pact constitutes a genuine German grievance. I must again say that Germany was invited to enter into the same arrangement of the Franco-Soviet Pact, but apparently because Germany does not like the form of Government in Russia she says that is impossible. Well, I should like to see the Franco-Soviet Pact enlarged to include not only Germany, but also this country and all other nations who are prepared to adhere to it."

That official Labour opposition to the attitude taken by Lord Arnold should have been voiced is good, as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough. The Labour Party is very quick to deal with what it considers breaches of discipline or departures from the line on the Left. Why then this excessive leniency on the Right? It is on a par with the ban placed on speaking with Communists on the Spanish Aid platforms, while allowing Citrine liberty to speak with Winston Churchill, and other Labour members to appear publicly with Lloyd George.

Just as Franco has his Fifth Column in Madrid, Hitler has his Fifth Column in the British Labour movement, and it is not confined to the person of Lord Arnold.

Germany

Sharp Discords Disturb the German Symphony

By Hans Behrend

The Nazis like to base their propaganda on the assertion that unrest, disorder, discontent and dissent are rife all over the world while Germany is a picture of law and order, peace and unity. Strike is a word which for the last four years has had no place in the German dictionary, because employers and workers are co-operating in perfect harmony. These assertions are often declared to be correct by foreign observers whose experience of German conditions is limited to the contemplation of the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin and the Passion Play in Oberammergau.

This enchanting idyll of Herr Goebbels has again been disturbed by a harsh discord. Two years after the return of the Saar district to Germany certain events have taken place on the Franco-German frontier which mark the provisional culminating point of a struggle which has been going on for nearly six weeks. A decree issued by Goering made it compulsory for the 6,500 Saarlander miners working in the Lorraine mines to change their wages (paid them in French francs) into marks in Germany instead of in France. This would have meant for the miners a loss of one-third of their wages, as a mark is worth 5-6 francs in France, but 8 francs in Germany. Naturally enough the 6,500 miners had no intention of accepting this tremendous loss merely in order that Herr Goering may obtain more foreign currency to spend on imports of foreign ore, and on the financing of Nazi agitators and intriguers in the Balkans, the Baltic States, France, Britain and Czechoslovakia.

At the end of January, violent demonstrations of protest were held in *Völklingen* (Saar), which were participated in by a great number of miners living in the Saar district but working in France. The movement increased in intensity, and on February 13 the whole mid-day shift of the "*Sarre et Moselle*" pit changed its wages in France, despite the prohibition, and broke through the German frontier cordon, shouting: "Either the whole 6,500 will go to a concentration camp or no one!" The night shift intended to do the same, but found the frontier barred by considerable reinforcements, consisting of S.S., field police, Secret Police, customs officers and Storm Troops. The night shift therefore waited until the morning shift had finished work and changed its money, and then both shifts, 2,000 strong, marched against the frontier. In a sharp hand-to-hand struggle the miners broke through the frontier guards and forced a way into their home district. This happened on

February 14. On the following day the Saar miners were informed that the currency decree had been rescinded.

This was an indubitable victory of the workers. But it seems that the Nazi dictatorship has no intention of accepting this defeat without further action, especially as the incident occurred on the frontier of the France of the People's Front. Be that as it may, it is certain that clashes have been increasing in number since the end of February, and workers are again being indiscriminately arrested when they arrive at the frontier with marks in their pockets, and the shifts are again having recourse to the formerly successful method of marching across the frontier in a body.

This action of the Saar miners corresponds to the feeling among the whole Saar population. From the *Heinitz, Dechen, König, Kohlwald, Reden* and *Iteplitz* pits, reports have arrived of successful resistance to a worsening of wage rates—a measure introduced, be it noted, by the Nazi state pit management and extended to the *Upper Silesian* mining district, where recently the miners repeatedly and successfully resisted a worsening of their conditions by refusing to go down the pit. In hundreds of German factories wage demands are being made by the workers by methods appropriate to the existing conditions. They overwhelm the pay office of the management with complaints, they exercise a steady pressure on the lower officials of the German Labour Front, especially those who occupy the posts of shop stewards or other functions in the shops themselves. This pressure proves effective in many cases, and it is no longer an exception when these shop stewards, intended by the Nazi dictators to pacify or hold down the workers, now demand in the name of those same workers wage increases, more hygienic working conditions, etc.

In many districts, for instance, in the Rhinish textile centre, *München-Gladbach*, the Labour Front officials use the periodical reports they have to give to the leadership of the German Labour Front on the feeling among the workers as a welcome opportunity of expressing their annoyance and their complaints about the terrorism of the employers. As a result, the submission of such written complaints has now been expressly forbidden. The reason given? Such reports made too bad an impression "at the top."

The bureaucratic machinery feels the unrest among the working class and grows restless itself. A sure sign of this is the recent transformation of the *German Labour Front Executive*, which is now called "*Safeguard of Peace in Industry*." Industrial peace is to be safeguarded by the prohibition of strikes and by mass arrests, by the restriction of the liberty of residence for the workers—and on the other hand by a little harmless shadow-boxing with the employers. These little bouts are quite interesting. One learns from them that the proud edifice of the so-called "Reich professional communities," each of which was supposed to be a miniature model of the great "community of the German nation," exist more or less on paper only.

These communities were to unite the employers and the workers of the same trade. The first decisive blow at the whole conception was struck by the employers when they insisted on preserving their own professional federations while the trades unions of the workers were destroyed. It has now become known that they also consistently sabotage the "Reich professional communities." A few days ago a well-known German Labour Front leader complained at a conference of the Reich professional community "*Earth and Stone*" that, although the employers had everywhere been appointed deputy leaders of their community,

"it must unfortunately be said that a majority of the appointed economic leaders carried on this work in name only and did not participate at all in the shaping and forming of the life of the workers. The German Labour Front allows the captains of industry to see its work, but it is no less necessary that the organs of industry (he means the employers' federations) should allow the leaders of the German Labour Front to see their work."

This is precisely what the employers have no intention of doing. They have destroyed the trade unions in order to create a pliable instrument in the German Labour Front, but not in order to treat the German Labour Front leaders as their equals and let them interfere with their business. They leave it to the Nazi leaders to deal with the workers. The "community of the nation" is all right, but it does not imply that the employers should be active in the organisations alongside of workers smelling of the sweat of labour. According to the report published in the "*Essener Nationalzeitung*," the steel and iron magnates were conspicuous by their absence at

the conference of the Reich professional community, "*Iron and Metals*," and at the famous "*community school*," held recently for the mining industry, "the masters of Bochum and Dortmund were absent," says the "*Angriff*."

All these cold-blooded robberies of wages and salaries, all these marches of the workers to the pay offices, this passive resistance and the bitter protests of the workers (admitted now even by the Nazi press) against the measures of the employers and of the government, show that the class struggle in the Third Reich, which claimed to have abolished it, is in fact very much alive. The existence of the class struggle is so much part and parcel of the capitalist system that it goes on, despite a thousand strike prohibitions, ten thousand murders, hundreds of thousands of arrests.

The leading clique of German imperialism is anxiously asking itself how it can wage the projected aggressive war with a working class so violently antagonistic to the regime. General Field-Marshal *von Blomberg*, Minister for War, voiced these fears a few days ago in a speech in the Berlin Sports Palace. He said:

"If we need the unity of the national and social will in peace-time, how much more do we need it in war! It must never happen again—as it happened in the world war—that while our soldiers win the battles, so-called 'leaders of the working class' can with impunity commit treason and mislead workers into striking. That must never happen again.

"As Reich War Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, I require of the members of the Armed Forces Section of the German Labour Front (i.e., of the workers of the state armament works) unconditional obedience to the orders of the management and of all superiors, obedience even if those orders are in contradiction to an alleged better knowledge on their part."

The generals of the next world war do not want to feel a second time the weight of the proletarian fists that spoil their fine annexationist plans. The field marshal of Hitler fascism requires of the workers blind obedience even against their conscience. But they are making a mistake in this. These gentlemen who already fancy themselves as invincible Siegfrieds because they have waded through the blood of slaughtered workers, will find the working class applying the present cautious forms of struggle with ever greater frequency and increasing boldness. The rulers of Germany hope that a war will show them a way out of their present difficult situation; but the risks they incur is shown already by the attitude of the German people to the fascist intervention in Spain. If the ring around *Madrid* is broken, then *Ernst Thaelmann's* fetters will break also. If Hitler's armies break under the attack of the Spanish People's Army, then Hitler's rule itself will be shaken in the heart of Europe.

Ernst Thaelmann Four Years Hitler's Prisoner

By E. B.

"You seem to be afraid of my questions, Mr. Prime Minister?"—These words of *Dimitrov*, hurled at Goering at the Reichstag fire trial, were among the most dramatic of latter-day history. Not only were they the culmination of the arson trial, but they were the final expression in actual words of a mighty ideological struggle in which through *Dimitrov* the Socialist idea gained the victory.

The voice of our *Georgi Dimitrov* gave and still gives impassioned expression to the torment and sufferings of our 200,000 German brothers buried alive in Hitler's jails, in Goering's blood-stained cellars, and behind the barbed wire of the concentration camps. The Ochraha of the Third Reich prevents their voices from being heard, condemns them to silence. But on the lips of these invincible prisoners the same accusation trembles: "You seem to be afraid of our questions, you sadists, you torturers of men and women?"

Behind *Dimitrov's* voice we hear daily and hourly the voice of *Ernst Thaelmann*, whose lips have been kept sealed for four years, who is only able to speak to mankind by his silent suffering, by his resolute will to victory, from the loneliness of his cell in *Moabit*, and who symbolises by his steadfastness the certainty of the victory of the German people over their torturers.

Georgi Dimitrov has become *Thaelmann's* best, most fundamental, and effective defending counsel. His evidence, his verbal duel exposing the incendiaries, his demonstration of the ramified provocative action staged by Hitlerism in this act of arson—all this

still remains to-day, after the lapse of years, the best wall of defence for *Thaelmann*.

Four years ago the name of *Thaelmann* was practically unknown in most of the countries of Europe and in America. Members of the Communist Parties knew this most popular of German workers' leaders, but few beyond them. To-day his name is the symbol of the struggle of humanity for peace, for the protection of the homes and the families of the workers from the attacks of ravaging barbarians. To-day this name is the symbol of strength of character, service to humanity; the symbol of self-sacrificing devotion to the ideals of Socialism. To-day the name of *Thaelmann* means unity, co-operation, defence of democratic liberties; it means a glad and happy future for the coming generation.

To-day France's great writer, *Romain Rolland*, greets in *Thaelmann* the longing for freedom and the will to peace of the peoples. To-day Germany's greatest living writer, *Heinrich Mann*, greets in *Thaelmann* the pioneer of German youth, the venerated hero who is helping with his sufferings and his fidelity to his convictions in the work of creating a free and happy Germany.

To-day there are Spanish, German, French, Hungarian and Polish volunteers fighting in *Thaelmann* Battalions, *Thaelmann* Companies, and other units bearing *Thaelmann's* name, on Iberian soil soaked with costly human blood, in the *Estramadura*, before the gates of *Madrid*, in the mountains of *Arragon*, and in the orange groves of Southern and Eastern Spain. They are fighting for the victory of democracy, for the freedom of the Spanish people betrayed by generals who have broken their oaths of loyalty.

To-day, for the first time, after four years of Hitler's terror, the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party raise their voices on behalf of their former opponent *Thaelmann*. They stress the honesty and steadfastness of his character and purpose, and appeal to the world to fight for his release.

Dozens of trade union delegates' conferences of the C.G.T. in France—for instance, the conference of the *Paris Renault Works*, attended by over one thousand delegates representing 36,000 workers, and the C.G.T. District Conference of the *Paris District*—have again issued enthusiastic manifestos during the last few weeks, proclaiming their solidarity with *Thaelmann* and demanding his release.

Two million French workers recently signed an "Open Letter to the German People." Signatures to this letter have come from the coalmines of Northern France, from the fishermen's cottages in Brittany, from the harbours of *Marseilles*, *Rouen* and *St. Nazaire*, from the villages of the South of France, from the great works and factories of the country, and even from the colonies. At the close of this open letter, the grandsons of the great France of 1789, the sons of the heroes of the *Paris Commune*, proclaim: "In reply to Hitler's challenge, the French people reply with one word: *Thaelmann*. *Thaelmann* symbolises for us the magnificent German proletariat, determined to regain its power, its independence, its fate. The name of *Thaelmann* is the most powerful factor promoting the unity of the peoples of France and Germany. In spite of Hitler, and in spite of those in France who follow Hitler, the French people proclaim the friendship of the French and German peoples."

The peace-loving world, which writes *Thaelmann's* name on its banners, knows: Were *Thaelmann* free, could he take the initiative in Germany to-day, he would throw all his energies into the struggle against the Brown war incendiaries. He would be the herald proclaiming all over the country the struggle against Hitler's banditry in Spain. He would call upon the youth as once *Karl Liebknecht* called. Whilst *Thaelmann* was still free he set a magnificent example on many occasions in the struggle against war and for the security of peace.

When Japanese imperialism revealed in its historical *Tanaka* document its intention to occupy *Manchuria* and *Mongolia* and attack the U.S.S.R., it was *Thaelmann*, at the head of his Party, who called the working people to action against the threatening war crime in the Far East. When Japan's Hitlerists raided the Chinese Eastern Railway, when they invaded *Manchuria* in 1931, *Ernst Thaelmann*, *Wilhelm Pieck*, and other German leaders of the workers hastened to the ports of *Hamburg*, *Ruhrort*, *Bremen*, etc., and to the great railway depots of Germany; they made passionate appeals to the masses not to manufacture, load, or transport an ounce of war material for the Japanese fascists. They

appealed for the prevention of any help by German armament magnates and militarists for the Japanese adventurers.

The Hitlers and Goerings keep Thaelmann in prison to-day because they know: If he were free, he would appeal with the same energy and passion to the people against Hitler's war crimes. Hitler, when delivering his Reichstag speech on January 30, 1937, thought he could make an impression by vilifying Thaelmann as "one of the most criminal of Moscow's accomplices." He cherished the illusion that he could thereby lessen the respect aroused by Thaelmann's name in every town and village. But one thing the Hitlers and Goerings have not ventured to do all these four years: To bring Thaelmann before a court. Eight times they have announced that they were going to do so, and eight times they have broken their word, for their courage fails them at the thought of Thaelmann speaking at an open trial. Hitler himself announced on August 6, 1933: "The coming trial will open the eyes of the world regarding the sensational events of the night of the Reichstag fire, when the evidence is brought forward which has hitherto had to be held back for the purpose of the preliminary inquiry. The proofs adduced will demonstrate the discovery of an international Bolshevik conspiracy."

For four years the world has been waiting for these sensational revelations of the night of the Reichstag fire. There were sensations enough at the Dimitrov trial. But none brought forward by the national socialists, only those which were aroused as Dimitrov cornered the incendiaries. Three and a half years have passed since Hitler made the above proclamation. And the proclamation has been repeated every time the Thaelmann trial was announced to be impending. That these "sensational revelations" are never made is due solely to the fact that they do not exist.

No. The national socialists will not risk another Leipzig trial, at which Ernst Thaelmann would take Dimitrov's place in revealing the guilt of national socialism before the whole world.

A few weeks ago London and Vienna newspapers published reports from their Berlin correspondents that Hitler "justice" now contemplates imprisoning Thaelmann for life without a trial. This alarming news signals the frightful danger to which Thaelmann is exposed. The Brown traitors to the people are afraid that he may speak, and they are afraid of the strength emanating from him.

May a storm of resolutions, protests, petitions and messages hail down upon the German rulers, staying their hand as Dimitrov did in the Supreme Court at Leipzig, forcing the fascist provocateurs to drop their prey.

Italy

The Fascist Grand Council and the Control of Non-Intervention

By Adami

The Fascist Grand Council, the supreme organ of the fascist dictatorship, has officially announced a series of new measures for the preparation of war, after its session on March 1. These measures appear to be of special importance, and simultaneously they demonstrate the uneasiness of the Duce and of the other leaders of the fascist régime.

The measures announced by the Fascist Grand Council confirm the statements of the "*Giornale d'Italia*," the mouthpiece of the government. Although the nation has been exhausted by the costs of the African adventure, fascism is planning fresh and greater war expenditure, and a further militarisation which can only lead to further poverty and privation for the masses.

The fascist newspapers openly write of a military power which demands "the sacrifice of civil requirements to war requirements," and "new restrictions on the standard of living of the population" are to be brought about by the new situation. Those who know the miserable living conditions of the Italian people, which Mussolini promised to improve by the conquest of Abyssinia, will be able to judge what the further lowering of the standard of living of the workers of our country implies.

In the sphere of international affairs the fascist newspapers represent the new fascist armament measures as the answer to the attitude of the democratic governments, and indications of the war

preparations against France are not lacking. This state of affairs strengthens Mussolini's utterances in an article which recently appeared in the "*Giornale d'Italia*," in which he stated that the fascist states were prepared, moreover, to destroy the Western democracies, as well as the League of Nations and everybody who opposed the German-Italian fascist mastery in Europe.

This article of Mussolini's shows with what intention fascist Italy is participating in the Non-Intervention Committee and why Italy has agreed to the French proposal. Fascism wanted to assure Franco's victory and "to employ every possible means to destroy the Red government of Valencia."

In the certain expectation of victory on Franco's part the Fascist Grand Council has agreed to the despatch of an Ambassador to Burgos and to the control measures of non-intervention, because it was thought that they would be impracticable as far as the intervention of Mussolini's and Hitler's troops was concerned. This shows again the provocative attitude of Mussolini, who relies on the capitulatory attitude of the democratic governments, which will weaken in the face of the new blackmailing tactics of the fascist provocateurs in order to give up Republican Spain to Hitler's and Mussolini's troops and even to sacrifice the interests of their own countries. It is therefore beyond doubt that fascist Italy and Hitler Germany will extend their fascist attacks to other democratic countries if their armies of conquest in Spain are allowed to remain there.

It is obvious that Mussolini has been forced into this catastrophic war policy because of the situation which has developed in Italy through the African war and the intervention in Spain.

The African adventure shows itself more and more to be a crime against our country. It is impossible any longer to harbour the slightest illusion that the conquest of Abyssinia can produce even the smallest advantages, or that the "pacification" of a population of 14 millions, which continues to fight for its independence, can be achieved.

The massacre of 1,700 Abyssinians in Addis Ababa—termed rebels by the fascist press—the murder of Ras Desta, that noble fighter in the front rank for the independence of his country, whom the world should always remember with admiration—emphasise the character of the fascist occupation of Abyssinia and the "civilising" mission of fascist imperialism; these facts also simultaneously reveal why Mussolini is seeking a fresh distraction in the form of European wars.

In this situation to drive Mussolini and Hitler out of Spain means to assure the victory of the Spanish Republic and the national independence of Spain, and to avoid the imminent danger of a world conflagration. It is to be hoped that the **Labour and Socialist International** will at last give ear to the appeals of the Communists for international unity of action, so that the French and British governments, under the pressure of the masses of the people, may remember their democratic task and put an end to their policy of encouragement towards the provocations of Hitler and Mussolini.

Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak Government and The German Minority

By F. Werner

For three weeks the Czechoslovak government discussed the national-political demands of the German coalition parties. At the conclusion of the negotiations in an official communiqué a number of promises were made to the Germans in Czechoslovakia: facilities are to be given in regard to the use of the German language; for the carrying out of emergency work German workers and artisans are to be engaged; Germans are to be accepted into the civil service; in future more attention will, it is said, be paid to the relief for the German Youth and the development of German cultural institutions. A meagre result of the negotiations lasting for weeks, which, as Comrade Gottwald, the secretary of the Communist Party, declared in a speech, constitutes only the first step, the commencement of a real national policy of equality leading to pacification.

As a matter of fact the Czech reactionaries have not raised any

protest against this agreement because it does not in the least satisfy the national demands of the German minority. They threaten, however, to put up a strong opposition in the event of the German minority being granted any further rights.

The German government parties welcome the poor result of the negotiations as a complete success. Nevertheless anxious voices can be heard among the official jubilant comments of the German government parties. Thus the "**Sozialdemokrat**," the central organ of the German social democracy, writes:

"We hope that the government will use its full authority and rapidly carry out its decisions."

It would not have been necessary for the German coalition parties to go begging to the government to fulfil its promises. They kept their proposals secret from the masses and conducted the negotiations behind closed doors. Had they adopted the proposals of the Communists: to gather together all forces and parties which are in favour of national equality; develop a broad movement of the people to enforce a just treatment of the German minority problem; joint action and decision in Parliament, then the result would have been different. The resistance of the enemies of the people would have been broken and no opponent of the just treatment of the German minority would have dared to utter open threats.

As a matter of fact, the reactionaries are being encouraged by the social-democratic leaders, who out of spite against the united front are insulting and slandering the Communists and attempting by all means to frustrate any form of unity between the social-democratic and Communist rank and file.

The leaders of Konrad Henlein's **Sudeten German Party** have never done anything to safeguard the national rights of the Sudeten Germans. The Sudeten German Party were repeatedly asked to formulate their demands, but they never did so because they are not concerned with winning equal rights for the German minority. On the contrary, this party made every effort to frustrate the negotiations between the coalition parties. It is not by chance that Lord Rothermere's threatening articles in the "**Daily Mail**" appeared just at a time when Herr **Rutha**, Henlein's foreign political agent, was staying in London. This article was designed to wreck the negotiations concerning an agreement on the national question.

The result of the negotiations among the coalition parties is meagre, nevertheless the leaders of the Sudeten German Party are furious about the government decision. This is due to the fact that the Communist Party was the first to raise the question of fair and just treatment of the German minority and to put forward a number of proposals in this direction. The Communist Party submitted these proposals to the masses and organised the struggle for their enforcement. No matter how inadequate the first step on the way to fair treatment of the national minority may be, it is nevertheless the result of the initiative and of the struggle of the Communist Party. The Germans wish to live as equal citizens in a brotherly community with the Czech toilers; they therefore approve of the Communist appraisal of the government decisions.

The Communist Party declared that it is now necessary to enforce the carrying out of the promises made by the government. It calls upon the toilers to unite in a real **People's Front** in order to ensure that the first step in the direction of national equality is followed by further steps. The masses of Sudeten Germans are demonstrating at great meetings their readiness, together with the Communist Party, to enforce further concessions in regard to their national status.

The Sudeten German Party leaders are afraid that the movement may lead also in Czechoslovakia, on the initiative of the Communist Party, to the establishment of the People's Front and to further successes in the sphere of national justice. They realise that this would mean the end of their fascist plans of incorporating the Sudeten German district into the German Reich, with the result that Hitler's plan to "pacify" Czechoslovakia according to the model of Spain would encounter insurmountable obstacles. The Hitler agents in Czechoslovakia are attempting to prevent the rallying together of the anti-fascist masses by means of brutal force and terrorism, as is proved by their attack on the Communist members of Parliament. But they will not be able to frustrate by these means the formation of the People's Front and the struggle for a real national equality of Germans in Czechoslovakia.

Spain

Spain, the Battleground of Freedom

By Nicola Ferretti

Approaching the Spanish frontier, arriving in Spain, the journey through the first Catalonian villages to the volunteers who are hastening from all four corners of the earth to fight for freedom in Spain, these things bring a host of unforgettable impressions.

The sky of Spain, the soil of Spain, the Spanish people all greet them with so much light, so much green, with such inspiring comradeship that one might almost say they would like to embrace them with joy. A seven-year-old boy raises a small clenched fist to us in greeting; a little, old woman steps into the doorway of her impoverished house, to welcome us with the People's Front salute, a grateful, motherly smile on her lips. . . The faces of all those sons and daughters of the people who greet us with clenched fists, are lighted by a frank smile. Have you noticed how hard the faces of those become who raise their arm in the salute of **Hitler** or **Mussolini**?

Now we are in the enormous old fortress X., the first resting place of the volunteers. They come from all countries—Germans, French, Italians, Czechoslovakians, Magyars, Poles. A young German party worker is the political commissar of our formation, the military commander is a young, energetic Albanian officer. As the minutes pass, all those assembled in the huge hall draw closer to each other. We are brothers, gathered together from all corners of the earth, marching towards a common goal.

In our group there are about 20 **Italians**, among them two veterans of the fighting around **Irun** and **Madrid**, who are going into battle again in spite of their wounds.

A young **Czech**, a trade unionist in the great shoe-factory "**Bata**" comes up to us while we are singing "**Bandiera Rossa**" (the Scarlet Banner). "You are Italians?" he asks, and tells us that among the volunteers who have just arrived, there is an **Abyssinian**, the son of **Ras Imru**. We immediately set out to find him. People tell us it is really true, he is the son of **Ras Imru**, and is called **Gabrie Hot** (this means "the chosen one of God"). **Gabrie Hot** is a young Abyssinian, 32 years old, with a striking face, pensive and intelligent. It is not easy for us to understand each other. Besides his Amhar mother tongue he only speaks English. The volunteers gather round us. We ask our interpreter to say to **Gabrie Hot**:

"We bring you fraternal greetings from the Italian volunteers, who, like you, have come to fight for freedom. The Italian people bears no responsibility for the monstrous crime which fascist imperialism committed, and which has tortured and enslaved the Abyssinian people. When we have conquered fascism in Spain we will continue our fight for the freeing of Italy from the fascist dictatorship. When the Italian people is once free, it will help the Abyssinian people to regain their freedom."

The face of the Abyssinian volunteer lights up as the interpreter repeats our sentences word for word. Then **Gabrie Hot** answered:

"**Mussolini** was able to subdue us because he used the most inhuman methods of struggle, against which we were defenceless. We know that it was not the Italian people, but imperialism which waged war on us. We feel no hatred towards the Italian people."

We answer that the fact that Italian and Abyssinian volunteers meet here in Spain fighting in the same battle for freedom, is proof that our peoples are brothers, and that the common enemy of all peoples is fascism. We embrace each other, and all those present are deeply moved. This, however, is not the only demonstration of close comradeship between peoples fighting against their oppressors. Our interpreter is the young **Albanian Professor, Skander Luarasi**, who fled from the technical university in **Tirana**, to fight in the International Brigade. He too has something to say:

"It is true that the Italian people is in no way to blame for the actions of the imperialists. We Albanians have proof of this. In 1920 Italian sailors refused to bombard **Valona**. The soldiers and workers of **Ancona** rose to force the Italian government to evacuate **Albania**. The Italian people helped

us in our fight for freedom and it will help us against Mussolini and his puppet King Zog."

Italians, Abyssinians, Albanians—brothers! And brothers too are the sons of all the other peoples, all those who are present at this demonstration of brotherhood, in the fateful hour when international solidarity and the ideals of mankind are triumphing in Spain, the land of heroes and martyrs.

Hungary

The Struggle of the Miners in the Pecs Coalfield

By J. R.

Once again the heroic miners of Pécs have attracted the attention of the world to the terrible conditions of the Hungarian miners and especially the miners of the Baranya county coalfields. They barricaded themselves under ground in the Thomas pit and entered on a hunger strike.

Such a method of struggle involves a grave danger to the lives of those who take part in it and it is obvious that such a method is applied only by men on the verge of starvation. In fact the highest wage earned in this coalfield amounts to about 65 pengo (about fifty shillings) per month, and even this wage was continually decreasing because the coal company was continually decreasing the number of shifts worked in the mine. The number of shifts worked at present per month is only 19.

As the coal company is foreign-owned even the bourgeois press of Hungary saw fit to publish certain details of the tactics used by the efficient managers of this enterprise. These tactics consist in provoking strikes and unrest every time the pithead stocks mount up. This is done by the simple method of cutting wages and dismissing men. The company would prefer to sell the pits to the Hungarian government and demands an enormous price for these mines, although they are constantly complaining that their exploitation does not pay.

This year the management again repeated this operation and provoked the miners to the utmost by introducing more idle shifts and refusing any adjustment of the wages. On February 23 265 miners decided to occupy the Thomas pit and begin a hunger strike under ground.

The desperate men decided to stake their lives on this issue, stopped the pumps and barricaded the entrance to the mine.

The management declined to negotiate as long as the pit was occupied by the men and arranged that credit should be refused in the food shops to the families of the stay-in strikers.

On February 24 400 miners and their wives and children marched to Pécs to induce the company to negotiate. On the road a patrol of gendarmes tried to stop the demonstration. A clash ensued in which the gendarmes used their firearms "in self-defence," killing three men and seriously wounding ten persons, among them three women.

The pit administration declared that the movement was due to the "incitement of foreign Communists" and that a dozen trouble-makers were terrorising the 200 miners in the Thomas pit.

Even the social-democratic newspaper "Népszava" of February 28 was compelled to point out that the "agitators were not the Communists, but the terrible, unbearable situation of the workers and the brutal, merciless wage policy of the coal company."

At the end of 66 hours the strike was broken off. The reason for this was that the government suddenly broke off the negotiations begun with the representatives of the trade unions, and the miners therefore had no further hope of compelling the management to accede to their demands. A further reason was that the Social-Democratic Party Executive had called upon the miners to resume work, thus leaving them without the hope of working-class support.

The Hungarian government refused to assist the Hungarian miners in their dispute with the foreign coalowners and did its best to find excuses for the attitude of the management. Encouraged by this attitude of the government, the company dismissed 146 miners. It is rumoured that 4,000 miners now intend to strike in support of the dismissed men.

The Balkans

Fascist Dictatorship Prepares for Municipal Elections in Bulgaria

By Stephan (Sofia)

The Royal Manifesto in 1935 and the governments since then in power have declared that a democratisation of the regime is the object for which they are working, and the Bulgarian people are to be given the possibility of electing their representatives to Parliament. These promises are now said to be fulfilled by the new Emergency Order issued on January 17 on the municipal elections.

The press has passed over the decree in icy silence. Zankov's newspaper "Slovo" has not made any mention of it, whilst the sole comment of "Mir," the newspaper of the big bourgeoisie, is that the undertaking imposes an obligation only on the government.

The promise that the politicians of the country are to be given an opportunity of expressing their opinions and of taking part in drawing up the law is not to be kept at all. Kusseivanov states that if anyone wants to express his approval he is welcome to do so, but no criticism will be tolerated.

And in actual fact the law is more than reactionary. It is directed against a people fighting for the democratic rights laid down in their own Constitution.

One of the manoeuvres of the government is to give the vote to mothers, in the hope that the votes of the women (who as a rule are politically less enlightened than the men) may influence the election results in its favour. This speculation will fail; the mothers of Bulgaria, who have no wish to sacrifice their sons in the massacre for which King Boris is preparing with Mussolini and Hitler, will not vote for this government.

A glance at the election order: One regulation is that if only one candidate has been accepted by the prescribed date he is automatically elected. The regulations following make it clear that the difficulties placed in the way of the nomination of candidates are such that very frequently this one candidate (government, of course) will be automatically elected.

In order to be accepted as a candidate, the applicants must have paid all their taxes and must have fulfilled all their obligations to the state and municipality. But 95 per cent. of the rural population and two-thirds of the town dwellers are in arrears with their taxes. In the country, therefore, the only possible candidates are big farmers, whose affairs are in order thanks to their excellent relations with the tax authorities, and who support the government. Another regulation excludes the candidature of all persons who have ever been sentenced under the Law for the Protection of the State, who support anti-state ideas, belong to prohibited organisations, or advocate Communist or Anarchist methods.

In consequence of these regulations, anyone displeasing to the government may be prevented from putting up as a candidate. Even more difficult for the working class is the demand that a candidate must be following some trade or profession in the municipality or district, or must own a piece of land, and must be registered for at least five years. But the workers possess no land, and the economic depression has forced them to migrate frequently during the last few years. Among the documents which a prospective candidate has to present is a certificate of conduct from the mayor of the place where he is living. But since 1934 the mayors have been nothing more than police officials subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior.

The whole of the 141 Articles comprising the law breathe nothing but the narrowest, blackest and most savage reaction. The government does not venture to forbid the elections altogether, fearing that a wave of popular indignation might sweep it away. Hence it resorts to introducing an election procedure rendering the election almost a farce.

The Minister of the Interior had actually the brazenness to state, in a broadcast on February 17, that the decree is based on democratic principles and corresponds to the innermost desires of the Bulgarian people. He indicated, however, that the members of town and rural councils thus elected will only supplement the members appointed by the state executives. The latter will always be in the majority, and all that the elected members can do will be to note the decisions made beforehand by the councillors appointed by the government.

A government decree of January 25 lays down the elections in

the following order: March 7, Star Zagora and Pleven; March 14, Schumen and Plovdiv; March 21, Burgas; March 28, Sofia. These tactics have their reasons. The government does not want the elections all at once, in case fascism might be crushed by one blow. On the other hand, Sofia must not come first, since the proletariat there is most advanced, and the election results there might affect those in the provincial municipalities. It will be remembered that in 1932 the municipal election in Sofia resulted in a majority for the Workers' Party, in spite of all the efforts of the democratic bourgeois parties to prevent this. Now, however, these parties are the natural allies of the working class against fascism.

Recently a monster political trial, at which ten of the accused were sentenced to death, took place in Sofia, under martial law. Pleven has suffered especially under the fascist terrorism and will not be able—in the opinion of the police—to offer any great resistance. But the Bulgarian rulers may easily find that they are out in their calculation.

The parties have reacted immediately to the *coup de force* represented by the decree. The party committees of the democratic parties have convened conferences to decide on the instructions to be given their supporters. Although there are still difficulties to be overcome in order to unite all democratic forces for collaboration, it is already certain that they will all go to the poll under the slogan: "Long live the Constitution of Tirnovo!" It is characteristic of the present situation that the organisation of the people's or democratic front is making progress in Bulgaria. Never before has the rapprochement of the democratic parties been so close as now.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria—which is able to record excellent successes in the organisation of the anti-fascist struggle—will utilise the elections for the purpose of gathering together all the democratic forces of the country for certain minimum demands. The importance of the elections is incontestable. If the forces of democracy really co-operate, the government will certainly suffer defeat.

But it is not yet certain that the elections will take place at all; it is possible that the government will take fright and postpone them indefinitely.

New Zealand

The New Zealand Labour Government

By L. Sharkey (Sydney)

The election of the Labour Government in New Zealand, the policy of that government and the legislation it has enacted during its short term of office are of considerable interest and importance to the workers.

New Zealand is the smallest of the British Dominions, with a population scarcely reaching one and a half millions, of whom less than 200,000 are wage-workers. It is not very highly industrialised, having only 118 factories employing more than 100 workers, whilst 4,000 have less than 10, the government being the largest single employer with 25,000 on the pay rolls, of whom 16,000 are railway workers. 69,000 workers are employed in the factories, 2,000 in mines, 4,500 in the building industry and there are 33,000 agricultural proletarians. Despite the smallness of its numbers, the New Zealand working class plays a most important role in the country, as the formation and building up of the Labour Party to the point where the election of the Labour Government become possible, testifies. The New Zealand working class has already established a lengthy record of struggle against the capitalist class, including the big strikes conducted by the Red Federation of Labour (still referred to as the "Red Fed") as far back as 1913. Following the defeat of the strike of 1913, the Labour Party, which was formed in 1900 and then led by Harry Holland who had previously established a reputation in Australia as a strike leader and militant Socialist, began to advance more rapidly.

Farm production, of which 64 per cent. in the years 1929-1934 was exported, is still the basis of New Zealand economy. 39.1 per cent. of the total land held in 1930, according to government statistics, was devoted to dairy-farming, the herds totalling 65,000, of which 32,000 of the registered herds were of less than 10 cows, whilst those with than 10 to 20 cows numbered 9,027 and there

were 103 with 200-500 cows. Sheep and cattle farming accounts for 20 per cent. of the total land whilst there is a small amount of mixed farming and a small fruit industry. Grain farming is confined to a few large farms.

The crisis struck New Zealand with devastating force, rendering 40 per cent. of the workers unemployed and ruining the petty-bourgeoisie. The New Zealand capitalists and their government adopted the policy of placing the burdens of the crisis on the backs of the workers and small farmers, savagely attacking the standards of living of the masses. The unemployed rioted in many centres, the most noteworthy being the **unemployed riots in Auckland and Wellington** where every shop window in the main street of one business section was destroyed. On the other hand, large sums of government money were given to the big banking and insurance concerns for the purpose of "absorbing" the unemployed by building themselves palatial premises which are the outstanding feature of, for instance, the architecture of the capital city, Wellington, to-day. The policy of the bourgeois government, the Forbes-Coates Coalition, aroused the anger and hatred of the masses in town and country and prepared the way for the victory of the Labour Party in 1936.

The New Zealand Labour Party, a reformist Party closely akin to the Labour Parties of Britain and Australia, which put forward a programme of restoration of the wage-cuts, the introduction of the 40 hours week, improved conditions for the impoverished farmers and general all-round improvement of the conditions of the masses, in the elections, was returned with a big majority. Since its return, the Labour Government has acted with considerable energy in putting its policy into operation. Its most important deeds in this regard are the enactment of the **40 hours legislation**, although the actual operation of this legislation, unfortunately, was given over to the Arbitration Court, which the Labour Government re-instituted, which was also given the power to decide whether an industry was capable of providing the shorter week, whilst important sections have received it. The government has also restored wages to the "1931 levels," meaning the abolition of the wage-cuts imposed by the Coates-Forbes regime. It has enacted **compulsory unionism**, which has led to a rapid increase in the numerical strength of the trade unions and also to the formation of new unions. Increases have been made in unemployment relief ranging from 4s. to 19s. a week, together with increased pensions, old age, invalid, etc. Considerable improvement has been made in the conditions of **agricultural workers**, such workers are to receive, at the age of 21, £2 2s. 6d. per week, or if board and lodging is not provided, £3 per week and must receive seven full-paid holidays in every 12 weeks. No one under the age of 15 years can now be hired to work on the farms, and the youths have now a fixed wage also. The government has promised, in the next session of Parliament, to introduce a **Superannuation Bill** and one dealing with **National Health Service**.

Such are among the main reforms which have been established by the Labour Government, which has, incidentally, more or less accomplished in a few months as much as the Labour Governments in Australia, which first began to take office in 1910, and have many times formed government since then, have done in the period of 25 years. The Labour Government has also done something towards removing the reactionary restrictions on working-class liberty, so that one no longer need fear a prison sentence for importing the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and revolutionary publications now circulate quite freely. The Public Servants have been given political rights. The reactionary declaration that one was called upon to sign before being permitted to enter New Zealand that one was not a Communist, nor a member of any organisation "directly or indirectly affiliated to the Communist Party" nor had ever expressed "approval of the doctrines of the Third International" has likewise been abolished. The Labour Government has declared itself in favour of collective security for the preservation of peace. (The Australian Labour Party has more or less declared against collective security, the Lang group violently so, in favour of an ostrich-like policy of so-called "isolation.")

It is evident that a great deal has been achieved in the way of attempting to improve the conditions of the New Zealand workers, but, despite this, there is much that is open to criticism; for example, the re-establishment of the Arbitration Court instead of collective agreement for the regulation of conditions in industry; there is discontent with the court's basic wage decision;

collaboration with British Imperialism in international affairs, rearmament, etc., instead of relying on a working-class policy and on the masses for national defence; there was also support for Baldwin and profuse expressions of "loyalty" with the recent Edward VIII imbroglio, as well as the attitude and public statements of **Robert Semple**, Minister for Public Works, against the workers.

This Minister, when faced with expressions of working-class discontent, refers to the workers as "scroungers," "loafers," "wreckers," and so forth and attributes all discontent to the Communists, whom he describes, à la Goebbels, as "enemies of mankind" and "would-be wreckers of the nation." At a job at Motueka where the workers criticised conditions on a job, Mr. Semple made a number of abusive speeches, in which he called for the support of the "business" people, and the Ministry instructed that five workers of the Motueka job, including the local union official, the secretary, vice-president and check-weighman should not be employed on public works again. Semple's actions and statements are bringing grist to the mill of reaction, which eagerly seizes on them.

These examples show the strength of the Right wing, of the apostles of class-collaboration policy within the New Zealand Labour Party and Government, as does also the Labour Party's rejection of the United Front with the Communists.

However, the improvements made in the conditions of the masses represent a blow to the capitalists, who are conducting an intensive campaign in their Press, wireless and by public meetings, aimed at discrediting and undermining the Labour Government. In this, they are aided by Public Service bureaucrats, whom the Labour leaders accuse of sabotage of its laws. This campaign aims, in the first place at turning the farmers, whom we have seen are such an important element in New Zealand, against the government. This agitation declares that the raising of wages, granting of holidays and general improvements of the conditions of agricultural workers makes the employment of labour prohibitive to the farmer, and also as a consequence of Labour legislation there has been a considerable increase in the cost of living, despite the government's attempts at price-fixing.

Here is an example of this campaign culled from the Auckland press: "The Drury branch of the Farmers' Union has decided to hold a farmers' rally in January. Farmers say they are looking for a leader who will see that the producer gets his fair share of the profits." Mr. Draper, the president, said it was an attempt to weld the farmers together for political purposes and ended his oration by declaring that "it was time we had a change of government." This campaign is gaining some response and must not be underestimated by the workers' parties and leaders. The consequence of the defeat of the Labour Government would be a swing back to extreme reaction, the repeal of the 40-hour week and other social legislation. The first "stay-in" strikes, on a large scale, in Australasia, have just been witnessed in Auckland and the Waikato district. They terminated upon the promise of the Labour Government to legislate in favour of the demands advanced by the "stay-in" strikers. The stubbornness of the refusal by the Vesteys interests (the big meat monopoly) to listen to the demands of the freezing workers, despite the improvements taking place in workers' conditions in other industries, was no doubt to some degree connected with the campaign against the government and calculated to drive a wedge between the workers and farmers, because the farmers' products were jeopardised and they were reported to be about to take action to re-start the works. However, the workers have had a big victory and the situation has been overcome. The New Zealand Communists must actively combat the campaign of the reactionaries, contrasting the Labour Government's legislation for the masses with the attacks launched by the previous Forbes-Coates Government.

Previous to and at its Congress in last December, the C.P. of New Zealand has made serious efforts, with the assistance of the Australian C.O., to overcome its sectarian isolation from the masses and to establish a correct relationship with the Labour Party workers. At its December Congress, the Leaders responsible for the glaring leftist errors in the elections, and since, were removed from the C.C. The Congress decided on a strenuous struggle for affiliation (despite the Labour Party's recent rejection) of the C. P. to the Labour Party as a step toward overcoming the split in the working class masses against fascism and war. The Communist Party of New

Zealand, if it places itself at the head of the struggle against the forces of reaction, against the departmental bureaucrats, who sabotage the government's legislation, and in defence of the social gains of the working class and a vigorous struggle to mobilise the and for united action to defend the Labour Government and the and economic gains of the masses and of the Labour Government, has excellent prospects of rapidly increasing its strength and influence.

India

India After the Elections

By Montagu Slater (London)

In the first elections held under the new Indian Constitution Congress has swept the boards. By this token the struggle in India moves into a new and critical phase.

The electoral victory is inspiring in itself. Final declarations are not yet to hand but it is clear now that Congress has absolute majorities in the six Assemblies of **Behar, Orissa, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay**. They are the largest single party in **Bengal and Assam** and the second strongest party in the **North-West Frontier Province**.

This triumph was unexpected by the British Indian experts, whose forecast was for majorities in four provinces at most. "The successes scored by the Congress Party are substantially more extensive than was anticipated in this country," says the "**Sunday Times**." (February 28.)

Some of the individual results are significant of what this tremendous swing of the voting towards the Congress Party means. For instance, in Madras we find that the Chief Minister, the Rajah of Bobbili was defeated by nearly 7,000 votes by a woman, the woman president of the all-India Railwaymen's Union. The majority against the second minister in Madras, P. T. Rajan, exceeded 13,000.

In Bombay, where the absolute majority of the Congress Party over all other parties is not so great, a block of seats in the Assembly is held by Dr. Ambedkar's Independent Labour Party which has 13 seats compared with the Moslem League's 20 and Congress's 87 (with the result of one three-member constituency still to come).

According to the official account the situation is that, in six of the provinces the representatives of the Indian National Congress may be called on by the Governors to form a Ministry. In two more, Bengal and Assam, they may be invited to join in a coalition. The Congress Party is in a dominant position throughout the greater part of British India.

And there the trickery of the new Constitution begins. The British Raj now hopes to bribe, to split and to disarm the Congress Party, rendering it a party of office-holders in powerless provincial assemblies, giving it prizes to quarrel for, and making it a collaborating and despised shareholder in the unreal half of British state power.

To boycott the elections or to fight them: to take office if victorious or to refuse and attempt to wreck the constitution: these have been the chief questions that have dominated Indian politics for the last two years.

The British tried first to split the Congress party on the question of whether to fight the elections or not. They failed. British newspapers during this whole period have been full of "news" that the "split in Congress" has occurred, that the party is reduced to a set of quarrelling factions. To all this the election results give the answer. The Congress Party speaks for India as it has never done before.

Now a new campaign of splitting activities and false "news" of splits in the Congress Party has been begun by the British rulers. It is a time to be more than usually wary of British official "news."

Congress has still to decide whether or not to take office. Disappointed in its hope that the division in opinion on this question would bring a split first at the Lucknow and then at the Faizpur Congress, British opinion then hoped that there would be a split when Congress working committee met last week-end at Wardha. Again they were disappointed.

In the third week of March there is to be a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee when the National Convention meets at Delhi. There Congress will decide on an all-India policy in relation to their triumph at the elections and the question of taking office.

In addition **Nehru** has made a call for a one-day general strike against the sham constitution on April 1.

In face of this British circles are already beginning to express alarm. The "**Observer**," striving in face of the facts to misrepresent Jawarahalal **Nehru** as forcing his policy on an unwilling party, produces the following "crude" account.

"To put it crudely, the Pandit **Nehru's** plan is to postpone a decision till the end of March, keep the Governors of the six provinces dangling, then confront them with a refusal and catch these provinces all flushed with spectacular Congress victories, with no Governments to carry on with except the old administrations on April 1, when a general strike would be called for against the sham constitution."

We shall see what we shall see. In the meantime, playing up divisions in Congress opinions to the limit, the British have begun to spoil their own game. In Orissa Mr. **Mahabab**, the Congress leader, accepted the Governor's invitation to a preliminary conversation about taking office. "He told the Governor that the Orissan Congress party must await the all-India decision," says the "**Observer**" (February 28). The Governor expressed his willingness to wait, "and Mr. **Mahabab** said that, as a result of the conversation, he felt sure that whoever was called on to form a Ministry would be given a free hand." **Nehru**, says the newspaper, rated Mr. **Mahabab** severely for accepting the invitation. But when the Governor of Orissa immediately issued a statement denying that he had ever promised to await the All-India Congress decision before setting about to form a Government, or that he had ever promised to give anybody a free hand, Mr. **Mahabab** saw that he had been tricked and declared that "This shows that the Constitution is a sham." Thereafter the Congress newspapers which were in favour of taking office began to swing the other way and even the reactionary "**Statesman**" took the Indian Civil Service Governors to task for showing their hand.

Indians, no less than other men, are susceptible to the sweets of office, said the "**Observer**" in a leaderette three weeks ago; the bait is dangled cynically—perhaps too cynically. Acceptance of office if the Governors promise not to use their special powers—this is the policy believed by **Reuter** to be **Gandhi's**. The bait is to be dangled and there is to be a promise that there is no hook! (For the Governor's special powers can completely cancel out any of the powers supposed to inhere in the new provincial parliaments and governments.)

It is at this moment that the slogan advanced by **Nehru** and supported by Congress becomes all-important, the slogan of the **Constituent Assembly**. The All-India Committee meeting in March can be the occasion for launching the campaign that will bring the Constituent Assembly into being.

The idea of a Constituent Assembly is something that all sections of Congress can agree upon. It is the idea of a free parliament of all-India, or in the phrase of the English progressives of the 17th century, an Assembly of the People; an Assembly elected by universal suffrage; a free national Assembly as contrasted with the provincial assemblies under the thumb of provincial governors from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service; an assembly which will be the focal point of all the anti-Imperialist forces in India; an assembly to end the slavery of this or any other sham constitution and give India freedom.

To-day the Indian National Congress is in a position of great potential strength. Its election campaign has drawn grudging tributes from its opponents. In London the "**Sunday Times**" calls it "the mouthpiece of India"; discovers in the party "a real capacity for organisation" (yet it is axiomatic among English Tories that Indians can never organise); finds that it appeals to all sections, peasants, workers, merchants; finds that it has "met the Communal difficulty by going over the heads of the communal leaders" and appealing to the people. It is showing the religious quarrels of Hindus and Moslems to have no reality in face of contemporary political and economic issues.

"World forces are slowly gathering and making for a new dispensation. We in India have only to come into line," said the President of the United Provinces Congress the other day. A United Congress Party! For Democracy in India! Forward to the Constituent Assembly!

Iraq

The Situation in Iraq

By **Selim Abud**

At the beginning of 1935 a number of Shiite tribes rose in the Iraq. The rising spread to the south and was directed against the government of **Djamil Midfai**. The leader of the movement was **Abd al-Wakhid As-Sukkar**. The insurgents demanded the cancellation of their tax arrears, the reduction of taxes, increased taxation for foreign business firms and the resignation of the **Djamil Midfai**.

King Ghazi commissioned **Jassin Pasha al-Khasimi** with the formation of a new government. This was the first time that the formation of a cabinet in the Iraq was entrusted to a person who had repeatedly expressed views antagonistic to the Anglo-Iraq treaty and to the system of government prevailing in the country. The **Khasimi** government began negotiations with the leaders of the insurgent tribes with a view to re-establishing peace, but at the same time sent out an army to suppress the movement.

Then **Al-Khasimi** unexpectedly declared that the present Anglo-Iraq treaty was "a step forward." This declaration disappointed the opposition Nationalists and the masses.

Khasimi began his campaign against the opposition Nationalists and Communists. All newspapers, clubs and organisations of the opposition were banned. Many Nationalists and Communists were imprisoned or placed under police supervision, parliament was dissolved and a new chamber of representatives consisting of adherents of **Khasimi** and his government set up. All democratic rights of the people were abolished.

Khasimi concluded a treaty with the British regarding the purchase of the railways built by them during the Great War. An enormous sum was paid for these railways but the railways themselves were left under the administration of the same British directors and experts for a further 20 years. This contract was regarded by the people of Iraq as an unequal treaty. Such and similar steps of the government roused the Nationalists and the masses to anger and indignation. **Khasimi** did his best to divert the anger of the people towards the national minorities of the Iraq, the Assyrians, Jews, etc., and stirred up antagonisms between the various religious groups and sects of the Arab population.

In 16 months of the **Khasimi** administration there were five Beduin and peasant risings in various districts, costing much bloodshed and causing many casualties as they were suppressed by the army with unprecedented brutality.

This roused public indignation to such an extent that a rapprochement was reached between the progressive elements in the Iraq, the opposition nationalists and the higher ranks of the army, and the **Khasimi** government was overthrown with the assistance of the army. A new government was formed of opposition progressive Nationalists with the following programme: (1) strengthening of the national army; (2) allotment to the peasants of all state-owned land; (3) freedom of the press, of meetings, organisation and demonstration; (4) recognition of the trades unions and the right to strike; (5) equality of rights for all nationalities inhabiting the Iraq; (6) release of all political prisoners and amnesty for all political exiles; (7) a policy tending to amalgamate all Arab countries, support for the national liberation movements in Arabic countries, etc.; (8) maintenance of friendly relations with the British government and strengthening of friendly relations with neighbouring countries (Turkey, Persia.)

This programme served as a basis for the formation of a new government, that of **Khikmet Suleiman**, which came into being on October 29, 1936, and included the leaders of the opposition Nationalists and of the People's Party and certain other progressive elements not affiliated to any of the existing opposition parties. **Djafar Abu Tuman**, Minister of Finance, is the leader of the opposition Nationalists and former President of the "National Party" which has been dissolved. He is a well-known merchant who has much influence with the masses of the Iraq, especially with the Shiites.

Kamil Djadurdji, Minister of Transport, is one of the leaders of the People's Party. (This party consists of a group of Iraq progressive intellectuals and influences the students, intellectuals, petty bourgeois and a section of the working class. Their views contain many Socialist elements partly scientific, partly Utopian.)

Khikmet Suleiman, the Prime Minister, held an officer's com-

mission in the Turkish army and participated in the Iraq rising against British imperialism in 1919-20. He was Home Secretary in the Gilyani cabinet in 1933-34 and is a Liberal-Progressive Nationalist.

The new government is supported on the one hand by the army and on the other by the national movement and the popular masses. It has already begun to carry out its programme. The newspaper bans have been lifted, political prisoners released, and the reorganisation of the trades unions permitted. A beginning has been made with dividing up state-owned land among the peasants and among the nomad tribes who are to be induced to settle down. A movement which aims at uniting all Nationalists, the People's Party and the workers into a single political party meets with the support of the government. It has led to the formation of the "Association of Popular Reform" the organisers and the executive of which includes two cabinet ministers, several leaders of the People's Party, the leader of the workers of Bagdad, Salih Al Kasar and others. The new party has put forward a comprehensive national progressive programme which contains many of the more important demands of the workers and peasants.

The change of government in the Iraq has strengthened democratic tendencies in the Arab countries, especially among the Nationalist bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

The people of the Iraq wishes to form strong ties of friendship and co-operation with the people of Britain, based on the strengthening of the democratic movement in both countries and their joint struggle against the fascist danger and for world peace.

The people of Iraq are working to strengthen their fraternal relations with other Arab countries and to gain mutual support in the struggle for democratic rights against the fascist machinations of Hitler and Mussolini, those great enemies of the nations.

China

The Plenum of the Kuomintang

Nanking, February.

The Chinese people are confronted by great historical decisions. The Japanese aggression has reached a point actually menacing the national existence of China. The experience gained in the 5½ years which have passed since the beginning of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria has shown that it is impossible to buy off these aggressors, and that there is not even a geographical line at which Japanese imperialism is inclined to stop its offensive. This experience has shown that every concession made to Japanese demands only leads to further extortion, and that the final aim of the aggression is the establishment of Japanese colonial rule all over China.

The realisation of this Japanese danger has greatly promoted the freedom movement among the Chinese people, and this has made tremendous progress under the banner of the united struggle of the people against the Japanese aggressor.

The slogan of resistance against the aggressor and the salvation of the country is now so generally recognised in China that even notorious agents for Japan inscribe it on their banners. No political leader ventures to come forward openly against this slogan. But the problem of struggle against the Japanese aggression has another side—that of home politics. It demands the unity and co-operation of all anti-Japanese forces, it demands peace within our own walls, it is incompatible with civil war, and bound up with the democratisation of the existing political regime.

The extent to which Chinese public opinion recognises this programme is evidenced by: the failure of last year's excesses against Nanking by the Southern generals (who advanced anti-Japanese slogans, but in reality provoked civil war, bringing grist to the mill of the Japanese); the peaceful settlement of the successive conflicts in North-west China; the failure of the attempts by anti-Japanese elements in Nanking to organise the sending of a "punitive expedition" against Chang Hsue Liang and Yang Hu Chiang and finally the earlier spontaneous cessation of the war against the Chinese Red Army. The Chinese people want unity in the struggle against Japan. Japanese imperialism, on the other hand and those elements of the ruling circles in China who actually relinquish the struggle against the Japanese oppressors and are prepared to continue their policy of concessions towards them, consider their main weapon to be the provocation of inner conflicts in

China and the splitting up of the militant unity being formed among the anti-Japanese social forces.

Hence the close connections between the home and foreign political questions confronting the Kuomintang. The acutest struggle among the Kuomintang leaders themselves is concentrated chiefly on these inner questions: the struggle between the group of anti-Japanese elements (Feng Jui sjang, Sung Fo) and the pro-Japanese (Wan Tsing-wei, He Ing-Tsing). The latest stage reached by this struggle takes place at the third Plenum of the Kuomintang in Nanking.

The pro-Japanese groups, after hypocritical phrasemongering on the "return of lost territory" and on democracy, are endeavouring with the aid of Wan Tsing-wei to bring about the resumption of the war against the Chinese Red Army, that is to say, the splitting of the united front and therewith the abolition of every possibility of an effective resistance against Japanese aggression. The resolutions submitted by Feng Jui sjang, the Shensi leaders, and the "All-Chinese Association of National Salvation," on the other hand, combine the cessation of concessions to Japanese imperialism with the democratisation of the Kuomintang regime and with the demand for an agreement among all the social forces of China willing to fight against the external enemy.

The position of those Kuomintang groups supporting the platform of a united front of the people has been greatly strengthened, and has been further consolidated by the latest successes of the liberation movement in China. These groups realise that the fate of the Kuomintang regime itself is now at stake, of the Kuomintang regime which cannot oppose the will of the broad masses of the people.

It must of course, be remembered that Japanese agencies in China are widely ramified and powerful. These agencies, and the political cliques collaborating with them in this same Kuomintang, are by no means laying down their arms. At the Plenum itself, and even more behind the scenes, considerable conflicts are going on.

The political results of this Plenum will be seen more in actual practice than in the resolutions. According to Chinese traditions, resolutions must always be carefully read between the lines, and in this case that is especially so. But, however, the resolutions may turn out, they can alter nothing in the historical tendency towards unity in the struggle for the independence of the country, a tendency so openly revealed of late.

The "Isvestia" on the Manifesto of The Kuomintang

Moscow, February 27.

Commenting on the Manifesto of the C.E.C. Plenum of the Kuomintang, the "Isvestia" writes:

"The main problem facing China to-day is that of maintaining independence against the insatiable Japanese aggression, which threatens the actual existence of the state. Closely connected with this problem is the question of internal peace and the unification of all anti-Japanese forces. It had been anticipated that the Plenum of the Kuomintang, in view of the will to unity of the country, would create a fresh basis for the collaboration of all the forces of the people, and in particular for co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. But the Manifesto issued by the Kuomintang Plenum does not justify these hopes. Instead of containing a definite militant programme for the independence of China; instead of subordinating the whole of the home and foreign policy of China to this aim, and showing that the Kuomintang does not oppose the mighty freedom movement which has seized the masses of the Chinese people, but is prepared to join this movement; instead of the new proclamation which the whole country has expected from the Plenum—the Kuomintang actually declares that it maintains its former position.

The Manifesto repeats the phrases about "improvement of Japano-Chinese relations" on the basis of equality and mutual respect for territorial integrity, although everybody is perfectly aware, including the writer of this Manifesto, that the policy pursued by Japanese imperialism in China is a policy for the conquest of its territory and the colonial enslavement of the Chinese people.

The Manifesto differentiates between the achievement of unity

by peaceful means and the cessation of civil war, and solemnly proclaims that the chief aim pursued by Nanking is the "extermination of the Communist elements." It is clear that the Manifesto—outwardly at least—is a declaration of an unchanged attitude towards that home and foreign policy which has hitherto smoothed the path of Japanese aggression, and has already caused China to lose enormous parts of its territory.

Such a Manifesto as this, issued under conditions in which important decisions are maturing, and which can no longer be postponed in face of the growing danger from outside, cannot but disappoint the masses of the Chinese population. This does not, however, mean that the progressive anti-Japanese elements in the Kuomintang have suffered actual defeat. The Chinese people, the rest of the world and history itself, will judge the proceedings at this Kuomintang Plenum from the viewpoint of whether the Kuomintang Government will promote or hinder in actual practice the unification of all social forces in the struggle for the independence of the country, whether it will consolidate internal peace or launch a civil war which would further the aims of the Japanese aggressor, whether it will direct its blows against the external enemy or against its own people. The Chinese people know, however, that the key to the victory on the fighting front against the aggressor lies—in the unity of China.

Soviet Union

The Leningrad District in 1937

By A. M. Ivanov (Chairman of the Planned Economic Commission of the Leningrad District)

Comrade Stalin declared at the First All-Union Conference of the Stakhanov workers:

"The Stakhanov movement opens up the path on which alone it is possible to achieve that higher productivity of labour which is necessary for the transition from Socialism to Communism and for the liquidation of the contradiction between hand and brain work."

The results of the year 1936 are the clearest proof of the correctness of this standpoint. In the year 1936 a tremendous increase of industrial production took place in the Soviet Union. This increase amounted to 31.3 per cent. as compared with 16.5 per cent. in 1935. The industry of the Leningrad district produced goods to the value of 10.2 milliard roubles as compared with 7.9 milliard roubles in 1935.

In Tsarist Russia the output of the whole of the metal and electrical industry amounted to 1,648 million roubles in 1913. In 1936, however, the output of the Leningrad district alone in these two branches of industry was 2½ times larger, i.e., 3,848 million roubles.

The share of the Leningrad district in the industrial output of the country amounts to about 13 per cent. In some industries however, it is even larger. Thus, for instance, in the metal and electrical industry it amounts to 20 per cent. in construction of turbines to 75 per cent., in the construction of turbogenerators to 85 per cent., in the production of rubber shoes to 68 per cent., etc. These figures show that the assertion made by the Zinoviev-Trotskyist gang, that industrial production in the Leningrad district is declining, is not in accordance with the truth.

The Leningrad district is fulfilling its Five-Year Plan in four years in the most important branches of industry. A number of big plants have already fulfilled their Five-Year Plan. These successes are mainly due to the broad Stakhanov movement, which led to an unprecedented increase in the productivity of labour. Formerly 156 work hours were needed for the manufacture of a tractor, whilst now the Stakhanov workers require only 92 hours for this job.

The year 1937 will be a year of the further rapid growth of industry. In addition, a considerable improvement in the quality of production, a lowering of prime costs, faultless execution of army orders, increase in the output of local fuel and the mechanisation of the lumber industry must be achieved. The local industries and the industrial co-operatives must greatly increase the output of articles of daily consumption.

Particular attention will have to be paid to the production of building material. 520 million bricks are required as compared with 115 million bricks in 1936. In this sphere the Pavlovsk silicate

factory is playing a leading role thanks to correct leadership of the Stakhanov work.

Agricultural output in the Leningrad district is still lagging behind. In the year 1936, considerable state support was given: 34 new machine and tractor stations were set up and the State credit to the collective farms increased to 33 million roubles. But the expected increase in the harvest yield has not been achieved.

This of course does not mean that the Leningrad district has not made any progress in agriculture. The harvest, for instance, was got in in a shorter period than in 1935; the mechanisation of agriculture has further developed. Whilst in the year 1935 the machine and tractor stations served 25 per cent. of the collective farms, in the year 1936 they served already 43 per cent. of the collective farms. The plan for the employment of tractors has been fulfilled 112 per cent. and the average performance of a tractor increased by 76 per cent. Special mention should be made of the greater use of flax picking machines. In the year 1934 the district had 97 such machines, in the year 1935 the number increased to 297, and in the year 1936 to 548.

For the year 1937 the following harvest yields are envisaged: grain, 12.5 double hundred weights per hectare; vegetables: 140 double hundred weights; flax: 4 double hundred weights; fodder: 220 double hundred weights; clover: 30 double hundred weights; potatoes: 125 double hundred weights. The amount of artificial fertilisers to be used will be doubled. 22 new machine and tractor stations will be set up. The tractor park will be increased to 5,484 units as compared with 4,109 units in 1936. The number of combine harvesters is being increased to 707 as compared with 352 in 1936, the number of flax picking machines to 988 as compared with 588 in 1936, the number of threshing machines to 920 as compared with 640 in 1936. Agricultural work is thereby being greatly mechanised.

The goods turnover in the Leningrad district will this year increase by 23.9 per cent. and reach the figure of 10,809 million roubles. The number of specialised small shops will be increased. More than 7 million roubles will be spent on the construction of new department stores and shop premises.

The year 1937 will be a year of further cultural development. The expenditure for social and cultural purposes (education, protection of health, etc.) will be increased from 308 million roubles in 1936 to 370 million roubles.

The achievements of the year 1936 have created the preconditions for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the plan for 1937. The year 1937 must be a year of struggle for high quality of work in all spheres, as is demanded by the Stalin Constitution.

The geographical situation of the Leningrad district places a particularly great responsibility upon the Leningrad toilers. They have to keep guard in order to preserve the inviolability of the frontiers, to safeguard revolutionary discipline.

There is no doubt that under the leadership of the Leningrad Bolsheviks, headed by Comrade Shdanov, the workers, collective peasants and the whole of the toilers of the celebrated town and district will in this year furnish fresh examples of great productivity of labour by developing socialist competition and its higher form, the Stakhanov movement, in the twentieth year of the great October revolution. On this path they will gain fresh victories for Socialism.

A Glorious Page from the Life Story of Ordjonikidse

By C. Bobrovskaya (Moscow)

The sad news that the fiery heart of Comrade Ordjonikidse has ceased to beat reminds us of the fearless work performed by him in the extremely hard conditions of tsarist illegality for the rebuilding of the Bolshevik Party organisations which had been crushed by the orgy of black-hundred counter-revolution during the three years of 1908-10.

The question of the training of cadres rose before the Russian Bolsheviks with hitherto unprecedented keenness, because the period of fierce reaction had not only subjected the Party organisations to police attacks, but had led to confusion and vacillations inside these organisations.

In order to prepare such cadres from among the proletariat, and to give them a theoretical training, Lenin formed a Party school in Longjumeau, near Paris, to which came pupils sent by the Russian Party organisations. One of these students was Comrade

Orjonikidse, who had already passed through a tremendous practical school of revolutionary struggle, in the Caucasus, in Persia and other places, and had escaped from Siberia, where he had been exiled for life.

Krupskaya tells in her reminiscences:

"On one occasion the concierge came and said: 'Some person has come who cannot speak a word of French. It must be to see you.' I went downstairs and saw a man of Causasian appearance standing there smiling. It was **Sergo**. Since then he has been one of our closest comrades."

In the school at Longjumeau, Comrade Orjonikidse attended Lenin's lectures on the basic questions of revolutionary theory, tactics and strategy.

But Comrade Orjonikidse was unable to complete the full course of this wonderful school. His studies were interrupted by Lenin himself, who immediately realised how great was the staunchness of Orjonikidse's principles as a proletarian revolutionary, how great were his organisational talents, and sent him to Russia on an exceptionally responsible task.

It was necessary to gather the individual Bolshevik forces, which were scattered over the tremendous country, to prepare for the Prague Conference that afterwards became famous in the history of the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Orjonikidse was especially suitable for that task of gathering together the Bolshevik forces.

He travelled to a number of cities and provinces in the north, south and Trans-Caucasus. His task was extraordinarily difficult. Work had to be carried on under the eyes of the sniffing tsarist blood-hounds. Not only the Mensheviks were opposed to the policy of Lenin but also the opportunists like **Kamenev**, who afterwards sank to the foulest of traitors to the interests of all the working people and the Socialist fatherland. They also opposed the policy of Lenin, although they called themselves Bolsheviks and sought to come to an agreement with the Mensheviks including **Trotsky** (whom Lenin already at that time called a Judas). In spite of all these great difficulties, Comrade Orjonikidse carried out Lenin's instructions brilliantly. He set up the Russian organisational commission for convening a conference of the representatives of the local Party organisations loyal to the proletarian cause. In September 1911, in **Tiflis**, he organised a conference with these same representatives. The conference was held under his chairmanship. In November he was back again in Paris and reported to Lenin the results of the preparations in Russia for the All-Russian Conference.

As is known, this conference which was held in **Prague**, in January 1912, played a very important rôle. At this conference the definite organisational break with the Mensheviks was made and a clear Bolshevik line on all the most important questions of Party work, in conditions of the new development of the workers' movement in Russia was outlined. At this conference a Bolshevik Central Committee was formed and Comrade **Stalin** elected as one of the members, although he was in exile in **Vologda** at that time (his escape was expected to take place any day).

Comrade Orjonikidse was given a mandate to the Prague Conference by the Tiflis Party organisation. As organiser of the conference he took a very active part in its work. At the Prague Conference he was elected to the C.C. and to its Bureau directly leading the work in Russia and to the Russian Bureau of the C.C. which was composed of **Stalin**, **Orjonikidse** and **Spandaryan**.

Orjonikidse then returned to Russia and reported to the Petersburg organisation on the conference. In March 1912 he went to **Vologda** to organise the escape of Comrade **Stalin**. After Comrade **Stalin's** escape they went to the Caucasus where they succeeded, with the help of Party comrades working in private printing shops, to print, illegally, a stupendous amount of copies of the documents of the Prague Conference, as well as **Stalin's** "Election Platform of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party to the Fourth State Duma" and the May First leaflet written by him. This material was widely distributed throughout Russia.

At this period the revolutionary upsurge in the country began to express itself in a number of big strikes and demonstrations.

In April 1912, Comrade Orjonikidse was again in **Petersburg** but his work was soon interrupted. The tsarist secret police got on to his tracks and arrested him under the name of **Huseinov**, a Persian subject. They soon after discovered Comrade Orjoni-

kidse's real name and he was sentenced by the tsarist court to penal servitude.

In the autumn of 1912, Comrade Orjonikidse was put in chains and placed in the Schlüsselburg fortress. This did not break his spirit. After having served his term, Orjonikidse was exiled to Eastern Siberia where he once again took up his work as a Bolshevik. From the very first days of the February Revolution, Comrade Orjonikidse started carrying out big work for drawing the broad masses of **Yakutia** into the revolutionary struggle.

Meshlaur, the Successor of Ordjonikidse

Moscow, February 26.

Valerij Meshlaur, hitherto Deputy-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, has been appointed People's Commissar for Heavy Industry of the U.S.S.R.

Meshlaur was born in 1893 in **Kharkov**. He graduated at the historical-philological faculty and studied at the juridical faculty of Kharkov University. He was the organiser of the Red Army in Kharkov and in the Donbas. He took part in the October revolution. He became People's Commissar of Finance of the **Donetz-Krivorogue Republic**. He participated in the civil war as a member of the Revolutionary War Council of the armies of the Eastern and Southern fronts. He was awarded the Order of the Red Flag. He then became People's Commissar of War for the Ukraine.

Meshlaur worked for five years in the railway transport; for six years he was at the head of the metal industry. From 1928 to 1931 he was Deputy-Chairman of the Supreme Council of Economy of the U.S.S.R. From November 1931 onward he was Deputy-Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. In 1934 he was appointed Deputy-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Council for Work and Defence, as well as Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. In 1936 Meshlaur was awarded the Order of Lenin. For eleven years he had been a member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. At the 15th and 16th Party Congresses of the C.P.S.U. Meshlaur was elected as candidate of the Central Committee of the Party; at the 17th Party Congress he was elected a member of the Central Committee.

In the International

The United Socialist Party of Catalonia Shows the Catalan People the Road to Victory

The First Plenary Session of the C.C. of the U.S.P.C.

The first Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia met from January 30 to February 1. This meeting was a historical landmark, not only in the history of this young party, which arose out of the merging of *four parties* in the dramatic days of July, 1936, but in the history of the whole Catalan people.

The chief slogans of the U.S.P. of Catalonia, representing the fundamental conditions of victory, are as follows: (1) *Maintenance and strengthening of anti-fascist unity*; (2) *Acceleration of the formation of the People's Army and the creation of a powerful war industry*.

The C.C. of the U.S.P.C., in drawing up its resolutions, took as starting point the fact that this war differs fundamentally from the numerous civil wars and classic military pronunziamentos of Spain's past history. It is a war of an international type, the prelude to a world war. Were the people of Spain and their legal government to be defeated in this war, it would mean the conversion of Spain into an actual colony. Therefore the workers of Spain stand in the foremost ranks of our *national war of independence*.

The Soviet Union has supported the Spanish people from the first moment of the struggle. But powerful as the Soviet Union is, *alone* it cannot save the peace of the world, menaced most of all to-day by the attack by international fascism on the Spanish people. And in order to win the democratic states of Western

Europe for active collaboration in the work of maintaining world peace, the Spanish people must take the path which accords with the international situation.

In order to secure victory, the first necessity is the maintenance and consolidation of anti-fascist unity. The basis of this unity is the unity of the working class; unity between the Anarcho-Syndicalist Trade Union Federation, the United Trade Union Federation, and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (Spain and Portugal); unity at all cost.

But the unity of the working class alone does not suffice, for it is not a class war, but a war of national independence. Therefore the unity of the working class must be accompanied by a close alliance between the workers and middle classes, and the peasants, the three decisive factors in the present struggle.

Closest collaboration between the military command of Catalonia and the government of the Republic is another of the leading slogans of the U.S.P.C. Catalonia is not a country independent of Spain. The national freedom of the Catalan people can only be secured by the close and fraternal alliance of all the peoples of Spain against fascism.

The *United Socialist Youth*, at its great national conference, took the first step towards establishing a national alliance of the whole of Spanish youth for the defence of the Fatherland. The Catholic youth, too, are being induced to form part of this unity, for they, too, are ready to fight for the independence and freedom of the Spanish people. The Spanish people, in fighting fascism, is defending and not suppressing freedom of religious faith and opinion.

Spain, Catalonia, and the Basque provinces are closely bound up in this struggle. It is satisfactory to note that the U.S.P.C. does not stand alone in its call for unity in every direction. The Party issued this slogan from the very beginning; it was the leading slogan of its manifesto of September 10, followed in a few days by the unity pact between the Party, the U.G.T., C.N.T. and F.A.I., and the formation of co-ordination committees between these organisations. The U.S.P.C. has already shown that it is willing to make sacrifices for the sake of unity. One of the urgent tasks which must be accomplished is the merging of the two trade union federations of Catalonia, the C.G.T. and the C.N.T., in one single trade union organisation.

There exist some enemies of anti-fascist unity. The chief of these are the *Trotskyists*, and in a lesser degree the elements known as the "uncontrollables." Trotskyism is the enemy of unity, for this unity would mean its final disappearance, and unity runs counter to the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist line. Against the U.S.S.R. the Trotskyists employ one of the main arguments of the fascist press, the main argument used by the fascists in their present diplomatic struggles, the argument which alleges that the Soviet Union rules the Spanish Republic and Catalonia, that it is intervening here and leading the whole of the activities of the Spanish Republicans. The Trotskyists support this main argument of the fascists, and repeat the ridiculous fairy tale that Catalonia is in danger of becoming a Soviet Republic. Those who supply the fascists with the argument of a "Soviet Republic" in Spain or Catalonia are agents provocateurs, just as are the elements who play with the separatist idea in Catalonia.

The Trotskyists proclaim the slogan of the "complete revolution." They say that the war cannot be divided from the revolution. They speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the necessity of setting aside the lower middle classes, of the peasantry who cultivate the land with their own families, and of the elimination of the men who are to-day at the head of the Republic. The Trotskyists and the "uncontrollable" groups afford a refuge for all the various agents sent by fascism behind the lines of the Republican country. The way and the means to put an end to these fascist agencies, in whatever form they may appear, is unity between the U.S.P.C., the F.A.I., the U.G.T. and the C.N.T.

The U.S.P. of Catalonia is fighting to secure and develop the democratic Republic, for the establishment of a democratic and parliamentary Republic of a new type. This Republic will be of a different nature to the Republic of April 14, upon which the traditional privileged classes of the large landowners and high financiers had placed their stamp. In the democratic Republic arising out of this struggle, this new kind of Republic, a Republic of the People's Front, there will be no fascism. Fascism will not only be outlawed, but its material bases, the property of the big fascist estate owners and of fascist big capital, will be destroyed.

Even after the victory the anti-fascist unity of the people must be preserved, in order to secure the fruits of victory.

Spain is a country in which the economy is still undeveloped, and which is greatly dependent on international economy. The industrial life of Catalonia depends greatly upon its imports. Catalonia possesses no raw materials; coal in particular has to be imported from Great Britain. Under these conditions amicable relations and steady exchange of commodities with other nations are a necessity of life. The U.S.P.C. does not relinquish its Socialist aims, but it does not forget the serious responsibility which it bears towards the whole people, and that victory must be secured in this war. And this war can only be won if the intervention of the fascist states is not aggravated by the hostility of the democratic states.

The fate of Catalonia is closely bound up with the fate of the whole Spanish Republic. Catalonia, thanks to its special conditions, is able to constitute a bulwark of the Republic in the struggle against fascism. Catalonia has industries enabling it to supply the war materials for the Republic. Catalonia, with its enormous producing capacity, can contribute effectually to the victory of the Republic. Its density of population is such that it can offer the Republic one of the best army corps of the new People's Army. In the war industry Catalonia can do much more than it has done hitherto.

The main problem tackled by the U.S.P.C., apart from the strengthening of the anti-fascist People's Front, is the *rapid development of the People's Army*. Therefore, the U.S.P.C. demands *general conscription*.

The People's Army must be under one single command. And not only a single command at the Aragon front, but a *single command all over the Republic*.

Another necessity is an increased number of military experts. The People's Army needs more than the old cadres who have been true to the Republic; it must train fresh cadres with the utmost rapidity from the ranks of the people. The military schools have already commenced this task, but the work is still insufficient. Older technicians, too, must be enlisted for this work.

The military policy must find its counterpart in the policy behind the lines. Here the U.S.P.C. insists on its demands: *War economy* and a *correct agrarian policy*. Nationalisation of the whole war industry, all industries serving the war to be planned. Food supplies, too, must be adapted to war conditions.

The peasants have received the land. They are freed from the feudal and semi-feudal burdens imposed on them by the landowners and usurers. The peasant must have the certainty that no one can touch his land. There must be no compulsory collectivisation. The U.S.P.C. is not opposed to the principle of collectivisation. But its first condition is that the collectivisation is decided upon voluntarily by the peasants. And if the peasants prefer family farming, their wishes must be respected and protected. Anyone who proposes anything else is endangering the alliance between town and country, and therewith the victory over fascism.

The U.S.P. of Catalonia stresses the necessity of strictly ensuring that order is preserved in town and country. The anti-fascist regime cannot allow decrees and laws issued by the government to be sabotaged or ignored. Anyone doing this, whoever he may be, must be punished with the utmost severity of the law.

The Plenary Session of the C.C. of the U.S.P. of Catalonia has formulated its decisions in a *resolution* which represents a real programme for the whole Catalan people in this war of national independence. The Secretary-General of the Party, Juan Comerara, stated, proudly:

"Our slogans have swept everything before them, for all recognise them to be right. To-day we see the *F.A.I.* and the *C.N.T.* applying them; the Left Republicans and the *Unio de Rabassaires* (Peasant Party) have adopted them. It is this correct political line which has won for us the confidence of the people, and has created the mighty prestige of our Party at the present moment. We have grown and have become the Party of the war and the revolution, because we have understood how to interpret the needs of the hour."

The *United Socialist Party of Catalonia*, in fraternal alliance with the *Communist Party of Spain*, has thus become the decisive force pointing the path of victory to the Catalan people

After the Trial of the Trotskyist "Parallel Centre"

Straightforwardness and Honesty

(Leading article of "Pravda," February 27, 1937.)

In the history of the world there has never been a party so strong, so devoted to the interests of the working class and so closely bound up with the life of the working class and all working people as our Bolshevik Party. By its high organisation, its discipline, its ideological solidarity, its irreconcilable principles, our Party has increased the forces of the people tenfold and has led them through all difficulties to the brilliant successes of Socialism.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin proved to be stronger than all the obstacles and all the enemies which stood in its path. The Party obtained its forces from the foremost class of modern society—the working class. "It is not given to everyone to be a member of such a Party. It is not given to everyone to weather the trials and storms connected with membership of such a Party." (Stalin.)

Our Party always stood and still stands in defence of the interests of the working class, the interests of working people. The Party regularly cleansed itself from alien class elements, from opportunists, from people who had lost contact with the masses, who had become bureaucratic—in short, from all who were unworthy to be in its ranks. The enemies of the working class realise fully that they can only achieve their aims and harm the people by disrupting the ranks of the Party organisations. For this reason, the Bolsheviks have always guarded the purity of the Party ranks with special care.

It is a great honour and an equally great obligation to be a member of the Bolshevik Party. Wherever the interests of the working people, the interests of the country are in question—the matter great or small—a Communist must always be in the forefront. Such was the case at the time of tsarism, in illegality; such was the case during the civil war; such is the case at the present time, in the years of Stalinist Five Year Plans for the construction of Socialism. We need but recall a striking episode from the cinema film "We From Kronstadt." The enemy was advancing and had brought into operation a new type of weapon unknown at the time—tanks. The ranks of the revolutionary sailors wavered. They began to flee in panic. But the Bolshevik Commissar shouted: "Communists, stand firm." And the terrible weapon of the enemy ceased to be effective. With the Communists to the fore, all the sailors hurled themselves on the enemy and repulsed the attack.

Thousands of such episodes, and episodes still more vivid, in battle and in peaceful labour, could be quoted from real life. In the minds of the working people, the figure of a Bolshevik stands out correctly as the figure of a man for whom the cause of Communism, the interests of the working class, the interests of the people, are higher than anything in life. Unbounded loyalty to the Party, firmness of ideas, crystal purity, truthfulness, modesty, close contact with the masses—these are the characteristics which must distinguish a Communist above all. These noble characteristics can easily be observed, felt, sensed, in every example of the life of Lenin and Stalin, the founders, teachers and leaders of our Party.

Our Party never concealed its aims and tasks. It never concealed the difficulties connected with the fulfilment of these tasks. And the Party demands the same honesty and straightforwardness from every Communist. A real Bolshevik, supremely devoted to the Party, has nothing to hide from it. Every Communist must have the right to say, as that dauntless knight of the proletarian revolution, Felix Dzerzhinsky, said at the Plenum of the Central Committee in summer 1926:

"You know perfectly well what constitutes my strength. I do not spare myself. . . . And you here love me because you believe me. I am never insincere."

A real Bolshevik is never insincere before his Party, before the working class, before the working masses. Duplicity, hypocrisy, deceit—all these are poisoned weapons from the arsenal of our enemies.

The bourgeoisie and their parties have always deceived and still deceive the people. The bourgeoisie and bourgeois politicians dare not speak the truth to the working masses about their aims and intentions. The bourgeoisie lie to and cheat the people when they have to appeal to them for support or sympathy. The foul Trotskyists, Zinovievists, Right renegades and other anti-Soviet riff-raff who crept into our Party so as to perpetrate their treacherous work secretly by deceit, act in exactly the same way.

One of the chief characteristics of these scoundrels is double-dealing. As the fascist toady Radek cynically expressed it, they were living "the psychology of the double-bottomed trunk." All the time they were deceiving the Party, deceiving the working class. They dared not tell the working class the truth about their bandit plots to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

Falsity, hypocrisy, deceit, are in their way the "primary features" of all petty-bourgeois parties, of all opportunists. The whole history of Menshevism and the Social Revolutionaries is filled with hypocrisy and deceit. How much effort Lenin and Stalin and the whole of the Party had to expend to expose the hypocrisy of the Mensheviks who were hiding behind the false mask of their opportunism and treachery.

We carry on a merciless struggle against enemies of the Party, double-dealers, hypocrites. We must carry on a resolute struggle against any attempt, however small, to deceive the Party, against any attempt to trick it, whether in small or great matters. It is only a step from a little lie to a big crime. Anyone who can deceive his Party in a small matter will also not hesitate at a big deception.

Not only those who speak untruths deceive the Party, but those who conceal from the Party facts of enemy activity of which they are aware. A Communist who keeps silence when he knows of the machinations of the enemy and does not bring it to the knowledge of his organisation is no longer a Communist, but an accessory of the enemy. Such conduct is outright deception of the Party, and therefore such a person has no place in its ranks.

For a Communist, the interests of the Party must stand above all, otherwise he is not a Communist. Before the Party, before his Party organisation, he must be honest and straightforward always, in everything and to the end.

Our Party is a voluntary organisation based on iron discipline. The chief condition for maintaining and applying our extremely strict discipline is conscious loyalty to the Party, loyalty to the cause of Communism. Our Party has performed and is performing heroic deeds. As the vanguard of the working class, it is leading the people to victory after victory. The strength of our Party lies in the nobility and clarity of its aims, in the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, with which it is equipped. The invincible strength of the Party lies in the devotion, staunchness and honesty of its fighters.

Clara Zetkin and the Women

"The liberation of women by Socialism, like that of their brothers, must result from their own efforts. They will not receive full liberty and full equality without impetuously advancing in masses, with a clear eye, ready for struggle and sacrifice, along the path of proletarian revolution, in firm alliance with their class comrades carrying on revolutionary struggle."

(Clara Zetkin: "Lenin's Precepts for the Women of the World.")

Published weekly. Single copies, 2d. Subscription rates: 12s. per year. Remittance in STERLING per International Money Order, Postal Order or Sight Draft on London. Subscriptions and correspondence should be addressed to the Workers' Bookshop, 49, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.1.

nearly £250 millions: a "figure without precedence" which Pitt strove to reduce. In 1815 it was £831 millions, and the verdict then was: "truly appalling." The 1920's brought it up to £8,000 millions: and there were those who said we might never recover.

In his article Mr. Barkley is putting forth not an economic argument but Tory propaganda: similar material is to be found in the other Right Wing papers, and will increase as the Election draws nearer.

Tribune has dealt with this whole subject at some length and detail in the past and will do so again.

That is a promise to Mr. Barkley. We hope it will comfort him when he wakes counting the National Debt and of sheep.

World Trade Union Plans

THE International Federation of Trade Unions has called a full meeting of its General Council in London at the end of this month, immediately before the assembly of the World Trade Union Conference. The I.F.T.U. will discuss a new draft constitution which, if adopted, would enable the Soviet trade unions, the American C.I.O. and possibly the Christian Catholic unions of the Continent to affiliate.

In the past this proved impossible, mainly because of the stubborn refusal of the American Federation of Labour to admit either the C.I.O. or the Soviet unions. Until comparatively recently the T.U.C. reluctantly agreed to this A.F. of L. policy.

In the meantime, however, the T.U.C. has decided to disregard the A.F. of L. objections and to call a world trade union conference in which the Soviet unions as well as the C.I.O. will be represented while the A.F. of L. continues to refuse co-operation. Both the Soviet trade unions and the C.I.O. seem determined to make this Conference the basis for a new organisation which would supersede the I.F.T.U.

A strong campaign against the I.F.T.U. has been launched in the Soviet press. The magazine *The War and the Working Class* has published a whole series of articles on this subject. It has even opened its columns to Philip Murray, President of the A.F. of L., who also advocates a new international trade union organisation. The importance attached to this subject by the Soviet Union can be gathered from the fact that Philip Murray is, to our knowledge, the first foreigner to contribute to this important Soviet journal.

This has created an awkward dilemma for the T.U.C. and a number of continental trade union organisations with similar views and traditions. While they want co-operation with the Soviet trade unions and the C.I.O., they also want co-operation with the A.F. of L. Moreover, they are afraid that a new organisation, without the A.F. of L., in which the Soviet Union would play a great part, might develop into a political rather than an industrial organisation under strong Communist influence.

Hence the last minute attempt, sponsored among others by Sir Walter Citrine, to find a compromise by broadening the I.F.T.U. It is by no means certain that the A.F. of L. will show itself ready for such a compro-

mise. It is even more doubtful whether the Russian unions would agree to drop their plan for a completely new organisation and to affiliate to the I.F.T.U. if they were invited to do so. Most likely they would be supported in this by the French trade unions, which, although they are affiliated to the I.F.T.U., are known to be extremely critical of its wartime record. It is not by accident that a delegation of the French trade unions is to visit Moscow in the week immediately preceding the World Trade Union Conference.

Hungarian Democracy

THE battle for Budapest is in its last stages. While there is little definite news about the activities of the newly-created Hungarian National Assembly, there come from many countries declarations galore of faith in its truly democratic character.

The Hungarian delegation in Stockholm, for instance, composed as it is of staunch Horthymen, has recognised the new Government. So has the group of Socialist emigrés over there, who, however, declared that they refuse to have any dealings with the turncoats in Sweden and elsewhere.

We repeat here that the inclusion of two Horthy generals—one of them apparently on the Yugoslav list of war criminals—may be understood, from the Russian point of view, as an attempt to win the Army. It remains to be seen how many regiments will actually follow the generals. In any case, there is something to be said for having truce or armistice terms signed by people who have the honour of belonging to the oldest Fascist movement in Europe. However, to present this Government as anything but a transitional construction dictated by the war needs of Russia would be childish.

Those who jumped over to the camp of democracy when the clock had almost finished striking twelve, excel themselves now in the praise of the new democracy in Hungary.

New Land Reformers

Surely these people are underestimating the intelligence of Soviet Russia when they claim the new decrees on land reform as a great achievement. Under the present vague terms this land reform means that those who fight with the Red Army will get the land of those who fight with the Nazis. This would leave the land of the Church as well as the large estates of the Legitimists in Hungary practically untouched. The Russians, of all people, can be trusted to know that land reform is not only a punitive measure against militant collaborationists.

"Bund" Declaration

OF all Polish parties and groups outside the Lublin Committee none has been as sharp and outspoken against the Polish Government in London as the *Bund* (the Jewish Socialist Party of Poland). While they are firmly opposed to the Lublin Committee, which they regard as neither independent nor representative, they have also denounced the Polish Government in London.

In a recent debate in the Polish National Council Emanuel Scherer made the following statement on behalf of the *Bund*:

"From the day of the formation of the Polish Government in exile the *Bund* de-

manded that reactionary elements representing either the Pilsudski régime or the Nationalist Party (the 'Endeks') should be excluded from a coalition.

"The fact that the Nationalist Party was, nevertheless, included in all previous Polish Cabinets in exile compelled the *Bund* to oppose all these Governments without, however, questioning their right to represent the Polish State.

"The present Polish Government under Tomasz Arciszewski includes members of the most reactionary and anti-Semitic wing of the *Endek* Party. The *Bund* therefore opposes the present Government and fights especially against its *Endek* members, although it recognises the Government which is led by a worthy leader of the Polish Socialist Party as legal.

"At the present moment, when even the remnants of the Jewish people are threatened with complete annihilation, the *Bund* holds the view that it is the elementary duty of the Polish Government to do everything to save them. A Government, however, which includes representatives of militant anti-Semitism cannot but have a detrimental effect on the attempts to rescue Polish Jews, particularly when the Minister concerned with this task is a member of the *Endek* Party.

"We demand a Government based on the co-operation of workers and peasants with other democratic groups, excluding all persons belonging to the Pilsudski or Nationalist camp.

"At this grave moment only a Government that includes no reactionaries can pursue the ideological aims of this war, serve the real interests of Poland and enable her to settle the Polish-Russian dispute. This is the way to secure freedom and independence and to reconstruct Poland economically on the basis of a genuine political and social democracy."

The Nose

In Paris, recently, such incidents occurred as a politely worded note to the caricaturist Senne that he was making de Gaulle's nose too long in his drawings.

Each morning the journals of France
Take part in a Press agitation,
As dailies and weeklies advance
To the goal of complete liberation.

The battle is fierce and widespread,
Each morning the fight is intenser,
The crisis has come to a head,
With the head of de Gaulle and the Censor.

The Right-Wing Press censors dictate,
Though the place of de Gaulle is provisional,
Cartoons of the head of the State
Must not caricature the original.

The fiery argument grows,
The head of de Gaulle must be dominant,
But the Right-Wing object to the nose,
Which the Left-Wing is making too prominent.

The nose overshadows the fight,
The ban is a censorship scandal,
The Left-Wing insist on the right
To make it as long as a handle.

The nose of de Gaulle is the rub,
The nose is attacked and defended,
The Right-Wing prefer it a snub,
The Left-Wing prefer it extended.

The struggle for final control
Continues with furious persistence—
The length of the nose of de Gaulle
Is the symbol of Left-Wing resistance.

ROGER SERVICE.

THE ROOT OF THE BALKAN TROUBLES

By Marie Jahoda

EVERY paper you open, every news-bulletin you listen to reveals the pains of liberation. Nowhere are these pains of liberation as acute as in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Constitutions are invoked and repudiated, kings are pushed and dropped, rival parties claim to be the exclusive representation of the people. The political problems that have thus arisen in the peasant countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe are today the severest test of the ability of the Big Three—or Four—to co-operate in the post-war world.

However, to try to discuss the problems of these countries in the sphere of constitutional issues only will not lead very far. For the force that moved the workers, farmers and fishermen in Greece to take up their arms, and that sets into motion the peasants, landless labourers and the workers in Hungary and Poland, in Yugoslavia and Rumania is not the constitutional issue. It is not the loyalty to one political party, although a small nucleus in each of these countries will be moved into action by such loyalty. It is not the issue of monarchy and regency, no matter how much Claridge's bristles with the self-important activities of royal advisers. It is not even the question of general elections—something far too remote and indirect in countries where many thousands cannot read or write. No, the force that can set these millions into motion is something at the same time more elementary and more fundamental: it is hunger and poverty.

Pre-War Poverty

HUNGER and poverty have been intensified by the German occupation; but they existed even before. The profound social discontent in these peasant countries is the result of a paradoxical social and economic structure that made the struggle for the daily bread, in the literal sense of the word, the main and often unsuccessful battle in these wheat-exporting countries.

It is not possible to compare the standard of life and diet of peasant countries with an industrialised country like England. But take Denmark as a yardstick, another peasant country in Europe, and one of the few that had solved its main economic problems before the war. The annual consumption of foodstuff, especially of protective food, per head of the population in the Balkans was only a fraction of what the Danish farmer consumed. In Denmark a person consumed on the average 124 lb. of meat, 250 lb. of potatoes, 117 lb. of sugar in a year. In Greece 34 lb. of meat, 34 lb. of potatoes, and 22 lb. of sugar. For Yugoslavia the figures were: 44 lb., 130 lb. and 12 lb. respectively. In Poland and Hungary, in Rumania and Bulgaria the position was not better.

The result of such permanent malnutrition is a short expectation of life, and a high death rate, especially a high infant mortality. In Greece more than 11 per cent. of the children born die in their first year of life; in Yugoslavia the figure is 14 per cent., and in Rumania even 18 per cent. This is in every case more than double the infant mortality of this country.

The survivors find life hard and food scarce. For the peasant tries to sell as much of his produce as possible. He needs cash even though in parts of Yugoslavia and Rumania he is still predominantly a subsistence farmer thinking less of a market than of the need to feed a large family. Money is wanted not only to buy kerosene, salt, matches or even occasionally a pair of shoes;

but also to pay taxes. Indirect taxation always falls more heavily on the small man; but such was the social system in Hungary, for instance, that the smallholder had to pay twice the amount per acre paid by the large landowner in direct taxation.

Where there is desperate need for cash, usurers have easy play. Little did the peasant realise that the money he borrowed today would force him tomorrow to sell bits of his land already too small to feed a family, or to part with his only draught animal.

There were, of course, credit facilities of a more organised character, such as provided by the credit organisations of the co-operative movement. But credit, even on a co-operative basis, implies that sooner or later the money borrowed must be paid back. And the peasant had little chance of doing so. Co-operation, furthermore, when fostered by dictatorial or semi-dictatorial Governments is a very different thing from free and voluntary co-operative organisations such as we know them in this country. In Greece, for instance, membership of co-operative societies was made compulsory.

To such compulsory memberships were attached conditions which revealed the true character of co-operation under dictatorships better than their name. In Rumania, for instance, the State delegated to the co-ops. the function of tax collectors. Little wonder that the peasant neither expected nor received from such societies the help he so badly needed.

The peasant wife in Southern Poland who, in the inter-war years, split every match carefully into four parts because she could not afford to use a whole match for lighting the fire once a day, is a true symbol of what poverty meant in Eastern Europe.

Greece, with her long coastline, where many found employment in commercial fishing and shipping is, in a way, better off than her northern neighbours. But even in Greece more than 50 per cent. of the population make their living on the land, and the value of the industrial production in Greece per head of her population was not quite 6 per cent. of that in Germany, for instance.

Land Reform Struggles

ATTEMPTS were made, after the last war, to fight the economic evil in these countries. Inspired by the example of the Russian Revolution, and the crumbling of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, revolutionary peasant movements came into power and carried out a more democratic distribution of land in these countries. In Hungary, with her army of three million landless beggars, the attempt failed altogether. In parts of Poland and Rumania the land reform remained incomplete. But in other countries in that area the peasants owned the land. However, lack of land was only one cause of peasant poverty; the land reform did not solve the whole problem; after some time the original élan of the movement fizzled out, faced as it was with tremendous tasks for which it had no ready solutions, and with fierce political opposition that soon arose. The peasant parties were not able to maintain themselves in power. The fairer distribution of the land in itself did not solve the economic problem of these permanently distressed countries.

If not the question of landownership, what then is the main cause of such economic plight? The root of the evil is the existence of an agrarian surplus population. Now, what does this

mean? In Western Europe the actual density of the population is much higher without creating the same problems. But in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe the number of persons depending for their livelihood on the soil is much too high in relation to what the soil can produce. That is the crucial point.

The problem is aggravated from generation to generation because of the high birth rate which, despite the high death rate, results in a steadily growing population and an ever-increasing pressure on the resources of the country. With the type of farming current in South-Eastern Europe, not more than 28 persons can make a living from 100 acres farmland. In actual fact, however, there were in Greece 48 persons depending on 100 acres; in Yugoslavia 42, in Bulgaria 33, in Poland 31. This implies not only a very low standard of living for the population, but also permanent under-employment on the farms.

Unemployment and Emigration

THE yield per acre might have been improved by the use of modern agricultural implements. But the peasant's traditional suspicion of any type of modern machinery on the farm was further strengthened by this constant under-employment. Why should he part with the little cash he has in order to buy machinery (which is generally labour saving) when there is not enough work to be done on his farm, even without machinery, to keep the members of his family busy?

Thousands of young people in these countries saw only one way out of their misery: emigration. Thus, in the first quarter of this century the peasant countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe were drained of the best and most energetic of their youth. Whether or not they succeeded in foreign lands, the resentment at home grew. Those who had stayed behind were deprived of native energy and drive which was so badly needed in order to solve the growing difficulties of family and national life.

Yet there is a way out of this vicious circle. But it demands powerful and determined State action. Eastern and South-Eastern Europe have, for geographical and historical reasons, been by-passed by the Industrial Revolution. There is no outlet in industry for the surplus population on the land. This outlet must be created.

Industrialisation in a piece-meal fashion had already started in the last pre-war decade. But there are still vast areas in Europe resembling in their stage of industrial development Western Europe at the beginning of the last century. Private capital, in some parts largely of foreign origin, started an industrialisation promising to reproduce the conditions of exploitation and squalor which accompanied the Industrial Revolution in the West. And to the masses of the hungry peasants was added the nucleus of an equally hungry urban proletariat.

However, the industrial output per head of the population remained far behind that of the rest of Europe. In fact it is hardly possible for private capital to achieve better results where there are not enough roads and railways, where there is hardly an attempt to exploit the potentially considerable hydraulic power, where there is no tradition of industrial skill. The people in these countries scarcely know by sight the industrial consumer goods which are common household articles in the Western European farmer's and worker's life. To give only one example: there were in Britain in 1938 182 wireless sets per 1,000 inhabitants; in Poland the figure was 25; in Yugoslavia 7; and in Greece 2.

The people's poverty and the lack of any factories and production plant made it scarcely worth while attempting to manufacture consumer goods. Nobody at home could afford them, and the foreign markets demanded goods of a higher standard than an industry in its infancy could produce. Food factories, those dealing with animal products and plant for making agricultural machinery, were in the past equally unwanted in a region dominated by grain-growing. If the peasants could be induced to change to intensive and therefore more profitable forms of agriculture, such factories would find an internal market over night.

Where such comparatively small projects had so little chance of success, nobody took care of the major tasks of building roads, taming rivers and waterfalls for the generation of electricity, all of them long-term investments which, while not being immediately profitable, might ultimately raise the standard of living and reduce infant mortality.

Under these conditions it would be folly to leave the task of industrialisation and improvement of agriculture to the haphazard ways of private enterprise. If a higher standard of living is to be achieved both for workers and peasants, within one or two generations the State will have to plan and perform radical social and economic changes. It will have to be ruthless in respect of those who have vested interests in the industrialisation attempts of the past.

Today's Real Problem

IN the inter-war years the ruling class having lost part of its land sought economic compensation in industrial enterprise. To make it at all worth their while they used their influence on the State—they all had a brother or cousin high up in the civil service—recklessly in the matter of taxes, tariffs and prices for their own advantage. Such economic policy was obviously endangered if the originally powerful peasant parties had a chance of interfering with the interests of the ruling class through democratic representation. So democracy had to go, and the peasant movements were persecuted, many of their leaders thrown into prison. The ruling class had its way. The difficult task of adjusting the development of industry to the needs of a population which will whatever happens for a long time to come continue to be predominantly agrarian, was entirely neglected.

The question arises: Who is able to tackle these social and economic problems? Which social forces can destroy such colonial exploitation inside Europe?

The task is set: to achieve through industrialisation a balanced economic system that raises the standard of living of peasants and workers. King Peter may invoke the "democratic traditions" of his dynasty. He and such formal democracies of the past as existed in those areas have given little proof of their ability or even willingness to achieve such results. It is the politically, socially, economically and culturally progressive movements of the workers and the peasants who have formulated the task and written it on their flags. It is they who represent the social forces which must be entrusted with its realisation. The final test of any political constellation in the Balkans, as everywhere else, lies in the economic and the social sphere. And if the newly acquired disciples of democracy here and everywhere object to people who take up arms against "liberators" and generally use means not always strictly in accordance with the formal concept of democracy, they will do well to reflect that even in this country, with its industrial tradition, its skilled labour and its standard of education and political thought, democracy is still the objective rather than the reality.

Sympathy is extended to the unlucky and, unfortunately, numerous people who have been disappointed this month. Invaluable advice was given to writers by

BERNARD SHAW

in the January *Writer*, but the demand far exceeded the supply, with the result that only subscribers and early visitors to the bookstalls obtained their copies.

One consolation, however, we can offer to readers. If the necessary precautions are taken to safeguard a copy of the February issue, every writer will revel in

FRANK SWINNERTON'S

Confession of a Novelist

These two articles are the first of a magnificent series to be published in

THE WRITER

on sale monthly at 8d.

General

GOOD OR BAD — IT'S LIFE ANN TEMPLE

10s. 6d. net

BATTLE FOR HEALTH

STEPHEN TAYLOR

No. 1 of the New Democracy Library (in association with Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. Ltd.). Illustrated by photographs and Isotype charts. 5s. net

WHY YOU LOSE AT BRIDGE

S. J. SIMON

5s. net

PL Books

POETRY LONDON X

Edited by Tambimuttu

New poets issue, with drawings by Mervyn Peake and lithographs in colour by Gerald Wilde. 15s. net

THE GLASS TOWER

NICHOLAS MOORE

With illustrations by Lucian Freud. Ready 18th January 8s. 6d. net

NICHOLSON & WATSON

LORDS AND COMMONS: by Jack Wilkes

PARLIAMENT reopened in an atmosphere of deceptive calm. Later in the week there promises to be a considerable row over the Government's handling of the Greek situation, and its whole-hearted support of the Plastiras Government. Feeling seems to be running high among Labour Members, and with the mood of the Labour Party Conference fresh in their minds, they won't be very patient with Churchill if he makes the same sort of truculent speech as he made previously. He was certainly obstinate and bad-tempered when he answered questions on Greece on Tuesday. He accused Shinwell of adding to the difficulties of the situation, and when Frank Bowles pointed out that British casualties suffered in fighting the Greeks had been seven times greater than in fighting the Germans on Greek soil during the past year, he shot back viciously that "we had succeeded in preventing a hideous massacre." He described the Plastiras Government as "extremely democratic."

Among the many questions on the Order Paper the first day after the Recess there were a number to the Minister of War about leave for men in the Middle East and Far Eastern Commands. These showed that many aspects of the leave scheme are causing widespread dissatisfaction. Although Sir James Grigg did not say anything new, he was unusually mild and conciliatory in his replies.

Sir Waldron Smithers, after ascertaining that there had been a considerable addition to the Ministry of Fuel's employees since 1941, commented typically "that in proportion to the increase in the number of officials production goes down." On this basis, if the Ministry of Fuel were to disappear altogether the quantity of coal produced would, presumably, be infinite. Emrys-Evans, Under-Secretary of State for the Dominions, asked about the difficulty in obtaining from Dominion soldiers costs awarded against them in divorce proceedings, replied that the difficulty was a legal one. In answer to supplementaries he kept on repeating that it was "a question of law." He seemed unable to appreciate the indignation of the Members who told him that this was no answer as it was the function of Ministers and Parliament to alter bad laws. In any list of Under-Secretaries drawn up in order of merit, I am sure the House would put Emrys-Evans at the bottom.

Amid loud cheers from Conservative back-benchers, Churchill announced there would be no qualification in our demand for Germany's unconditional surrender, and that the objectives of the Atlantic Charter were "still valid." It remained, he said, "the standard of aims." Maybe when all its provisions have been violated it will still remain our "standard of aims," and each of the Allied Nations will blame the others for their joint failure to achieve it.

It was significant that the Wages Council Bill passed its second reading without a single squeal of opposition from the Tory benches. The Bill is considerably more far reaching than the Catering Bill which stimulated a hostile Tory vote of over a hundred. Presumably Tory H e a d-

quarters, alarmed by the public indignation aroused on that occasion, and with an eye to the coming General Election, have taken the necessary steps to prevent their die-hard Members from repeating their folly.

Ernest Bevin, in his introductory remarks, recounted the history of the Trade Boards since they were initiated in 1909. He mentioned the interesting fact that the first Board laid down as a minimum wage for men 6d. per hour and 2½d. for women. He said that he was changing the name from Trade Boards to Wages Council so as to remove the stigma of sweated conditions which the old name implied. This was no longer appropriate since the scheme was now applicable to all industries. Bill Cove, in welcoming the Bill, said that it was a mistake to think that a good standard of living could be achieved by such a palliative measure, and that only when Capitalism was transformed into a "collective economy, running for collective purposes," could there be assured prosperity.

Lewis Jones, National Liberal, was the only Member to express any serious criticism. He did so in a sandwich speech: he commended the measure in his first and last sentence, but the meat was all opposition. He disliked having Ministry of Labour representatives sitting on the Wages Councils, and thought that all negotiating bodies, to be successful, should be voluntary. Their establishment, as envisaged in the Bill, "savoured of totalitarianism." Sir George Schuster, another National Liberal, supported the Bill whole-heartedly. So there is a split amongst the National Liberals as acute as that between them and the opposition Liberals. The political disintegration of a Party couldn't go much farther without splitting the atom.

THERE was a definite liveliness when Parliament's fiery Pickwick, Professor Savory, Member for Queen's University, Belfast, indulged in his favourite game of taunting de Valera. The immediate occasion for his onslaught was the Southern Irish Government's equivocal reply to the request of the United Nations that no German war criminals should be allowed to seek refuge in Eire. But that seemed largely an excuse for digging up and attacking with considerable vigour all the alleged misdeeds of that Government. He dilated about its protests against the landing of United States troops in Ulster. He poked fun at the compulsory history and geography lessons in the Irish language by teachers who spoke it scantily, to children who didn't understand a word of it. Patrick Hannon, unconsciously, one presumes, lapsed into a strong Irish accent in his reply. He pointed out that there were immense numbers of men from Southern Ireland in the Services, many of whom had received decorations for valour. The House seemed to think that these Irish recriminations savoured too much of the past. With magnificent self-control, the English, Scotch and Welsh Members sat silent, feeling the least said the soonest mended.

16. XI. 19. 46

11

Rövid válaszok hosszú levelekre

Károlyi József Bp., VI., Andrássy-út 12. Nagyon örülünk, hogy tettett Polányi cikke. Megjegyezzük, hogy az U. M.-ban megjelent öszszefoglalás gondolatmenetét az illusztris szerző részletesebben kifejtette a *London Quarterly for World Affairs* 1945 januári számában. A brit misszió vagy a British Council könyvtárában valószínűleg ezt is megtalálhatja.

Dr. J. B. Bp., Hajós u. 25. Összintén sajnálom, hogy valamilyen félreértés folytán régebbi levelelt válasznélkül hagytam. Ami az előfizetést illeti, a kiadóhivatal a mulasztást jóvá fogja tenni. Amit a „Nyílt titkok városával” kapcsolatban ír, helyes. Azonban, mint hetilap, nem nyithatunk személyi rovatot, amelyben minden hibázó tisztviselőt pellengérré állítsunk.

A pártönkivüliek kérdéséhez anynyi hozzászólás érkezett, hogy a válaszokkal mai számunkban, helyszüke miatt foglalkozni nem tudunk. Minthogy azonban ezt a kérdést „az Új Magyarország kérdez” rovatunkban is felvetettük, így arra visszatérünk. Addig is kerjük a t. levélírók türelmét.

G. I. gimn. tanár, Békéscsaba. Hadifogságban írott versei valóban megrázóak. Sajnos, közlésükre nem tehetünk ígéretet, mert túl vagyunk halmozva versekkel.

H. P. Budapest, Deák F.-u. 19. A beküldött nyílt levelet nem közölhetjük. A rádióelőadásról szóló kritikáját küldje be magához a Rádióhoz, vagy valamelyik olyan hetilaphoz, amelyik rendszeresen foglalkozik a rádió műsorának ismertetésével.

TROPUSI NAP ALATT

Regény — Írta: Zboray Ernő.

— Nem írtam amit mondasz, én még csak nem is hallottam erről. —
Sőt nagy felelősséggel tartozom a társaságunknak, hogy megmondjam, hogy ez a történet nem igaz. —
Miközben a szíve egy kicsit emelkedett, a tekintete megdermedt. — Én sem vagyok ám egészen bolond.

Kovács el sem tudta képzelni, hogy honnan tudhatja Solti valóságtól, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Hát akkor miért bízik az urnak a ruhájában, amit csak a társaságunknak mutatott? — mondta egyszerűen és kiemelt a szóból.

A szíve még ott felelt Kovácsnak, hogy amit tegnap látott, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

Kovács fülig pirult, mint egy huszár, aki kapott díjat és csak annyi volt, hogy Solti már nem volt a szobában.

— Nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

— Jaj, nem tudom megmondani, egy európai szellemiségű ember. —
Sőt, talán a földön, ahol eddig él és élte, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz, az a tény, hogy ez a történet nem igaz.

Chicago Egyházak és Egyesületek

SOUTH SIDEI EGYHÁZAK ÉS EGYESÜLETEK NAGYBIZOTTSÁGA
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO ÉS KÖRNYÉKE ELŐ MAGYAR TÁRSALGO ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Alapítványt 1902 január 1-én a Chicago legnagyobb és legjelentősebb magyar közössége, a Magyar Társalgó és Betegsegelyező Egyesület.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

WOODMEN OF THE WORLD "MAGYAR HON" CAMP 317
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

CHICAGO WEST SIDEI REFORMATUS NORGYULET
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

MAGYAR-AMERIKAI KULTUR KOR
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

A CHICAGOI MAGYAR BAKOCZI BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

A VERHOVAY SEGÉLY EGYESÜLET 505-İK FŐRKA
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

TESTVÉRSÉG BIZTOSÍTÓ ÉS BETEGSEGELYZŐ EGYESÜLET ANY ENDRÉ 1011 OSZTÁLYA
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

MAGYAR-AMERIKAI DEMOKRATIKUS TANÁCS
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

MAGYAR-AMERIKAI DEMOKRATIKUS TANÁCS
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

MAGYAR-AMERIKAI DEMOKRATIKUS TANÁCS
Gyűlést tartja minden hónap első péntekén este 8 óráig kezdve a Darnall Mezzanine Roomban.
Elnök: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Alnökök: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Tisztségviselők: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON
Pénztáros: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Gyűlési titkár: JACOB J. JACOBSON
Vigilánsok: JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON, JACOB J. JACOBSON

HOLLERBACH JÓZSEF

államilag engedélyezett háziorvos és természetgyógyász.
525 W. ARMITAGE AVE. MOHAWK 5343 és 5348
Képzelműk használatát és elismerését a gyászoló családok rendelkezésére.
Minden festő és papírú munkát garancia mellett vállal.
EXNER JÓZSEF ÉS FIAI
Utakon festő és papírú.
3954 SHEFFIELD AVE. TELEPHONE LINCOLN 7855
30 évi gyakorlat biztosítja az Exner cég munkáját. Nagy és kis munkák egyaránt gyors és pontos elvégzése.

HÁZAK JAVÍTÁSA

porcelán, szoba és konyha berendezések valamint fűtőberendezések javítása vagy újberendezés szerelése jutányos áron. Mindezt azonnal munkák elvégzése. Kíváncsi F.H.A. finanszírozás.
L. MOLNAR
Phone: Pullman 1421
North és West Sidei referenciákkal szívesen szolgálunk.

ITT VANNAK AZ ÚJ BUICK autók! Jöjjen el, nézze meg a csodaszép 1946-os Buick kocsikat!

HARBOR MOTORS
3440 MICHIGAN AVENUE
Phone: East Chicago 2021
INDIANA HARBOR, INDIANA
GEORGE SZABO
a köznyelvi egyetemen magyar Buick árusítója!
Szakavatott javítás!
Használt kocsik kaphatók!
Indiana államban minden forgalmi adó — pénz a kasszába megy ha nálunk rendel meg új Buickot!

HÁZTULAJDONOSOK FIGYELMÉBE

Időt, munkát és pénzt takarít meg, ha konyhájá és fürdőszobáját fűtő Jo-Gay plastic csővel fűti be. A Jo-Gay plastic csővel a régi fűtő csővel összekapcsolható és minden külön költség nélkül tisztán tartható. Néhány órai munka és öreg konyhájá ragyogóan tisztá lesz. Kapható 9 színben.

Felvilágosítást szívesen ad a Jo-Gay Plastic Art Company magyar tulajdonosa!
SZOO FERENC
2520 West Congress Street Phone: Seeley 1826

Lépjön be a Verhovay Segély Egyletbe

Készítsen és betegsegélyező Amerikai Legal Reserve Alapban. Illinois, Indiana és Wisconsin államok törvényei.
TÓTH GYÖRGY
1436 Sunnyside Avenue South Bend, Indiana
Felvilágosításokat szívesen adunk az érdeklődőknek!
CHICAGOSAN:
Lachman Antal, 4243 W. Carroll Avenue
Barna Lajos, 3014 N. Fremont Street
Rishley József, 9232 S. Avalon Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály, 725 E. 21st Street
Körösi Sándor, 1404 Buffalo Avenue
Pálfi Miklós, 4747 Alexander Avenue
Gyulai György, 1203 Lowe Ave.
Balogh Ferenc, 1504 N. Kimball Avenue
Balogh István, 825 E. 82nd Street
Kőrösi Sándor, 12504 Emerald Avenue
Nagy Mihály,