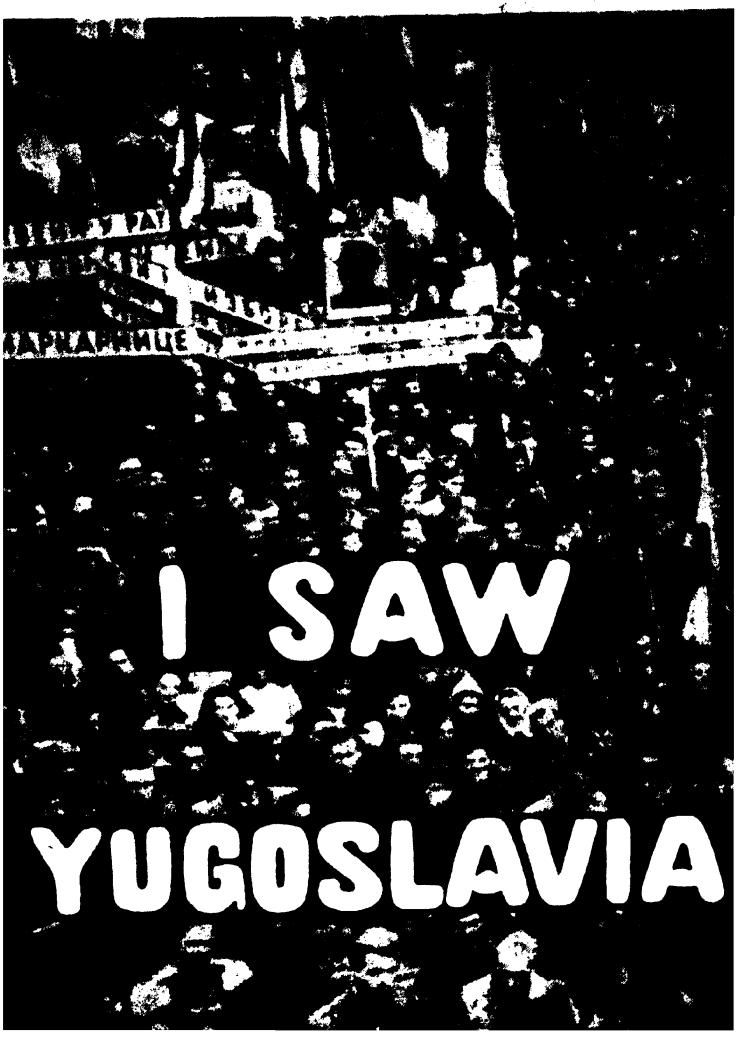
लाल बहादुर शास्त्री राष्ट्रीय प्रशासन अकादमी
L.B.S. National Academy of Administration
मसूरी
MUSSOORIE
पुस्तकालय
LIBRARY
—
अवाप्ति संख्या
Accession No. 113480 10880
वर्ग संख्या
Class No. 914.97
पुस्तक संख्या
Book No. Cha

GAUTAM CHATTOPADHYAYA



I SAW YUGOSLAVIA

I SAW Yugoslavia

Diary of three weeks
in the land of the partisans

by

GAUTAM CHATTOPADHYAYA

Bombay
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
1946

First published in December 1946

ANNAS EIGHT

All Rights Reserved

Printed by Sharaf Athar Ali, New Age Printing Press, 190B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4. and Published by him for People's Publishing House, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

FOREWORD

This booklet consists of the diary that I kept during my three weeks' trip in Yugoslavia last September.

I went to Yugoslavia after attending the World Students' Congress as the representative of the All-India Students' Federation. In the Congress itself tremendous interest was shown in India—and as it neared its end, the delegates of all the Eastern European countries crowded round me, urging me to visit *their* country before I returned to India.

The Bulgars, trying to "bribe" me with the promise that I would have a personal interview with their great Dimitrov—hero of the Reichstag Fire Trial when he became the accuser instead of the accused; the Poles who told me firmly that I could not go back without paying my homage to the unforgettable Warsaw; the Hungarians, the Rumanians, even the boys from "little" Albania—all insisted that I should visit their country.

But I put them off, saying that I'll come next time; this time my choice had to be the land of the heroic partisans, of Tito, YUGOSLAVIA.

I chose Yugoslavia because it is the leader—acknowledged by all—of democratic Europe, anti-fascist and people's Europe. Ten per cent of its people, an enormous amount of its material products, factories, railways, etc., it had lost in the war. Yet because of the strength and unity of the people, and despite the bitter hostility of Anglo-America's money-bags, it was living and growing.

I wanted to see that life, and this diary will tell you what I saw—including my visit to the disputed Trieste, on my way back to London and India.

Calcutta,
December 5, 1946.

GAUTAM CHATTOPADHYAYA

I SAW YUGOSLAVIA

In Budapest, Hungary's Capital

September 5: As the train slowly neared the famous city, I started imagining what it would be like. One had heard so much about Budapest —the city beautiful, on both sides of the Danube. Nagy, the Hungarian delegate to the International Students Congress was telling me, of course, that the city had been badly damaged by shelling during the three weeks' battle for its liberation. From the distance, it looked very beautiful. In the station, we were given a grand reception by the members of the University Democratic Front (UDF), the united student organisation of Hungary. Andrai Nagy, our friend from Prague and leader of Hungary's communist students, piloted us through the city. Buda was very beautiful still, almost undamaged and we saw as much of it as was possible in a few hours. As we crossed into Pest, however, the scene changed radically. Hardly a building was intact: shattered houses, smashed churches—ruins everywhere. It was here that I met Nader, a youngster of nineteen, secretary of the student section of the Budapest Social Democratic Party.

His first question was: "Have you kicked the British out?"

I was somewhat taken aback. Still, I replied quickly, "Not yet, but we'll do so in a few years' time!"

He nodded his head in agreement and wistfully added, "It took us twenty-five years to throw off fascism."

I then asked him, "You are a social democrat, how do you get on with the communists?"

He answered, "We are very good friends."

One of my friends who was full of the stories of communist-socialist quarrels in France, persisted: "But do you like the communist policy well enough to work together?"

"Oh, I know," he replied, "you are thinking of Blum (French socialist leader) and his like! They'll never learn. We too, committed the mistake after 1918. We quarrelled. And we have

paid too heavy a price for that mistake. Twenty years of Horthy (Hungarian fascist dictator) rule and hell for all of us. Bit by bit we have built up our unity and we shall never fall out again."

Then, almost dramatically, he pointed to the ruins of Pest and said, "There are the ruins of Pest. With it has been reduced to ashes Hungarian fascism and its allies—and our differences too!"

We were walking along and soon came across the tomb of the martyrs who fell in the fight against fascism. Nader softly said, "The Anglo-American imperialists are trying to get a grip on us by dividing social democrats and communists! But they will fail. How can our unity break? Don't you see the tomb, comrade? Blood, our unity has been cemented in blood! It is unbreakable!"

And as I shook hands in farewell, once again I heard the same farewell greeting which I had heard so many times already and was to hear again and again in Europe—"When you start your final struggle, just let us know comrade. We'll be there!"

Late in the evening, the Hungarian students gave a party in our honour. There was a beautiful Hungarian folk-dance. Then the IUS contingent sang. Mexico, Canada, Yugoslavia and us. Kumud and Arvind Mehta sang *"Rakta gulal se...."*

In the station, we found out that there was still half-an-hour to go. We were wondering what to do, when there turned up, to our surprise, a Red Armyman posted in Budapest! He was very chummy and started talking about his war experiences. He was very funny. He said that he was on his way to Berlin and he was only 20 miles away from the city when the battle was hottest. "But", he went on, "the Nazis are real swine".

"Why?" we asked him.

"They surrendered then," he burst out, "and, therefore, I never had the chance to march into Berlin!"

We all laughed at the way he narrated this episode.

Then suddenly he saw me. "India?" he asked in broken English and, before I could answer, grabbed my hair with his hand and gave me a terrific hug. Then stamping his foot said, "British imperialists, that!" And raising his clenched fist, "Indian proletariat good—*Tovarich!*"

I was too full of emotions to speak much. "Greetings of re-

volutionary India to the heroic Red Army"—that was all I could say, but that was enough!

That night we left Budapest for Yugoslavia.

Why Yugoslavia? Because Yugoslavia was the acknowledged leader of the new upsurge in the Balkans.

In 1940, it was a backward State. Exploited in turn first by the Austrian empire, then by the Anglo-French capitalists and lastly by the Italo-German fascists; the people lived in abject poverty and suffering. Like India, industry was very backward and agriculture predominated with a poverty-stricken landlord-dominated countryside.

As always, the enslavers utilised the differences between the different Yugoslav nationalities—Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and so on. Serbs used to massacre Croats, Croats butchered Slovenes and Serbs—and so it went on in the days before Tito.

Now, in 1946, all over Prague I heard stories of a new democracy being built up—and how all the six nationalities were working together for their common good. And I wanted to see all this.

At three o'clock in the morning, we crossed into Yugoslavia ; and imagine our surprise when we found out that even at that unearthly hour, a band of 300 Yugoslav youth had come to give us a welcome reception. For an hour, while the train waited, they sang, they danced—and we got the first glimpse of new life in the land of new democracy.

Arrival in Belgrade

September 6: In the morning we arrived in Belgrade and were given a tumultuous reception. From our hotel, I went straight to the office of the central council of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia to meet Rato, chairman of the council. This time Kitty was with us too. Kitty Boomla is AISF representative in the Executive Committee of the WFDY and at present she is touring the Balkans on behalf of the WFDY.

We met Rato within a short time. Tall, with a smiling sunburnt face, this young man of about twenty-seven was the leader of the twenty-lakh strong youth organisation of Yugoslavia. He is a deputy of the federal parliament too; and naturally in a country where the population now is less than 150 lakhs, this

youth organisation wields tremendous influence.

And why should it not? Two hundred and fifty thousand young men and women gave their lives during the anti-fascist war to liberate their country.

The first youth congress was held in 1943 and one-third of the delegates were killed in action on their way to the congress.

Almost the same thing happened in 1944; again, their unquestioned leader, Ivan Lola-Ribar, was killed in action in 1944.

The general secretary of their organisation, Slavko Komar, was a major in Tito's army of liberation.

And now this whole youth movement was enthusiastically going forward with the tasks of national reconstruction. No wonder their chairman is in the parliament—respected by the Education Minister, and inevitably consulted by him on every key issue.

At Pioneer's Camp

In the evening, I was invited to a pioneers' camp. It was a pioneer group which had finished its course and the function was a sort of farewell party. A camp fire was on, and there were songs and dances. As soon as I was introduced, thunderous cries of "Freedom For India," "Death to British Imperialism" filled the air.

I gave a short speech telling them of our deep admiration for the Yugoslav partisans and of our solidarity in the common struggle.

During supper, a number of pioneers showered questions on me. I was surprised at the questions—they were extremely intelligent and sharp ones: "Is the interim government a big step forward to freedom?"—"Is the Calcutta riot the result of imperialist policy, and have sections of your people fallen into the trap?"—"If your leaders are seriously progressive, why do they take up the banner of anti-communism?

I answered them as best as I could, pointing out the united struggles in Kashmir and elsewhere that were going on despite disruption and imperialist conspiracy. Therein lay our hope.

I asked them how they could sing so much after a hard day's work.

A youngster replied, "To us, work has become a song now. Everything we do is for our land, and our land belongs to us."

"Life has become joyous for us comrades"—added Jo, our wonderful interpreter (more of him later), repeating the famous line of Stalin on the completion of the second Five-Year Plan.

Yes, life must be joyous to those to whom all work seems to be a song.

University of Heroism

September 7: We go to see the university today. Belgrad University, where the first anti-fascist struggle started, as far back as 1936. And the Nazis took revenge by wrecking the university as badly as they could.

We went to the technical college first. There are 2,000 students there at present. There is a tremendous shortage of printed matter, especially text books. They are trying to solve it for the time being by distributing typed sheets with relevant notes from important text books to all students. Books, because they are few, are shared by all and the entire policy is formulated by a students' committee for text books, run by the university students themselves. The models which the students prepare are often used in actual works of reconstruction and this gives a big impetus to students to learn their science really well. In fact the slogan of the students is: "Pass examinations. fulfil obligations."

We went to the library of the college. The Nazis, arch-enemy of culture, ran amok here. They destroyed a large majority of the books. But the daring professors and students had managed to hide 4,00,000 books which are ready for use now.

We paid a hurried visit to the law college next. There are three thousand students, twelve hundred of whom are girls. The Nazis, in their usual way, had turned the building into a stable for their officers' horses !

The rector of the university was good enough to give us an interview and answered a number of questions.

Speaking about relationship between students and professors he said:

"Together we fought against Nazi vandalism. Together we are going ahead with the tasks of national reconstruction. Our

relations are, therefore, of close cooperation and friendship."

"Specialists," he said, "in this country now, are always ready to serve the people and that is why they are so greatly valued by the people and the State."

The Nazis, of course, the rector went on, played havoc with the educational institutions. Seventy-one educational institutions were completely destroyed, for example the chemistry department of the Belgrade University. Forty-one institutions were so badly damaged that hardly any student can study there. As a result of this destruction and the growing urge of young people to go in for specialized studies, shortage was extremely acute. An appeal was made to the UNRRA, but very little help was forthcoming.

The huge number of youth casualties during the war had led to a shortage of assistants, but planned and systematic efforts were being made to make up for this.

The State plans in advance to absorb *all* students passing out of these educational institutions. A large number of students were being sent out to foreign countries for specialiation, especially to France and the USSR.

At noon, the same day, we started for the unknown warrior's tomb. A few miles away from Belgrade, it is situated in a place which was the scene of one of the most violent battles in the fight for the liberation of Belgrade. We paid our homage to the fallen warriors and after a few minutes' stay came down. Just below the hill, there is a cafe and we entered there for a cup of coffee. When we were taking coffee and lemonade, a Yugoslav marriage party entered and sitting in another corner, started singing. Kumud, Carmel and Soeripno—the Indonesian delegate to the ISC—astounded them by singing popular Yugoslav songs like "*Tito, Tito*" and "*Yedenva.*" In reply they sang the "*Marsailleise*" and we replied back with "*Avanti popolo.*"

Medicos Build Canal

September 8: We go to a rally of youth who have just returned after two months work in the famous "Youth Railway." It was a wonderful function. Hundreds of young men and women, who formed the brigade, decided then and there that they won't stop but continue their work in the reconstruction of Belgrade. On

behalf of India and the WFDY, Kitty greeted the brigade and told them how inspired we were all feeling after meeting them.

From there we hurried away to a big sports parade which was coming off that afternoon, several miles away from Belgrade. On our way, we stopped for a couple of hours to see a canal which the medical students had built in the past two months. It was a magnificent achievement.

The canal was about five miles long, giving irrigation facilities to several thousand square miles of land, which would mean an increased output of food-crops sufficient to feed 25,000 more people annually. The students were, naturally enough, proud of this work.

We met a number of them, medical students, members of the last brigade, who were giving finishing touches to the work of the canal. We asked them what happened to their studies when they worked in building the canal. To our surprise, we learnt that they carry on their studies even when at work here. Their professors come with them, black-board and apparatus are brought over here and after six hours' work in the canal, they rest for a couple of hours and then for four hours get down to the study of medicine. A girl explained this very simply:

"Can't waste time. We must become specialists as soon as possible, at the same time reconstruction can't wait. So we have to combine work of reconstruction with our studies."

Time was short, so we had to rush off to the sports parade. It was a magnificent sight. All the youth brigades which were working in the canal and some more, formed a huge square and marched past the dais on which we were standing. And as they passed the flag-stand, a sea of clenched fists went up, giving the salute of new Yugoslavia, salute of the new democracy. And it was thrilling to watch the many and bright coloured festoons, the joyous, youthful faces and their confident march. It was not a mere sports parade, it was new Yugoslavia on the march—new life forging ahead, cheerful and confident!

September 9: In the morning we went to a military museum and saw the photographs of Nazi atrocities and Yugoslavia's resistance. The Yugoslavs presented Kumud with a fifteenth-century pistol, saying, "Fight the imperialists hard. We are with you to the very end." In the evening, the youth council gave the entire

group a reception and Rato spoke for over an hour on different problems of the country. That night we left by train for Bricko, the centre of the Youth Railway.

Visiting Youth Railway

September 10: We are off for Bukini, the general headquarters of the Youth Railway. Through mountainous roads and thick forests our truck goes on—bumps ahead, to be more accurate. As we go deeper and deeper in the heart of the Republic of Bosnia, we come across the first Muslims—then more and more. Like Muslims, of any other part of the East, the women have the traditional *purdah* to protect their face but youth has already started discarding it.

I was curious to know what these Muslim peasants thought about Yugoslavia. We talked with an old woman in *purdah.* Speaking proudly about the new Yugoslavia, she sorrowfully but proudly told us that in the war of liberation, she had lost all her sons and so was herself carrying on the work by helping the youth in her spare time. From the other peasants too, we got answers of a similar nature.

September 11-14 : After five hours' hectic journey on the truck, we arrived in Bukini, GHQ of the Youth Railway. At this point, it is perhaps necessary to give a short picture of the Youth Railway.

In Bosnia, there is a place called Bricko. It is the centre of a rich coal-mining basin. A hundred miles away is a big agricultural zone. In between there is no rail or road connection. But if once this industrial zone is joined by modern transport to the agrarian zone at Banorici, then the entire area will become one of the most developed in Europe and the standard of living of the entire people of the Republic of Bosnia will go up.

The old Austro-Hungarian imperial government planned to build such a railway; then the Serbian landlord government of the period between the two wars planned it also; so did Hitler's Quisling regime. But they stopped at the planning stage.

It was left to Tito's new people's government to take it up. But even it had not enough skilled workers to do it and despaired of taking up the task till after four or five years' reconstruction work. But People's Youth Council heard of this hesitation among

their leaders and volunteered to build the railway themselves. They did not know anything about building a railway, but they knew that it was their country and the railway when built would mean a big thing for their people.

So the youth of Yugoslavia, eager to take their country forward, took the historic decision early this year to build up a railway connecting the two zones, covering a length of approximately one hundred miles. The work started in May.

Thirty thousand student youth got down to the job. They worked for two months. Next came the peasant youth. Then the youth from the factories. Boys, girls, all young men and women over 16. Only five per cent of them were skilled workers, the rest had only enthusiasm and determination to pull through the job. The railway became a romance, a legend.

Yugoslav youth came and worked here from all corners of the land—Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia. *"Omladiuska Pruga"*—the Youth Railway—that became the name of this new railway. They built bridges, blasted mountains, bored tunnels, set up stations—they went ahead.

Sheer determination and zeal transformed unskilled youth into pucca railwaymen.

Youth from other lands heard about it; thrilled with admiration, they came to help the Yugoslavs in their work. Hundreds came from Bulgaria and Poland. Three hundred Greek refugee youths (EPON) work here always. Students came in batches from Britain, France and Austria. Ten Indian students studying in England came to work, headed by Das Gupta, Secretary of the London Majlis.

And inspired all the more, the Yugoslavs roared on. The target date for finishing the job was fixed at November 10. Now they hoped to finish it by the end of October.

We worked there for three days and got a graphic picture of Yugoslav youth at work. Their aim is not merely to build a railway or something else. That is one part of the job. Through these work brigades they also forge cadres of steel, with capacity to organize, who in future can take administrative responsibilities. Also, their sense of unity is strengthened here and their level of understanding of social, economic and political problems rapidly goes forward.

How does the youth organisation of Yugoslavia try to achieve this? Six hours in the day, the youth brigades work on the railway. There are two hours of cultural programmes—when they sing, dance and so on.

Then for four hours or so, they get down to other types of work. Those who are illiterate attend anti-illiteracy classes, run by a special literacy brigade which divides itself in the various camps. For example, we met 300 Macedonian peasant youth, who were on the point of going back to their home republic. When they had come two months earlier, only 20 of them had been literate. Today only 60 of them remain illiterate.

Not only that, when we asked one newly educated peasant youth what he was going to do after his return to his native village, he promptly replied, "Open an anti-illiteracy class." Almost all who had got education here were keen to stamp out illiteracy from their own villages and incidentally from their native land.

Apart from anti-illiteracy work, there is one sanitary brigade and one sports brigade. The sanitary brigade gives a series of lectures on elementary rules of sanitation and hygiene, while the sports brigade gives physical training courses and also special courses for instructors.

Twice a week there are special general sittings, when a review of world political events is given. To improve their own work and to develop initiative, they have weekly camp conferences and wall newspapers. Those who work best are rewarded with the honourable titles of "Hero of Labour," *"Udernik"* (shock-worker) and so on. So many youths whom we met, aspired to become *Uderniks*. Pace of work becomes faster through this sort of competition and you have only to see an *Udernik* among others to realize what the value of social honour is in Yugoslavia.

In fact on the evening of 13th, we went to see a tunnel and there accidentally came across an *Udernik* prize distribution ceremony. A number of *Uderniks* were being given their badges, and how all the youth shouted and cheered! The *Uderniks'* faces were glowing with pride and joy.

Meeting Old Peasant

On Sunday we happened to meet a number of peasants who live in the locality nearby and had come to help the youth in their work. We decided to ask them some provocative questions.

"Sunday is a holiday, why do you come to work here then? Do you get extra wages for this?"—we started.

An old peasant became very angry:

"What do you mean? We come to work here because this is our railway! When it is finished, we'll all get the benefits! And the land is now ours."

Kumud asked, "Would you have done the same in 1939?"

The peasant spat on the ground contemptuously.

"No," he replied, "then the land belonged to the landowners. Now it is ours. The Government is also ours and we are all free. That is why we work here and help our youth."

And angrily he added—"Do you understand?"

Oh, yes, we understood perfectly. This is what distribution of land to the peasant by which "land belongs to those that cultivate it" (from the Constitution of the new Yugoslavia) meant and the old peasant was the symbol of awakened Yugoslavia—he had straightened his back, thus breaking to pieces the age-long shackles of slavery. When will this happen in our great land, I wondered.

The evening was free. And a number of Yugoslav youth started showering questions on us—especially Lupletala and Ivanka—Indian freedom, Calcutta riots, Kashmir, sailors' revolt and so on.

After our replies, Ivanka slowly said, "Whenever you need it, we shall send a brigade to fight with you for your freedom."

And then clenching her fist and stamping her foot on earth, she muttered, "Down with the devil imperialists."

Lupletala was not satisfied with the position of the British working class. And he started a barrage of questions. Malcolm McEwen, *Daily Worker's* special correspondent who was with us for that day, found it terribly difficult to answer satisfactorily. Like so many angry bees the Yugoslavs fired one question after another: "Why can't the British working class realize that without colonial liberation they can't go forward towards social-

ism ?"—"Why can't they kick Bevin out and change the anti-democratic policy of the Labour Government?"—"Why do they allow troops in Greece?"

We had an appointment, and leaving Malcolm to the mercy of these burning Yugoslavs, we went on.

With Greek Refugee Youth

Our destination was the camp where the refugee Greek youth work. We had learnt that there were three hundred of them. As we approached the camp, we saw slogans chalked on the walls: "British imperialism is carrying on the work of German fascism," "Death to British imperialism," "Greece shall never be a colony." And as we entered, thunderous cheers greeted us. Above the din came the roar, clear and distinct, "Unite, fraternise"! A huge red banner was floating in the air and a streamer ran; "Long Live EPON" (the Greek youth organisation).

The Greeks were the first to speak. In a fiery speech, the Greek comrade told us of British devilry in Greece and their determination to die on their feet rather than live on their knees. Tony Simmons of the British delegation spoke next, vowing on behalf of the socialist youth of Britain to end this reign of terror in Greece.

Soeripno—"Great little Indonesia" as we called him—spoke next on behalf of us all. And then the Greeks went mad. They hoisted all of us on their shoulders, shouted slogans of Indian freedom, Indonesian freedom and so on. We shouted back, "Long Live EAM and EPON."

At night, our last night in the Youth Railway, we returned to the GHQ. Each of us were given a badge of the railway for having worked there for three days. Early next morning we left for Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia.

Visiting Carpet Factory

September 15: We are in Sarajevo, a city where three currents meet—the Serbs, the Croats and the Mussalmans.

Our first visit was to a carpet factory. The carpet-designers of Sarajevo are famous throughout the Balkans. And the new Yugoslav Government helps the industry to flower again by nationalising it. Most of the workers are women.

We asked them a number of questions and found out that previously the conditions of the workers in the carpet factory were terrible. Everything was changed now. In pre-war days, every worker used to get as his or her wage, on an average, 30 *dinars* per week or 120 *dinars* per month. Now the unskilled workers get per head 3,000 *dinars* per month while skilled workers and shock-workers get anything upto 7,000 *dinars* per month.

All the workers get a fortnight's vacation per year with full pay. Medical treatment is guaranteed by a very good scheme of social insurance. The workers told us that they can buy a month's food for the whole family and pay the house rent with two weeks' wages only. After 25 years of work they will get a pension for old age, also covered by the same scheme of social insurance.

All of them were members of the trade unions and as everywhere else, here too, on the walls were huge slogans—"*Zvio Tito*" (Long Live Tito), "*Zvio Partija Communisticke*" (Long Live Communist Party) and then the common slogan of all Yugoslavs, "Death to Fascism, Victory to the People." On the entrance door was written in block letters the name of the best shock-workers of the factory and the advice was, "Follow them." There was a wall newspaper where even the old women were beginning to contribute. Out of the shambles of old ruins, a new humanity was being born.

Next we went to a workers' sanatorium, a magnificent huge building with pools and gardens, a few miles away from the town. To this place come workers who have been attacked by T.B.

Life is valued tremendously in Yugoslavia and in Bosnia alone, there are four such huge workers' sanatoria already.

The sanatoria are run by the local house of trade unions. Eighty per cent of the seats are reserved for workers who are members of the trade unions because they pay premiums to the social insurance scheme. But government employees, such as clerks and typists can also stay here if the pay.

There are 180 beds in this sanatorium and usually patients stay here for 3 months at a stretch. Only those who are in the early stages of T.B. are allowed here. For complicated treatment, there are better hospitals.

At present the main difficulty is a shortage of trained doctors.

There are only two qualified doctors in charge of the place. There is an elaborate arrangement for recreation of the patients—gramophone, radio, cinema, and then once a week local cultural brigades come here to give performances. The Government has schemes of building up many more such sanatoria in the future.

Rally of Muslim Youth

In the afternoon, we went to a rally of Muslim youth. Fortunately for us, our companion was Hotic Asim, president of the regional youth committee. We asked him a number of questions and by the time we left the rally, we had got a fairly clear picture of the position of Muslims in the Republic of Bosnia and several other things.

The population of Sarajevo is half Muslim and the other half is equally divided up between Serbs and Croats.

The policy of the German fascists and the traitor Mikhailovic was to divide the Yugoslavs amongst themselves.

They tried to play Croats against Serbs, Muslims against both, and instigate racial warfare. But the commonsense of the common man and the sturdy patriotism of the Bosnians won the day. Instead of a city dominated by civil war, Sarajevo became a base of unity and like a solid rock met the German fascists when the hour struck.

The youth especially, through their active participation in the war of liberation, forged a unity of steel which is unbreakable. This unity is being taken forward in the period of peace by working together in the reconstruction work.

The Muslims who were economically backward, are now coming up with the new land laws coming into force. They are working together in friendship with the rest of the Yugoslavs.

Social discrimination also hardly exists in Sarajevo. Some families may yet have silly prejudices but in most cases Muslims, Croats and Serbs mix together freely and we saw a number of young Muslim girls without the traditional *purdah.*

Incidentally, the main organisation of women here, is, as everywhere else in the country, the Anti-Fascist Women's Committee. They are highly well-organised and have special educational courses for those women who yet refuse to come out of their

homes to attend schools. An ever-growing number of women are coming out to work in the factories.

The main prop of reaction which is opposed to this programme of democratization of life and which tries to sow seeds of disunity among the people of Sarajevo, is the higher Catholic clergy. This top strata of Catholic clergy were the big landowners of Yugoslavia and the new government's laws confiscating their surplus lands and introducing peasant proprietorship instead have been bitter pills for them. Their men in the political field were Mikhailovic and the Archbishop of Zagreb. One has gone to the gallows for treachery while the other on the same charge is behind the bars for a decade to come. People's enemies get no quarter from democratic Yugoslavia.

What is the Bosnian Republic ?

In the evening, one of the ministers of the Bosnian Republic—the Minister of Information—was kind enough to give us a two-hour interview. I will try to repeat as faithfully as I can what he told us about different problems of the country.

Bosnia is a land inhabited by Serbs, Croats and Muslims. During the pre-war days, the Serbian ruling class developed the theory that Serbians should dominate everyone else and pan-Serbism was the order of the day. They tried to prove that Croats could not run the administration. The result was oppression of Croats and Muslims by Serbs and the inevitable culmination, racial strife. The Bosnian anti-fascists and the youth, however, fought back and started building up a united movement. The situation looked pretty black then, but they never gave up hope and stuck grimly to their guns.

Then came the war and Nazi occupation and the historic resistance started. The people of Bosnia, all of whom were equally oppressed, united together and rallied round the army of liberation of Marshal Tito and soon transformed the country into the mightiest base of the partisans. In fact, even as early as in 1944, a big part of Bosnia was free and under partisan rule.

This unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Bosnia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia did not come automatically. The basis for this unity was laid by the consistent emphasis placed by the leaders of the partisan movement on the equality of the peoples

who make up Yugoslavia. This equality was finally enshrined in Article I of the Constitution of January 1946, which states that:

"The Federative People's Republic of Jugoslavia is a federal people's state, republican in form, a community of peoples equal in rights who, as the basis of the right of self-determination, including the right of separation, have expressed their will to live together in a federative state."

Thus in 1945, when Yugoslavia was totally liberated, Bosnia emerged as a united democratic republic (part of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia) with Serbs, Croats and Muslims standing shoulder to shoulder.

But it faced herculean tasks. A steady retrograde policy of education made the percentage of literacy vary from 10 to 20 in Bosnia. But during the war, together with the drive against disunity and fascism, a drive also started against ignorance. During the war itself, more people in Bosnia learned to read and write, than during the past twenty years' rule. Sometimes, even under enemy gun-fire, the partisans organised anti-illiteracy classes and carried on the work. By April 1945, there were 4 secondary schools in the liberated zones of Bosnia while all schools were shut down in the fascist-occupied areas.

In the post-war period, there are tremendous difficulties before the Government but it hopes to go ahead swiftly because the entire people are with it. The Government, the youth organisations, the women's committees, the cultural bodies like the *Prosveta* (Serb), *Na Preta* (Croat) and *Prep* (Muslim) all are working together to make Bosnia, educationally one of the advanced countries of the world.

Tackling Difficulties of Education

The difficulties, however, are not easy to overcome. First, there is the problem of papers and text books which are very scarce. Secondly, there is not adequate teaching staff. While Bosnia needs 6,000 teachers, she has got only 1,500. The third problem is that of housing. As is well known, 40 per cent of all the houses of Yugoslavia have been destroyed during the war; 50 per cent of the elementary school buildings have been razed to the ground in Bosnia.

But if the difficulties are great, the determination of the peo-

ple is far greater. They cut out the problem of paper-shortage by writing on the walls. Peasants' delegations come to inform the Ministry of Education that they have acquired a house (i.e., one of their own houses) and that now they only need a teacher to run the school.

They are trying to fight the problem of teachers firstly by quickly training more and more teachers and secondly by sending students' brigades into the villages to fight illiteracy during their holidays. In the last campaign in Bosnia they made literate 50,000 people. This time, they hoped to make 1,20,000 people literate. Their slogan is: "Abolish illiteracy in Bosnia in five years' time."

In pre-war days, there were students' hostels where students lived separately according to their different nationalities. Now this is abolished. All students' hostels are open to every student, irrespective of nationality, religion or social status. Courses, too, are the same for students of all nationalities. There are, of course, special courses to foster the culture and language of each nationality. There is also one special course for those Muslim women who still do not come out of their houses.

Special efforts are being made to set up technical schools. For those who want to go to technical schools right after elementary schooling, there are already 40 lower apprentice schools in Bosnia. There are 4 higher technical schools for those who have finished high school examination. The diplomas and degrees of each federal republic are recognised all over Yugoslavia.

The medium of instruction in each school is, of course, the national language—Serb, Croat, Slovene and so on.

Peasant children get priority in schools, since the country is dominantly agrarian. Special attention is paid to agricultural schools. Four have been set up this year and ten more are going to be opened next year.

Students and Teachers

The relationship between students and teachers is very good. In pre-war Yugoslavia, a lot of these teachers were reactionary but the new generation of teachers are mostly those who fought shoulder to shoulder with the students against fascism. So a new

and cordial relationship has sprung up between the teachers and the students.

Speaking about the agriculture of the country, the Minister pointed out that the present phase was not one of complete collectivisation. Only a part of the produce went to the collective pool, the peasant could do whatever he liked with the rest. There was great demand for machines like tractors but the production was still below mark. Big schemes of electrification were on the agenda and the minister hoped that within five years the face of rural economy would be radically altered for the better.

It was one of the most informative and educative talks and when he asked us, if there were any more questions we would like to ask, in unison we queried: "How is it that there is such a ringing note of confidence and optimism in your statements about the future when the obstacles are obviously so great?"

With a smile, the youthful Minister replied:

"There were 3 million people in Bosnia. And to liberate the native land, 7,00,000 gave their lives. If so many could have given their lives to see this land free, we, who are not dead must carry on their work and make this land worthy of the countless martyrs, no matter what obstacle lies in our path."

It was the voice of new Yugoslavia, born out of a heroic and terrible struggle and it will never go down. That was our biggest impression when we finally bade farewell to the twenty-seven year old Education and Information Minister of the Republic of Bosnia.

Role of the Communist Party

We had to leave the wonderful city of Sarajevo at 8 o'clock the same night. Somehow our train was delayed by an hour and we had some time to talk with one of the very young youth leaders of the city. Bernard Lown of the American Youth for Democracy asked him two very provocative questions.

He asked : " Look here, your people, especially the youth, suffered terribly during the war. Did not this create a psychological problem, I mean, a lot of neurotics and so on?"

The youth snapped back: "No. During the war we fought like hell and now we are up to our necks busy in rebuilding the country which is ours. We have no time to become neurotics. Moreover, our suffering, our fight, made giants, literally giants, out

of the common man and woman. That is why we could crush the Nazis and that is why we can speak so confidently about our future today."

Bernard's second question was: "You call your country democratic. Why then this terrific admiration for the Communist Party and 'Long Live Communist Party' written all over the country?"

The youth got excited, stood up and then replied slowly:

"What is wrong with it? It is but natural. When in 1941 there was little hope in the land, it was Marshal Tito and his valiant Red Flaggers who showed us the way to unite and fight back. They were the best fighters, best organisers, most disciplined and they had heroism unparalleled. We, who were ordinary youth then, were not afraid to die because we admired the death-defying communists and wanted to be like them. They were and remain our ideal and any Yugoslav youth would consider it the greatest of honour to become a member of the Communist Party."

Sasha----Law Student, Ex-Partisan

That same night, as the train roared on, we got entangled in a debate about Churchill. Sasha, one of the interpreters and our guide, who spoke a peculiar brand of English, intervened: "I," he said with a long drawl, "know his son, Randolph Churchill. He was with us as a liaison officer. He had the force of a horse. He praised us all the while he was here and when he got back to England, he wrote lying dirty things about us. Just like the back-kicks of a cunning horse."

We all had a good laugh at the way in which Sasha narrated the story.

Incidentally, let me give a brief life-sketch of Sasha. He represents the average Yugoslav student and is a student of law in Belgrade. He is twenty-two now.

In 1941, when the war started, he was very young. He was, however, dragged out by the Nazis from his home and put into the slave-labour camp.

He worked there for a year, going through the hell of Nazi tortures—whipping, starvation and the rest.

In 1943, he made a daring escape and joined the partisan

bands. He fought in Bosnia, Dalmatia and near Belgrade. He speaks coolly of those days as if it was child's play. And when the war was over, he entered the law college, ready to serve his motherland in a new way.

He is extremely well-versed in current politics. He astounded the Americans by his knowledge of the American labour movement. He has read Nehru's *Autobiography* and Palme Dutt's *India To-day*. He has also read the election manifesto of the Indian Communist Party. He is a communist—like so many of the finest youths of Yugoslavia.

At Dubrovnik, Seaside Resort

September 18: We arrived in one of the most beautiful towns in the whole of Yugoslavia, the seaside health resort of Dubrovnik. A city of old castles and gardens with the majestic Adriatic washing the shores—it was a different world altogether.

On the first day, there was not much programme, songs, dances and swimming. I was alone, just sitting on a chair by the sea. A youngster of barely twenty (and I was right about his age) with a pair of grave eyes came to me and shaking hands said, "Comrade from India?"

"Yes," I replied.

"I am the chairman of the youth council of Dubrovnik."

I was very glad to meet him and after answering a number of his questions regarding India, I asked him to tell me about himself. And what a character the lad is !

At the age of 13, in 1939, he started working in a factory, tried to organise a union and was thrown out. He came in touch with the communists, but before he could joint the Communist Party, he was thrown into jail by the semi-fascist government in 1941. When the Italians took over, they tried to get information out of him about the communists of Dubrovnik. He was only 15 then, and horrible tortures were inflicted on him. He was whipped till his body was full of sores and they put salt in the sores. They starved him for a week and tried all their tricks. When they could not break him, they sent him off to a concentration camp.

Here he contacted more communists, finally joined the Communist Party and escaped. He was soon caught and was beaten till he was unconscious. This was repeated thrice. After that,

they sentenced him to death but once again this tiny, heroic lad foiled the fascist hangman and escaped.

This time he joined the partisan bands and by his good work there, is today, at the age of twenty, chairman of the youth council of Dubrovnik and is loved and respected even by the elders.

Jo---Intelligence Chief

After this chat, I became very curious to know what did Jo do during the wartime. Jo, or Josip Dvornik, a Dalmatian boy who was our first Yugoslav friend in Prague, was with us all along in our journey across Yugoslavia. Politically he was very sharp but he would never tell us what he was doing during the war of liberation. And we knew that he was lame from birth, so we did not press the question home.

But in Dubrovnik I managed to get the story of Jo. Because of his lame foot, he could never join the partisans but his courage and alert political sense was well known. So in 1943, when he was barely 18 (Jo, by the way, is exactly my age), he was taken into the military intelligence in Shibbetnik, his home town, in the Dalmatian coast. And by 1944, he had done so much good work, that he was put in charge, for a time, of the military intelligence department of the army of liberation for the zone of Shibbetnik. He is always cool and very friendly—qualities which carried him so well during the fateful years of war. Jo, too, is typical of new Yugoslavia, not unique.

Poor Children's Home

September 19 : We went to an island few miles off, where there is a house for poor children. Children who are orphans of partisans stay here, numbering about 50. There are over 50 such houses in Yugoslavia at present. The children get their elementary schooling here too.

There is a library full of children's books but the paper shortage is very acute. There is a wall newspaper edited by the children. There are drawings, very short diaries and so on in the wall newspaper. Medical treatment is also provided here.

The children go through a general course of education and then special courses of handicrafts, gardening, cooking and domestic hygiene.

The biggest hurdle in the path of opening more and more such homes is the lack of trained teachers. Many teachers were killed in the war of liberation. In fact, the teacher with whom we had this conversation had an exciting career.

He was a teacher before the war. He was at first thrown out of his job when the Italians came. Then he was allowed to teach, only mathematics and natural science to children. But he was twice arrested on suspicion that he was carrying on anti-fascist propaganda. When he heard for the third time that he was going to be arrested again, he fled from the school and joined the partisan bands. Later on, he was a teacher in one of the partisan schools.

In Split, No. 2 Port

September 20 : We arrived in Split in the evening. Split is at present the second biggest port in Yugoslavia, Fiume being the first. It was Jo's home town and proudly he showed us around. Though it was very late, Jo, myself, Soeripno and Jean walked round the old city with its castles. We walked into a workers' choir, who were singing Dalmatian songs. The choir was terrific. I have never heard anything like it.

Then Jo took us to a dark hole, smeared with dark spots and full of broken iron rods and ropes.

Jean, curious as usual, asked, "What is it, Jo ? A well ?"

Jo slowly replied, "Yes, the well of death. Here the Italian fascists tortured our partisan girls and boys. Those dark spots are holy to us, for they are blood, Jean." And added after a pause, "Comrades' blood."

All of us were silent.

September 21 : Split has got a large shipbuilding factory. So we decided to pay a visit there. It is one of the biggest shipyards in the whole of the Balkans. But it was almost totally destroyed when the city was liberated.

During fascist occupation, the partisans did their sabotage work so well, that production fell down to mere 20 per cent of the pre-war level. The partisans took away many vital parts of machines. And when they came back after liberation, they brought back those parts.

When work re-started here in liberated Split, the whole shed

was in ruins. When it started raining, there was not a single place where the workers could take cover. But the undaunted working class of Yugoslavia went on with the work of rebuilding the shipyard. For the first four months, the workers voluntarily worked 12 hours a day without getting a single farthing as wage because, as they put it, it was their shipyard and the country was also theirs now.

In fact the old days when the foreign imperialists owned Yugoslav industry are over. At that time almost the entire metallurgical, engineering, chemical and textile industries were owned by foreigners and on the whole 41 per cent of the capital invested in Yugoslav economy was foreign. Now over 80 per cent of Yugoslav industry has passed under State control and all basic industries are in the hands of the State.

By Article 18 of the new Constitution—

". . . . no person is permitted to use the right of private property to the detriment of the people's community. The existence of private monopolist organisations, such as cartels, syndicates, trusts and similar organisations, created for the purpose of dictating prices, monopolising the market and damaging the interests of the national economy is forbidden."

Thus within six months, however, when the new government had settled down, the whole work here was organised as elsewhere. The hours of work now are 48 per week. Almost all of them, however, voluntarily work overtime to repair the shipyard as soon as possible.

Workers' Self-Sacrifice

They work from 6 to 2 everyday with fifteen-minutes break for tiffin. The average wage is fifteen to twenty *dinars* per hour or roughly 3,000 *dinars* per week. An *Udernik* (shock-worker) usually gets more, about 5.000 *dinars* per week. Out of this 120 *dinars* go out in different taxes and 120 *dinars* have to be paid in the social insurance scheme. Through this scheme, apart from free medical treatment, the workers get fifteen to thirty days' holiday with full pay every year.

It is very interesting to know how they work and through their initiative improve the work. We met an *Udernik*. He told

us that in old Yugoslavia, they could produce bolts at the speed of only 1,000 per hour, but now they can produce them at the rate of 3,500 per hour. It is his own small invention that has increased production.

We met a number of workers of the electrical department. They, too, used to work overtime voluntarily but the trade unions requested them not to do so and concentrate instead on improving the technique of work. The story of the engineering workers is also the same.

There are special courses here to turn out skilled workers in ever-increasing numbers. All apprentices are attached to the *Uderniks* and that is how the apprentices become skilled workers in the shortest possible time.

The trade union leader who was accompanying us was a fairly old man who had spent five years in Mussolini's concentration camp and at the end he proudly commented, "It is bound to be like this here, comrade ; for this is no mere shipyard. Split is a revolutionary city and the working class of this harbour led the resistance movement in the whole of Dalmatia."

Why Archbishop Was Tried

September 22 : We are in Zagreb. Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, is the most modern city in the whole of Yugoslavia. We spent only a few hours here. The city at the moment is full of excitement. Only a day back Archbishop Stepyn of the Catholic Church had been arrested and his trial had started. Stepyn like Mikhailovic is an arch-enemy of the people and inside his church building has been found tons of loot—worth millions, all of it looted from the Croatian people. His part in helping fascist vandalism has now been proved to the hilt. And, however loudly the Vatican may shreik, the fate of Catholic reaction is sealed in Yugoslavia.

September 24 : We are in Belgrade again. We went to the Central Youth Council and met Slavko Komar, the secretary of the organisation. Two years ago in the World Youth Council meeting in London, Slavko took the delegation by storm. Today, this smartly dressed bi-lingual young man is in charge of the international affairs section of the youth organisation of Yugoslavia.

He had fixed up a programme for Kitty who was staying for a

few more days and told us that he had prepared a two hours' happy surprise for us, but would not tell us what it was.

In the afternoon, we visited the printing press of *Berba*, organ of the Communist Party and the leading daily in the country.

Role of the Trade Unions

Our next visit was to the house of the central committee of the trade unions of Yugoslavia. We were received by Comrade Salaja, Chairman of the Trade Union Committee. And here is what he told us in a one-hour interview.

The functions of trade unions differ radically in Yugoslavia from that of the capitalist world. In capitalist countries the function of every trade union should be to fight to destroy the capitalist mode of production and protect the right of workers against bosses' offensive.

In Yugoslavia, as a result of four years of anti-fascist war, a people's government has come to power. In December 1944, the workers of Yugoslavia, led by the Belgrade working class, held conferences in both liberated and non-liberated areas. A Trade Union Committee was formed out of these.

The main principle is, one trade union for each factory. And there is at present unified trade union movemet in the following: transport, shipbuilding, posts and telegraph, metallurgy, textile, construction, mining, leather, tobacco, chemicals, agriculture, banks, co-operatives and so on.

The organic structure is like this : At the top is the central committee leading the entire movement. Immediately under the central committee is a central organisation for every branch of industry. Then come the 6 federal republics, with 26 special branches for each federal republic. Under them all are the town committees—one for every town. Every factory has its own organisation. All the factory organisations in the town together form the town committee and the structure goes up like a pyramid. The general political lines come from the central committee.

The highest authority is, of course, the annual session of the Trade Union Congress but throughout the year it is the central committee which gives directions.

After the formation of the trade unions, the main task was

to increase production, so that the reconstruction work could go on at full speed ahead.

So far as wages are concerned, an average worker gets over 200 per cent more than his or her pre-war wages. Two important labour laws were passed—one was control over necessaries and the other against speculation. But mere laws could not be enough. The situation demanded better, stronger trade unions, youth organisations and women's committees which would wage ceaseless struggle against speculators and black-marketeers and enforce the popular laws.

Vigilance and hard work are all the more necessary because Yugoslavia has lost in the war of liberation 70 per cent of its industrial equipment, almost all motor transport and agricultural machinery, 50 per cent of its coal-mining equipment, 76 per cent of its locomotives, 83 per cent of its railway wagons, 65 per cent of its rails and 80 per cent of its ships. Liberation left the country devastated, with great work to be done.

So the fight is on two fronts : fight the anti-social elements and increase production. Both of these are essential factors in advancing the welfare of the working class. What the trade unions have set as their goal they have so far been able to maintain 85 per cent of it, but it is a big jump from last year when it was only 38 per cent.

Now, as the country passes over from the period of war economy to a period of planned national economy, the trade unions encourage workers to fulfil and overfulfil their quotas. They are also encouraged to make efforts to better their own conditions with the help of different trade union and social insurance schemes. As is clear to all, the State, in the main, is a workers' and peasants' republic. The Government is immensely interested in the welfare of workers, and the workers, therefore, have an unshakable confidence in the Government. So far no demand of the trade unions has been refused.

Strength of T.U. Organisation

There are all told one million workers organised in the trade unions. About 8,00,000 of them are in heavy industry. Working-class youth are members both of the trade unions and the people's youth organisation of Yugoslavia.

To develop initiative and increase the speed of work, competitions of a healthy type are encouraged and shock-workers—or *Uderniks* as they are called—are highly respected by everyone in the land.

There is constant liaison between the State planning commission and the trade unions and the planning commissions always seek the advice of the trade unions in matters concerning industry and the working class.

For apprentices, who were little better than serfs in old Yugoslavia, democratic laws have been passed. Now an apprentice gets a salary from the very first day and if he finishes his course before the scheduled time, he joins the ranks of the skilled workers.

Workers of heavy industries, especially miners, get one month's leave with full pay every year while all others get a fortnight's leave with full pay.

Special care is taken of women, especially pregnant women. Six weeks before and four weeks after child birth—in this period every woman gets leave with full pay. Not only that. Food and milk is paid for by the Government. A lump sum is given to bring up the child and every three hours the mother has the right to go off from work to feed the baby. There are homes for working-class children and elementary education is, of course, universally free.

At the Ministry of Health

We were in a hurry because we were leaving Yugoslavia in a day or two. So we left the trade union house and paid a hurried visit to the Ministry of Health. Here, as everywhere else, facts were swiftly placed at our disposal as if we were the Ambassadors of India.

Like every other thing, health condition in pre-war Yugoslavia was terrible. It worsened very much under Nazi occupation and this long black legacy is not easy to shake off. Some figures will suffice: Out of a population of under 15 millions, there were over 3 million cases of T.B. (including, of course, very early stages). There were 12,000 cases of bone joint T.B. in the country.

For every 4,500 men there is one doctor in Yugoslavia. Bosnia is the worst, 1 for every 12,000 being the figure.

The reason for such huge number of T. B. cases is that one in every four houses is destroyed, and congestion leads to spreading of infection. The health department of the new Government is waging a heroic battle against this and where there were only 3,000 beds for ordinary T.B. patients in 1939, in one year after liberation, the figure has jumped to 7,000. While there was almost no bed for bone joint T.B. cases before, 800 beds have been set up to treat the patients in 1945-46.

In Macedonia and Dalmatia, malaria is a problem while in some areas locally typhus has also to be fought. The Health Ministry is concentrating in producing young energetic medicos by hundreds and the student section of the youth organisation is giving fullest cooperation to them.

At Plenary Session of Youth Council

Next morning, we were invited as fraternal guests to the plenary session of the General Council of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia where they reviewed their past six months' work and planned for the next six months. It was a unique experience and thanks to a young school kid who translated verbatim with the speed of a high-speed motor boat, I was able to understand almost the whole discussion and take down detailed notes.

This particular session was specially devoted to two problems —the problem of the pioneers (childrens' organisation) and the secondary school students.

Stana Tomosevic, a Croatian girl (member of the Secretariat) presented the report on the work so far done in the pioneer movement and her suggestions. Then the discussion on the report started. A number of council members took part in it, giving their constructive criticisms on the basis of their own experiences.

First to speak was a Serbian youth.

"In Serbia," he said, "the danger in the pioneer movement is that those who are at the helm, have a tendency to twin the pioneer organisation into a perfect imitation of the youth organisation. Little care is taken to concentrate on children's homes and so on, but all attention is focussed on just conferences and

conferences. The idea is that the present pioneer organisation and its leaders are not capable of thinking or acting for themselves but can only carry out the directives of the federal and central council.

"In Serbia, there is also the special problem of bringing to school all school-age children, because a large number of them don't want to come. This problem has not been tackled at all by the pioneers of Serbia.

"Then there are a number of difficulties facing Serbian school children which need immediate attention. For instance, a large number of children who come from great distance to their schools cannot go back home to take lunch. There should be an arrangement in the school so that the kids can lunch there. But unfortunately enough, there is no such arrangement in most schools and the pioneer organisations also do not pay much attention to this pressing problem.

"In Serbia, there are hardly any pioneer organisation in the villages, though village children comprise three-fourths of all children.

"Next we come to the problem of the pioneer press. In Serbia, there is no separate press of the pioneer organisation but they use the central pioneer press whenever necessary. The pioneer magazine and all publications in future have to be divided into two sections : one for those who are in elementary schools and other for those who are in secondary schools, because their taste and standard of intelligence are widely different.

"Coming to the question of children's literature, it is time to realise that a child cannot be educated with a newspaper or a magazine but a whole series of new types of books for children have to be brought out. For these, a plan has to be evolved with the help of leading men of literature who should be approached to write for children.

"The pioneer organisation must also pay due attention to the problem of all-round education for children. There is a dangerous tendency to politicalise education too much. Children cannot understand abstruse theories. This must be stopped at once.

"Seventy per cent of all children's education should be physical culture, sports and games. This is the surest way of keep-

ing the broad masses of children engaged in pioneer activities throughout the year."

Teachers and Pioneers

After the Serb youth, a girl from Dalmatia (part of Croatia) spoke. The most important point, according to her, was the establishment of good relations between the teachers and the pioneers. The next problem was the setting up of cultural houses for pioneers. This could be done only in co-operation with the cultural section of the people's committee of each area. In Dalmatia, they have been successful in this way in the great city of Split.

Another Croatian girl spoke after her. She spoke mainly on the question of the pioneer press.

"The main problem is that of getting the co-operation of men of letters. The trouble with most of them is that they do not yet fully understand the present situation and the role of the pioneer movement in building up a future generation. We in Croatia, tried to overcome this by organising a conference of pioneers to which we invited all the authors. There we spoke on the pioneer press, children's literature and so on and this considerably helped the writers to understand the pioneer movement and drew them closer. Since then we have kept close contact with them by regular correspondence. We have also arranged that all literary-minded pioneers keep regular contact with the writers so that it might help them to develop in future, as talented young writers.

"Children themselves should be encouraged to write in the pioneer press. They should, however, not be asked to write on complicated matters but on subjects like their life in the school, the pioneer life and so on. There should be a totally different type of periodical meant only for youth leaders in charge of a pioneer unit helping them to understand better their work and future plans."

Next to speak was a young boy from the Republic of Montenegro. He emphasised that unless special attention was given to the problem of developing large number of cadres from the pioneer organisation, the future of a new youth leadership would be jeopardised.

A Slovene youth was the next speaker. The problem of the machinations of the Catholic clergy was a serious one, he said. In the past, these reactionaries had great influence through their grip on children's education. They must not be allowed to continue that in the present day. Fighting their reactionary propaganda among children must be one of the key aims of every pioneer organisation.

Cultural Worker Speaks

The last to speak was a representative of the union of cultural workers. It is significant, by the way, how closely the different organisations of the Yugoslav people keep in touch with one another. In this plenary session, apart from the above mentioned cultural worker, there were present a representative of the teachers' union, a member of the council for schools and an under-secretary from the Ministry of Education. They contributed to a great extent in the discussions and helped the youth to formulate a correct and workable policy.

The representative of the union of cultural workers pointed out that though the success of the pioneer movement was largely dependent on co-operation between the cultural workers and the pioneer leaders, this was not always the reality in the past. The cultural workers did not have a correct understanding about the significance of pioneer work nor was the attitude of the youth leaders towards the cultural workers a correct one.

"We are making planned efforts to acquaint the cultural workers with problems of pioneer organisation, and if they are to play their due role in raising the cultural level of children, it is necessary that they should be incorporated formally in the staff of pioneer organisations."

Secondary Schools

The next discussion was on problems of secondary schools. The first to speak was a representative of Croatian youth.

"Secondary school youth," he said, "has played a very important role in infusing patriotic fervour among all the people, in forging ahead with the tasks of national reconstruction, such as work in the Youth Railway and repair of school-buildings. In matters of studies too, the secondary school youth organisation

as achieved good results and has been a pillar of strength to the ducational authorities. Through its campaign of political education, the organisation has succeeded in drawing within its folds ew and broad masses of hitherto unorganised youth.

"The secondary school youth (SCY) organisation has to ight certain obstacles inherited from old Yugoslavia. Since 1941 (i.e., ever since the Nazis occupied the land) there have been no regular schools for four years. Moreover, the fascists tried to inculcate reactionary ideas into the brains of children through their propaganda machine. But despite all these handicaps, the SCY organisation has done so much that a large number of students got prizes for good academic records this year. Not only that. The organisation has, above all, succeeded in driving home one idea among our secondary school youth and that is this: service to fatherland and the people comes before everything else.

"Then there is the very important problem of purging all fascist elements from the schools. Isolating all anti-national elements is an essential factor in building up a new Yugoslavia. And here, the policy is a wavering one. At the beginning of the term, we were friendly with them and only at the end we took up a correct attitude. As a result of this, some of these anti-national elements went to work in the Youth Railway and hampered fast work for a time."

Need to Improve Leadership

Some of the ideas about organisation and political education were also faulty. In Zagreb for instance, some youth leaders, instead of first coming in contact with youth masses, went about ordering them. In conference they did not discuss previously with the masses of the youth and argud instead that there was no need to discuss these points. Their theory was to spring a surprise on others and the whole conference, as a result, was a flop.

"It is essential," pointed out the speaker, "that leaders of SCY should raise their level of understanding and through that their authority, because in many cases SCY leaders are really very backward. So far the SCY have taken part in big national political campaigns like the Elections but no regular political education has so far been imparted to them. This should be

done in future by arranging lectures for them to be delivered by deputies, ministers and so on.

"Another key task is building up good relations between students and teachers. There is the good example of students and teachers collectively chalking out the plan of the gymnasium of Zagreb. Moreover, the teachers are now generally well acquainted with youth movement. But sometimes they make the mistake of keeping contact with the youth committees alone and neglecting the Education Ministry. The union of cultural workers too, should pay more attention to the problem of SCY."

The next speaker was a totally new face. Later on Ljubomir told me that he was the secretary of the regional youth committee for Kosovo-Metobia, one of the autonomous regions in Serbia. He explained that the key problem with their SCY was the question of Albanian minority, and their schools. Next to nothing had been so far done there. In fact, it was only here, that the realisation had come that schools for Albanian minority was a vital problem.

A boy from Slovenia spoke next. He dealt mainly with the problem of boarding-schools. The present system was that they had tutors in their hostels but lessons in the schools. Their organisation, too, was in the boarding house.

After this came a representative of the youth from the youngest of the federal republics of Yugoslavia—the long oppressed Macedonia.

"Our first problem is the liquidation of anti-national elements. Some of them have become genuinely transformed into good patriots but some have to be purged out mercilessly.

"The relations between students and teachers are far from ideal. Some of the old teachers are afraid of the youth organisation. A better relationship has to be established.

"The most pressing question, however, is the question of students' accommodation. The Ministry of Education, of course, is going all out to help us and even boarding houses are to be opened this year."

Lack of Equipment

The Serb youth who spoke next suggested that there should be healthy competition in every school to improve the standard of

work. These competitions could be academical, sports or cultural, like the Serbian all-Republic folk-dance competitions. Competitions could also be organised in a much smaller scale and more frequently between two schools or even between classes in one particular school.

The most neglected aspect, however, was the problem of technical or professional schools. For apprentices, there were special apprentice schools and an organisation should be set up there to help and guide them.

The biggest hurdle in organising sports and physical culture was the lack of buildings. In some places, store-houses had to be used for physical culture purposes.

To make up the lack of equipment in schools it was necessary to open a special student fund in every school. If SCY organisations took this up properly, then in every school it would become possible to buy text books, shoes, pencils and so on.

The next speaker was from Montenegro. His main point was that the youth organisation had undoubtedly done many good deeds but it had not paid sufficient attention to the studies of the students.

"We must not only be good political elements but also well-trained students. Studies should be under the joint supervision of SCY organisation and the teacher."

The director of the first girls' school spoke next. She said that as soon as professional schools were opened, the teachers, through their own union and in collaboration with the trade union movement, organised a series of lectures for apprentices.

Organisation for Apprentices

A student from Belgrade spoke next. He spoke mainly on the question of apprentices. Last year, there were 3,000 apprentices and the results were good despite lack of trainers. In the cultural sphere, however, the result was not so good. One of the reasons for this was the fact that there was no united organisation of the apprentices.

A representative from Macedonia took up the question of governing bodies for schools. To maintain proper discipline in schools, he said, the governing body should consist of representatives of students, teachers and parents.

The next speaker was a representative from Voivodina, an autonomous region in Serbia.

"If we compare work of professional schools with ordinary schools," he said, "we will find that the professional schools have done much better. In our region, there are 59 apprentices' schools, attended by pupils all of whom have gone through four classes in the elementary schools.

"Then there are the special industrial schools. But the biggest problem here is that of housing, text books and workshops.

"The relations between students and teachers have been improved considerably by having frank discussions on this question between students and teachers themselves. To improve political education, we have arranged study circles, wall newspapers, conferences and so on. Weekly conferences to inform pupils of current affairs are extremely necessary to combat reactionary propaganda, especially in the schools for the Hungarian minority of this area."

Chairman Sums Up

A number of others, including several State representatives, took part in the discussions. Then, Rato Dugovnic, chairman of the central council of the Peoples' Youth of Yugoslavia, summed up the entire discussion in one of the neatest speeches I have ever heard.

"Never before," Rato said, "has discussion been so collective, so concrete and so useful. The main points that come out of the discussion are :

"—More attention to all schools.

"—Better relationship with teachers.

"—Improve forms of activities.

"Discussion was concentrated on professional schools. But some problems were not discussed so thoroughly and methods of work were not sufficiently criticised.

"The general line of work, however, has been well understood by comrades. The key slogan for future is that youth leaders must learn and work twice as much as others, wherever they are. Only then can they boldly face and tackle successfully all day to day problems.

"To forge a more live link with the teaching staff all youth

committees should establish much closer and regular contact with local branches of teachers' unions.

"It is true that our youth in the secondary schools have done in one year what the old could not do in many, many years. But as yet we do not understand that on us, the youth of Yugoslavia, falls the main responsibility of helping the State machinery in building up a new and happy Yugoslavia. The coming year's work must outstrip last year's work. Youth leaders must constantly be with the youth—in their seminars, sports, everywhere, in the front of education and reconstruction. In fact, that is the only way of giving an effective lead and building up masses of new cadres, so essential in this period of national reconstruction.

"So far as organisational forms are concerned, greatest stress must be laid on establishing *actifs* (primary units) in every school. We must find hundreds of links to know our youth completely—the working youth, the village youth, Albanian youth and so on. About 50 per cent of our trained cadres have been taken up in various State services but, I am sure, bunches of new cadres will spring up to take their place in the youth movement of the coming year.

Crush Anti-National Elements

"About the anti-national elements, our attitude is clear. We are not a mere educative body, but essentially a political organisation whose aim is to establish a new order of democracy and peaceful reconstruction in our land. Enemies of the Republic will get no mercy from us. We will try to correct all those who made mistakes during the war but those who refuse to be corrected must be ruthlessly turned out, isolated and ultimately crushed. We must remember, however, that students cannot and must not be held responsible for the crimes of their parents. Special attention has to be given to the technical and professional schools. We must know, how the apprentices work, what interests them most and how we can help them.

"Finally, we have to remember that our success is largely dependent on our realisation of the resolutions taken after these discussions and our determination to carry through these resolutions."

When Rato came up to us and enquired what we thought about the session, both Kitty and myself replied in unison, "It is the best experience that we've had in Yugoslavia."

And as I looked at the hall, decorated with streaming slogans, photographs of Stalin, Tito and Ivan Lola-Ribar and full of serious youthful faces, once again I felt that really a new life was being born in this land of six nations—the erstwhile cockpit of the Balkans.

Meeting Marshal Tito

September 25 : Slavko's promised surprise and isn't it terrific ! We are going to meet Marshal Tito right now ! Tito, the legendary figure of the Resistance Movement of Europe, leader of the new Balkans ! We walked into the big house slowly, barely daring to talk. Even the flippant French were excited.

How will he come ? Under military escorts ? In the dress of a Marshal ?

As we walked into the drawing room, he came out and greeted us, in civilian dress, with a broad smile on his face. Within half a minute, he put all of us at ease. He asked us how we liked the trip, what we thought about Yugoslavia and so on. Tista of Mexico bubbled forth with enthusiasm. I was extremely nervous but somehow managed to say that our youth, still battling for freedom, draws tremendous inspiration from Yugoslavia's new youth.

And the great Marshal fixing his eyes on me gravely asked, "Your country is India ?"

I replied in the affirmative and he smiled. It was a silent greeting to revolutionary India.

Tito on Students' Role

Two questions were put to him : What he thought about the role of world students in the fight for peace and the trial of Archbishop Stepyn at Zagreb.

Very briefly, he answered the first question: "Yugoslav students, especially the students of Belgrade University, were in the front-rank of anti-fascist struggle. During the war, our fighting student movement forged a link with working-class and peasant youth and has kept it up in the era of peaceful reconstruction.

Herein lies the strength of our student movement and if the world student movement can forge the same unity, it will play a significant role in fighting back aggression and provocation for a third world war. The aims of the new I U S as such are commendable and if we stick on to them, the students of the world will play a great role in the fight for peace."

Freedom of Religion

The Marshal answered the second question in much greater detail:

"In Yugoslavia, religious freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution. But during the war, a large number of Catholic clergy took part in it, on the side of the enemy. Even today, they are trying to sabotage reconstruction. But we are not trying all of them. We are trying those who are responsible for loot and murder.

" The Archbishop of Zagreb and his unholy associates helped the notorious Ustachi and its anti-national campaigns, took part in looting and actually large amount of stolen goods have been found in the church of Zagreb.

" We believe genuinely that all are equal before the law and therefore, whatever garb a person puts on, that of an archbishop or of a monarch, we will try him and, if found guilty, punish him without the least hesitation. And we shall do it despite all the threats of some reactionaries abroad.

"It is nonsense to say that this trial, coupled with land reforms, amounted to a drive against religion. The land was confiscated not because we want to uproot religion but because it was a social anomaly and land had to be given to the peasantry in the interests of the people as a whole.

" The new Yugoslavia has no quarrel with true religion.

" If I am not wrong, true religion says, 'The voice of the people is the voice of God.' But these reactionaries whom we are punishing, replaced it with, 'The voice of the people is the voice of the Devil'—and that is why we consider them dangerous and anti-national."

Finally, Marshal Tito said :

" When you go back to your own country, tell your people the truth about Yugoslavia. Do not exaggerate our achievements,

do not spread calumny against us—that is my one request to you."

As we, one by one, shook hands with him and came away, all of us were struck by one thought : Yes, Yugoslavia will win its battle against reaction. What a people and what a leader ! Nothing can stop her onward march towards a people's democracy—neither the reactionaries at home nor the atom-imperialists abroad.

From Belgrade to Trieste

September 26 : We are leaving Belgrade—Kumud Mehta, Ramaswamy (leader of the Indian students at Sheffield University, England) and myself. We are on our way back to London and India. Sasha, Soeripno and Kitty come to the station. We have bid good-bye to the others. Sasha embraces us as the whistle goes.

Soeripno says, "*Merdeka, Tetep Merdeka*, Goutam."

"*Merdeka*," I reply.

And as the train starts moving, Kitty shouts from the platform, "Greetings to all the comrades in India, Goutam ! Greetings!"

September 27 : We are still in Yugoslavia. We are now in the border Republic of Slovenia—the land of partisan song and the fighting Slovenes. As we pass Lubliana, the capital of the Republic, we see large and bold slogans : " Istra is ours, Trieste is ours."

At a furious pace, youth are rebuilding the shattered Slovene land, where the grimmest battles were fought. We saw two brigades, where youth were working. And as we neared the border of Zone B (Zone A is under the AMG—Allied Military Government) we saw walls thick with slogans: " Trieste shall be ours; with our last drop of blood shall we say—Istra, Istra is ours."

And as the train thundered on, we sat musing : To whom does Trieste belong and really whose shall it be ?

We got the answer the very next day. In the train we met a Slovene who was a partisan and who is now an employee in the radio office of Trieste. He piloted us in Trieste late at night and put us up in a hotel.

Arrogance of British

September 28 : So this is Trieste ! The much disputed city of Europe ! As we walked across the street we saw English and

American military police arrogantly parading about the street, unnecessarily rough-handling pedestrians.

But also in the same street, we saw huge slogans chalked from end to end, "Trieste shall never become a colony," and then, "Trieste shall not become another Calcutta." As we entered our friends's office, a slim young man with a weather-beaten face came out and warmly shook our hands.

"I am Preis, the editor of the anti-fascist Slovene daily of the city."

And the first question I asked him was what did the second slogan mean. He replied :

"The dirty imperialists have succeeded for the time being in playing one section of your people against the other in Calcutta, and they are trying the same game with the Italian and Slovene population of the whole town, but they shall fail."

Yes, they shall fail ! There was no doubt about it when I met, one by one, the representatives of the youth of Trieste, the Italo-Slovene anti-fascist committee, the trade union leaders.

From Preis, we learnt about the Allied imperialist rule in the city. The whole Julian March area (Zone A) has nearly a million population, of which 6,00,000 are Slovenes, 3,00,000 Italians and a little less than 1,00,000 Croats.

The whole area including the city of Trieste was liberated by Marshal Tito's forces. They set up a temporary government composed of men who led the liberation movement in Julian March. For forty-three days they ruled, purging fascists and democratising the machinery of administration. But then Field-Marshal Alexander's forces arrived. By a provisional treaty with Marshal Tito, most of Julian March including Trieste came under the rule of the AMG.

And since then, it has been semi-fascist hell in Trieste. Preis was in an Italian concentration camp for two years. From there he escaped and first joined the Italian partisan brigade. Later on he crossed into his native land and played a leading role in its liberation. He was put in charge of the anti-fascist Slovene daily.

" Eldorado of Reaction "

Preis started with the comment: Trieste to-day is the Eldorado of all reactionaries. The Anglo-American Military Government (AMG) is following a semi-fascist policy. None of the war criminals have been punished. Italian fascists who have run away from Italy are given refuge in Trieste.

The notorious civil police which perpetrated horrible crimes against the people of Trieste during the period of Nazi rule are still kept in power. In the last 6 months, 12 anti-fascists have been killed by the civil police. They forcibly occupy the premises where democrats have offices.

The AMG has closed down all Slavonic schools and put a notorious fascist, who has been sentenced to death by the People's Court of Lubliana, in charge of the education department in Trieste. All meetings and demonstrations, even on purely economic issues, are banned and permission is rarely given to hold meetings.

But the people of Trieste, who won their freedom through their own united might refuse to bow down. Almost all the Slovenes and majority of the Italians are united in the broad freedom front—Italo-Slovene anti-fascist committee. Out of 1,20,000 workers, 89,000 are organised in anti-fascist trade unions. There are strong youth and women's committees. Then there is the half-illegal, but extremely powerful, Communist Party.

People's Demand---AMG, Quit Trieste !

These organisations to-day demand that the entire Julian March zone, even if it is not given to Yugoslavia, should be freed of the AMG. It should be allowed to mould its own destiny through a parliament elected by the people. The Slovenes, the Croats and the Italians, all agree to it. It was on this issue—and with the cry "AMG, Quit Trieste"—that the now famous general strike of Trieste took place. For ten days the city life was at a stand still. Then the AMG declared the strike illegal and issued arrest warrants against the strike committee, which promptly went underground.

This is a classic example of the semi-fascist policy of the AMG. While they keep old fascists in power. they try to arrest Ukmar, leader of the general strike.

Who is this Ukmar, hero of the people of Trieste ? Ukmar is an Italian whose homeland is Trieste.

As an ardent anti-fascist, he fought for the Abyssinians. Later on, under Mario Nicoletti, the famous Italian International Brigadier, he fought for republican Spain. After the fall of Madrid, he escaped to south France and there later became a commander of the Maquis.* He came over to Italy in 1944 and became one of the chief organisers of the North Italian Garibaldi Brigade. At that time General Mark Clark, commander of the U.S. armed forces in Italy, decorated him for bravery, and the Allies, for the time being, were all in praise for Ukmar. Naturally, to-day, once again, he leads the freedom struggle of the people of Trieste—the city of his birth. And it is against this Ukmar, that the AMG wants to strike.

Conspiracy at Paris

From the newspaper office, we went to the house of trade unions. We were met there by an old trade unionist, who spent ten years in the isle of Capri—the notorious concentration camp of Mussolini. He is now in charge of the press and foreign department of the Trieste trade unions.

In the period of Nazi occupation, a very strong underground trade union movement existed which after liberation was transformed into the present Trade Union Committee, in which the working class played a glorious role.

As I have already stated, it embraces all the Slovene workers and the overwhelming majority of Italian workers (89,000 out of 1,20,000). The key slogan of the trade unions is economic democracy for the workers and a people's government free of foreign intervention. The AMG has set up a rival trade union body with some Italian chauvinists in July 1945, but it has less than 2,000 members. The Trieste trade unions owe allegiance neither to Rome nor to Belgrade but 90 per cent of the workers, including the majority of Italians, of course, want Trieste to go to Yugoslavia.

They know well that Trieste's future is safe only inside Yugoslavia, for Trieste prospered when before 1914 it was the port of all Central Europe and stagnated when after 1918 it was joined on to Italy. The Italian workers in Trieste fought side

by side with the Slovene peasantry against Hitler-Mussolini occupation and have learnt to trust their Slovene brothers.

Reactionaries backed by the AMG tried to smash the trade unions. On June 30, 1946, hired hooligans attacked their office and caused heavy damages. The working class replied with a one-day complete general strike as a protest.

Economic Chaos

The workers backed up the political struggle and Ukmar's general strike too. They have also had a general strike against unemployment. There are to-day in this small area 27,000 unemployed. Prices are rocketing up, black-market is rampant with the AMG backing up the profiteers. A single person in Trieste to-day needs about 175 *lira* (3 shillings) per day, to live decently. And each worker gets instead 21 *lira* (3 pence) per day to maintain his whole family. When these facts were brought to light before the AMG by the trade unions, Colonel Robertson, chief of the labour department, characterised the whole thing as "communist propaganda."

In the shipyards of Trieste, where the maximum number of workers are engaged, they work under conditions of slave labour. Just like in the days of Nazi occupation, their work is strictly supervised by the notorious civil police.

To-day a conspiracy is being hatched in Paris to impose a governor on Trieste to turn it into a colony. The Yugoslav delegate, Dr. Kardelj, and Andrei Vyshinsky of the Soviet Union are fighting back for the people of Trieste. The imperialists pretend that Italians and Slovenes in Trieste cannot be trusted to live at peace with each other. They want to vest in this governor, to be appointed by them (through the UNO Security Council, where they have a majority), enough powers to make him a virtual dictator—all in the name of keeping the balance between the two warring peoples ! It is the old, old game of 'divide and rule,' followed by the hypocritical rulers of Britain throughout their vast empire.

" But even if we lose in the Paris Peace Conference, we shall not give in. We shall blow up all imperialist game. Twenty years of fascist hell and concentration camps have not broken

us and the AMG shall also go the way of Mussolini and his gangmen."

With these words, eyes blazing, the old trade unionist stood up and said, "Never a colony! No, never!!"—and I could almost hear the united voice of a hundred thousand proletarians in his ringing tone!

Growing Resistance

Trieste thrilled me. Everywhere I met defiant people—hurling defiance at the face of the arrogant AMG and shouting like the defenders of Madrid—"*No Passaran!*"

At night we were invited to a dinner party and all our friends, Italians and Slovenes, were present there.

We talked about India, our freedom struggle, undying Kashmir—and joked about us together digging imperialism's grave. It was midnight but we talked on. Then they asked Kumud to sing. She sang "*Azad karenge....*" I explained the meaning.

Then, all of a sudden, without warning, in the still night, Kumud started singing "*Avanti poppolo*"—the song of the Italian revolution.

And for a moment all the comrades were too astonished even to join in. Then all of them joined and sang with all their vigour.

The old driver comrade was terribly moved. Embracing Kumud, he said:

"My child, I always knew there were revolutionaries all over the world but I never even dreamt that I would live to see the day when a young Indian girl would sing the song of the Italian revolution to me. Now I am more confident than ever before that nobody can vanquish us—the people, and the flag of people's freedom will fly over the sky of your India, our Trieste, over the whole world. Nothing can stop it, and our onward march to victory."

Flag of Freedom Will Prevail!

Yes, that is the impression the new Yugoslavia gave me. The flag of freedom and of the people on the march, a new fresh humanity on its feet. Not only in Yugoslavia, in Trieste, in "our

beloved Istra"—as the Yugoslavs always said—but over all Eastern Europe.

It gave me courage and faith, my visit to the new Yugoslavia.

Only five short years ago, it lay prostrate before the conquering Nazi army, an enslaved country. And these foreign rulers did everything that foreign rulers do: they pitched Croats against Slovenes, Serbs against Macedonians, and the rest; they allied themselves with the big landlords and capitalists and tortured and fleeced the people.

But the people rose in revolt, and to-day they are free.

It was from this heroic achievement that I drew inspiration and courage. If the Yugoslavs could win their freedom, so can Indians—and as they did so WILL WE. This is my firm conviction.

What to read next

YUGOSLAV CONSTITUTION

With a foreword by
MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM

Eight Annas

DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE

Communist Party Resolution for the Constituent Assembly

Three Annas

★

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road
BOMBAY 4

New Allies of Indian Students

PREFACE

When in the June Convention of the All-India Students' Federation at Nagpur the question of sending a delegate to Prague came up, we were doubtful whether it would be worthwhile to spend a lot of money to send someone from India to the World Students' Congress. Ultimately it was decided that I should go.

And in Prague I realised that our decision was absolutely correct. For, those who came to the Prague Congress were seasoned fighters for freedom—students who have fought fascism and imperialism for the past five years.

And they decided to carry on the fight till fascism and imperialism are finished. They decided to keep closer contacts with each other and popularise the struggle of all oppressed nations. They decided to close up the ranks of worker, peasant and student youth.

They came from 39 countries—Communists, Socialists, Student Christians, independent democrats, liberals, nationalists from the colonial countries and so on. They forged a unity of steel, and decided to march ahead to build up a brave new world where every land shall be free and youth shall be happy.

This pamphlet describes in brief this historic World Students' Congress and the importance of the International Union of Students. I hope it will be of some help in building up closer friendship between Indian students and students of the rest of the world.

—Gautam Chattopadhyaya

LIST OF DELEGATES

Gautam Chattopadhyaya—Member, AISF Working Committee; Calcutta University.

Ramaswamy—University of Sheffield.

Arvind Mehta—Ex-Secretary, Bombay Students' Union; Oxford University.

M. Usmani—Bombay University.

K. Iyengar—Hyderabad; and Acting Editor of "Indian Students", organ of the Federation of Indian Students in Europe (Fedind).

A. H. Sader—Gen. Secy., Fedind; Member International Preparatory Committee of World Student's Congress, Birmingham.

Kumud Mehta—Secretary to the AISF delegation. Ex-B.S.U. and Bombay University; now in London University.

Fighters For A Brave New World

THE first post-war Congress of the students of the world started in Prague on August 18, 1946. The Masaryk College hostel, venue of our Congress, was decorated with flags and festoons and a huge streamer could be seen from far away: Students Work For A Free And Better World.

And who were the fighters for this brave new world who had assembled in Prague? **There were over 300 of them from 39 different countries, representing over two million organised students.**

At the helm were representatives of six hundred thousand organised students of the Soviet Union, among whom were defenders of immortal Stalingrad, as also voices of the newly awakened humanity of Uzbekistan and Kirghizia.

From the newly liberated Balkans—Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania—came student fighters who had carried on a four-year long heroic struggle in their own countries against the foreign fascist occupation.

From Spain came representatives of the republican movement who are determined to finish off the terror regime of Franco. From Greece came a representative of the student section (EPON), that heroic youth organisation which erected barricades against the imperialist Scobie during those days of December 1944 in the streets of Athens.

From France, among others, were representatives of the UGRF—united organisation of the French youth—for three years illegal under fascist rule, and who were bold enough to condemn the French imperialists openly in the Congress for refusing passport facilities to the student delegation of the Viet-Nam (Indo-China).

FROM THE COLONIES TOO

Impressive delegations came from colonial and semi-colonial countries—India, Egypt, Iran, Algeria. Soeripno came from Indonesia. He had spent a year in the fascist

concentration camp and was now engaged in defending the newly born Republic against Anglo-Dutch imperialism.

Gamal Ghali and Igni Eftaletuna came from Egypt. Leaders of the historic February struggle in the streets of Cairo, they have already been in jail several times. They had come to the Congress on pain of being arrested as soon as they returned to Egypt.

There were also delegates from a number of other countries like USA, England, Scandinavia, Mexico, Cuba, China, Mongolia, Holland, Belgium and, of course, Czechoslovakia.

There were also two special representatives from the executive of the Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). The WFDY is the fifty-five million strong united worker-peasant youth organisation of the world, and had already (more than a year back) taken up a progressive stand against international reaction. The two representatives were Penry-Jones, leader of the World Students' Christian movement and Kitty Boomla, AISF representative to the Executive of the WFDY.

Representatives also came from the UNESCO and the International Students' Service (ISS). The ISS, which is a relief organisation, was represented by Prof. Adiseshiah of Madras, who is acting as its General Secretary.

Greetings From National And International Leaders

ON the eve of the inauguration of the Congress, the entire body of delegates were given a grand welcome by the Premier of Czechoslovakia, Klement Gottwald. Wishing the Congress good luck, Gottwald said:

> "The future may seem to you not so bright, but if you stick on to your correct policy of freedom, peace and progress, you will win sooner than you expect. You see, in 1939, I was hunted from cellar to cellar by the Nazis and the Press called me a crook, but I stuck to my policy and to-day at least nobody calls me a crook."

His speech was a great inspiration to all of us to go

ahead with our work of building up an International Union of Students which would work for a free and happier world.

The Conference was greeted by other national leaders of different countries, though not in person. Greetings came from President Truman, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Soviet Education Minister and so on. All the messages were read out on the third day, and how the colonial delegates and progressive democrats cheered when Nehru's message was broadcast over the Prague Radio a number of times and got more publicity in Czechoslovak papers than any other message.

The opening ceremony took place on the 18th. The first was a welcome speech to the delegates by a representive of the International Preparatory Committee of the Congress. And was he not thrilled with pride and joy when Ahmed Hossain Sadar, AISF delegate, walked to the microphone to welcome on behalf of the International Preparatory Committee the representatives of a brave, new world? And as he concluded with "Let us then, in the same spirit of co-operation that we saw in the war years, go forward now to rebuild a free, happy world," all the delegates stood up and cheered.

Then came the speeches by representatives of different countries—USSR, Spain, Albania and so on. Delegate after delegate got up and spoke about the role of students in fighting fascism and imperialism.

PARADE OF DISUNITY

Then the discordant note was struck.

Who will speak on behalf of India?

On behalf of the AISF, we pointed out to Mr. Prabhakar Kunte of AISC and Mr. Suleri of AIMSF, that it would be a shame if all three of us got up and spoke for India. We suggested that we were agreeable to either of them speaking on behalf of all of us, but the speech must be an agreed one.

This fair and reasonable suggestion of unity was flatly turned down. Kunte said, "We don't recognise you, so no truck with you." Suleri took up a similar attitude "Principle" and "recognition" were too important for the leaders of AISC and AIMSF, and so they were determined to

demonstrate Indian disunity before the World Students' Congress.

And what did they say in their speeches?

Kunte of AISC thundered, "Comrades, I bring here greetings from free India, India liberated after fifty years of struggle." The delegates were bewildered. We were astonished. Free India? When did we get freedom? While I was on my way to Prague? Perhaps.

The reactionaries in the Congress were rubbing their hands in glee. They were jubilant all the more, when they heard the next speech.

It was Suleri of AIMSF. He raved about "Hindu fascism conniving with British imperialism to crush the poor Muslims." Confusion was added to the bewilderment of delegates. Was this then, the real picture of fighting India?

Fellow students of India should do well to remember that the date was 19th August, when the entire British Press, the imperialist Reuters and its agents were shrieking all over the world: "While riots run amuck in Calcutta, helpless Hindus and Muslims appeal to Viceroy to use British troops to save them"—and then plain editorial comments: Therefore British troops should stay in India. Q.E.D.

AISF KEEPS THE FLAG FLYING

It was the background when unity was most needed, that Kunte and Suleri came out with their performances. It was now our turn to speak and as Arvind Metha of AISF walked up, there was cold silence in the hall. Would it be just another mudslinging speech?

"We greet you," Arvind opened, "on behalf of the fighting youth of India who have yet to win their freedom. We bring you greetings from countless student martyrs, victims of imperialist bullets. The British thrive on their policy of divide and rule, and Calcutta is the result of that same policy. But that is not the whole of India. There is another side of the picture, where students, Hindus, Muslims, workers, peasants—all combine, fight again and again, and above the din of disruption thunder forth the historic

message of the Indian people to the British ruling authority —'Quit India'."

When he finished, there were cheers and signs of relief from the audience. So the India of the rebel sailors and the INA marches was real after all. The first round of battle for India's honour was won. We had not allowed our freedom flag to go down in mud. Though torn, we had kept it flying.

OUR APPEAL FOR UNITY

But all of us, students of India, have to realise very, very clearly what a pity it was that AISF had to fight alone. How much better it would have been, had all three Indian students' organisations put up a united front!

In India the AISF had made repeated appeals to the AISC and the AIMSF for sending a united delegation on behalf of Indian students which would function as a team at Prague. We had also suggested the formation of a co-ordination committee. Our efforts did not meet with success.

In Prague itself we once again tried to unite our ranks. On behalf of the AISF, we proposed that we should unite on the following basis:

a) On questions of policy we should take up a resolute stand against imperialism and for colonial freedom, for our brothers in South Africa, and against fascism in general.

b) On questions of organisation we should all get equal seats—i.e., one each in the Presidium and Constitution Committee and two each in the General Council.

I was convinced then and I am convinced now also, that this was the fairest and sanest proposal for unity of all three of us. And I am sure that the mass of Indian students will also share this view. Unfortunately enough, the leaders of AISC and AIMSF thought otherwise and turned down our unity proposals.

PRAGUE ITSELF A DEMONSTRATION OF UNITY

The leaders of AISC and AIMSF were not prepared to learn from anything. Otherwise Prague was itself a demonstration of unity. So many countries like USA, France, Spain and Italy had no single national union of students. Yet they were able to set up a co-ordination committee with all the organisations, and thus put up a united team in the World Students' Congress.

In the Congress itself, Christian Democrats of Norway, USA, Belgium and England worked in perfect harmony with Communists of USSR, Balkans and Greece. Nationalists of the colonies and Latin America pulled on excellently with Socialists of France, Italy and elsewhere.

All these inspired us and would have inspired many a student belonging to AISC and AIMSF, but these cut no ice with Mr. Kunte or Mr. Suleri. Even Prof. Adiseshiah, a well wisher of Indian student movement, had a try, but the leaders of AISC and AIMSF would not budge an inch. Still, we of the AISF kept up our battle to forge unity till the very end, though our task was fairly difficult.

All the colonials, whose faces were clouded by the acrobatics of the AISC and AIMSF, visibly brightened up after Arvind's speech. Now they were on the march.

Kunte, it is reported, had told the Bombay students: "We shall have to pick up a quarrel in Prague." Evidently it was not against British imperialism, since, according to him, we were already "free." It was with us that he wanted to quarrel.

"AISF is a Communist-dominated body," they shouted.

"So what"?—asked the delegates of other countries. "Firstly," they said, "we have read AISF reports, and we find that it is a democratic body open to all patriotic students. And secondly, if you shun the Communists, why did you come to the Congress at all? Didn't you know that the Soviet delegates would be here, that they are mostly Communists?"

The AISC leaders were silent. They tried to blackmail the Presidium of the Congress: "Unless you accept our demand of being recognised as the sole representatives of the Indian students, we will stage a walk out."

An American delegate asked, "Did you come here to get

a mere recognition or to make the Congress a success?"

Shamelessly, Zakaria of AISC replied: "Our main aim is to get recognition."

At our suggestion, the Presidium suggested its own unity formula: Equal representation for all three organisations in the Presidium, the Constitution Committee and the General Council. AIMSF sat on the fence, while AISC rejected this offer. Our last attempt to forge unity was foiled by their obstinacy.

A STRANGE UNITY

I have already said that led by Suleri, the AIMSF delegation were sitting on the fence. But ultimately, they too rejected the offer of unity. Their reason was, as Suleri himself stated: "We came from 'Pakistan.' As such we claim national status. If we are not recognised as such, we refuse to be a party to the Congress; and since AISF does not recognise our 'national status' (i.e., that they came from 'Pakistan'), so we can't even think of uniting with the AISF."

It was, however, a strange sight to see when Zakaria of AISC and Mushtaq Patel of AIMSF made a joint statement before the Credentials Committee of the IUS, to the effect that they were unable to participate in the Congress as their respective claims were not being accepted. Since when did AIMSF become a supporter of AISC's claim of representing all the students of India, and since when did the leaders of AISC become devout believers of AIMSF's right to speak for 'Pakistan'? It was, as is plain to all, an opportunist alliance of the worst type.

We, of the AISF, now realised that we would have to carry on the battle for India single handed, and wipe out the stains of disruption which were the chief contributions of AISC and AIMSF to the Congress.

The Main Enemy---Remnants of Fascism

THE first point was elimination of fascism. When this clause was being debated in the first commission, the Dutch delegation said that fascism must be de-

fined before they could fight it. The Soviet delegate replied:

> "After fighting fascism for four years, need we define it? Fascism means Gas Chambers in Poland, fascism means devastated Ukraine. That's why we have to fight the remnants of fascism."

Ramaswamy, representing AISF in this commission, supported the Soviet delegate with a strong speech. But it was not enough to declare that we would fight fascism. It was necessary to point out clearly and distinctly where the remnants of fascism existed.

The biggest remnant of fascism is, of course, Franco Spain. A Spanish girl who had spent six years in Franco's prison and had recently escaped, addressed us. No more speeches were necessary. We all agreed that fascist Franco must go. Support was also pledged to the students of Greece in their battle for national liberation against the British-backed monorcho-fascist rule. In commission three, Rahman of AISF moved a resolution on South Africa, urging the Congress to support the battle against the fascist "Ghetto-Bill" of that hypocrite Smuts. The Dutch, as usual, got up and opposed it. But we were backed up solidly by USSR, Yugoslavia and the rest, and got it through. Incidentally, one of the first speeches in our support came from a Negro delegate of USA, himself a sufferer from that same colour bar.

The next round was against imperialism. We, of the AISF, moved a resolution, calling on the World Students' Congress to back up the freedom struggle of the students and peoples of all enslaved countries like India, Indonesia, Egypt and so on. We pointed out that the acid test of colonial freedom lay in withdrawing imperial troops from the enslaved countries.

Once again the Dutch opposed us and said that ideas of empire were changing. A smart rebuff came from Ingi of Egypt who snapped back: "Yes, the changed idea came to Cairo in the shape of bullets and tear-gas!" The Yugoslavs too, gave a stirring speech, pointing out imperialist conspiracy in Trieste. We were also solidly backed by the delegates from USSR, Latin America, Indonesia, all the

Balkan countries and Czechoslovakia. Many of our "sincere Britishers" remained neutral.

The verdict of the international student movement was clear. Over two hundred and fifty, out of a possible three hundred, voted for our resolution and stood by the enslaved people in their struggle against imperialism.

Anti-imperialism and anti-fascism became the banner of the new International Union of Students (IUS).

THE QUESTION OF WFDY AND IUS AFFILIATION

Now came the question of the IUS affiliation with the WFDY (World Federation of Democratic Youth). In other words, the question was one of unity between world students and working-class and peasant youth of the world.

To us the answer was simple. We had seen in Calcutta, Bombay and elsewhere, what student-worker unity is. We had seen how the might of British Raj comes tumbling down even if for a day. So we were unhesitating for international unity of worker-peasant youth.

The Dutch, as expected by now, opposed this unity. But to our shame, Verma, leader of AISC, lined up with the Dutch and spoke against unity. **It was strange to find AISC, vociferous champion of Mazdoor-Kisan Raj, lining against mazdoor-kisan-student youth unity.**

Penry-Jones, leader of World Students' Christian movement backed up this unity proposal in a vigorous speech.

And by 260 votes to 13, we decided to forge organisational unity between working-class and peasant youth, and student youth of the world.

But the grandest reply to reaction came from Soeripno —"Great little Indonesia" as we called him. He got up and queried:

> "How dare the Dutch speak in the name of democracy so long as I am present here to remind you all, how they are strangling the Indonesian freedom struggle?" .....Perhaps the opponents of unity are afraid that if WFDY and IUS unite, colonial freedom movement will finish of imperialism in a much quicker time!"

Discussion On Student Problems

THE Congress now settled down to discuss important student problems. We discussed, for instance, the social, economic and health conditions of students of different countries. And when I spoke on Indian students—the hardships they face in getting educated—the whole Congress was shocked and became even more determined to wage a resolute battle against imperialism.

Usmani of AISF spoke on the utter lack of sports facilities for Indian students. The Congress decided to have regular international sports rallies of students, the first of which will come off in Paris in April 1947. The Congress decided to set up an international student relief department to carry on relief campaign for affected countries and, incidentally, elected myself from India as the chairman of the bureau.

Ramaswamy, who was in the students' exchange department, pointed out how difficult it was for colonial students to go to foreign countries, and the Congress decided to campaign for special student passports which would allow us to travel throughout the world at greatly reduced rates. The commission for intellectual co-operation, where Rehman and Iyengar represented AISF, discussed problems of education, how advanced countries could help comparatively backward ones and so on.

OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN PHOTOGRAPHS

Our activities were not limited within the congress hall. We got the bright idea of putting up a photographic exhibition on India. Ninty-five photographs of famine, imperialist oppression and our struggle—Calcutta and Bombay of February 1946, Postal strike and the immortal Kashmiris. Imperialist propaganda balloon was pricked. Thus students of the world saw India with their eyes—India unvanquished, forging unity above disruption.

And the culmination came in the shape of election of Executive Committee. I was elected to it, polling the fifth highest vote. These sixty-one votes were no mere votes for me or the AISF—they were votes of confidence of the world students in the undying freedom struggle of the

Indian students and our glorious people.

The whole Congress was rounded off with a mighty procession, in which one million citizens of Prague took part. It symbolised the support of the New Democracies of Eastern and Central Europe behind the students of the world.

A MESSAGE FOR FREEDOM-LOVING STUDENTS

Our Congress is over and I am back in India. I have only one message for our freedom-loving students which I have tried to bring out through my report on the Congress.

In Prague, two million organised students of thirty-nine countries declared in unmistakable terms:

Death to Fascism!
Death to Imperialism!
Victory to the Struggle of the Colonial Peoples!
Forward to a Free, Happy World!

Reaction was cornered and isolated. We won the students of the world behind our just demand for freedom. It is a great pity that we had to do the work all by ourselves, and we regret very much that AISC and AIMSF ultimately decided to keep out of the new International Union of Students. For, the IUS is a mighty weapon in our battle for freedom. The resolutions of the Prague Congress are clear proofs of that. So our task is to strengthen the hands of the IUS in its battle to rally world students against world reaction, and for peace and democracy.

We hope that the AISC and AIMSF members will also realise this, and the AISC and AIMSF will revise their decision and join hands with the I.U.S. This alone will ensure an increasing support of international student movement for our own struggle for national liberation.

—Gautam Chattopadhyaya

MESSAGES

[Extracts from messages of greetings given to the All India Students' Federation by delegations from different countries at the World Students' Congress in Prague]

Indonesia

On behalf of the students of the Indonesian Republic we send our warmest greetings to our comrades of the AISF. Last year, on 17th August the people of Indonesia have proclaimed their independent Indonesian Republic, thus not only fulfilling their own desires, but also giving a severe blow to imperialism and serving the interests of all peoples striving for progress democracy and world peace... Be sure that it will not last a long time before both the Indian and Indonesian people, who are still engaged in a heavy struggle, will attain full, complete and real independence and democracy. Merdeka!

(Sd. Soeripno and M. Yusuf.)

Soviet Union

We congratulate you on your part in creating the International Union of Students, a great step forward in the work of uniting all progressive, democratic students in the fight for prolonged and lasting peace, for equality, freedom and independence of all freedom-loving people. We wish you further successes in the task of creating firm unity of the vanguard of the students of your country.

(Sd. Orest Shevcov, leader of the Soviet delegation and 2 others).

Egypt

The struggle of India is a formidable struggle not of the Indian people alone but of all the peoples of the world who

stand for freedom. We, people of Egypt, of course, look with admiration at this decisive struggle raging in India today. The students of Egypt will always remember the efforts of the AISF delegation for the cause of unity here in Prague and we are sure their efforts will result in unity in India in the struggle against imperialism. Our enemy is one, our struggle is one and we wish all success to India in her struggle for unity and freedom and victory over Imperialism in all its hideous forms.

(Sd. Gamal Ghali, President of the Egyptian Students' League. Message was in Arabic.)

Messages were also given by leaders of delegations from Britain, France, Rumania, Poland, Canada, Bulgaria, Austria Greece, Iran and by the leader of the United Socialist Students' Organisation of Belgium.

APPENDIX

The Task of Students Youth in the Post-War World

[Extracts from Resolutions of Commissions 1 to 3 of the World Students' Congress, Prague, August 1946]

Commission 1—The Task of Students in the Elimination of Fascism.

Commission 2—The Task of Students in Reconstruction in War-Damaged Areas and Construction in Undeveloped Areas.

Commission 3—The Task of Student Youth for Peace and a Better World.

Anti-Fascism, Anti-Imperialism

The victory over fascism was assured only by the united action of democratic peoples. It is only by unity of purpose and a close adherence to the principles and practice of democracy that a lasting peace can be attained.

We condemn all forms of fascism and imperialism as the main obstacles to peace and progress. Although the overthrow of military fascism has been accomplished, fascist ideology has by no means been completely eradicated. It exists even today as an official form of government. We consider that the elimination of the remnants of fascism and imperialism is an indispensible condition for peace and a better world. Democratic students, who have played their part in the defeat of fascism, cannot remain indifferent to this task, so important to their future. They must now take up their role in the post-war world. We must never forget that fascism has brought terrible devastation to the world, that imperialism has drained the resources of subject countries and ruthlessly exploited their people.....

The World Students' Congress considers that the students of the world, together with all democratic youth, must strive to eliminate fascist ideology and imperialism not only in Germany and Japan, but also in those other countries where it still exists.

*

Support to all Freedom Struggles

We support those students who are struggling for their liberty in countries not yet free. We are opposed to the Franco regime because it is a source of fascist activity and constitutes therefore a threat to world peace. For this reason the Congress calls upon students of all countries to break off cultural and intellectual relations with the universities of Franco Spain.

We declare our solidarity with those of our fellow students in Egypt, Greece, India, Indo-China, Indonesia and certain Latin American countries, who are still suffering and fighting for the liberty and independence of their people. We pledge our full support to the students of the freedom movements of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries, who are seeking by their activity to realise their legitimate aspirations.

We believe that decent standards of living must be assured to all the peoples of the world, for economic security is a pre-requisite of the world peace. Only upon such a basis can education be developed. This is why we demand that economic improvement be regarded as an intrinsic part of the process of democratisation of those countries suffering from fascist influence.

* * * *

Self-Education of Students

We believe that students should consciously educate themselves to become responsible citizens and to take an active part in the democratic organisations of their country. As students we are opposed to any discrimination based on race, colour, caste, sex, national origin, religion, political belief, social or economic status. We therefore regard it as our first responsibility to ensure that no such discrimination exists in our own organisations and to resist it wherever it may appear in our own community.

The Congress points out that an all embracing education of young people is possible only when the right to higher as well as to secondary education is guaranteed to the broad masses of youth. Student organisations must press for this right for all young people without discrimination on any basis.

The World Students' Congress urges the establishment of an extensive system of State stipends, and family allowances, the creation of inexpensive hostels, the granting of special consideration to demobilized service men and free supply of text-books and necessary equipment to students. The Congress also believes that students should play an important part through their organisations in the administration and direction of universities.

The Congress affirms that education should not be regarded as a theoretical study, isolated from life, but rather should take into account its social and practical implications.

We believe that science should be employed for the betterment of mankind and not for purposes of destruction, nor as an instrument of oppression. Students, who play an important part in the development of science, and whose knowledge is such that they can recognise the misuse of science and restrictions on the dissemination of scientific discovery, have an even greater responsibility to ensure that this knowledge is used in the service of humanity.

* * * *

Appeal for Unity

The unity of students among themselves and with the rest of youth made it possible for them to fight successfully against fascism. This unity is today more necessary than ever before. Believing that organisation is essential to the attainment of all these aims, the Congress supports the creation of national unions of students where they do not exist. It calls upon all students and student organisations to participate fully in their national youth movements, to assist by every possible means in the creation of united national youth organisations, and in all ways to strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding which today unite the students and the rest of youth.

The Congress maintains that, for the adequate solution of all problems confronting students today, the new international students organisation, I.U.S., must work in close co-operation with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, as an autonomous associate member.

Long Live the Unity of the Democratic Students of the World!

Long Live the International Union of Students !

Long Live the Friendship of the Students and Youth of the World !

Forward for our Future !

Let us Work Together—

FOR PEACE

AND A BETTER WORLD

Extracts from the Constitution of the International Students' Union.

"....To assist the students of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries to attain their full social, economic and educational development: to this end, to render to the students and peoples of these countries all possible assistance in their struggle for freedom and independence.

"....To secure for all young people the right and possibility of primary, secondary and higher education; to secure for all students an extensive system of State scholarships and family allowances wherever necessary and all other means of assuring their material independence....

"....To promote among students an appreciation of the cultures of all peoples and the love of freedom and democracy.

"....To promote friendship between students of all the world....To give active support to all governments and social organisations which strive for peace."

Activities of the IUS

THE INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION DEPARTMENT will carry out the educational and cultural policies of the IUS. It will organise the Students Drama Festival to be held next year as part of the World Youth Festival. It will organise a survey of national educational systems and present programmes of action to such authorities as U.N.E.S.C.O.

THE STUDENT TRAVEL AND EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT will organise all aspects of student travel and exchange between the member countries.

THE STUDENT RELIEF DEPARTMENT will implement the policy of the IUS in the sphere of relief. It will cooperate with other student relief bodies that exist.

THE SPORTS DEPARTMENT will organise international student sports and games and it is already making plans for the next venture in spring.

THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND HEALTH CONDITIONS DEPARTMENT will carry out surveys in the various countries and will make recommendations for action and fight for the implementation of its policy.

Printed by Sharaf Athar Ali, New Age Printing Press, 190 B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4 and published by M. Sexena, All-India Students' Federation, 350, Lamington Road, Bombay 7.

A Letter From China...

I read your journal of the All India Students' Federation, "The Student", with untold passion. Your struggle against the British imperialism is worthy of our highest respect. I write you with my deepest love for the students in India who are struggling for the most worthy cause—independence, liberty and equality. I'll be glad to put your articles into Chinese for the Chinese students who don't have a chance to read it.

Chao Fu-San,
Student Division, National YMCA, SHANGHAI.

A World Youth Festival is going to be held in Prague in July-August, 1947. Among other competitions at the festival such as Sports, Drama etc., there will be a competition among the youth publications of different countries. "The Student", journal of the All India Students' Federation, will enter for that competition. It will be the ONLY youth paper representing India. Surely you want it to score a very high place. How can you help?

One big help is to relieve "The Student" of some of its financial worries by becoming a subscriber. With a large and steady number of subscribers our circulation can go up and costs become less.

"The Student" can then plan for big improvements in the next 6 months.

Give it a good start for the coming competition at Prague by becoming a subscriber today! Let SF workers take the lead—Every SF worker, a subscriber!

FELIX ALBIN

1/-

THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

As. 12/-

THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

by

FELIX ALBIN

(Director of Foreign Broadcasts, Radio Madrid, during the Spanish Civil War)

Introduction by K. ZILLIACUS, M.P.

NEW GERMANY PUBLICATIONS LTD.

London, 1946

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction by K. Zilliacus	3
Chapter I: Rebirth of the German Labour Movement ...	18
Chapter II: Lessons from History	23
Chapter III: The Road to Unity	39
Chapter IV: British Labour and German Workers' Unity ...	58

Introduction

by

K. ZILLIACUS

THIS pamphlet on working class unity in Germany comes out at a moment when the problem of Germany is forcing itself on the notice of the Allied Governments and of public opinion as the central issue in the organisation of peace and the acid test of Anglo-Soviet relations. The struggle between the Allies in Germany centres largely on the issue of working class unity and sets the pattern for what is happening over most of Europe.

That is to say that this pamphlet could not be more topical, and that the subject with which it deals is of first rate importance. In addition it casts fresh light on the subject, by drawing attention to fundamental facts which have hitherto been left out of account.

It is a temperate statement of the case of German Socialists and Communists who are in favour of the new Socialist Unity Party and justifies the way it was brought into being. That is, it is an *ex parte* statement, and does not pretend to be anything else. (For an able hostile account of the formation of the Socialist Unity Party, see the *Times* of May 1).

But it makes a good case and presents impressive evidence for its two central contentions, namely that (a) The splits in the German working-class, both on the trade union and the political levels, that were chiefly the result of the first world war, were felt as an evil by an increasing number of workers between the wars, and opened the breach in German democracy through which Hitler passed to power and (b) During and after the war there was a real desire among anti-Nazi German workers to learn this vital lesson from the past. This led to Trades Union unity, now virtually an accomplished fact throughout Germany. It also led to the formation of the Socialist Unity Party in the two-fifths of Germany under Soviet occupation, where it was encouraged by the Russians, and to the growing campaign for doing likewise in the rest of Germany, that is being bitterly resisted by the British and American occupation authorities.

There is no doubt at all that there is a spontaneous movement for unity in the German working class, that has roots deep in German social history and that corresponds to the real needs of the present situation. The author of the pamphlet disproves the wild allegations about terroristic methods, the reopening of concentration camps, etc., etc., in the Soviet zone to compel fusion. He reduces to its true perspective the famous anti-fusion (but pro-unity of action) plebiscite organised in the "West End" of Berlin under Anglo-American occupation, by a breakaway

group of Social-Democrats, and participated in by only 23,000 of the 40,000 registered Social Democrats in that area.

It is not necessary to contend that the Russians have never passed the borderline between encouragement and "pressure," although they would deny it as strenuously as the Anglo-Americans would deny that they were actively and vigorously "discouraging" Socialist unity in their zones. The Russian methods have no doubt been rough and ready. But that is not the point.

The point is that on the one hand both the Russians and the Anglo-Americans are bound under the Atlantic Charter, as understood by the Russians and as specifically interpreted by the late President Roosevelt, by Prime Minister Churchill (in the House of Commons on 24th May, 1944), and by the Labour Government on 19th December, 1945 (announcement by Mr. Noel-Baker in the House, in reply to a question), to see that the German people are free to choose any democratic form of Government they want, but are prevented from restoring any form of Fascism. That is, the Allies are pledged to intervene in German internal affairs, for democracy and against Fascism. Whereas on the other hand, compulsion exercised by the Russians and the Anglo-Americans respectively to promote or resist the Socialist unity movement is only an accessory factor.

The real driving force for unity comes from within the German working-class. The real issue is not the methods used by the two Allied sides to this controversy in execution of their duty to promote democracy and put down Fascism in Germany, but whether the formation and spread of the Socialist Unity Party should be regarded as furthering or hindering the development of democracy in Germany. And here there is little doubt that the worst that can be said about the Russians is that they are doing the right thing by the wrong methods, whereas the best that can be said about Anglo-American policy is that it is trying to do the wrong thing by methods ranging from gentlemanly to dubious.

It was no Leftist, but the late Marshal Sikorski of Poland, who said that in order to make Germany safe for civilisation it was necessary to destroy not only the Nazi Party and its teachings, but also the Junker land owners and the big industrialists. The present state of Germany bears out that view.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Observer* wrote on 14th April that the only political forces which are reliably anti-Nazi in Germany are the political parties of the Left and the Trade Unions, representing German labour. But this means that "*German labour ought to be encouraged to reorganise German economy according to its ideas—that is, on Socialist lines. Without public ownership of key industries and without comprehensive economic planning, the reconstruction of Germany will bog down in a succession of phoney booms and real slumps. Full employment within the framework of a predominantly Socialist economy is the only possible method by which Germany can be both economically rebuilt and spiritually and politically de-Nazified. This is also the pre-condition for the re-establishment of democratic freedom in Germany.*"

The *Economist* of 6th April, in a series of five articles entitled "The German Crisis" by members of its staff who had studied the situation on the spot, also comes to the conclusion that the only way

to establish democracy in the British zone is through Socialist reconstruction:

"*The conditions of the British zone make far-reaching socialist experiments a necessity. There is, once again, no other workable alternative. Instead of being driven reluctantly into them, let the British administration openly and deliberately evolve a plan for public ownership of the essential industries and services in North-West Germany. (Land reform is not so pressing a problem.) . . . No amount of backing of Dr. Schumacher, the leading Socialist in the western zone, in his fight against fusion with the Communists, will be effective so long as the Communists can compare the 'social backwardness' of the British zone with socialisation and land reform in the eastern zone.*"

This conclusion is presented as a reluctant admission pointing to a distasteful necessity. The German Social Democratic Party is to be the instrument for fighting both the Nazis and the Communists, whom the *Economist* lumps together as equally the enemies of democracy. The argument is carried to the pitch of advocating the establishment of minority rule by the Social Democratic Party, put into power and supported by the British Army of Occupation against the majority of the inhabitants.

On the other hand it is admitted in the same series of articles that "*the division of the workers is rightly seen to be a possible contributory factor in the rise of neo-Nazism. In last Sunday's vote on fusion in Berlin, while the Socialist vote against the methods employed by the Communists to secure fusion was decisive, in those wards in which the vote was taken the vote for a common partnership by legitimate means was as large.*"

The *Observer* correspondent already referred to reports on 7th April that "*unity of German labour is potentially the only effective bar to reassertion in Germany of that authoritarian and nationalist spirit of which Nazism has been the fullest but not the only possible expression. The objective which Communists pursue—the creation of a united Socialist party—is a legitimate and sound objective. If its achievement is still remote, this is in no small measure due to the methods used by the Communists, to their suppression of non-conformist views, to their heresy huntings, and to their unscrupulous distortions of facts and suppression of truth in inter-party politics. But, whatever the faults of the Communists, it is a fact that the now deepened division of German labour is gladdening ex-Nazi and crypto-Nazi hearts all over Germany, and that it is emboldening all those political forces that have been lying low since the collapse of the Third Reich.*"

These independent findings from sources by no means Communist fully corroborate the main contentions of this pamphlet. Now let us look at similar independent accounts of what is happening respectively in the Soviet-occupied two-fifths and the western-occupied three-fifths of Germany.

The *Manchester Guardian* of 31st December, 1945, published a despatch from Weissenfels in the Russian-occupied zone dated 30th December, which contains the following:

"*There is more 'forgive and forget' in the Russian zone in Germany than either the British or United States areas. Because of the refusal of the Russians to allow 'outsiders' to enter the zone reports were*

spreading that harsh treatment was meted out to all Germans and the civilians went in fear of their lives. Now the Russian authorities have allowed correspondents to visit the zone, it is seen that the average 'little German' appears to have much less to fear from the Russians than from the British or United States occupation authorities.

"There has been a ruthless purge of Nazi leaders and active members of the party in every city, town, and village in the zone, but the Germans who were 'inactive' Nazis are in most cases allowed to keep their jobs. They are given plenty of opportunities to rehabilitate themselves under the watchful eye of the Red Army. . . .

"The Russian occupation policy is startling in view of the great 'hate' campaign that was directed from Moscow throughout the war. One Red Army officer said to me: 'Today the average Red Army soldier bears no hatred against the German people. He believes that Hitler and the Nazis—and not the entire German people—were responsible for the war. The Russian soldier does not hate for long.'

"The Russian authorities have even turned over the responsibility of weeding out active Nazis to the German civil administration. A German officer studies each case individually and decides whether a person was an active party member or merely a nominal member. The head of the German administration in Saxony said: 'All war criminals and active Nazis are out. Former Nazis cannot boss anyone else or be in a position of responsibility.'"

The *Manchester Guardian* of 24th May published an article on "East and West in Germany" which makes the unsupported assertion, agreeable to the "cloak and dagger" attitude which that paper has seen fit to adopt with regard to the U.S.S.R., that either the success or failure of the present Russian policy towards Germans would be disastrous to the world and that this policy is more "icily terrifying in its ultimate developments" to the Germans than that of the Western powers. But the correspondent admits that it is "at least a good deal warmer in its day to day affairs" than our policy and that it is "*wilful blindness not to recognise that mixed up with a quite unscrupulous expansion of Soviet power is a good deal of sincere conviction that the cause of democracy must look for inspiration from the East. In the day to day carrying out of Soviet policy in Germany there is not a little commonsense and, in particular, a clear political leadership that can be made to seem German and whose appeal to the regimented German mind is strong.*"

The correspondent makes much of the fact that a speaker at the official dinner to journalists at the opening of the Leipzig Fair on 8th May remarked that this was the first chance for German and Allied journalists to meet one another socially. In the British zone these relations are conducted on a footing that made a meeting of German journalists with the British authorities "*the dreariest kind of manifestation of the conquerors deigning frigidly to appear in the presence of the conquered—which, since the Germans there were supposed to be our friends, was as illogical as it was depressing and harmful to our cause.*"

Not only is Russian policy probably more efficient and certainly more economical in the use of able administrators, but it is politically more intelligent.

"*The Russians came into Germany with banners announcing that*

Hitlers might come and go but the German people would remain and that the Red Army was free from race hatred. This was at a time when the Western Allies were trying to enforce a quite unworkable policy of 'non-fraternisation,' which made no discrimination between the German who had been in a concentration camp and the German who had been a local Nazi boss. The Russians discriminated from the start. Certain Germans, they held, were their friends or potentially their friends, and having chosen their friends they gave them every kind of support to show that friendship held a good many advantages.

"The result today is an administration in the Russian zone that is to all outward appearance German, rigidly controlled through a few key appointments at the top, but in every-day affairs left a very wide measure of authority. In addition to the venal attraction of substantial personal reward for readiness to serve Russian interests, this policy holds real attraction for the ordinary unthinking German, who sees administration only at low levels and who believes that Russian policy will ultimately give the Germans a chance to run their country for themselves. This latter is a most important point, for one has heard Germans whom one knows to be sincere say that they intend to support the Russian-inspired 'fusion party' of Communists and Social Democrats because they believe that this holds the best chance of Germans being allowed to rule in Germany and of bringing about social reforms that are much needed in Western Germany as well as in the East."

The *Manchester Guardian* of 2nd January has an article on the land reform carried out in the Soviet zone which states that *"Barely four months ago the German Administration working in the Russian zone of occupation announced that land reform was to be carried out throughout the provinces under Russian control. Today this drastic social change can be regarded as concluded with a promptness and completeness which few observers believed to be possible.*

"The attitude of the politically uninterested peasant and land worker is more in favour of the land reform than is sometimes realised. It would be a great mistake to underrate the enthusiasm that can be found in the Russian zone among those who hope to participate in the redistribution of land. This applies, of course, in particular to the many agricultural refugees from the east who were relieved of all their possessions when they crossed the River Oder and who wish to settle down as quickly as possible, even if it is to be under the most difficult conditions. There are also farm labourers in Western Germany who are looking across the zonal frontier and are wondering whether they should not move eastwards in order to take part in the distribution of farm land."

The second part of this article, appearing the next day, said that the land reform had made a great impression on the German people: *"In Helmstadt, where the British and the Russian zones of occupation meet, you can see men who four months ago owned* 10,000 *acres and more and who have nothing today but their bare lives. Twenty miles farther west you find a completely different picture. On your arrival at the farm of, say, Count Wartenburg, you will be asked to wait in the big hall, which shows many signs of the accumulated wealth and the civilised life of generations. You will notice that the servants bow in great respect and that relatives and friends kiss the Countess's*

hand. Remembering that her cousins and nephews are the inmates of hastily erected refugee camps at Helmstadt, you might find the ceremonial somewhat out of place. This is at least what a good many Germans feel in Western Germany. In fact, there is some strong feeling, not only in working class quarters but also among intellectuals, that the time has come to do away with the remains of German feudalism in the West as well as in the East."

Eighty per cent of the big land owners were in the Soviet zone, but the Russian step might compel the Western Allies to decide to do likewise, against their will, lest they might appear "backward and reactionary if they lag behind the Russians on such a vital issue."

Moreover, there are plenty of landless refugees who could, and want to be, settled on the land if the big estates in the West were also broken up. But the British occupation authorities are even more unwilling than the Americans to contemplate such a step. Their motives are "non-political": they "*want to get on with their job. By that they mean economic recovery, the feeding of the starving. They fear—quite rightly—that any change in the present social structure can only upset their plans.*"

Under pressure they might eventually do what they have done with the coal mines in the Ruhr, namely take the estates into custody of the Zone Commander. The wiser solution might be "*to encourage German political groups to come to the front with their own ideas on the subject and to show whether they are ready to accept the responsibility for a decision which might change decisively Germany's social and economic character.*"

On 3rd June the *Manchester Guardian* published an article from its Berlin correspondent on the plebiscite to be held in Saxony at the end of June to decide what industries should be nationalised:

"*The people of Saxony in the Russian zone will be given an opportunity on June 30 to vote 'Yes' or 'No' in a referendum to determine the final ownership of all the most important business undertakings in their province. They will have before them a law promulgated by the Saxon Government, and since this new law has been agreed beforehand by the leaders of the Liberal Democrats and the Christian Democrats as well as by the Communist-Socialist 'Unity' party and the trade unions, there is little doubt that the outcome of the referendum will be a resounding 'Yes.'*

"*The law—on paper—is a fairly liberal compromise between expropriation of all private businesses whose owners have any taint of Nazism, militarism, or war crime and the acquittal of the 'little people' who may have been caught to some extent in the cogs of the Nazi machine, but who cannot be considered directly guilty for the Nazi regime. Two lists are being drawn up, one of businesses recommended for expropriation and the other of concerns to be left to private owners. On June 30 the people of Saxony will be asked to approve these lists. . . .*

"*This Saxon referendum is of great importance politically, for it can be used to point out how effectively 'final de-Nazification' is being achieved in the Soviet zone with popular consent, and this may have considerable influence in the British zone, where there has been considerable criticism—much of it justified—of delay in the de-Nazification of private businesses.*"

The Russians, of course, have an easier job in their zone than we have in ours, for theirs is less highly industrialised, less densely populated and normally produces a surplus of food available for the rest of Germany. But that merely emphasises the fact that any attempt to split Germany into two halves would recoil disastrously on ourselves: it would not rouse any forces of revolt in the Soviet zone, but it would cause large sections of the population in Western Germany to turn actively in favour of union with their brethren in the East. This is admitted by most of the commentators already quoted.

British policy is in fact turning in a vicious circle: on the one hand it tends to divide Germany into two because it is anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. On the other hand the nearer Germany approaches to the point of division the worse economic conditions become in the British zone and the more the population turns on both social and national grounds to Eastern Germany.

British policy under the Labour Government is in fact being driven by anti-Communism into repeating on an international scale the policy of the Right-Wing Social Democrats Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske in Germany after the First World War. They fought the Left-Wing Socialists and Communists in order to preserve capitalist democracy, and in the process became more and more dependent on the German General Staff and German big business. In much the same way the Labour Government are becoming more and more dependent upon American big business and Uncle Sam's mailed fist to keep their end up against the U.S.S.R. and the forces of social revolution in Europe.

The extent to which anti-Communism dominates our policy is brought out by the following despatch from Dusseldorf in the British zone in the *New York Herald Tribune* of 7th June:

"Fear of the German Communist Party haunts the minds of the senior British officials in the British zone today. They are frankly worried about the unpleasant political consequences that would follow if the Communist Party should gain political control of North-Western Germany. This is the most striking impression of the political situation in the British zone that this correspondent gained after a twelve-day tour of that area. . . Anxiety lest the Communists should gain control in the British zone is at the back of many of the policies adopted by the British. It certainly is as big a factor as humanitarian considerations in their recent acute worry about the food situation in their zone. For if food rations had to be reduced and famine should prevail in the area, it would be grist in the Communist mill and would send thousands of voters flocking into the extremist camp. It is also a major motive behind the British opposition to the political separation of the Ruhr and the Rhineland.

"For the detachment of the Ruhr and the Rhineland from the Reich would play into the hands of the German Communists. The latter, who in the Ruhr are led by Max Reimann, an intelligent, capable and pushing man in his forties, have adopted a nationalist line. One of their principal slogans is 'German territorial unity.' . . . Fear of the Communists also explains why the British are supporting so strongly the Social Democratic Party in their zone, which is led by dynamic Kurt Schumacher, who lives at Hanover and has established the party headquarters there for the entire Western area. The

British regard the Social Democrats as the best bulwark they have against a Communist landslide. . . .

"The plain truth is, as some British officials ruefully confessed to me, that the Communists under Russian leadership have a programme, and the other parties have none. Dr. Schumacher, at the Social Democratic Congress at Hanover recently, told his followers that at the present time there was no use in the Socialist leaders trying to put a concrete programme before their followers because there was no earthly chance of it being carried out. But Communists profess to have such a policy, based on the unification of the Socialists and Communists as it was carried out in the Russian zone.

"Although the newly-founded 'Socialist-Unity' party is not recognised as a political party by the British, there is plenty of propaganda in favour of the idea to be seen. Placards of Otto Grotewohl and Wilhelm Pieck, respectively the Socialist and Communist leaders in the Russian zone, shaking hands, are posted on walls and bill-boards everywhere."

The most illuminating general picture of conditions in the British zone is that contained in the *Economist* article of 6th April. Our greatest asset, it says, is our reputation for fairness, devotion and efficiency. Our greatest weakness is the negative character of British rule and its lack of defined political purpose. As applied to de-Nazification this means that, "*many Germans, particularly in the business world and in the conservative circles of the old* Deutsch-national *party,*" who were "*sufficiently influential to co-operate fully with the Nazis without wearing the Party label*" have "*slipped through the net of de-Nazification, and owing to their technical competence, which is undoubtedly great, now occupy positions of decisive influence in the British zone.*" An even graver disadvantage springs "*from the well-known fact that it is impossible to fight something with nothing. De-Nazification has removed one set of men, but it has put nothing in their place. The political parties which offer an alternative philosophy have been ignored. The result of de-Nazification has thus been not so much 're-education' or the 'restoration of democracy' as the creation of a temporary vacuum.*"

The article ascribes this state of affairs to the belief, on the part of the British authorities responsible, in the existence in Germany as in this country of "a sense of widely suffused, almost non-political, democracy, which had been submerged by a gang of Nazi wild men but would come to the surface again once they had been removed. This belief is an error, for in Germany "*there is no broadly diffused sense of non-political democracy. The instinctive reactions of the people are still chauvinistic and anti-democratic. There is no constitutional conservatism except in certain church circles. The business community as a whole worked willingly with the Nazis and would work with any group which by any methods restored German domination. It is no coincidence that the underground organisation led by Axmann and brought to light by the British and American authorities last week planned to finance its activities by establishing a network of relationships with German business firms. There are few technicians and civil servants who are 'unpolitical' in the British sense. The great majority, even if they reject Hitler, accept Bismarck, and would pursue tomorrow with the same serious energy a policy of*

aggrandisement. . . To hope for a German political revival from such forces is to hope for democratic regeneration from those who in 1932 *and under the pressure of the slump, of growing Communism and of the ardently exploited hatred for Versailles, sold out completely and willingly to the Nazi movement. By* 1952 *the Allies' industrial plan will have created economic conditions worse than those in* 1932. *Communism is already growing rapidly in Germany, under compulsion in the east, voluntarily in the west, and the "*Potsdamer Diktat*" makes the Treaty of Versailles look like a pan-German love feast. It is inevitable that under these conditions, the groups which supported the Nazis in* 1932 *will support the neo-Nazis in the far more hopeless conditions of* 1952. *To rely on them is to ensure the defeat of whatever anti-Nazi forces there are in Germany.*

"*Even if the German situation itself did not present the British administration with pressing reasons for altering its non-political approach, the action of Britain's Allies would compel it to do so. There can be no hope of political neutrality and of a restoration of a pre-Nazi society in Germany now, because the Russians are not politically neutral and have in their zone made sweeping social changes. The Russians, by introducing land reform and socialised industry, have given German Communism, through which they work, a marked advantage over the democratic parties, and have partly offset the unpopularity of their occupation. . . . If the opposition to Communism is a mere negative anti-Communism, based on the myth of an 'unpolitical democracy,' there are only two ways in which politics can develop in the British zone. Communism as a positive force may secure the support of the majority of the workers, may disintegrate and destroy social democracy and, by its restless activity and unscrupulous tactics, achieve power. The far more likely alternative is that round a negative, British-sponsored anti-Communism, the same forces will rally which formerly supported Hitler in his anti-bolshevik crusade and from them will emerge in the British zone a new form of national-socialism.*

"*These are not abstract possibilities. They are the burning questions of the next months. The coal crisis in the Ruhr and the food crisis, desperation at the Allies' industrial plan, the possible separation of the Ruhr from the German economy, all these issues will force the growth of extremism in the British zone. At present, the British authorities have no weapons with which either to fight or master this crisis. Unpolitical democracy and the restoration of the pre-Hitler* status quo *do not add up to a policy which can resist for more than a short period the forces of disintegration. The only hope for democracy in the British zone depends upon the abandonment of negative politics and the introduction of a positive approach.*"

Of late there have been some signs of a positive approach. The political vacuum created by our occupation is slowly being refilled.

Separatist and Monarchist movements, says the *Manchester Guardian* of 13th March, are considered to be at work in the South, in Swabia and Bavaria (where they are receiving French support) and in Hanover.

"*The extreme Right of the political scene in the British zone of Germany,*" says the *Manchester Guardian* of 8th April in a despatch from a correspondent in that zone, "*is occupied by the Deutsche*

Aufbau Partei (German Construction Party). But the 'Constructionists' are only the most extreme of a number of Right-wing influences which are beginning to make themselves felt with more confidence in the zone's political life.

"The 'Constructionists,' who include in their programme a demand for an ultimate plebiscite on the monarchy, as yet have only local existence, and of more direct importance in the present stage of political development are the Right-wing influences in the major parties which have been given recognition throughout the zone. . . . It is still impossible to consider German politics without relation to the political intentions of the various occupying Powers, but in Western Germany, at any rate, it is now clear that a definite Right wing is emerging and that this will have to be reckoned with in determining Germany's political future.

"This Right wing is emerging both distinctly, as in the Construction party and in various small local groups, and within the fold of other parties. When the Communists, the Social Democrats, and the Christian Democratic Union were the only parties with any real existence in the British zone unattached Conservative opinion naturally tended towards the Christian Democratic Union. This has influenced the Christian Democratic Union and has turned the party rather strongly towards the Right. . . . There seems to be a growing gap between progressive elements in the Party and the more or less Right wing leadership."

The *Economist* articles already referred to also emphasise the fact that the Christian Democratic Union is more and more being dominated by its Right Wing, which is stuffed with people who were at least collaborationists with regard to the Nazis and whose allegiance to democracy is doubtful. Neither of the accounts quoted, however, mentions the fact that considerable surprise and distress has been caused in Socialist (not to mention Communist) circles in Western Germany at the fact that the monarchist and other extreme Right parties have been licensed by the British occupation authorities and allowed to issue publications, recruit adherents and generally become active.

An even more sinister illustration of the fact that nature abhors a vacuum is contained in the following account written by the *Observer* correspondent from Hamburg on 14th April:

"The first year of Germany's occupation by the Four Powers is drawing to an end. In retrospect, the year looks like the beginning of a tremendous and ominous failure.

"Last spring, after the cease fire, Germany seemed to be only too anxious to shake off National Socialism. The fresh memory of Hitler was being universally and loudly accursed by a sorely tried, frustrated, and deceived people. Nazism seemed to have suffered moral and political shipwreck as well as military defeat.

"What has taken place since can without exaggeration be described as Nazism's gradual moral recovery. Underneath the thin crust of 'democratic' Military Government, Germany is instinctively and rapidly re-educating herself back to National Socialism. In the British zone one constantly hears from anti-Nazi Germans that, if free elections were to be allowed now, 70 or 80 per cent. of the people would vote Nazi."

As was stated at the beginning of this introduction, what is happening in Germany is of a piece with what is happening all over Europe.

The *Observer* correspondent in his Berlin despatch of 7th April says that what is beginning to happen in Germany and the rest of Europe is similar to what has already happened in Greece (where the reader will remember that British intervention, started by Mr. Churchill and continued by the Labour Government, smashed the broadly-based democratic Centre-Left resistance movement and installed a reactionary dictatorship, which is now developing into a Royalist-Fascist terror after a General Election which was a caricature of democracy).

The background for this development in Europe is the struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States, in which this country, even under a Labour Government, is more and more drifting into the position of the "brilliant second" of the United States (much as the Austro-Hungarian Empire was the "brilliant second" of the Kaiser's Germany). It is doing so because as a "well-informed Labour Party source" told the *New York Herald Tribune* (May 29), the Labour Government are planning to unite "*the Social Democrats in Germany and Western Europe for an ideological battle against the Communists of Eastern Europe.*" The Conservative *New York Herald Tribune's* comment on this policy is that "*This would be a new Socialist International, but it would only be one wing—the Left Wing—of a greater predominantly non-Socialist International which is now in the making, an odd alliance which includes groups ranging from the old-line Socialists to the Falange, cutting across national boundaries in a tangled confusion of fears and loyalties.*" This is the cold truth. Labour's anti-Communist policy in Europe is approved by Churchill at home and Franco abroad. It is the delight of our enemies and the despair of our friends in Europe and America alike.

The effect on European reconstruction of the Anglo-American v. Soviet alignment is brought out by the following quotation from the *Economist* of 20th April:

"*The belief, incredible though it is, that the Russians and the British are destined to fight before the year is out is a factor of turbulence and disintegration from one end of the Continent to the other. It prevents economic reconstruction. Why rebuild, if the armies will pass this way tomorrow? It prevents political pacification. Why be conciliatory, if your 'friends' may cross the frontier next week? It polarises the division between Left and Right, between East and West. It tempts the Communists to greater excesses. It rallies an unsavoury advance guard of reactionaries and* déclassés *under the banner of anti-Bolshevism.*"

The effect of the Anglo-American v. U.S.S.R. contest on the business of winning the peace after the Second World War is summed up as follows by Walter Lippman, one of the shrewdest and best informed and most friendly to this country of American political observers. After visiting the most important European capitals he wrote as follows in the *New York Herald Tribune* on 4th May:

"*The most important conclusion I have to report is, I am sure, indisputable. It is that all European Governments, all parties, and all leading men are acting as if there would be another world war. There*

are some who dread it, some who want it, some who think it inevitable, some who think it can be averted. But with no exceptions among those who really form policy in Europe . . . the ultimate and determining calculation is that there may be another war, and that they must act as if there were going to be another war. As a result there is not only no peace; the business of making peace has not even begun."

After visiting the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers he wrote on 11th May that the universal belief that the Russians and the Anglo-Americans were destined to clash, or at least might clash, was "*the determining element in the conclusions of all the Governments and of every political party, and it is the underlying reason why practically every issue turns out to be insoluble.*"

As Mr. Bevin has declared, this country cannot long afford to pay £80,000,000 per annum to feed the population in our zone of Germany. Nor can we keep troops there indefinitely. The German population in Western Germany cannot for a long time, if ever, be made economically solvent, able to feed themselves and pay their way, if they are separated from Eastern Germany.

American agriculture, which was stimulated to record levels of production by the Government during the war in order to feed the Allies, has gone back to capitalism and free enterprise. It is already feeding grain to animals on a huge scale. To cut down the consumption by stock to the pre-war level would release enough food to solve the problem of famine. This is during the American replacement boom. When the next slump descends on American capitalism grain will no longer be fed to animals but will be burnt or ploughed into the soil, even though the world shortage may still continue. Normally the Eastern half of Europe produces the surplus of grain necessary to make up most of the deficiency of the Western half. The Eastern half, thanks to the U.S.S.R. and Socialist economies, is capable of increasing its production to meet the needs of Western Europe and to buy in exchange the manufactured goods of the west.

This is to say that our zone in Germany will cease to be an intolerable drain on our financial and economic resources only when we agree with the Russians and the French on a policy for uniting Germany and reviving the industrial production of Germany up to and ultimately beyond the Potsdam Conference level. This we can only do if we can agree with the Russians on what kind of Germany we wish to build, or rather allow to emerge.

The problem is soluble only if the Labour Government applies the Labour Party's foreign policy. For in the Report on "*The International Post-War Settlement*" framed by the National Executive Committee and adopted by the Annual Conference in December, 1944, it is stated that "Socialism is a fundamental necessity" for the attainment of our international aims and in particular in order to put an end to "unemployment, poverty and all forms of economic distress" in Europe, to achieve "social security, full employment and a high and rising standard of living," to destroy "Fascism and all forms of political slavery" and in order to "promote the spread of freedom and political democracy."

If the Labour Government really believes in the Labour Party's own Socialist foreign policy the road is open to an agreement between our-

selves and the Russians and the French for supporting co-operation throughout Europe of the Socialists, Communists and their political allies in basing European reconstruction on a bold advance to Socialism. The U.S.A. would accept our joint lead in European affairs, provided it enabled them to withdraw their troops, afforded them reasonable economic opportunities, and brought unity and peace to Europe.

Moreover, Labour policy is right in declaring that only economic reconstruction on Socialist lines can create conditions in which democracy and political freedom will revive in Europe. "*The problem of the Twentieth Century*," said Mr. Harold MacMillan in the House of Commons on May 20th, "*is how to create economic democracy parallel with the political democracy that has reached its full estate.*" That is the problem in this country, the Dominions, the U.S.A., and Western Europe. But in most of the world, including the greater part of Europe, the problem is how to establish both political and economic democracy simultaneously, where neither existed before, in one single comprehensive operation. The Government Parties are allies, not enemies, in that job.

To regard Western Democracy and Communism as irreconcilable enemies, writes the *Times* on March 6th, is an assumption of despair. There are many forms of government intermediate between the two, and some of them are better suited than our own to Central and Eastern Europe. Communism and Western democracy have much to learn from each other, and the differences between them will not be settled by contests of oratory or clashes of arms, but by the success of the great nations in solving their social and economic problems. In saying all this, the *Times* gave a wise and sane lead to British public opinion. Our policy should be co-operation with the U.S.S.R. and with all parties that stand for socialist reconstruction in Europe.

As applied to Germany that policy would lead to our making sure in our zone and using joint Anglo-Soviet-French action to persuade our American friends to do likewise in their zone, that neither Socialists nor anyone else were victimised or subjected to pressure or intimidation, but that the very great influence of the Allied occupation authorities was thrown on the side of encouraging Socialist-Communist coalitions and giving them a free hand to carry out their programme of Socialist reconstruction.

It is folly and worse to imagine that the Social Democratic parties in Western Germany can carry out Socialist reconstruction alone, propped up by Allied bayonets against the majority of the population, in pursuance of an Allied policy of "disbing the Communists" and opposing the spread of Soviet influence. In the words of the *Observer* (April 7) Hamburg correspondent:

"*The 'New Weimar,' hatched out under the protective wings of Allied Military Governments, would fizzle out as miserably as, if not more than, the old Weimar did, and would give place to some new nationalist and militarist dictatorship.*"

We Labour folk must beware of confusing international Socialism with exporting the Transport House brand of British insularity. In this country we are fortunate: we have perhaps the most highly developed democracy in the world, a democracy which really works. We have a Labour Party that represents the overwhelming mass of the

workers, so that it can obtain power single-handed and use it for carrying out our programme of Socialist reconstruction. Therefore, complete working-class unity can only be obtained in and through the Labour Party, and the Labour Party has the right to lay down the conditions on which it is prepared to admit Communists, Common Wealthers, I.L.P'ers, or anyone else into its ranks (which does not exclude differences of opinion inside the Labour Party as to the wisest way of exercising that right).

On the Continent in general, and in Germany in particular, the situation is wholly different from what it is here: Democracy has been destroyed by Fascism and the working-class is so deeply divided that there is no hope of the Left holding its own against reaction, let alone gaining power for Socialist reconstruction, unless Communists and Socialists co-operate. Even Leon Blum, who represents the older generation and the Right Wing of French Social Democracy, warned the Annual Conference of the Labour Party of that fact.

In conclusion, let me ask the readers of this pamphlet to ponder over the following words from a group of German anti-Nazis, all former political prisoners from Concentration Camps, who were conscripted by the Nazis and are still being kept by the Labour Government in a Prisoner-of-War Camp in Egypt:

"*We feel uneasy at the continual statements that a struggle between Communism and Social Democracy is to be the future political outlook. Such ideas are childish. We are about* 800 *prisoners-of-war in Egypt who are all former political prisoners. We participated in the ideological underground battle against Nazism. The opinion among all of us is strong that only a united working class would be in the position to achieve a really democratic Government and to avoid any further German aggression.*

"*If German anti-Fascists were unwilling to learn their lessons from the past it would be a great disaster for the future of Germany and for the peace-loving nations too. No one should forget* 1918 *and* 1933. . . .

"*We think it the most sensible course to maintain the unity we found in concentration camps, gaols and prisons, and which we achieved in a lasting way as prisoners of war. Neither the British Labour Party nor the Russian Communist Party need fear a united working class in Germany. On the contrary we might be a bridge to prevent further misunderstanding. We think it could be one means of creating a united Socialist Europe as the first step towards the brotherhood of man in the whole world.*" ("New Statesman and Nation," June 15).

THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

CHAPTER I

Rebirth of the German Labour Movement

BEFORE Professor Laski was entirely preoccupied with the search for secret Communist battalions he made some wise statements on workers' unity. In 1943 he wrote that if the fratricidal strife between Socialists and Communists "*which did so much to wreck the Labour Movements of Germany and Italy continues when the war ends, the result of the war for freedom may well be the achievement only of a more bitter slavery.*" (1). There is no honest member of the Labour Movement who would not agree with these observations.

DANGER SIGNALS

The forces of slavery are still very much alive today, one year after the war. In Germany, Fascists and reactionaries are trying everything to regain their influence and power. The Nazi underground is far from crushed. Only recently the American military authorities discovered a terrorist organisation of the former Hitler youth with widespread ramifications all over the American and British zones. A British court at Lueneburg had to deal with a group of so-called "Edelweiss pirates" who were planning sabotage. The Bavarian Minister-President Hoegner has disclosed that a secret army of Nazi desperadoes and S.S. men was operating from mountain hide-outs. A list marking down 400 German officials for assassination has been discovered. In the Rhineland and North-Western Germany, meetings of democratic parties have been broken up by gangs of Nazi youth.

At the same time many former backers of the Nazi regime from big industry have retained their directorships or even got into some of the new administrative bodies set up by Allied authorities, for example:

HERMANN BUECHER, one of the prominent financial magnates of Hitler Germany and former head of the German Electric Company (A.E.G.) in Berlin. He is building up new headquarters in Hamburg with other industrialists and bankers and is establishing new connections.
ABRAHAM FROWEIN, member of the Board of the German Synthetic Silk Trust (Vereinigte Glanzstoff) who was an active supporter of the Nazis and an adviser on their economic and war policy. He is a member of the Rhenish Provincial Assembly and is now President of the Economic Advisory Board set up by British Military Government.
PFERDMENGES, a former Cologne banker, a director of the A.E.G. and one of the heads of the big Klöckner Mining and Steel Concern. He was characterised by a U.S.A. Treasury Department Investigator as "one of the secret heads of the vast Nazi financial and war machine." He is now a member of the Rhenish Provincial Assembly.

This list could be continued. The delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which visited Germany in February, 1946, reported: "*It was charged and established that Nazis dismissed from particular posts are re-employed in important positions elsewhere in the same zone or in another zone. . . . The number of Nazis and Nazi*

supporters who remain in important and influential positions in the management of German industry demonstrates that expediency has in far too many cases annulled correct policy. . . ." (2)

In some parts of Germany monarchist and nationalist parties have been organised already. Reactionaries and former Nazis are trying to infiltrate into the democratic parties and to disguise their true intentions of a quick come back by paying lip service to "western democracy" and "western civilisation." They find a willing ear among all those who still live in the past and who put the blame for all the present misery not on Hitler and his gang but on the Allies and the German anti-Fascists. A radio commentator at Munich described the atmosphere in Bavaria as follows: "*Many people have not overcome certain National-Socialist racial ideas. The lesson of a collapse of unprecedented magnitude was insufficient to free them from their nationalist and overbearing attitude. The opposition between town and country, at a time when the two should have been intimately co-operating, has become increasingly acute; and short-sighted 'local patriotism' is in full swing. The resettler problem is often met with a lack of understanding liable to lead to serious complications. Lack of human solidarity is a dangerous phenomenon in a country where it is of the utmost importance.*" (3). In such a climate the germs of Fascism can thrive.

These are alarming danger signals. Is Germany again going to be an instrument of the dark forces of slavery, oppression and aggression, as happened after 1918? Or is it this time to be transformed into a truly democratic and peaceful country?

Where do we get an answer to these vital questions? The World Trade Union Delegation states in its report: "*It is to the Labour Movement and to the organised workers of Germany that we must look for the democratic regeneration of the German nation. They represent one of the most reliable anti-Fascist forces in Germany, and it is upon this foundation only that a new Germany can be built. . . .*" (4).

But have the German workers learned the lessons of history? Have they ended their fratricidal strife which, as Professor Laski correctly remarks, wrecked the Labour Movement of Germany? Have they followed Laski's advice in order to safeguard freedom?

GERMAN WORKERS ACT

Since the downfall of the Third Reich great changes have taken place in Germany. One of these changes, the most important of them all, is undoubtedly the rebirth of the German Labour Movement. After 12 years of oppression it has come into being again, a young but rapidly growing force, full of new ideas, of energy and enthusiasm and with many new leaders, to replace a very large number of former leaders who were killed by the Gestapo.

Where they find full and free expression (and this is unfortunately not yet the case in all zones of Germany) these new ideas and the new forms of organisation show themselves vigorously. Take the Trade Union Movement.

In the past, before 1933, they lacked a united trade union organisation, but instead were divided according to political opinions into four separate bodies. There were the *Free Trade Unions* which had existed since 1875 and were the strongest movement. In 1930

they had a membership of nearly five millions. They had played a big part, especially in their early period, in organising the German workers and educating them in class consciousness. But later they came more and more under the influence of permanent officials. This bureaucracy which was opposed to a fighting Trade Union movement followed a policy of close collaboration with the employers, and took more and more measures against democracy in the movement. In the inter-war period this policy led to a growing opposition within the different unions and the expulsion of whole trade unions. These militant trade unionists formed the *Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition* (RGO). Then there were the so-called *Hirsch-Duncker-Unions*, which had been formed in 1868 as appendage of the Progressive People's Party and whose purpose was to fight the socialist labour movement. In 1891 a *Christian Trade Union Movement* was formed, also with the purpose of fighting the socialist influence in the working class. These Christian Trade Unions first supported the monarchy of Wilhelm II; later, during the Weimar Republic, they were under the influence of the Catholic Centre Party, whose leaders, like the Chancellor Brüning, did so much to destroy the Republic. The Christian Trade Unions were especially strong in Western Germany.

The split of the Trade Union Movement into four different political sections was one of the causes of the weakness of the German working class when Hitler came to power. During the Nazi regime, trade unionists who continued the fight against Fascism and its war preparations became resolved to rebuild the Trade Union movement as one united movement, once Nazism had been defeated. This took place as soon as the Allies allowed the formation of trade unions. The *Free German Trade Union Association (FDGB)* was formed in Berlin. In it the former members and many leaders of the Free Trade Unions, the Hirsch-Duncker Unions, the Christians as well as the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition are working together.

This has had tremendous effect on the growth and influence of the Unions. In the Russian zone, where they have been able to operate freely since June, 1945, they held their first zonal conference on February 11th, where delegates represented a membership of nearly two millions. In the meantime at least 600,000 more workers have filled in their membership cards. In this zone the trade unions have been given a leading part in denazification, the planning of production, the management of factories, as well as the safeguarding of workers' interests. The movement is still in its infancy in the other zones, where authorisation to function was given much later, and where there are still many local differences. In the British zone, membership was approximately 500,000 at the end of April, in the American, 600,000. The French zone has about 163 local branches of different unions, with a membership of 130,000.

The important fact is that all over Germany, in spite of local and zonal differences, the Trade Union movement has overcome the old political divisions and is growing up as one united movement.

ONE PARTY

This united trade union movement will undoubtedly help the German workers to achieve better working and social conditions. It will also enable them to become the leading force in the rebuilding of German economy on new lines.

There has been a historic step forward in the political set up of the German working class, too. At the beginning of April the Social Democratic parties and the Communist parties of Saxony, Thuringia, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Vorpommern and Berlin, that is the Russian zone of occupation, where over 20 million Germans live, decided at their conferences to merge into one single party—the Socialist Unity Party. Then after the formation of this party in the provinces and in Berlin, an all-German Congress of the Social Democratic Party on the 19th and 20th of April and a Congress of the Communist Party at the same time decided to unite both parties. Two days later, a joint Congress was held which proclaimed the formation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Details of the delegates present at these Congresses are worth noting.

At the Congress of the *Social Democratic Party* (*SPD*), 445 delegates came from the Russian zone representing 681,500 members, and 103 delegates came from Western and Southern Germany.

At the Congress of the *Communist Party* (*KPD*) 380 delegates came from the Russian zone representing 511,000 members, and 127 delegates came from Western and Southern Germany representing 160,000 members (104,000 in the British zone and 56,000 in the American zone).

There were therefore at the joint Congress—the first of the *Socialist Unity Party* (*SED*)—1,055 delegates (825 from the Russian and 230 from the other zones). They represented, *if we take the Russian zone alone*, a membership of 1,192,500 members.

From its inception this new party was the strongest in Germany. And this if we take the membership in one zone only. In the British, American and French zones special circumstances exist which at the moment still retard the development of the new party and which will be described later.

A HISTORICAL NECESSITY

In one part of Germany, as we see, Socialists and Communists have come to the same conclusion as Professor Laski some years ago. They have joined hands. Their fratricidal strife has ended. They have created a solid foundation for the achievement of Socialism.

Into the post-war German political scene has entered a force which is more significant than the mere numerical aggregate of the two parties. Ultimately, it means that in the fight between democracy and reaction in Germany the balance has definitely been struck in favour of democracy, provided this new party can organise itself and grow freely in all parts of Germany.

But how was its formation received? Opposition has naturally come from all the former backers and supporters of Hitlerism: all those unteachable believers in Germany's mission to dominate the world. Violent outbursts came from the Berlin newspaper "Der Tagesspiegel," around which many newly-baked democrats have rallied and which systematically attacks every reconstruction measure of the German anti-Fascists. Unfortunately, however, even a group of former social democratic functionaries, which wields influence in Western and Southern Germany, joined in these attacks against the new party of unity. Under the leadership of Dr. Karl Schumacher, of Hanover, a former deputy of the Reichstag, and Karl Severing, a former Prussian

Minister of the Interior, they oppose the Socialist Unity Party as a "communist machination" and a "Russian creation."

In Great Britain the fusion of the German workers' parties has been welcomed by a group of 28 Labour M.P.s and many leading trade unionists, who sent a message of greeting to the Congress of the SPD, in which they said: "*We believe that socialist reconstruction can be carried out in post-war Europe only through the close co-operation and unity of Socialists and Communists, and we fervently hope that your Congress will carry the movement for unity a long stage further.*" (5) But with one noticeable exception—the "Daily Worker"—the British Press, including the "Daily Herald," received the party merger unfavourably. They described it as a "Gleichschaltung as drastic as any devised by the Nazis" in which the SPD has passed under the control of the Communists. Or they simply declared that German Socialists had voted for unity as a result of Russian bribes and pressure.

The attitude of the Conservative Press causes no surprise, because no one expects it to be in favour of workers' unity. But the opposition of the Labour Party and a large section of its Parliamentary Party, and the support they give to opponents of unity like Schumacher, is rather a different matter. It is surprising and painful for those hundreds of thousands of workers in Germany who today are trying to build a new country. In the words of Georgi Dimitroff, the hero of the Leipzig Trial, they are deeply convinced "*that the fusion of the Communists and Social Democrats today, after the bitter lessons of the war, into one united party of the working class, which is a decisive factor of true democracy, is a historical necessity.*" (6)

It is so simple to describe historic events as the work of some hidden hand—and yet such nonsense! How easy it is to declare that the Socialist Unity Party is an artificial structure built up by outside pressure or that it is the continuation of Nazi totalitarian methods. But how far from the truth!

In fact the fusion of German Socialists and Communists into one united movement is the logical outcome of a historical process which was marked during many decades by fundamental differences between the two workers' parties and by the consequent paralysis of the Labour movement. An understanding of the significance which the Socialist Unity Party has for the building of a new Germany and for security and peace in Europe, can therefore be reached only through a study of the history of the German Socialist Labour Movement. In this pamphlet this must necessarily be limited to the main facts.

We shall try to show that the Socialist Unity Party can claim to be a true successor of the once proud and mighty German Socialist Movement. It can claim to have ended a split which lasted for 30 years. And it can claim to have drawn the necessary lessons from the terrible experiences of the past years.

CHAPTER II

Lessons From History

DURING the fifties of last century German industry, heavy industry in particular, grew rapidly. But economic development was hindered by the fact that Germany was not yet a National State. The revolution of 1848 had neither brought national unification, nor had it opened the way for democracy. Frightened by the appearance of the working class on the European and German scene, the bourgeoisie had submitted to the Prussian Junkers who, after they had defeated the revolutionaries, established a reactionary regime. The workers, as far as they were organised at all, were still under the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie.

LASSALLEANS AND EISENACHIANS

At that time a lawyer, Ferdinand Lassalle, began to campaign for an independent political party of the workers. This party was formed in 1863 under the name of General Association of German Workers. Lassalle had the idea that Socialism could be realised with the help of producers co-operatives and State credits. These credits he hoped to get from the reactionary Prussian state, which was then under the chancellorship of Bismarck. So Lassalle negotiated with Bismarck and promised help in the carrying out of the main task Bismarck had set himself, national unification.

Many workers in Central and Southern Germany were opposed to the policy of Lassalle and of those who followed after his death. They were organised in Workers' Educational Associations under the guidance of the bourgeois Progressive Party.

In 1869 they separated from the Progressives, and at Eisenach formed the German Social Democratic Workers' Party. Its leaders were August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, both in close contact with Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific Socialism who were then living in London. The Eisenachians, as they were called, followed in German politics the way proposed by Marx, that of strong opposition to Bismarck and Prussian absolutism. They supported the view that German unity should be achieved by a democratic revolution, led by the workers, which would result in an all-German Republic and in advance to Socialism.

At the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war the Lassalleans voted for war credits, while the Eisenachians refused to join in the general chauvinist chorus and to support the Prussian Government and its annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Later, when Prussia was waging an openly aggressive and predatory war against France, both parties refused the war credits.

Relations between the two were strained during many years. Bebel has described the fight between them as embittered. Sometimes it even led to brawls. Both parties made big efforts to win more supporters.

For almost ten years they used their strength, money and time in a mutual struggle—"to the joy of our enemies," as Bebel wrote.

As the German people did not have the necessary strength and the workers were divided, national unification finally came about not as the result of the action of the progressive forces. It was not established on a democratic foundation, but under the command of the Junkers and militarists who took over the leadership of Germany. "*The newly developing German bourgeoisie agreed with the big feudal landowners on securing reactionary Prussian traditions in the civil service and the army and on the most suitable methods to hold down the workers and the people.*" (1)

A UNITED PARTY

The question which had been most disputed between the two workers' parties had been solved. New possibilities and new tasks arose. The unification of both parties became possible and was achieved at the Unification Congress at Gotha in 1875. The Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was born. The programme adopted was, however, a bad compromise. It was an eclectic mixture of various theories, and contained numerous ideas of Lassalle. Marx attacked it strongly in his famous "Critic of the Gotha Programme." He thought the Eisenachians had made too many concessions, which constituted a grave danger to the new party and would finally strengthen sectarianism as well as petty bourgeois influences.

Lassalleanism was really a Nationalist influence in the working class, subordinating it to the policies of the Prussian State, permeating it with the idea that the workers would gain by supporting the monarchy of Wilhelm I. After unification this remained a danger which, as later events showed, was not overcome by the other tendency, that of Marxism, of scientific Socialism. As one recent book on German history says: "*The democratic and revolutionary tactics of Bebel and Liebknecht against nationalism and their hostility to the unification of Germany 'from above' created an initially firm foundation for the Social Democratic Party, whilst Lassalle's 'flirtations with Bismarckism' proved in the long run an evil heritage of the German Labour Movement.*" (2)

In the Reichstag elections of 1874 both parties had won a total of 351,670 votes. The united party grew even more rapidly and strongly. Its leaders, like Bebel and Liebknecht, were very popular. It was the only party seriously opposing the Junker Government. Then Bismarck intervened. He was a typical Prussian Junker and hated the Socialist Movement with all his heart. In 1878 he issued his "Socialist Law." It was a severe blow to the young party. It was robbed of all political rights, its organisations were dissolved, newspapers closed down, its leading members imprisoned or banished from the country.

The party, which had adapted itself to the new conditions and worked underground, had to be directed from abroad and to smuggle its literature from Switzerland or Great Britain into Germany.

During the duration of the "Socialist Law" in spite of all persecution the influence of the party grew. The trade union membership also was on the increase. Finally, in September, 1890, the Government was

forced to withdraw this law which had strangled the Labour Movement for so long.

At the Reichstag elections of February, 1890, the party won 1,400,000 votes, nearly 20 per cent. of all votes cast. After the repeal of the "Socialist Law" it reconstituted itself and in 1891 adopted a new programme, the so-called Erfurt Programme. Under the leadership of Bebel there followed a very rapid expansion of the party and the movement as a whole, which the anti-Labour policies of the Kaiser and the repressive measures of the police and courts against strikers could not stop. The membership of the party rose from:

384,000 in 1906
to 720,000 in 1910
and to 1,086,000 in 1914

In 1914 the number of subscribers to the Party Press was 1,488,000. At the General Elections in 1912 the party received 4,250,000 votes, i.e. 35 per cent. of the total. Thus it won 110 seats in the Reichstag (30 per cent. of the total).

The membership of the Free Trade Unions under the influence of the SPD rose, too, from 200,000 in 1890 organised in 62 centralised organisations, to 2,075,000 in 1914 organised in 48 centralised organisations and 11,000 local branches. The Co-operative Movement had 1,730,000 members in 1914 belonging to 1,149 local or district Co-operatives. Then there were educational and other organisations of the workers with a large membership. The party had a large number of newspapers and other publications. This was undoubtedly a big achievement. And the German working class was proud of it.

The old pre-1914 Social Democratic Party had great merits. It was a model of organisation and strength for the Socialists of all countries. For a long time it was the leading section in the Second International.

Many veterans of the German Labour movement, who grew up with this old party, to-day recognise that the Socialist Unity Party, firmly rooted in scientific Socialism, upholds the great tradition. They have therefore given wholehearted support. The fusion Congress of the Berlin SPD and KPD was greeted by 82-years-old Eugen Ernst, who was a member of the SPD at the time of Bismarck's Socialist Law. He said: "*In my youth the working class was united and united it stood against the reactionary attacks, the prohibitions, persecutions and disciplinary measures of the Government of Bismarck. This fight strengthened it and led to great successes. Today I call you not to the fight, but to peace amongst you, to unity. Only when you are united will you be able to build your house so firmly that reaction will not enter through the back door.*" (3).

Other old workers' leaders who support the SED are 96-years-old Georg Ledebour, who entered the movement at the end of the eighties and was twice a member of the Reichstag; Theodor Leipart, the Citrine of the German Trade Unions; Schöpflin of Weimar, a former editor of the Social Democratic Party Paper "Vorwärts" and member of the Reichstag, as well as many others. Wilhelm Pieck, the Chairman of the SED, was one of the most active members of the German Labour

Movement before 1914. It is no exaggeration to say that the party is inheriting all good qualities of the once united movement.

THE ROT SETS IN

With the help of the mass organisations the German workers possessed before 1914, Germany could have been made into a progressive country. In Parliament and outside, Social Democracy fought against the warmongers like Krupp and against their grip on German foreign policy and the State administration. It fought against Prussian militarism, which used the army against the workers and prepared for war. It fought for the rights of the working class in many large scale strikes, and for universal suffrage.

But its programme contained many illusions as to how Socialism could be achieved. Engels criticised the Erfurt Programme of 1891 because it did not put as the first task to break the chains of the semi-absolutist order and to establish a democratic Republic which would concentrate all the political power in the hands of the people's representatives and lead to the democratic reconstitution of Germany. The fight for the democratic Republic, he thought, would lead the working class forward to the establishment of its political power. It was necessary to fight for universal suffrage, but it was an illusion that the Monarchy would be defeated only by the voting slip and a Socialist majority in Parliament. "*The extraordinary sharpening of the political struggles in Germany taught that an enemy as brutal as the Allied Junker Monopolist Reaction could only be defeated by the completion of the democratic Revolution. The weakness of the fast growing German Labour Movement consisted in its lack of clarity as to the way to power.*" (4). Which way to power? Through reform or through revolution?

Petty-bourgeois influences were rampant in the party. They had shown themselves already in the crises during and shortly after the Socialist Law when efforts had been made to lead the party away from a Socialist policy based on Marxist principles and to a large extent influenced by Marx and Engels. Then, after the death of Engels, Eduard Bernstein published a number of articles which later appeared as a book under the title: "The Pre-requisites of Socialism and the tasks of Social Democracy." In this he proposed a complete revision of Marxism. He, in fact, replaced the theory that Socialism could only be achieved by the working class if it took power into its own hands, by the theory that it was possible that the capitalist system would grow into Socialism. Bernstein and his followers had come to the conclusion that capitalism in its monopolist stage, having overcome its crises, had become peaceful. Now it would be possible for the working class to gain all it wanted through social reforms.

This tendency was a direct reflection of the existence within the party and the trade unions of an upper stratum of officials whose outlook was opposed to Socialism and who wanted to adapt themselves to German Imperialism.

Bebel and other leaders as well as the majority of the membership refused to make their party one of social reform only. Bebel spoke against the "Reformists," as the adherents of Bernstein were called, at the Party Congresses of 1899 and 1903. But this never really led to a

separation from them. In the name of the unity of the party, Karl Kautsky, another famous Socialist leader, and others made many concessions in practice to the Bernstein Group and often declared that differences were exaggerated.

There was a third group, represented by Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and others, who saw clearly the dangers of the spreading of Bernstein's influence and who also opposed the indecision of Bebel. They recognised that it was necessary to fight for reforms, but that it was impossible to overthrow the militarist and Imperialist Government of the Kaiser in this way. To follow a policy only of reforms would lead more and more to collaboration with the capitalists and the Imperial Government. But this left wing, which was the most Marxist part of the German Social Democratic Party following the line of revolutionary class struggle, refused, too, to draw the conclusion which was vital in the years before 1914: to cleanse the party of the petty-bourgeois influences and consequently to make it a Marxist Party as the Bolsheviks had done in Russia.

Events in 1914 showed clearly that the reformists had gained the dominating organisational and ideological influence in the party. Many party officials and trade union leaders had come to regard the party as a loyal parliamentary opposition of the Kaiser whose task it was to work for social reform within the framework of capitalism. And this in face of an increasingly aggressive Imperialism which since the beginning of the new century was rattling sabres and clamouring for colonies, new markets, a "place in the sun."

WORLD WAR AND REVOLUTION

By their aggressive policy the rulers of imperial Germany had provoked the war. What would German Social Democracy do? Would it adhere to the decision of its Chemnitz Congress in 1912 that all party members should fight Imperialism until it was beaten? That was the question which everyone in the international Labour Movement asked.

The organisations of the German working class showed themselves incapable of understanding their historic responsibility. On 4th August, 1914, the Parliamentary fraction supported the war as being a war of self defence against "Russian Despotism" and voted for military credits. Only one deputy, Karl Liebknecht, who had already opposed the voting within the Parliamentary fraction, finally in December, 1914, voted against the credits.

A split had developed which had been prepared for over a long period by the turning away of the larger part of the leadership from the principles of Marxism. On the one side there was the official leadership (Ebert, Scheidemann, etc.) and the majority of the party who supported the war and agreed on the "Burgfrieden"—that is, a policy of no labour struggles and of close collaboration with the warmongers. On the other side there was a relatively small minority of Socialists like Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Franz Mehring, Wilhelm Pieck, who remained faithful to Marxism and to the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses at Stuttgart (1907) and Basle (1912). These pledged the

Socialist Parties in the event of an unjust war " to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule." Their slogan was, no class peace (Burgfrieden) but class struggle against the war.

The support of the war by the majority led not only to a split within the leadership but increasingly to a complete rift in the German Labour Movement. The opposition was expelled from the Parliamentary faction, newspapers of the opposition were banned, opposition functionaries were denounced to the military authorities. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who led the struggle of the minority, were soon persecuted, the one by being called up although an M.P., the other by being imprisoned. But even as a soldier Liebknecht continued to publish leaflets and propaganda material against the war and to organise the opposition. One of these leaflets—in May, 1915—contained the famous phrase: the main enemy is in our own country. Wilhelm Pieck, one of the left wing organisers, was arrested in May, 1915.

From January, 1916, onwards, the anti-war activities of this revolutionary minority were centred around the " Spartacus League " and its publications. Karl Liebknecht was arrested during an anti-war demonstration on the 1st of May, 1916, and condemned to 4 years and 1 month's imprisonment with hard labour. But in the spring, 1916, a number of hunger demonstrations and strikes showed that the masses were turning against the Government and the war. When 55,000 Berlin munition workers went on strike they were threatened with hard labour and conscription. Mass arrests of members of the Spartacus League took place and many of the strikers were sent to the most dangerous parts of the front. The official party supported these moves against the revolutionary elements. Even within the Parliamentary fraction, however, this continuous support of the war and the Imperial Government caused growing opposition. From March, 1916, onwards the party leadership expelled not only members of the Reichstag who had voted against military credits but whole local opposition groups. Thus the necessity for an Independent Social Democratic Party arose, which was formed in April, 1917, at Gotha, under the leadership of Hugo Haase and Georg Ledebour, and to which the Spartacus League adhered. The party united a large part of the workers who were opposed to the imperialist war and the Ebert-Scheidemann pro-war policy.

From 1917 onwards, under the influence of the Russian Revolution, of semi-starvation and the obvious imperialist character of the war, a mass movement developed, with large strikes in munition factories and many demonstrations in the big towns. Shop stewards' committees were formed in the factories. The Government introduced martial law against civilians and used it on a mass scale against the workers. The Russian October Revolution led to fraternisation on the Eastern Front and a revolutionary spirit among the soldiers.

This mass movement caused a change in the policy of the leaders of the SPD and the other Government parties. In order to stop a further turn to the left they demanded (in March, 1918) democratic rights for the whole of Germany, including a democratic franchise for the Prussian Diet. The Progressives and the Catholic Centre supported the Social Democratic proposal. These promises were not realised, however, until revolution had broken out. A conference of the Spartacus League and

Left Wing Radicals of the Independent Social Democratic Party was held in October, 1918, where they demanded a united Social German Republic.

At the beginning of October a Parliamentary Government was formed under Prince Max von Baden, a nephew of the Kaiser. Scheidemann, Bauer and other right wing Social Democrats joined this Government, whose task it was to save the monarchy and to pacify the masses. As victory was now out of the question the Kaiser left the task of concluding peace to this Government. At the end of October the fronts collapsed. Ludendorff, practically the ruler of Germany, fled to Sweden. Liebknecht was freed from imprisonment. The sailors refused to execute an order of the Admiralty and revolted. The Government still thought it was an isolated mutiny and sent the Social Democrat Noske to restore order. But Revolution had broken out and it spread like wildfire through Germany.

On November 9th the German Republic was proclaimed, much against the will of the right wing leaders, like Ebert.

The defeat of Germany had not been caused as the militarists and reactionaries later pretended, by the "stab in the back," as they called the Revolution. It had already become inevitable when the provocative policy of its imperialist rulers united against Germany all the big powers. Four years of bloodshed had exhausted all reserves and all the strength of the people. But the majority of the German people did not free themselves in time from the fetters of official war propaganda. The Revolution broke out only after the military collapse of the fronts had become obvious. Again this is due to the weakness of the progressive forces in Germany, specially the working class.

The Revolution found the German working class split into three parts: the official Social Democratic Party which was collaborating with the High Command, the Independent Social Democratic Party which entered the Ebert Administration after the Republic had been proclaimed, and the Spartacus League, from which, at the end of December, 1918, the Communist Party of Germany was formed.

The fact that the left wing elements had hesitated so long to form a truly revolutionary party meant that at the moment of the breakdown of the imperial war machine and of the monarchy there was no party which, as in Russia, was able to lead the working class to victory over Imperialism and to the establishment of the workers' power. Only a small section of the working class understood that the policy of Ebert and Scheidemann would lead the Revolution to its downfall. They supported the foundation of the Communist Party. This party itself made some serious political mistakes at its first Congress when it refused to participate in the elections to the National Assembly and showed a negative attitude towards the trade unions and the peasantry.

It was therefore easy for the right wing Social Democrats in agreement with the Generals to begin a merciless struggle against the Communists and the revolutionary workers. On January 15th, 1919, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by officers of the white guards which the Social Democratic Government had called to Berlin, while thousands of Berlin workers were shot in the street battles and by the counter-revolutionary troops. These struggles led to a deepening of the rift within the Labour Movement, to mutual hatred and bloody fratricidal strife.

THE FAULTS OF 1918

During the preparations for the present merger, Socialists and Communists in Germany have had many discussions about the lessons of 1918, and it can be said that they have agreed, although prior to 1933 agreement on this question was very rare. What was wrong with the November Revolution? Why was it possible for reaction, after only a short break, to be able to regain its power and to provoke another World War? What must be done to avoid the mistakes made in 1918?

The November Revolution removed the monarchy and some remnants of feudalism. A number of important democratic rights and liberties were won, such as a shop stewards' law and women's suffrage. There was a real mass movement which could have finished reactionary power and militarism in Germany once and for all. If the German people had understood the lesson of the war: that imperialist robbery means national misfortune, it would have put the war criminals before a tribunal, it would have expropriated the armament industrialists, bankers, big landowners and destroyed all vestiges of militarism.

What happened instead?

The Revolution led only to a change in the form of Government, not to a fundamental upheaval. The Generals were not imprisoned, the war criminals not called to account. Some of the new Republican ministers even made an alliance with the reactionary militarists. Hindenburg was left in command of the Army. General Groener, one of the imperial Generals, became a close adviser of Ebert, the President of the German Republic. The revolutionary movements in Berlin and Central Germany were defeated by reactionary "Free Corps" (White Guards) which had been formed at the order of the Social Democratic Government. Nothing was done against the war criminals, even the economic power of the military caste was not touched. There was no agrarian reform. Later the princes even got millions in subsidies. The big estates of the Junkers became training grounds for terrorist organisations which murdered Republican leaders and revolutionary workers. Out of these bands the Nazi stormtroopers and black guards were later recruited, while the small army of 100,000 left to Germany and which was kept quite free of any men with progressive leanings, began early to prepare for rearmament and a new war.

The November Revolution not only did the militarists no harm, but it also left German Imperialism untouched. Krupp, Röchling, Vögler and the other big industrialists were not disowned. In order to save their property they had professed their loyalty to the new regime. The Free Trade Unions even made an agreement with the leading organisations of the industrialists instead of banning them. This working-committee was recognised by the Government and thus the monopolist organisations were given a place in the Republican state machinery. Some years after the Revolution they were the real masters in Germany again.

There was no breaking up of the old reactionary state administration either. It was still possible to find in the highest Government positions officials who had their share of guilt for the war and who were outspoken enemies of the Republic—diplomats, judges, school inspectors. Most of the civil servants of monarchist Germany were left in their posts and could easily and freely undermine the Republic. The

murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg and other progressives were acquitted, while a growing number of democrats were put behind bars on the basis of the so-called law for the protection of the Republic. The schools mostly remained centres of nationalist and militarist education.

By 1918 the hatred of many of the Social Democratic and Republican leaders resulted in an uninterrupted campaign against the Soviet Union, and in the organising of the so-called "Baltic Troops" which continued the war in the East and later were recruiting centres for Nazism.

Because the Revolution was not carried through, the German working class soon lost nearly all its gains. Monopolists and bankers and their parties were striving: "*first, to shift all the burdens of the lost war and the post-war economic crises on to the shoulders of the people and to enlarge their own profits; secondly, to rebuild German Imperialism step by step; thirdly, to break the resistance of the people to this anti-national policy by gradual limitation and final removal of all bourgeois-democratic rights won in 1918. The German working class and the majority of the German working people did not draw the conclusions from the defeat of German Imperialism in 1918. Finance capital, with Stinnes at its head, succeeded in conjunction with Hindenburg and the Generals and through agreements with the Government and the Trade Union leadership, to hold its positions and to save the foundations of German Imperialism.*" (5).

Already in 1920 they thought themselves strong enough to overthrow the Republic when the Agrarian Kapp and General Lüttwitz organised a putsch. It was quickly stopped by the general strike of the workers and their armed forces in the industrial districts. After the Kapp Rebellion the terrorist gangs started individual assaults on Republicans and murdered hundreds of them, among them Foreign Minister Rathenau, who had signed the Rapallo Treaty with the Soviet Union.

TRAGEDY OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

The history of the Weimar Republic, which can be given here only in its barest outlines, is the story of the continuous weakening of a disunited Labour movement and of the resurrection of imperialism until finally its most reactionary and aggressive elements took power in their hands.

During the first period of the Republic from 1919 to 1923, a period of revolution and crisis, we can see how reaction triumphed over that part of the working class which wanted true democracy by dealing separately with each outbreak in the different districts of Germany. Examples are the crushing of the revolutionary movements in January and March, 1919, in Berlin, and April, 1919, in Bavaria. The fight of the workers against Kapp was a heroic exception. After his defeat, however, when the Ruhr workers were defending themselves against counter revolutionary forces, they were beaten by the Reichswehr, sent into the Ruhr district, and tricked by the Social Democratic leader Severing into laying down their arms. In March, 1921, the workers were defeated by police troops during a rising which had been provoked in Central Germany. Then inflation, organised by the monopolists, created untold misery for the broad masses of the people and weakened the workers' organisations. It ruined their finances. The Government, which the Social Democrats had left to carry on as it was, did nothing

against this racket. In September and November, 1923, the Fascists were gathering in Bavaria and Northern Germany with the aim of overthrowing the Reich Government. The latter, however, sent its main forces into Saxony and Thuringia against the Provincial Governments of left wing Socialists and of Communists as well as against Hamburg, where a rising had taken place in October, 1923.

It is true that Hitler and a number of Nazis who had organised a Fascist putsch at Munich and who then had no mass influence were arrested. But it is also true that the Communist Party was suppressed in November, 1923. The Communists had been joined in 1920 by a majority of the members of the Independent Socialist Party (USPD), who were disappointed with the behaviour of their leaders after the Revolution. The rest of the USPD mostly went back into the Social Democratic Party. While all workers' parties and organisations had grown during the Revolution, particularly the Communists, the strength of the Labour Movement as a whole declined during this period of fratricidal struggles.

The second period in the history of the Weimar Republic can be said to have lasted from 1924 to 1928. During these years the German bourgeoisie managed to regain stability thanks to replacement of plant and equipment and to English and American credits.

It began to dream of a new aggressive war. The Dawes plan of 1924 reduced German reparations considerably, and made the reconversion of German industry possible as well as a short-lived improvement in the living standard of the working population. In January, 1925, a Government was formed under the leadership of the German Nationalists. Two months later President Ebert died and Hindenburg was elected by the combined forces of the Right.

The Communists attempted to bring out the workers in strikes against the employers' attacks on wages and working conditions, and proposed united action against the growing activities of the Nazis to the Social Democrats. But they were not very successful. One event, however, showed what strength the Labour Movement possessed if it acted as one. In 1926, a Referendum was held for the expropriation of the Royal families and Princes. It received 14,400,000 votes, thus mobilising in a united front the Communists, Social Democrats and several millions of voters of the petty bourgeois parties. Its aim was defeated, however, by a legal trick.

With reference to the policy of the Social Democratic Party we shall quote once more from a recent American book on German history: "*The leaders of Social Democracy wanted no co-operation with the Communists. They saw in the economic upturn which set in after 1924, and which was aided by foreign loans, the beginning of a long period of capitalist prosperity. Powerful trusts arose in Germany during these years: for example the I.G. Farben Combine, formed from the merger of a number of chemical enterprises, and the Vereinigte Stahlwerke which fused the coal mines, iron and steel works of Thyssen and Kirdorf and most of those of the deceased Hugo Stinnes in a single giant undertaking. In 1927, at the Kiel Convention of the Social Democratic Party, Rudolf Hilferding, the party's leading economic thinker, characterised these trusts as 'organised capitalism, the socialist principle of planned production.'*" (6).

This conception of a peaceful development of German monopoly

capitalism made many Social Democratic and Trade-Union leaders blind to the fact that the prosperity was only temporary and that the trusts had got complete control of German economy, which they would increasingly use for a new imperialist aggression.

The elections to the Reichstag in May, 1928, showed that the Labour Movement was growing again. The Nazis suffered a heavy defeat at these elections, their votes dropping to 800,000. It was one of those periods where unity of Socialists and Communists could have prevented the further development of reaction. Instead, the Social Democratic leadership chose coalition with the German People's Party, the main party of the big bourgeoisie.

The third period of the Weimar Republic from 1929 to 1932 showed how short-sighted the theory of peaceful, stable capitalism had been. The capitalists with the help of foreign loans and through increased exploitation of the workers had built up a new and most advanced industry. In the economic crises which began to grip the country from 1930 onwards this rationalised industry became one of the causes of Germany's high unemployment. At the end of 1930 nearly half the production machinery had come to a standstill. The German population, especially the middle classes, who had already lost everything during the inflation, were hard hit by the crises. The Nazis ascribed the catastrophe to the Versailles Treaty, the payment of reparations to France and also to the failure of the democratic parties to act. Their propaganda, which made clever use of national feelings, had a profound effect on the despairing masses, while the workers' parties recognised too late how deeply the lower middle classes were stirred. Still the Social Democratic Party refused to use its State power to suppress Fascism. Instead, more than once it took measures against the anti-fascist workers' movement, e.g., May, 1929, in Berlin, when the Social Democratic Chief of the Police, Zörgiebel, ordered his police to fire on a May Day demonstration, while Severing, then Prussian Minister of the Interior, suppressed the Red Front League, an anti-fascist defence organisation. The Nazis were left free to build up their armed bands which soon began to terrorise the working people.

In 1930 the Social Democratic Party was manœuvred out of the Reich Government. The Catholic Chancellor Brüning, tolerated by the Social Democrats, began to rule, using the emergency paragraph 48 of the Weimar Constitution, which, in fact, suspended the Constitution. Democracy was at an end, the imperialists were actively preparing to establish Fascism. By 1931 they had subscribed millions to the Nazi funds. In the same year all the reactionary parties and military organisations, together with the Nazis, formed the so-called Harzburger Front for a general offensive against the Republic. The democratic parties, especially the Centre Party, retreated before this attack, and themselves used anti-democratic methods.

At the presidential elections in April, 1932, the nationalist parties supported Hitler's candidature. Instead of agreeing on one progressive candidate, the Social Democrats voted with other parties for Hindenburg, with the slogan "for Hindenburg against Hitler," whilst the Communists voted for Thälmann. Hindenburg was re-elected by 20 million votes against 13 million for Hitler and 5 million for Thälmann. Thus the Labour vote was split. One month after his re-election Hindenburg gave way to the pressure of the monopolists and Junkers, dismissed Brüning, and established the semi-Fascist Papen Government.

One of its first acts was to oust the Social Democrats from their last stronghold, the Prussian Government. But when the Communists proposed calling a general strike, the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions refused. Instead they appealed to the State Court.

Even at the end of 1932 and in January, 1933, when finally Hitler was put into power by the big monopolists, the united action of the working class could have prevented Fascism. In November both parties together won 13 million votes (Social Democrats 7,240,000, Communists 5,980,000 votes), while the Nazis lost 2 millions. But when on January 30th, 1933, the Communists again proposed a general strike, the leaders of the SPD and the trade unions refused, this time with the explanation that Hitler had taken power legally and that one would have to wait and see if he would act constitutionally or not.

What then, are the main features of this unhappy history of the Weimar Republic?

A fundamental weakness was that the Republic allowed the reactionary and Fascist forces to grow again unhindered. Force was used, as the events from 1919 to 1924 clearly show, against the most progressive sections of the people fighting for democratic rights. The policy of Stresemann and General von Seeckt, which envisaged a gradual building up of aggressive power, went unchecked. During the economic and political crises of 1929-1932 nothing was done by the democratic parties to break the monopolies, who sabotaged production and financed Fascism. Instead, the Government of Brüning directed all its efforts to beating down the workers while at the same time tolerating the terrorist activities of the Nazi Party and its unscrupulous propaganda for the fight against the Versailles Treaty, that is for a new war.

While reaction remained armed and advanced step by step to destroy democracy and prepare a new aggressive power policy, the Labour camp followed two divergent policies.

Social Democracy had chosen a policy of coalition with the Centre and other bourgeois parties. The trade unions collaborated with the industrialists. Many workers were influenced by this policy. In 1918 many had believed that measures of socialisation of industry would be carried through. Later they thought that "economic democracy," as it was called, would break the power of the trusts. Even during the economic crises they hoped for a peaceful elimination of reaction and big capital through elections. Part of the leadership of the SPD and the Free Trade Unions believed even after Hitler had come to power that it would be possible for their organisation to exist within the fascist state.

The choice which faced Social Democracy during the pre-fascist period is described in Franz Neumann's book "Behemoth," as follows: "*The situation was desperate and called for desperate measures. The Social Democratic Party could choose either the road of political Revolution through a united front with the Communists under Socialist leadership, or co-operation with the semi-dictatorship of Brüning, Papen and Schleicher in an attempt to ward off the greater danger, Hitler. There was no other choice. The Social Democratic Party was faced with the most difficult decision in its history. Together with the trade unions it decided to tolerate the Brüning Government when 107 National Socialist Deputies entered the Reichstag in*

September, 1930, and made a Parliamentary majority impossible. Toleration meant neither open support nor open attack." (7).

It was a policy which condemned the working class to a wait-and-see attitude and to passivity towards the manœuvres of reaction.

From January, 1919, the Communists had fought against the comeback of the imperialists and militarists which could only lead Germany into a new war. Many thousands of Communist workers fell during the Weimar Republic in battles against counter-revolutionary and fascist bands, or were put into prison.

But the reactionary policy during the Republic, including that of the Social Democratic Governments, plus the brutal terror used against the Communist Party, had its repercussions on the policy of that party. It did not always differentiate between the Social Democratic masses and the policy of their leaders. This resulted in a fight against Social Democracy. It did not defend the democratic Republic with enough energy when the Nazis had already openly gone over to the offensive against it. In its general policy the KPD put forward slogans of action for the defeat of capitalism and the winning of working class power, which were much too advanced for the conditions and the consciousness of the masses.

During the discussions which preceded the party merger both Socialists and Communists, have dealt extensively with the lessons of the Weimar Republic not in order to put forward mutual accusations, but to work out the right policy for the United Movement. They have recognised the faults of their policies (though there are still some leading Social Democrats in Germany, including Dr. Schumacher of Hanover, who in spite of all the facts refuse to see anything faulty in their pre-Hitler policy). Otto Grotewohl, today chairman of the Socialist Unity Party, said in a speech on September 14th, 1945: *"The working class is guilty not only because it did not prevent Hitlerism from coming to power in 1932-33, but also because from the moment of the birth of democracy it only used political tactics without knowing that the task was also to use political strategy."* Meaning that the re-armament of big industry against the Republic had been under-estimated and that nothing was done to win the middle classes ruined by the war, by inflation and the economic crises, for the cause of democracy. Another leading Socialist, the secretary of the Berlin Organisation, Karl Litke, said in a speech: *"Our democracy must be a fighting democracy which has nothing in common with Weimar, which was not democracy for the working class but a spring board for fascism. Whilst we talked and quarrelled and fought each other, reaction gathered strength, murdered our best comrades, and used the means of democracy to destroy the state of Weimar."* (8).

TWELVE DARK YEARS

When Hitler came to power this did not just mean the replacement of one Government by another. It meant that the most reactionary and aggressive elements of heavy industry and the armament industry, of the big landowners, and financiers, had put their representative and his war party at the helm of Germany.

Hitler's Government began with the destruction of all working class rights, the suppression of the Communist Party, and after that the Social Democratic Party. The Free Trade Unions were destroyed. Parliamentary Government was replaced by the leadership principle.

The rights of free association, press and speech were annulled. Göring ordered the burning of the Reichstag as a signal for the most brutal terror against all progressive people.

More than 90,000,000,000 marks were spent by Hitler up to 1939 in rearmament and war preparations. Part of it was used to spread the barbaric racial theory which made large sections of the German people believe that they were superior to any other people and born to dominate the world.

The essence of German Fascist Imperialism has been put thus by Walter Ulbricht, one of the leaders of the Socialist Unity Party: "*Hitler imperialism revealed itself politically to be the blackest reaction. The people were degraded to followers of the most reactionary circles of heavy industry and banking capital. In order to hold the people down an immense police and bureaucratic apparatus was created. For Hitler and his backers the war against other peoples also provided means for the complete enslavement of the German workers and the German people. From the booty obtained in other countries he handed crumbs to a section of the working people in order to make the working class willing supporters of his war policy. Fascist German Imperialism hindered economic development by limiting the manufacture of consumption goods to the detriment of the people in favour of the armament industry. Fascist German Imperialism transformed the state into a state of robbery and usury, where the big owners of capital and their Nazi appendage lived mainly from the pillaging of other countries and the enslavement of other peoples. Fascist German Imperialism led to the deepest cultural decline, by raising everything reactionary and anti-democratic in the history of our people to be the 'German essence' and suppressing everything progressive. The bestiality and rottenness of German imperialism was expressed in the furore of extermination which destroyed foreign countries, as well as in the cold-blooded destruction of our country, in the extermination of inhabitants of other countries and the annihilation of the progresstve forces among our people. Extermination of human beings in torture chambers and gas wagons, by lust-murders and in gas ovens—that characterises decaying German imperialism.*" (9).

Communists and Socialists were the first victims of Nazism and they suffered the longest time in concentration camps and Gestapo prisons. But even after 1933 the split of the now underground Labour Movement was not overcome. The Communists repeatedly approached the exiled leadership of the SPD with proposals for joint activities, such as appeals against war preparations and for the support of the victims of Fascism. They always refused.

In Germany, however, under the difficult conditions of Fascist terror and underground work, there gradually developed solidarity and unity of groups of Communists and Socialists as well as other progressive people. In many towns such collaboration resulted in defence measures against the agent-provocateurs of the Gestapo, in the support of families of murdered anti-Fascists and so on. During February, 1937, a delegation of Social Democrats from Berlin came to an agreement with the Communists for a united struggle against war preparations and for the people's rights.

During the war of the Spanish Republic against Franco and German and Italian intervention, many German Communists and

Socialists fought together in the ranks of the XI International Brigade. In Germany itself money was collected in aid of the Spanish Republicans, and dockworkers in Hamburg and other harbours informed about German troops and war material sent to Spain.

But the terror of the Gestapo again and again broke up underground organisations and made it more and more difficult to organise joint action of the different underground organisations. At the time of Hitler's attack on Austria and Czechoslovakia the Communists proposed to all who were opposed to the Nazi system a joint fight for the preservation of peace and the freedom of the German people, with the aim of establishing a democratic Republic. Some socialist leaders like Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid (who later was murdered at Buchenwald with Ernst Thälmann) agreed to these proposals. Under the chairmanship of the writer, Heinrich Mann, a committee was formed at Paris, which distributed propaganda leaflets against Hitler's war policy throughout Germany. Some actions of resistance to the Nazi regime, in 1938 and 1939, reached a considerable height, such as the strike of workers who were building the Siegfried line, and with anti-Fascist propaganda this helped to keep alive anti-Fascist consciousness in part of the working class. By his successes in foreign policy (Munich), the carrying out of an ever more chauvinist campaign and increasing terror, Hitler was able, however, to win the majority of the people for his policy.

These were the reasons why, at the outbreak of the war against Poland, there was no noticeable resistance on the part of the working class. Such resistance as there was, was weakened still more by the easy victories of the first campaigns and the material benefits enjoyed by large sections of Germans as a result of looting the occupied countries.

The anti-Fascists, who foresaw that the war would lead to a terrible catastrophe for Germany, rallied together, first in the Peace Movement in Western Germany in 1942, and later in the "Free Germany" National Committee. The "Free Germany" Movement called on soldiers and officers of the German Army to end the war by turning their weapons against the Nazi Government and called on the workers to sabotage war production. Events proved, however, that only very few were willing to take such risks. The masses of the German people continued fighting and producing war weapons, until finally the war reached German territory. And even then the Nazis were able to organise resistance to the last in many towns, such as Berlin, which ended in large scale destruction and untold misery for the people.

Tens of thousands of German anti-Fascists have been put to death during the 12 years of Nazi terror in Germany. Many more were put into concentration camps, where their suffering brought them together. The joint work of those who escaped the Gestapo and were able to organise underground activities did much to destroy the enmity which formerly had existed between the different sections of the Labour Movement. Although these sacrifices and the struggle of the underground opposition were not enough to free the masses of the people from the belief in Nazi propaganda and to rally them against the war and the Nazi Government, they were not in vain. The blood of the martyrs was the cement which bound Socialists and Communists together. They learned one main lesson during all these years. It was

the lesson that the catastrophe into which Germany had been led by its imperialist rulers could only happen because of the disunity of the working class. The price the German workers had to pay for following those who from 1918 advised them to fight each other instead of jointly beating back reaction and Fascism was terribly high. Those who survived the horrors took an oath that they would not repeat the mistakes of the past, that Germany would never again become the prey of warmongers and Fascist bandits.

CHAPTER III
The Road To Unity

THE war was over. What did it mean for Germany?

Goebbels had told his audiences that while formerly Germany had fought for ideals, this time it had a more important aim: coal, iron, oil and wheat. The fields of wheat in the East, that was what German soldiers were fighting and dying for.

By the end of the war millions of Germans had fallen in the East. Germany had not become a richer country but one whose cities lay destroyed, whose industry was largely ruined, whose transport system was completely disorganised, millions of whose inhabitants were homeless wanderers. It had been occupied by the victorious Allies.

The German people, most of them tools of the Nazi gangsters up to the bitter end, had paid dearly for the robber aims of their rulers. They had not ended Hitler's war by their own efforts nor destroyed the Fascist state with their own hands. This state had broken down under the impact of the final blows of the Allied armies. When the defeat came, large masses of the people were still under the influence of Nazi propaganda.

ANTI-FASCISTS TAKE THE LEAD

The advance of the Allied armies through Germany opened concentration camps and prisons everywhere. After years of darkness and torture, the surviving opponents of the Hitler regime, some tens of thousands of men and women, once more enjoyed their freedom.

Reality was even more terrible than the catastrophe they had foreseen. Germany was a heap of rubble. The people looked as if they had wakened from a ghastly nightmare. Hitler's legacy was misery and chaos.

The concentration camp prisoners greeted friends who had fought a hard and dangerous underground struggle or those who had returned from emigration. (Alas! not those anti-Fascists who had lived in Great Britain. They are still in this country, one year after, unable to return home to their families and friends).

The number of anti-Fascists who thus emerged was very small compared with resistance movements in the liberated countries of Europe. But however small their number, theirs was the responsibility to take matters in hand, to lead their people out of the wilderness.

They came together in many a town all over Germany, and wherever the Allies would allow them, began to tackle the most urgent problems. To succeed they had to stand together as in Buchenwald and other camps. The urge to unity was all powerful. It was obvious that the situation in which Germany found itself made unity of the weak anti-Fascist forces a primary necessity. Only thus could utter chaos be avoided. Thus anti-Fascist Unity Committees were formed in many places. These united former Communists, Social Democrats, members of the Centre Party, workers and intellectuals. It was frequently from these groups that the men and women came who set up the new

town administrations (as in Berlin), who re-opened bakeries, re-organised the water supply and other public services. They organised the population to clear streets of rubble, to build emergency houses, to till the land.

AN HISTORIC ORDER

By the beginning of June it was clear that there was a desire to organise anti-fascist democratic parties with a larger scope than the local Unity Committees. The Russians were the first to understand these necessities.

Marshal Zhukov's order of June 10th was far-reaching in its political consequences. It gave to the German people democratic rights and liberties such as freedom of association, of speech, press and worship. It paved the way for unhindered development of truly anti-fascist democratic parties and united free Trade Unions. Later in July the Allies decided at the Potsdam Conference to grant these rights in all occupation zones and to allow the activities of anti-fascist parties and Free Trade Unions all over Germany.

Actually, the parties in the British and American zones were not permitted before October and November, 1945, and then only on a local basis. In Bavaria, for example, the Communist Party only received permission to carry out political activity in the whole of the country in January, 1946. Political parties in the American zone only received permission to organise on a zonal basis on February 25th. At the beginning of March, 1946, party newspapers (published twice weekly) appeared in the British zone for the first time, while in the American zone the parties still have no newspapers, only small information sheets for members.

In the Russian zone, however, four parties were formed in quick succession, and their newspapers began to appear first in Berlin, then in the provinces. The first party to reconstitute itself was the Communist Party, which on June 11, 1945, issued an appeal to the German people signed by the Central Committee of the Party. Its paper, "Deutsche Volkszeitung," appeared on June 13th. On June 15th the Social Democratic Party of Germany came out with a programme of action signed by the Central Board. The two other parties, formed shortly afterwards, were the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party. Both are parties which draw their membership mostly from middle-classes and petty-bourgeoisie (artisans, employees, peasants, intellectuals). The Christian Democratic Union is not just the continuation of the former Catholic Centre Party but a union of Catholics and Lutherans, while the Liberal Democratic Party tries to gather all those who formerly belonged to democratic parties of the bourgeoisie.

ZONAL DIFFERENCES

One of the main reasons why such great political, economic and social differences exist today between the four occupation zones may be found in the different attitude of the occupation powers to party (and trade union) development.

In the Russian zone the four parties had, by last autumn, rallied all those who were willing to re-build Germany on new democratic foundations. They have called upon the people to help themselves, to

prepare for winter, to sow, to reap, to repair, to build. In the other zones this initiative was frustrated again and again. It is still being hampered today and often looked upon by Military Government as a nuisance. No wonder that the people in these areas are not very keen to help themselves. People are inclined to look to the occupation authorities for help and to blame them for the worsening of the food situation, the lack of accommodation, the scarcity of consumer goods or the disorganisation of transport. The present food crisis in the British zone could not, perhaps, have been avoided, but it could have been considerably eased if the authorities had allowed the parties to call on peasants and workers in good time, i.e., by the autumn of last year, to till every piece of land. Such a policy, which would have been in accordance with the Potsdam agreements, would have allowed them to organise peasants' committees, the adoption of villages by workers' groups, democratic food control committees, and so on. This does not mean that the British have done nothing to avoid starvation. But they could have done better, had they not been so slow in letting the truly anti-fascist and democratic forces get going.

Initially the anti-fascist forces were as weak in the Russian zone as in the others. But while in the one zone they were allowed to go ahead and gather strength, in the others they have had to fight a constant uphill struggle, because there the leading principle of Allied policy has been that they should gradually organise from below until they had "learned" enough democracy. This put an undue restriction on the genuine anti-fascist forces, those who had fought against Hitler and suffered for it. On the other side, the door was left open to the "expert" civil servant who had formerly belonged to the German National Party and had at the least sympathised with the Nazis; to the wealthy men with connections abroad; to "experienced" Nazis whom it was "inexpedient" to dismiss; or to those with higher school education who could speak Oxford English.

The difference between the Russian zone and the others is essentially this: in the Russian zone Nazism and militarism have been much more thoroughly destroyed than in the others. There the tasks laid down at Potsdam have been fulfilled to a large degree, and this not only with regard to de-nazification and the destruction of the German war potential, but also with regard to the democratic re-education of the German people.

Another reason for these differences is that, from the beginning, close collaboration founded on Socialist-Communist unity existed between the four parties in the Russian zone, while in other parts of Germany the old evil of party strife has re-awakened. In West and South Germany there is little practical collaboration between the parties apart from Governments and administrative bodies. Consequently, reaction is more firmly entrenched than in the Soviet occupied zone.

GERMAN COMMUNISTS AND DEMOCRACY

In its first appeal to the German people after Hitler's final defeat, the Communist Party proposed the formation of a bloc of anti-Fascist parties. The urge for unity was growing stronger and stronger among all sections of the people. There should be no room for the activity of splitters and saboteurs of unity. A solid unity of democracy was

essential if Nazism were to be finally eradicated and a new democratic Germany built.

The Communists reaffirmed that they wanted Germany to have an anti-Fascist, democratic regime. They said: "*We are of the opinion that it would be wrong to force upon Germany the Soviet system, because this does not correspond to the present conditions of development in Germany. We are rather of the opinion that the decisive interests of the German people in the present situation of Germany prescribe another way, the erection of an anti-fascist regime, a Parliamentary Republic, with all democratic rights and liberties for the people. At the present historic turning point we Communists call on all working people, all democratic and progressive forces to take part in this great struggle for the revival of a democratic Germany, for the rebirth of our country.*" (1).

There are those who describe this policy as concealing some hidden purpose. But the German Communists have advocated the building of an anti-Fascist democratic German Republic during all the years of Nazi domination, in all their documents since their Party Congress of 1935. And they re-affirmed it in July, 1945, because a basis for Socialism did not yet exist in Germany. The immense majority of the people were still under the influence of Nazi ideologies. Furthermore it was quite obvious that it was not only necessary to destroy the remnants of Nazism. Reaction was strongly rooted in German life. There were still many remnants of feudalism, of Prussian militarism with all its economic and political appendages which had to be cleared away. The power of the Junkers, the Counts and Royal families, destroyed long ago in Western countries, had still to be destroyed in Germany.

Fascism was no accident. It had found many reactionary institutions and ideas on which to base itself. It had used the glorification of the state power of the princes and the spirit of submission which had been characteristics of many Germans for a long time.

What Germany required was a thorough democratic upheaval leaving no sphere of life untouched. It needed to carry through the democratic revolution which in 1848 and 1918 had been left incomplete. Then the new Germany would not be built, as was Bismarck's Empire, permeated from top to bottom with reaction and militarism, nor would it look like the Weimar Republic, where democracy was a façade behind which its enemies were able to arm against the people. This time democracy must rest on better foundations. To achieve that the power of the big feudal landlords, of bureaucracy and militarism, and last but not least, of the big monopolists, must be broken for ever.

This policy of the German Communists is a result of a thorough study of the lessons of German history as well as of the conditions existing after Hitler. They are deeply convinced, from experience, that no real democracy can be built in Germany if there is a revival of those policies which caused the break-up of the Weimar Republic, if the mistakes of 1918 are repeated and if the division of the people is not overcome. This time there must be no indulgence towards Nazism and reaction, no new split of the working class and the people, no more calumnies against the Soviet Union and other nations.

The Communists worked out a 10-point programme, whose main points were:

Liquidation of all remnants of the Hitler regime and the Hitler Party; measures against hunger, unemployment and lack of housing; restoration of democratic rights and liberties of the people; re-establishment of the organs of self administration in communes and districts as well as provincial administration with their diets; protection of the working people against employers and exploitation; expropriation of all the property of the Nazi bosses and war criminals; liquidation of the big estates of Junkers, Counts and Princes and their re-distribution to landless and ruined peasants; handing over of all factories left by their owners and public utilities to the administration; peaceful and good neighbourly relations with other countries; recognition of the duty to make reparations for the damage done to other peoples by Hitler's aggression.

This programme was proposed on June 12th, 1945, to a meeting of about 200 leading functionaries of the former SPD, Centre Party and Democratic Party. One month later the Central Boards of the four new parties set up a joint committee. This was the beginning of the bloc of anti-Fascist, democratic parties in Berlin and in the Russian zone.

A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC APPEAL

The appeal of the Social Democratic Party was signed by the new Central Board. Max Fechner, who signed first, was one of the two survivors of the underground Central Committee which, in 1933, when the Party executive had to leave Germany, was entrusted with continuing as best it could inside Germany. Ten of its members lost their lives in concentration camps or as the result of their sufferings there. In May, 1945, the two survivors, Weimann and Fechner, augmented the committee by drawing together other party representatives. When the SPD was again allowed to resume its work, a foundation meeting of the Berlin Social Democratic Party confirmed the Central Board. Later it was elected by the various Regional Party Conferences in the Soviet Zone. It became the only really legally constituted Central Executive of the new SPD until a National Conference would hold new elections. To this Central Board belonged some well-known former officials of the SPD and deputies of the Reichstag as well as leading Socialists of the Berlin organisation.

Their appeal declared, after a description of the terrible legacy Hitler had left, that history had taught the German people this lesson: that through work it must regain the respect of all peaceful, freedom-loving peoples. The German people must never again become the victims of political adventurers. There was one way to a better future: democracy in state and communes, socialism in economy and society.

The appeal underlined the willingness of the Social Democrats to work together with all men and parties who thought likewise. It greeted the declaration of the Communists that they would work for a Parliamentary Democratic Republic. The German working class must be the pillar of this Republic. Democratic rights for those who recognise these liberties without reservation, not for those who try to destroy them! Then the appeal made a number of practical proposals, many similar to those of the Communists. It ended with the words: *"We want to lead the struggle for reconstruction on the basis of the organisational unity of the German working class. In this we see a*

moral correction of past political mistakes in order to give to the young generation a unified political fighting organisation. The banner of unity must be the shining symbol which leads the political action of the working people. We stretch our hand to all those whose slogan is: fight against Fascism, for the Freedom of the people, for Democracy, for Socialism." (2).

THE FIRST AGREEMENT

Only a few days later an agreement was signed by the leadership of the SPD and KPD, and a joint working committee of both parties set up. It was decided first: to work closely together in carrying out the most urgent tasks. The prerequisite for rebuilding the country on a secure foundation was considered to be the building up of a democratic Parliamentary Republic. There was therefore agreement on the most important question to be solved under present conditions in Germany.

Second: both parties would try to bring about a bloc with the other democratic parties. Third: they would jointly represent the interests of the people in town and country. Fourth: joint meetings of both parties to be held. Fifth: joint discussions to clear up all ideological problems.

Thus, through co-operation in all tasks of the anti-fascist struggle and through joint reconstruction work, the conditions would be created for political unity of the working people. All organisations of both parties throughout the country were asked to follow the example of the leadership and to form joint working committees.

This agreement of June 19th was the first practical step on the road which finally led to the fusion of both workers' parties into the Socialist Unity Party.

It was followed by similar agreements on the part of provincial, district and local organisations. Thus the Berlin organisations pledged themselves, in an agreement signed on October 9th, to work for the de-Nazification of the administration and of factories. Demands included the full participation of workers in negotiating on wages and questions of working conditions as well as in the management of production; the rights of shop stewards and trade unions to be recognised; both parties to try to win women and youth and to work together in the appropriate municipal committees; an immediate programme to be worked out to prepare for the coming winter. An agreement of the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Provincial Organisation laid down the holding of joint meetings and discussions and the formation of a working committee of 5 representatives of both parties. Hundreds of Socialists and Communists of the Berlin Transport Company came together to discuss de-Nazification and planning of production. They formed a committee of 10 representatives of each party.

These are but a few examples selected from the hundreds of agreements which were made between Socialists and Communists all over Berlin, the Russian zone and also in some parts of Western and Southern Germany. The British Press did not consider them news. It preferred to treat the unity of Socialists and Communists as merely a phenomenon of the leadership and in terms of "Russian pressure." In fact, practical co-operation had started in factories, towns and villages. Innumerable discussions took place and differences of opinion

were ironed out. The movement for unity reached every local group, every hamlet in the Russian zone. It grew stronger every day.

FUSION AS THE GOAL

Before parties had started to function again leading members of both had considered the virtues of forming a single workers' party right from the start. The Communists were not in favour, and the members of the Social Democratic Central Board agreed. There had not been enough preparation for a single party. It would have been only an agreement between the leadership, the members would not have had the possibility to discuss and decide such a fusion democratically. At that time there was still a lot of distrust between Communists and Socialists. The shadow of the past had not yet disappeared. A certain period of joint work and discussion would be necessary. Then it would be seen by the workers that former differences had no meaning any more, that times had changed, and there was no need for two different parties following the same aim.

It has been said in the British Press that the Communists were in favour of fusion only after the elections in Hungary and Austria had shown an anti-Communist and anti-Russian bias. But shop stewards' elections in many German factories had shown a definite pro-Communist bias. The truth is that the Communists were in favour of fusion long before any elections, not because they feared election At the beginning of August, 1945, Wilhelm Pieck, the chairman of the Communist Party, declared that the agreement of action signed between both was "*the basis for the most rapid possible fusion of both parties.*" (3). And again in September he spoke of the enormous desire results, but because they wanted to strengthen the Labour movement. for unity present among the workers, but said that this unity should be consolidated by working together and solving all questions jointly. Thus a real understanding would be reached and the recollections of the unhappy relations of the past would fade. He declared that the Communist Party "*wants complete unity with the social-democratic workers. It sees its aim in their merger with the communist workers into one single workers' party which will be the leader of the whole anti-fascist democratic movement and of the creation of a new democratic Germany.*" (4).

RESULTS CONFIRM POLICY

Results of this joint policy of unity could be seen quickly. In the Russian zone, democracy advanced with big strides not only due to encouragement from Military Government, but because of the birth of a mass movement brought about by the common efforts of Socialists and Communists.

It could be seen in municipal and provincial administration. New and democratic self-governing bodies had to be established in order to satisfy the most urgent needs of the population. But they had to be cleansed of Nazi elements and old reactionary bureaucrats. New people had to be brought into the administration, people who combined experience with an anti-fascist attitude or who would have to acquire the necessary experience by being put into responsible positions. These new administrators had to work in close contact with the population, something unheard of formerly in Germany, where the administration was always aloof from the people. Such a complete democratisation

of the local and provincial Governments was achieved mainly thanks to the efforts of both workers' parties.

Then the villages. Socialists and Communists called for agrarian reform. This was one of the most decisive measures to destroy the power of Junkerdom and militarism. On the other hand it realised the age old dream of the landworkers and peasants for land. And it helped to solve the difficult problem of what to do with the evacuees from Poland and Czechoslovakia. The land was re-distributed by commissions of landless peasants and landworkers. Here are the results as given by Edwin Hoernle, President of the Central Administration for Agriculture and Forestry, in a speech at the end of March: "*So far,* 3,000,000 *hectares of agricultural and forestry land had been incorporated into the Land Fund. By the end of* 1945, 6,330 *private farms and* 996 *State-owned estates, covering in all* 2,600,000 *hectares, including* 800,000 *hectares of forest land, were handed over to the Land Fund, in addition to over* 2,000 *small properties formerly owned by active Nazis, covering* 66,000 *hectares. In January and February, several hundred thousand more hectares were distributed. In March a few hundred estates, released by the Red Army, were added. Substantial reserves of land in Brandenburg and Mecklenburg which had been confiscated but not allocated were distributed among settlers. The number of peasants' holdings created or extended amounts to* 270,000, to which *should be added some* 60,000 *allotments handed over to agricultural workers, employees and artisans.*" (5).

But the workers' parties did not only help to redistribute the land and thus to give a new existence to hundreds of thousands of ruined peasants and evacuees. One of the first measures they took during harvest time last year was to organise brigades from the towns to go to the country to help bring in the harvest. The factory workers pledged themselves to repair agricultural machinery and to produce some implements urgently needed by the peasants. This practical help of the town population led to a new relationship between town and country. It guaranteed the food supply to factories and big towns.

Of the German situation at the end of 1945 it can truly be said that where transport was functioning again, where the factory chimneys were smoking, where flats and houses had been restored, where the rubble had been cleared from the streets, this was largely due to the initiative of both workers' parties and their unity committees. In the Russian zone the workers were primarily responsible for the restarting of production. Thousands of factory owners had either fled to the West or else were not able to cope with the difficulties. So Trade Unions, shop stewards, technicians and the unity committees took matters in hand. They got the factories going on local reserves, laid down production plans in accordance with the directives of the occupation authorities and provincial administrations. In the West, workers and their representatives have had little or nothing to say in the management of factories and the planning of production, and that may explain why production there is still on a very low level, while in many industries of the Russian zone it has reached full capacity or is nearing it. Leo Skrzypczinski, the chairman of the Central Administration for Industry, declared in a lecture on March 1st that the industrial output in the Soviet zone today is twice as high as the output in the American and British zones.

Then there was the task of helping millions of evacuees and homeless people, of doing something for boys and girls who had lost their parents and were being neglected. Again thanks to the unity of Socialists and Communists, big measures could be taken such as the "People's Solidarity" in Saxony or the "Save the Children" campaign, where clothes and other necessities were collected, homes opened, etc. In many towns both parties rallied the population to gather firewood, to prepare the houses for winter, to clean up the streets, or to repair the supply of gas and electricity. For many a family this eased the hard time of winter, for many old folk and children this meant salvation.

Finally, we may say that the joint work of both parties has been largely responsible for the reawakening of cultural activity on a new democratic basis. A joint programme for an educational reform was published by them in October, 1945. It aims at the complete elimination of Nazi and reactionary influences from German schools, at the training of teachers in a democratic spirit, the breaking of all privileges in education and a completely new school system.

Co-operation led to enormous practical results, to real progress and democratisation. If some naive people imagine that workers in Germany were bribed or forced to look Eastwards, then these people should understand that there was not much to see in the West, where —as a British paper wrote—"*so far the tendency has been to avoid radical changes in the hope that the zonal barriers might soon disappear*" (7), while in the East a new life was beginning.

THE SECOND STEP

When, in December, 1945, the leaders of both parties rallied in Berlin for a conference, they could rightly say: "*If our people advance step by step over ruins and rubble, if things are going better again, then this is the result of anti-fascist unity of action.*"

They also could point to a further clearing of political and ideological differences. In November there had been many joint mass meetings commemorating the November Revolution. Both parties in Berlin had organised joint lectures on such themes as "The part played by reactionary Prussianism in German history" or "The problem of education in Berlin." Similar lectures took place in other districts. At the Conference of December 20th, it was seen that the experience of joint work between June and December had proved the correctness of the policy of unity. Co-operation was no longer sufficient. Not only the members of both parties, but also more and more people outside, were clamouring to go forward.

In December it was becoming more and more obvious that fascism and reaction were not dead. There were still many Nazi criminals not brought to the dock. The power of the big monopolies who financed Hitler was not yet broken. The danger of a reactionary comeback still existed. The ideas and traditions of militarism, fanatical jingoism and racial hatred still held, as the widespread lying campaign against the Soviet Union showed. Hitler had put the national unity of Germany in jeopardy, there was a danger that it might be finally destroyed.

Only one force could overcome all these dangers against peace and freedom, that was the united working class. In alliance with the peasantry and the working intelligentsia, it was strong enough to build a truly democratic order. The Conference resolved to propose to the

members of both parties to work still closer together in factories, trade unions and administrative bodies, and to settle all disputes in a friendly manner. They proposed a joint programme for the municipal elections to avoid the two workers' parties fighting against each other. Instead they should fight jointly for a workers' majority.

Finally, the Conference resolved that the moment had come to prepare the United Party of the workers. A study commission was formed to draft a programme. All groups and organisations were asked to form joint commissions to deal with economic, social, cultural and educational questions. A theoretical paper was to be published and a joint publishing firm established. Thus and through still closer collaboration in connection with all day-to-day problems the moment would be reached when both parties could be one. With this unanimous decision of the leadership of both parties the United Party was put on the order of the day in the months that followed. It became the main question to be discussed throughout the Russian zone at thousands of meetings of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

This movement became strongest in Saxony and Thuringia, where both parties held conferences in January which showed a remarkable degree of unanimity on all important problems. In Thuringia the powerful mass movement for unity showed itself in the shop stewards' election and the elections for delegates to the conferences of the Free Trade Unions, as well as in help given to the newly-established peasants' committees for mutual aid, in parents' and teachers' meetings for the preparation of school reform and in many discussion circles and lectures held in all parts of the Province. There the first proposals were made that the fusion should be completed by May 1st. At Jena there was a Conference attended by 1,200 leading members of the SPD and the KPD, whilst in the first half of February in Thuringia alone 60 Committees of Unification were formed. The chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Thuringia, Hoffman, of Weimar, was in fact able to declare at the Trade Union Conference in Berlin that his party was in favour of completing the fusion on April 7th, when a joint Congress was to be held at Gotha. In Saxony, at the end of January, they decided to form various commissions of both parties and to set up an office whose task it would be to prepare the amalgamation. Similar decisions were taken after careful and prolonged discussion by the parties in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Brandenburg. In the latter Province it was resolved to prepare the spring sowing and to fulfil the economic plan for the first quarter of 1946 through joint efforts.

One of the main features of this period was that workers of many hundreds of factories declared for unity and set up joint committees. A meeting of shop stewards of municipal enterprises in Berlin, representing more than 100,000 workers, stated: "*We expect the immediate organisational fusion of SPD and KPD.*" Similar decisions were taken at thousands of other meetings. In January the elections for Delegate Conferences of the Free Trade Unions in the Russian zone took place, which brought a big victory for the adherents of unity who had presented themselves to the workers on joint lists.

Judging by the British Press, it appeared that this movement passed quite unnoticed, and yet it is decisive, showing as it does, that the fusion of the SPD and the KPD in the Russian zone has had popular support, that it was asked for not only by the members of both parties, but also by a large section of the population. But during this

time, the British Press, with one or two exceptions, was preoccupied with bolstering up the few, but vociferous enemies of fusion. It acclaimed Dr. Schumacher, of Hanover, as the leader in this struggle, a struggle which supposedly represented "democracy" against "dictatorship." We shall therefore have to say a few words about this Dr. Schumacher.

AN ENEMY OF UNITY

From the first, the Central Board of the SPD, who as we have seen were the legitimate leading body of the Social Democratic Party, tried to reorganise their party throughout the whole of Germany, as the Communists had done. This was held up by the delay, in the British and American zones, in granting permission to the parties to function again. In September Otto Grotewohl expressed the hope that his friends in the Western zones would rebuild one single Social Democratic Party. In October a Conference of Social Democratic Party officials from the British zone took place at Wenningen (Hanover). Grotewohl and Fechner were there, too, for the Central Board, as well as guests from the American zone and from London.

The decisions of this Conference were favourable for the separation of the Social Democratic Party into a western and eastern part, in spite of all the efforts of the Central Board to have a single organisation. That shows one of the main differences between Schumacher and the Central Board. He opposed unity with the argument that the zonal division of Germany did not allow the holding of a National Conference and that therefore unity could not be decided before the end of the zonal barriers. In practice this meant waiting a long time. While the Central Board proposed the holding of a National Conference to decide on the policy of the SPD, Schumacher strenuously opposed such a conference.

He is opposed to unity because of his hatred of the Communists, a hatred which has survived all the years of Nazism and even the time when Schumacher suffered together with Communists in Hitler's concentration camps. This hatred of the Communists is coupled with enmity against the Soviet Union. He is the main protagonist of anti-Soviet feeling today in Germany. Göbbels' spirit still haunts many minds. Schumacher repeats the argument of all the enemies of the Soviet Union, that it is the main danger to Germany and Europe, that it is a "political aggressor," an "absolutist system" with an "imperial policy." This he says in a document which was circulated to his friends. In the same document he writes, "*In Germany the soldiers of the eastern campaigns and the evacuees from the East are today unpolitical, but for that reason they are more effective propagandists against the policy which leads to a politico-organisational rapprochement with the KPD and the power which stands behind it.*" This is very similar to what he said in a speech at Nuremberg: "*With my eyes on the East, I say that Socialism without humanity, without democracy and without respect for human rights is not possible. We have eight million soldiers who stood at the front in the East and know what it looks like from there.*" (8). At a conference which he called in May, 1946, held at Hanover, and where he got himself elected as chairman of the Social Democratic Party in the British and American zones, he "*vigorously indicted what he termed Russian manœuvres to bring dictatorship again to Germany,*" according to S. L. Solon, of

the "News Chronicle." (9). He said, "*We do not wish that the Chinese Wall which now stands on the Elbe between the zones of East and West should move westward over the Rhine.*"

According to this so-called Socialist, the best judges of Socialism in the Soviet Union are, it seems, those who fought for many years to destroy Socialism and who in the eyes of Schumacher obviously were models of humanity. Well, the world has a different idea of what it owes to the Soviet Union and what Socialism has achieved there, and even the calling of the Wehrmacht as witnesses by Schumacher will not eradicate historic facts.

The second argument that he did not wish the Chinese Wall (invented by Schumacher) to move to the Rhine, just proves what many leading German Socialists have said often enough: that his policy is directed against national unity of Germany and for the upholding of zonal barriers, that it is a sectional policy, which is nothing new in German history but very rare in German socialist policy (it is also advocated by the Bavarian Social Democratic Minister President Hoegner).

Schumacher sometimes likes to pose as an adherent of unity, as an "ideal," but in the same breath he says, "*No unity is possible as long as the Communist Party is the instrument of the foreign policy of one of the victorious Powers.*" The Communists of Hessen have answered this repeated charge in the following words: "*We Communists stand for the unity of the German working class, not because we have received orders to that effect from any quarters, but because we have realised the necessity of fusion to save Germany and thus the German people from final ruin. We know that millions of workers still stand aside because they wait for the United German Workers' Party. We Communists do not represent the interests of a foreign power, but stand for an independent German policy. We reject any attempt to drive a wedge into the ranks of the United Nations and thus to support reactionaries who desire a war against the Soviet Union. We are of the opinion that if Reich Unity is to be preserved, all parties must organise themselves as soon as possible on a uniform basis in the whole of Reich territory. Wherever Social Democrats and Communists honestly work together as comrades, considerable achievements are made for the reconstruction of Germany and the creation of real democracy. . . .*"

Schumacher declared that unity was enforced by the Russian occupation authorities. To this charge Friedrich Ebert, the chairman of the SPD Brandenburg and son of the former President of the Weimar Republic, gave the following answer: "*Today it is clear that only a United Workers' Party will be able to avoid the mistakes of the past and to master the immense tasks which face the working class. This has been recognised in the ranks of Social Democracy, which is willing and prepared to build the new, common house of the working class in honest partnership with the Communist Party. This is a completely free decision of every Social Democrat. It does not, as some people on the other side of the Elbe with malicious interest declare, result from military pressure or otherwise, but only from our own recognition that the Party is not a means in itself but means to an end,*

and that this step is necessary in the interests of quick reconstruction of our fatherland." (10).

Schumacher advances the argument that both parties should first show their strength in elections. To this Max Fechner, the Chairman of the SPD, replied in an open letter to Schumacher, most effectively exposing all the consequences of the policy of this self-styled "workers' leader." Fechner wrote: "*The SPD would certainly not come out of an election so strong that it would have an absolute majority. In the National Assembly in* 1918 *we had, if I am not mistaken,* 37 *per cent. of all votes cast. The SPD would, therefore, have to accept a Coalition Government with bourgeois parties. The KPD would certainly be forced into opposition again and the old game of* 1918-1933 *would start afresh. Again, as in* 1918, *the SPD would be charged with the responsibility of reconstruction and because of the alliance with the bourgeois parties would be unable to carry through a fundamental socialist programme, but would be forced to compromise. To the left we would have a revolutionary workers' party in attacking opposition. The fight between the workers' parties would be deepened. The victor in this second German democracy would not be the SPD nor the KPD, nor Socialism which both parties want. Reaction would be victorious, there is no doubt. He who does not see the likelihood of this development has learnt nothing from the past. You talk much about democracy, we have worked in close co-operation with the comrades from the KPD to secure it. . . We have destroyed the remnants of the Hitler regime in legislature and administration. Now we are breaking the capitalist monopolies and handing over to the popular administration the enterprises of the war guilty and war profiteers. We have dethroned the big landowners through agrarian reform and struck a major blow against the reactionary militarists. We have created a democratic administration in which at the side of trustworthy old civil servants capable working people are employed as officials, teachers, people's judges and managing directors. We are about to embark on a programme of educational reform which will open the higher educational institutions to people who have not had the opportunity at present to put their intelligence at our service. In your sphere of activities it seems to me that the cause of democracy stands on much weaker feet. You may talk about democracy, but in spite of all the experience of* 1918-1933 *you are still not creating the real guarantees and so all the reactionaries who find it too hot in our zone are entering yours through the backdoor. These gentlemen feel that the 'freedom of personality' which you praise so loudly gives them the possibility to operate without hindrance and very profitably. I beg to direct your attention to this increasing reaction. It has certainly escaped you since your eyes are so fixed on the East looking for a fictitious enemy.*" (11).

This trenchant criticism of the policy followed by Schumacher and his friends is being proved correct by events. While reactionaries of different shades, such as Hugenberg or Pönsgen, are becoming increasingly active in the British zone, the leadership of the Social Democratic Party there is more and more occupied with the fight against the Communists and those Socialists who are adherents of unity. It, therefore, draws closer to the Centre and other bourgeois parties and has the whole-hearted support of these elements.

After the Berlin Conference of KPD and SPD on December 20th, Schumacher declared that he would not recognise these decisions. He called together conferences of appointed officials of his party at Hanover and Frankfurt, who, in violently anti-Communist terms, declared their disagreement with the intended preparations for fusion, and who threatened with expulsion any Social Democrat supporting fusion. At the end of January, Schumacher went to Berlin in order to gather together some opponents of fusion, and from that time Berlin became the centre of innumerable intrigues against the big unity movement.

LAST PREPARATIONS

It became quite obvious that owing to the activities of the Schumacher Group in Western and Southern Germany a National Conference of the SPD could not take place and that the amalgamation of both workers' parties would have to be completed at first only in Berlin and the Provinces of the Russian zone. At the zonal Conference of the Trade Unions (11.2) Grotewohl made known that the Central Board had decided to go forward with the preparations for fusion and to call a Party Congress of members in the Russian zone, including Berlin. Thus the policy of Schumacher had caused a split between the working class movement in the different zones; that in the Russian advancing quickly on the road to complete unity, while in Western and Southern Germany everything was done to hinder this advance.

At the end of February another Joint Conference of the Central Committee of the KPD and the Central Board of the SPD was held in Berlin with representatives of the districts. It opened up the last phase of the Unity Movement in these parts of Germany. It accepted a declaration of principles and aims of the Socialist Unity Party to be discussed by all members of both parties as well as a draft of party rules. As the parties had already called Congresses for the 19th and 20th of April it was decided to hold the Unification Conference on April 21st and 22nd. An organising commission was set up.

After that Conference there appeared in the Russian zone and in Berlin a number of papers called "Unity" or "Socialist Unity" issued jointly. Problems of unification and of the application of Marxist principles to the present situation in Germany were discussed by the best known leaders in a theoretical review. Many more resolutions in favour of unity were voted in factories. Local groups did not wait, but in some districts already merged their parties during March. Thus the party merger was actually begun by the members themselves, who got impatient with the slow pace of preparations and who started to exert pressure on the leadership to go ahead more quickly. This attitude of local and factory groups was the result of prolonged discussions which had been held on the question of fusion, and in these democratic discussions all became convinced that this was the only course to follow.

If there ever was a democratic decision, then this was one. In the province of Mecklenburg, for example, during March District Delegates' Conferences of both parties dealt with the Principles and Aims and the Draft Rules of the Socialist Unity Party. In Mecklenburg

13,000 delegates took part, in Brandenburg 15,000, and they unanimously welcomed the submitted drafts. That is to say that not only in the progressive industrial regions of Saxonia and Thuringia but also in the mainly agricultural regions it was a mass movement which found expression in manifold democratic ways. This broad discussion in many tens of thousands of meetings and in the Press has been completely overlooked by the British newspapers which did not want to see the obvious: namely that the urge to unity is deep seated in the German working class to-day and that this attitude, and not that of the enemies of unity, is the dominating factor in working-class politics in Germany.

BRIBES AND PRESSURE?

There has been much talk of Russian pressure. This would have meant that every local commandant and his staff would have had to exert pressure for unity practically since June, 1945. It was supposed that tens of thousands of Socialists, former inmates of concentration camps and Gestapo dungeons, who for 12 years did not yield their convictions in face of brutal torture by the SS would suddenly have yielded to the representatives of the foreign occupation power. Those who maintained that this was the case could do so only by pretending that the Russians used the same methods of pressure as the Nazis, that is concentration camps, arrest of whole families, murder by shooting in the neck. As a matter of fact, Mr. Michael Foot in the "Daily Herald" and the "Tribune" went so far as to report the reopening of Buchenwald Concentration Camp near Weimar for opponents of unity. But they never published any names of Socialists arrested because of their opposition to the merger except that of Mr. Hermann Brill, of Thuringia. But Mr. Brill lives peacefully in the American zone.

Dozens of American and English correspondents have visited the Russian zone and spoken with people in Dresden, Leipzig and other towns, but not one of them has discovered a case of a Socialist arrested by the Russians for opposition to unity, not one of them has published names, addresses, dates of arrest or asked to see Buchenwald. We come to the conclusion that these stories were deliberate lies, invented in order to mislead the public as to the real events in Eastern Germany. The only true kind of pressure was that increasingly put on the leadership during the first quarter of this year by the membership of both parties to go ahead with the merger and to speed up the tempo.

In March the British Press began to show strong interest in happenings in Berlin. There at least it was said that there was proof that the majority of Socialists were opposed to unity. Let us see what did happen in Berlin.

THE BERLIN PLEBISCITE

Within the membership of the Berlin SPD there were three trends with regard to the party merger. First, there were those who favoured immediate fusion, second, those who favoured close unity of action with the Communists and fusion later than April after more discussions, and third, there were some who opposed not only the merger but also any kind of collaboration with the Communists.

Those in favour of immediate fusion expressed their views more than once. They were mostly the workers of Berlin factories who knew only too well that alone common action of Socialists and Communists had been responsible for industrial recovery and would safeguard workers' interests. Social Democratic Factory Groups meeting on March 15th decided by an immense majority for immediate political unity. Similar decisions were taken during the later half of March by a large number of factory meetings and some District delegate conferences, e.g. Weissensee.

But a group of party officials who had been contacted by Dr. Schumacher had started on a campaign against the Central Board and the party merger. They distributed leaflets, organised factions and used the reactionary Berlin paper, "Der Tagesspiegel," to express their agreement with Dr. Schumacher's fight against the unity of the German working class. The Central Board was forced to expel this group of wreckers after repeated warnings that their methods of propaganda were not in accordance with party rules. After that this group tried to win some of the Berlin organisations and to oppose them to the Central Board. It used a decision taken by a meeting of party members on March 1st that a plebiscite should be held among the membership on the question of fusion.

The Central Board was opposed to this Referendum. It said that decisions could only be taken by a party congress. This had been called for the 19th and 20th of April. All district organisations in Germany had been asked to send delegates. Some leading Social Democrats had prevented the sending of delegates, but the Congress was nevertheless going to take place. In the districts of the Russian zone delegates had been elected to District Conferences. The Central Board was opposed to the Referendum because it was not in accordance with party rules. It called on the Berlin members not to take part.

However, the wreckers were able to organise such a Referendum on March 31st because of the confusion which had by now been created among the membership. Adherents of unity as advised by the Central Board did not take part. But even then the results are very revealing. At the end of February the SPD had a membership of 66,246 in Berlin. It was organised in 20 districts. The Referendum was held in 12 districts of the British, American and French sectors. Gordon Walker, M.P. for Smethwick, told the Parliamentary Labour Party on April 11th that the Russians had prevented a poll being taken in their zone. What happened is that (1) the Central Board of the SPD, recognised by the Russians, had declared the Referendum as not in accordance with party rules; (2) of the eight districts in the Russian zone four had already voted at District Conferences for fusion; (3) an application from the other four districts was received by the Russian authorities, according to a communique, only the day before the Referendum, and then without any detailed information as to procedure. However, Social Democrats from these districts went into the French and other sectors to vote there. Later the Berlin Press published many facts about the undemocratic way this plebiscite had been carried out by the anti-fusionists. Of 66,246 Social Democrats only 23,015 took part in the Referendum. They were asked two questions: (1) Are you for the

immediate merger of the two workers' parties? (2) Are you for an alliance of the two workers' parties? The first question was answered by 2,731 for and 18,951 against an immediate merger; the second question showed 14,146 votes for an alliance of the two parties and 5,707 votes against. The rest of the votes were spoilt.

These results show clearly that there was a considerable section of Social Democrats in the three non-Russian sectors of Berlin who though not in favour of an immediate merger were in favour of an alliance of the workers' parties, while only 5,707 were not only against the merger but also against co-operation with the Communists. These must be considered as the real opponents of unity, because many of the other voters would and will be prepared to join the United Party. As it was not difficult at all for opponents of fusion living in the Russian sector to vote—they had only to take the tram or metro, because there is no control between the sectors!—the strength of the Schumacher Group is very small in a membership of 66,000.

And this result has been explained by British papers as 80-90% of all Berlin Social Democrats being opposed to the merger!

After that event there was a clear break within the Berlin Social Democratic Party. The District Executive fully pledged itself to the policy of the Central Board and decided to ask all district Chairmen not in favour of fusion to resign. It went ahead with the preparations for fusion. During the first fortnight of April the opponents of fusion set up their own organisation with the help of some Allied authorities and elected an Executive. They continue to call themselves the Social Democratic Party, and are in close contact with Schumacher and his Group. But their effort to prevent unity in Berlin has miscarried.

UNITY CONGRESSES

The final stage of the merger was reached at the beginning of April. After separate conferences of both parties on April 6th, the following day joint Congresses of thousands of delegates were held in Thuringia, Land and Province of Saxony, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Everywhere the formation of the Socialist Unity Party caused great enthusiasm. Mass meetings and demonstrations were held in Gotha, Dresden, Halle, Potsdam and Schwerin. In Gotha a delegation of peasants greeted the Unity Congress and thanked the workers for their help in agrarian reform and the spring sowing campaign.

The Fusion Congress for Berlin took place on April 14th with 1,200 delegates of both parties present. One of the speakers said: "*We intend to reshape Berlin as the new capital of the new Germany. The United Socialist Party will be the force around which will rally everything which is good and progressive in the entire German people.*"

Then at Easter fusion was completed with the big Congress in Berlin to which many visitors from Western and Southern Germany had come. The Congress issued a manifesto to the German people. After reviewing the unity aspirations among German workers in the past, it states that the two parties have joined together on the basis of common principles and aims and uniform status. It concludes: "*Our aim is the triumph of freedom, peace, understanding among the*

nations and progress. Join the Party of the millions of working people! Fight with us for Germany!"

The principles and aims of the party were unanimously adopted, and the rules passed with a big majority. The passing of the resolution for the foundation of the new party was received with thunderous applause. Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotwohl were elected party chairmen.

AND WHAT ABOUT THE WEST?

That is the story of the Socialist Unity Party. It is the result of deep changes in the consciousness of the most advanced German workers, Socialists and Communists alike. It has grown out of an ever widening mass movement which has understood that unity of the working class is the main weapon against reaction.

The Socialist Unity Party has been formed at present only in Berlin and in the Russian zone. But it is already the driving force in Germany, attracting more and more working people and intellectuals who had joined no party hitherto. It consolidated and strengthened the democratic forces and will, therefore, be a decisive factor in the final destruction of Nazism and militarism and in the building of a democratic Germany.

In Western and Southern Germany the enemies of unity within the Social Democratic Party have at present been able to get the lead. They have established an internal party dictatorship. Everyone who stands for unity is expelled from the party. A non-elected Conference of Social Democratic Party officials from the U.S. and French zones, held at Offenbach on February 27th, threatened with expulsion every party member who dared to attend the Conference in Berlin. The Executive Council of the Cologne SPD decided that members participating in the "Reich Party Congress convened by the Berlin Central Board will without exception be expelled from the party." Thus Teichert and Becher, two Socialists who were sent to the Berlin Unity Congress by 3,000 workers of the Locomotive Repair Shop at Krupps, were expelled from the SPD in Essen when they came back from Berlin. Schumacher and his friends are exerting pressure against unity.

This is what delegates to the Berlin SPD Congress had to say about "freedom of personality," "democracy" and "non existence of pressure" in Dr. Schumacher's organisation: Krauter of Frankfurt on Main: *"I have been asked by my friends to bring the following resolution to your notice. At so-called zonal conferences, all of which have so far been organised in a by no means democratic manner, the leading opponents of unity had resolutions adopted which provoke indignation among the rank and file. The majority of the Social Democrats in the West joyfully subscribe to the idea of socialist unity; a string of protests comes from factories and offices against the fratricidal strife which is already beginning. The Central Board, the pioneer of unity, enjoys our fullest confidence."*

Mrs. Schaar, of Heidelberg: *"I am here to tell you that the policy of the Baden SPD is not in accordance with the wishes of the working people. The Social Democratic leadership of the West, acting under*

the dictate of Schumacher, has taken a dangerous path. All we who work for unity are subjected to severe pressure. Yet, in spite of it, we all—workers of the hand and of the brain who work together in factories—know where our duty lies. We representatives of Baden therefore demand immediate fusion of the fraternal Socialist parties—by removing our leadership if need be. . . ."

Werner, of Hamburg: "*Despite every kind of chicanery, and under the threat of expulsion from the Party, we feel in duty bound to express to our comrades in the Eastern zone our full sympathy before the eyes of the world. . . . You can be sure that we in the West shall concentrate all forces to bring about the unity for which we long. We know, even today, that right is not on the side of Schumacher and his confederates, but only the advocates of fusion will pass the judgment of history.*" (12).

That is the true voice of the workers in Western and Southern Germany.

The workers of many factories in the British zone—Blohm and Voss at Hamburg, Eisenwerke at Lüneburg, Schellhass and Druckmüller at Bremen, to mention only a few examples—have gone on record for unity. In the American zone, too there have been similar decisions in factories at Munich, Frankfurt, etc. Already on December 22nd a joint Conference of SPD and KPD took place in the Wiesbaden district.

At Flensburg the son of Ernst Heilmann, famous Socialist Deputy murdered by the Nazis in Buchenwald, declared at a meeting that Socialist youth supports unity because "only unity can assure to youth a future." The leadership of both parties in Southern Baden decided to set up a committee to discuss all questions of democratic construction and to prepare the merger "*which is the precondition for the victory of Socialism.*" We could give many more examples from other parts of Germany.

The unity movement does also exist in the West. If it is not yet as strong as in the East, this is due to the slow rate of political development and the pressure exerted against unity by the Group of Dr. Schumacher. It is due, too, to the fact that no real democratic reforms have been accomplished in these zones—such as agrarian reform, or the handing over of former trusts to the provincial administrations or educational reform. In the Russian zone people can see that where the united workers' movement has a say there is not only talk about democracy but a real advance in practice. In the West, however, there is democracy in theory and considerable reaction in practice.

For this reason the unity movement in Western and Southern Germany will be slower, but it will also lead to the formation of Action Committees for the preparation of the party merger and finally to the setting up of the Socialist Unity Party. Much depends, however, on the attitude of Military Government, and even more of the British Labour movement.

CHAPTER IV

British Labour and German Workers' Unity

IN it Report on the International Post-War Settlement the Labour Party declared: "*We must pledge ourselves to the great end of an enduring Peace and to the methods of social relationships which assure that Peace will endure. We cannot permit the agony and horror and destruction of these bitter years to be repeated.*" Today it is within the power of British Labour to fulfil this pledge.

Great Britain is one of the four Powers which by their joint occupation and control have set themselves the task of ensuring that Germany cannot endanger peace once again. At Potsdam it was agreed that Germany should be transformed into a peaceful country by the destruction of its war potential and the control of its economy. Furthermore, the German people should be given a chance to build up a democratic State. Ensuring peace in Germany means, therefore, a definite policy towards those parties and social forces which can build true democracy.

We agree with the World Federation of Trade Unions that the most reliable social force who can be entrusted with the building of such a democratic Germany is the working class, and more precisely the German Labour Movement. Because they have suffered most from the Nazi regime, from their ranks have come the staunchest fighters; also because big sections of the working class have managed to keep themselves free of the degrading influences of Nazism. During the first year of German reconstruction the workers and their parties have shown themselves as the initiators of economic reconstruction and, consequently as the most democratic force, rallying artisans, peasants, intellectuals as events in Saxony, Thuringia and other Provinces clearly show. And finally, the working class alone has a great historic aim: Socialism. Its achievement in Germany will be the biggest contribution to peace.

We contend that the German workers will not be able to play a decisive part in making Germany peaceful and democratic if they are not united. German history as a whole, and Labour history in particular, drives this lesson home: that under German conditions the progressive sections always lost because they were split. The warmongers, militarists and other reactionaries, always won because they were united, they knew what they wanted.

We have tried to show that large sections of the German workers have in fact drawn the correct conclusions from past experience and therefore have united. But this question is also the concern of the British Labour Movement. It has to ask itself: shall we support those who stand for unity in Germany or those who stand against? Much

depends on this decision. Supporting those who stand for unity might mean an enduring peace—at least with regard to Germany. Supporting those who are against unity might (and will ultimately) give German reaction and imperialism a new chance, as after 1918.

THE WRONG DECISION

Unfortunately, up to now the wrong decision has been taken. In Berlin, where a strong Socialist Unity Party resulted from one year of common work by Socialists and Communists, British Military Government and representatives of the Labour Party have supported those who wanted to maintain the split in the Labour movement. When he visited Berlin in March, Gordon Walker, M.P., took part in a secret meeting of the opponents of fusion where it was decided to set up a Provisional Committee to co-ordinate the work. This fact was disclosed by the Social Democratic Party of Württemberg-Baden in a letter circulated to its members on April 4th. The letter also reports that the British and Americans had decided to give to the opponents of unity technical help (such as arrangement of an office, telephone connections, a newspaper under British licence, paper for leaflets, biased reports by the B.B.C.). At the Conference of the Bavarian Social Democratic Party, Major C. P. Mayhew, Labour M.P., Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Morrison, said, according to Press reports, "*The British Labour Party views with sympathy your refusal to fuse with the Communist Party. It is the British Labour Party's view that democracy is not compatible with the one-party State.*" (2). After the foundation of the Socialist Unity Party the British Control Commission ordered 14 Socialists and Communists from the British zone who had been elected to the Executive Committee to resign. Recognition of the new party was refused in the British sector of Berlin and party buildings were handed over to the opponents of unity. The American attitude towards the new party has been much less unfavourable.

At the same time every possible help has been given to Dr. Schumacher and his group at Hanover. Supporters of Dr. Schumacher, living in Great Britain as refugees, have received permits to return to Germany, while hundreds of pro-unity refugees are still kept in this country. The secretary of the Labour Party has sent a letter of encouragement to Schumacher. It is only too correct, as "The New Statesman and Nation" wrote on May 4th: "*Dr. Schumacher and the anti-fusionist Social Democrats in the West are clearly under the impression that they will receive British support in fighting to the last against amalgamation with the Communist Party.*"

FALLACIOUS ARGUMENTS

Different reasons have been given for this opposition to the unity movement and support of anti-Soviet and anti-fusionist Dr. Schumacher.

It was said and even put down in a motion of the Parliamentary Labour Party that German Social Democracy had no freedom of organisation at the end of March was 181% of 1932 in the same little this is true may be seen not only by the fact that the SPD had daily newspapers in Berlin and all provinces of Eastern and Central Germany with a mass circulation, but also that the strength of its organisation, institutions and propaganda in the Russian zone. How

districts. At the SPD District Conference in Mark Brandenburg, Friedrich Ebert, mentioned above, gave interesting data about the membership of his party. The number in Mark Brandenburg, a foremost agricultural Province, rose from 32,000 at the end of 1945 to 77,400 at the beginning of April. Of these, 82 per cent. were men and 18 per cent. women.

Another argument is that the fusion has established "Totalitarian Democracy"—whatever that may mean. The Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party in the Russian zone are said to have a short expectation of life. A one party system would soon be established. Now, the Socialist Unity Party leaders have repeatedly refuted this charge. The manifesto of its Foundation Congress says: "*The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is the common party of all working people who are not only democrats and anti-fascists but also enemies of capitalism, and Socialists. For these Socialists, unification with a bourgeois party is senseless. That is to say that the merger of both Socialist parties does not mean the transition to the one-party system. Side by side with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany the other democratic anti-fascist parties which have another programme and philosophy have a right to existence. The SED has set itself the task of continuing to foster close and honest co-operation with the anti-fascist democratic parties. Our watchword is: no one-party system, but an end to the split of the Labour movement and strengthening of the anti-fascist democratic united front.*" (3). The leader of the Liberal-Democrats, Wilhelm Külz, underlined this statement with the words, "*In political, economic, social and cultural respects, the demands of the SED permit fruitful co-operation with other anti-fascist democratic parties, even though these retain their own independent aims. A one-party system is expressly rejected.*" (4). What has happened is that a united front of four parties has changed into a united front of three parties while at the same time strengthening the working-class representation.

But it might be thought that the internal organisation of the SED is "totalitarian." It is one of the most common tricks of German reaction to describe the unity of the workers' parties as an imitation of Nazi methods in order to discredit it. The Nazi party was a totalitarian party, built on the leadership principle of absolute obedience and submission. It was led by enemies of the people, representatives of the big monopolies and banks. The SED is a completely voluntary organisation, a party of the working people, led by men and women who for decades have been in the forefront of the workers' struggle. It is based on democratic principles, as its Constitution shows. Its lowest unit is the factory group and street group. All questions of policy are decided at local, District, Provincial or National Conferences. Its officials are elected for one year by the membership and can be recalled by it. Elections are secret. Party representatives in Parliament, Administrations, Governments, etc., are bound by the decisions of and controlled by the Party. But it is not considered sufficient for a member to pay his subscription and discuss the resolutions, then leaving them to the executive. Every member must be prepared to accept the decisions of the majority and to work for them. Only blind hatred can compare this Constitution to the dictatorship of the Nazi Party.

It was said that the Communist Party merely wishes to use the SED to seize the leadership of the German workers. The membership figures of both parties at the moment of fusion show that the Communist Party was weaker than the SPD. Neither the Socialists nor the Communists continue to have their independent organisations; they have merged. All leading posts have been occupied by the same number of representatives of both parties, which does not give one a majority over the other. In the Central Executive there are 40 former Socialists and 40 former Communists. As a matter of fact, the Communists have given up as much as the Socialists, namely their own independent organisation, in order that one workers' party might exist which, it is true, aims at the leadership not only of the workers but of all working people in Germany.

It seems impossible to some people to acknowledge that times have changed, that the atmosphere of mutual distrust and even enmity which was so common during the Weimar Republic between Social Democrats and Communists has given place to one of friendship and mutual confidence. And this is the whole secret of the merger.

A NON-GERMAN PARTY?

All arguments against the SED finally boil down to one, that this party is an instrument of Russian policy in Germany. Therefore it is concluded by the "Tribune" and other circles that the British should back up another party, Dr. Schumacher's party, so that every occupation Power can have its own political appendage. It would be more correct to say that the SED is the result of Russian policy in Germany, namely of the fulfilment of the Potsdam decisions, which gave the Socialist movement a chance.

The SED will not be discredited by talk of its being dependent on Russia, while Schumacher might well soon be considered as a stooge of an occupation Power. This is because the existence of the Socialist Unity Party corresponds to the necessities of the present situation in Germany and to the interests of the people, while an anti-unity policy as followed by Schumacher was proved bankrupt at least as early as 1933. His anti-Soviet attitude is nothing new; but it was such a policy that led Germany into a disastrous war.

In the conditions of post-war Germany the unification of both workers' parties has to be considered as a great national and social achievement, enabling, as it does, the working class to become strong enough to take the lead in the re-shaping of Germany.

What immediate tasks has the SED set itself? The following are only the most important.

Punishment of all war criminals;

Complete De-Nazification of administration, factory managements, etc.;

Elimination of capitalist monopolies;

Turning over of enterprises belonging to war guilty fascists and war profiteers to the administration of the people;

Destruction of reactionary militarism;

Breaking of the power of big landowners and agrarian reform;

Democratic administration by honest democrats and anti-fascists;

All public enterprises, raw materials, mines, banks, savings banks and insurance companies to be put into the hands of

municipalities, Provinces or a Government for the whole of Germany;
Reconstruction of economy and stabilisation of currency;
Guarantee of democratic rights for the people;
Right of association, strike and collective bargaining, recognition of shop stewards;
The 8-hour working day;
Democratic reform of education;
Unity of Germany as an anti-Fascist Parliamentary Republic;
Reparations to other peoples;
Fight against racial hatred—peaceful and good neighbourly relations with other peoples.

These are some of the immediate aims for which the SED stands. They are tasks of a *German* party for the solution of present-day *German* problems or as the Aims and Principles of the SED say: "*The SED fights as an independent party in its own country for the true national interest of its people.*"

True, it is a Marxist party, its policy is based on scientific Socialism. But it is a policy which adapts the principles of scientific Socialism to German conditions and therefore the SED is as opposed to a transplantation of Russian methods of government on German soil as to a transplantation of British or American methods. The Soviets of Russia or the Civil Service of Great Britain are certainly suited to the present social and political conditions of these countries, but they would not work in Germany today. The German people has to build its own democratic form of government.

THE ULTIMATE AIM

The Report of the Labour Party on International Post War Settlement said that "*Socialism is a fundamental necessity in Europe*" in order to put an end to "*fascism and all forms of political slavery, to achieve a high and ever-rising level of economic well-being in all lands, the ending of mass unemployment, poverty and malnutrition and to promote the spread of democracy and political freedom.*"

But who can achieve Socialism in Germany if not a united Labour Movement? The Socialist Unity Party declares in its "Principles and Aims" that after the realisation of its immediate tasks the system of capitalist exploitation and oppression will not yet have been eliminated, the anarchy of capitalist production not yet overcome, peace not yet finally secured. The aim of the party is liberation from every form of exploitation, oppression, from economic crises, poverty, unemployment and imperialist warmongering. This aim can only be achieved through Socialism. The Party fights for the transformation of private property in land, resources and means of production into social property. The working class should win political power in alliance with the other working people. For this new state the Socialist Unity Party will fight within the democratic republic.

Surely this is in accordance with the proclaimed aims of the Labour Party for a Post War Settlement?

Conditions in Germany at the present time are peculiar. The reactionary state machinery has been broken. A new democratic state is being built on new economic foundations. This makes it possible for the German workers to advance along the path of democracy to

Socialism, by gaining the decisive influence in the state and in economy. But if the reactionaries oppose themselves by anti-democratic means to this aim the Socialist Unity Party would naturally have to fight back.

Conditions for this democratic way to Socialism have today been created in the Russian zone, where the working class is winning decisive influence, but they are rapidly being lost in the other parts of Germany where reaction is daily becoming stronger.

DICTATORSHIP OR DEMOCRACY?

It seems that this is not yet clearly understood by many people in the British Labour Movement. The issue in Germany is described as being between dictatorship and democracy, where supposedly the Socialist Unity Party or the Communists stand for dictatorship, while the Social Democrats under the leadership of Schumacher and also other parties stand for democracy. In fact, as we have shown, it is the SED which stands for true democracy. It does not aspire to dictatorship. This is not the issue. The issue in Germany today is between democracy and reaction.

Let us look at the relation of forces in the British zone of occupation. On the one side there is the Social Democratic Party. At the end of April it had a strength of about 200,000. It has many important positions in Provincial Governments and other administrative bodies. Its leadership is in the hands of men who oppose unity, while large sections of its members, specially in mines and factories, demand at least co-operation with the Communists.

Then there are the Communists. At the end of March they had a membership of 104,000. They are at the moment weaker than the Socialists, but one cannot describe them as unimportant. At shop steward elections in 44 mines of the Ruhr at the beginning of March they received 23,887 votes, while Social Democrats received 14,685. In the Ruhr, in Brunswick, and some other places, the Communists are the strongest party, but there are only a few Communist mayors or Landräte and no representatives in Provincial Governments. In spite of constant provocation they always declare that there is nothing which today can separate the two workers' parties, that even at the Hanover Conference of May 9th most proposals for the solution of present-day problems put forward were the same as those of the SED. There were no arguments which could be brought against united action of both parties. Therefore they proposed to the Hanover Conference joint action:

> In solving the food problem by creating Control Committees of both workers' parties, Trade Unions and Women's Committees in towns as well as Peasants' Committees in villages, which would destroy the still existing Nazi Peasant Organisation and prepare agrarian reform;
>
> In the newly created committees for de-nazification as well as in all administrative bodies. Thereby a workers' majority could fight for the interests of the working people;
>
> In a joint election campaign against all reactionary, militarist and Nazi forces in order to avoid bourgeois candidates splitting the progressive vote.
>
> In joint support to the Free Trade Unions in order to win the

rights of negotiation in factories and economy for shop stewards and trade unions.

These detailed proposals made to the Hanover Conference were not even discussed there.

Then there are parties like the Christian Democratic Union, the Centre Party, which is active in the Rhineland, and the Free Democratic Party. The first is probably the largest and most influential party in the British zone, as it is in the American zone. Within these parties there are certainly many honest democrats and anti-fascists. But while in Berlin Christian trade unionists like Jakob Kaiser and Ernst Lemmer are in the chair of the Christian Democratic Union, in Western and Southern Germany many politicians who in 1933 capitulated before Hitler have taken over. They do not aim at a close anti-fascist unity between all parties but rather at a repetition of the coalition policy of the Weimar Republic. They envisage a coalition between the Christian Democrat Union and the Social Democratic Party. The policy of such a coalition would be directed against the Communists, that is against one large section of the working class in the British zone. This has been made unmistakably clear by Mr. Schlange-Schöningen, who today is head of the administration of food and agriculture in the British zone. In a letter written in October, 1945, this former German Nationalist Minister asked all his friends in Schleswig Holstein, big landowners and industrialists, to support a Christian Reconstruction Party which would be to the right of social Democracy but have a coalition with it. That would be "*a front of all patriotic Germans against the Communists.*"

A policy which refuses the united action of the two workers' parties, as Schumacher advises, would, therefore, antagonise the workers and progressive people in the British zone, who, as the May Day demonstrations have shown, are making powerful demands for a truly democratic policy and workers' unity. At the same time Social Democracy, preoccupied with its fight against the adherents of unity, would draw closer to the middle class parties—and repeat all mistakes of the Weimar Republic.

Such a policy would have the support of all Conservative Groups, of whom there are very many in the British zone but under the most diverse names and till now only allowed to function locally. At the end of March it was reported from Kiel:

"*The organisation of a new 'German Conservative Party' by the merger of a number of Rightist parties in the British zone was voted for here recently at a meeting of representatives of various small parties. The new party will ask for permission to function on a zone wide basis. Among the parties represented at the meeting were the German Reconstruction Party of Eckenförde, Rendsburg and surrounding districts, the Conservative People's Party of Steinburg, the German Conservative Party of Ploen, former seat of a Prussian Military Academy, and a number of other small parties still in process of organisation.*" (5).

Former Jew baiter Wulle has founded a "German Reconstruction Party" at Hamburg. In the Rhineland there are four separatist parties who either demand British Dominion Status for the Rhineland, or union with France or an independent Rhineland within the German Reich.

Most, if not all, of these groups can be considered as organisations of reactionary elements favoured by big capital and the landowners, especially those who fled from the East. Even if they call themselves "People's Party" or "Workers' Party," one should not forget that Adolf Hitler, too, called his party at first "German Workers' Party."

As after 1918, reaction in Germany dons a democratic cloak. They are defenders of "democracy"—against the unity of the Labour movement. Democracy in their view is the state of affairs where all progressive forces are split and fighting each other. They would like Socialists and Communists going all out in a suicidal, fratricidal struggle. Then other workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals would turn away from the workers' parties in disgust. They would not look to the workers' parties for a lead, but to other forces. Meanwhile the Nazis and all their friends in industry, among the Civil Service, former officers, landowners, war profiteers would entrench themselves in the administration. They would again act the parts of democrats until it suited them to throw off the mask.

Do not forget:

Many of the trust magnates who organised Nazi aggression are restoring their positions. They have created 24 Economic Associations (Wirtschaftsvereinigungen) and 26 Professional Associations (Fachverbände) in the British zone, which are just other names for their old Federations.

Many leading members of the former German National Party who helped Hitler into power and even took part in his first Government hold today leading positions in administration, such as Schlange-Schöningen, or Dr. Lehr, who is President of the North-Rhine Province.

Many big landowners have taken over land or are strenuously opposing agrarian reform;

Many instances are known of organised Nazi hooliganism against anti-fascists, especially in Schleswig-Holstein and North-West Germany.

The British zone could very quickly be brought into line with the more progressive developments in the Russian zone if there was close collaboration of the two workers' parties and of all honest anti-fascists and democrats in every pit, factory, village, local council, district and Provincial Government. Then, given British agreement, large-scale reforms could be carried through, such as agrarian reform, which is overdue, a change in industrial ownership, a big clean up of administration and school reform. It would help to solve many difficult problems, foremost the food problem, with which Military Government is today struggling. There would be no more talk of differences between Eastern and Western Germany and many causes of present friction between the occupation powers which are so eagerly exploited by Nazis and their like would disappear.

THE CHOICE

The German workers certainly would greet such a change wholeheartedly. But as long as the opponents of unity receive strong support from Great Britain and the British Labour Party they are apprehensive of a repetition of the Weimar Republic which led to Hitler. Because, as we tried to show, under the protection of that

republic, reaction gathered until it was strong enough to discard all masks and to begin to prepare for aggressive war again. This would be the unavoidable result of continued support for the policy of Schumacher and the conservative Schlange-Schöningen who today play a prominent part in the political life of the British zone.

There is a legitimate question which the German Socialist workers ask themselves. Is Great Britain really interested in a great political, social and cultural democratic transformation of Germany? Because if it is, then it should not hinder working class unity, which alone can bring about this transformation. Or is it, as it seems at present, building up a new Weimar Republic under its own leadership? This would mean much more than the splitting of Germany into two parts—one where the monopolists, big landowners, militarists and reactionary bureaucrats have been removed from power and another where they are still free to intrigue against peace and progress. Already many voices are heard which propose that the reparations programme laid down at Potsdam and the destruction of the German war potential especially in the Rhineland should not be carried through. Mr. Gerald Barry, in a letter to "The New Statesman and Nation," drew attention to these sinister proposals, citing Mr. Robert Boothby. He writes: "*. . . The hard objective of a single Germany within a harmonious Europe is joyously discarded, and the prospect of a world sharply divided into anti-Russian and pro-Russian is welcomed with ill-concealed impatience for its early and complete fulfilment. The objective is stated with complete candour. Less than twelve months after the second defeat of German militarism within a generation we are told of 'the incredible folly of limiting German industrial production in the West.' The Ruhr and the Saar are to become the centre of a close industrial alliance embracing Germany, France, Belgium, Luxemburg, and, of course, Great Britain. To make quite certain that there is no anti-German nonsense about this plan, we are reminded that it is, in fact, a revival of the dream of Dr. Rathenau, enemy of Socialism, chief industrial architect of the A.E.G. cartel and economic dictator of Germany in the 1914-18 war. Now the industrial build up which has twice laid Europe in ruins within a quarter of a century is to be reconstructed on a still more gigantic scale—but this time with a safeguard against it being used to attack Britain. Britain will not be among the victims of the combination this time, because Britain herself will be in it, will lead it. This time Germany will not be a menace, but an ally. A new foe has now been found, whose 'westward expansion' must be stopped. It is not such a vast step forward from this position to a proposal for a £1,000,000,000 loan to set the poor German industrialists on their feet. The deferred hopes of 1939 can now perhaps be realised. What a shame that so much time has been wasted, and so many millions of lives lost, by a tiresome and unnecessary diversion.*" (6).

It is because of these very real dangers that we say to the British Labour movement:

Support to the enemies of unity means to weaken democracy in Germany.

It will strengthen reaction and German imperialism which dream of a new aggressive war.

It will endanger peace.

It will not lead to Socialism.

But a united German working class will be able to transform Germany into a peaceful country, which can be accepted again into the community of nations.

In the interests of peace, of democracy, of socialism—support unity in Germany!

NOTES

CHAPTER I.

(1) From a message of greetings to the Social Democratic Party Congress at Berlin signed by 28 Labour M.P.'s and numerous Trade Unionists, April 15th, 1946.
(2) Report of the Commission of the World Federation of Trade Unions to investigate conditions in Germany, February, 1946.
(3) Radio Munich, 6.5.1946. Political commentary by Herbert Gessner.
(4) Report of World Federation of Trade Unions.
(5) A message of greetings, etc.
(6) Letter of Georgi Dimitroff to Prof. Harold Laski, "Daily Worker," May 11th, 1946.

CHAPTER II.

(1) Theses on Hitler-Fascism, by Walter Ulbricht, Einheit 1, February, 1946.
(2) The Lesson of Germany, a guide to her history, by Gerhart Eisler, Albert Norden and Albert Schreiner, International Publishers, New York, p. 46.
(3) Deutsche Volkszeitung Berlin, 16.4.1946.
(4) Der Irrweg einer Nation, by Alexander Abusch, Editorial El libro libre, Mexiko, p. 201.
(5) Ulbricht op. cit.
(6) The Lesson of Germany, p. 100.
(7) Behemoth, The Structure and practice of National Socialism, by Franz Neumann, Gollancz, p. 35.
(8) Speech at the Fusion Congress, Berlin, 14.4.1946.
(9) Ulbricht op. cit.

CHAPTER III.

(1) Die Programme der politischen Parteien im neuen Deutschland, Druckerei und Vertriebsgesellschaft Berlin, 1945, p. 26.
(2) Die Programme der politischen Parteien, p. 20.
(3) Speech at a meeting of the antifascist parties, Deutsche Volkszeitung, 14.8.1946.
(4) Deutsche Volkszeitung, 20.9.1946.
(5) B.B.C. Monitor, 25.4.1946.
(6) News of Germany, March 1st, 1946.
(7) "Soviet Policy in Germany," "The Times," 1.5.1946.
(8) Reported by Walter Holmes, "Daily Worker," 28.5.46.
(9) "News Chronicle," 10.5.46.
(10) Speech at Conference of District Functionaries of Brandenburg Province, 16.2.46.
(11) Das Volk, 21.5.46.
(12) B.B.C. Monitor, 20.4.46.

CHAPTER IV.

(1) Report on the International Post War Settlement, June, 1944.
(2) "Daily Worker," 16.4.1946.
(3) Manifesto of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Neues Deutschland, 25.4.1946.
(4) Der Morgen, 26.4.46.
(5) News of Germany, 26.3.46.
(6) The New Statesman and Nation, 25.5.1946.

What is happening in Germany to-day ?

How far are the Allies rebuilding Democracy?

Is there a possibility of Hitler Fascism re-emerging and preparing World War Number 3?

These are questions which affect you !

On their answer depends whether the free peoples, who have won the war, are to be successful in winning the peace.

SEARCHLIGHT

ON

GERMANY

Published by the "British Council for German Democracy," 20 Buckingham St., London, W.C.2.

Publishes unbiased reports on the situation and discusses all aspects of Germany's economic, political and cultural problems.

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW!

Subscription Rates: 12 issues post free, 4s.; 6 issues post free, 2s.

Terms for Organisations:

For 12 copies and over, 16⅔% discount. Under 12 copies, net.

Published by New Germany Publications, Ltd., 56 Upper Park Road, London, N.W.3, and printed by Dorchester and District Newspapers, Ltd. (T.U.), Trinity Street, Dorchester, Dorset.

What is

by William Gallacher, M.P.

DEMOCRACY, Democracy, what is Democracy? Never was there such a clamour, never so many of our bright lads ready to take sides, never such a consensus of opinion, if we take the British press for our guide, that we are blessed above all other countries, that we alone have democracy of the highest possible standard, while other more unfortunate nations grope about in the dark, unable to achieve our heavenly measure of enlightenment. Pardon. I forgot America. There also there is democracy, almost comparable with ours. But however much the " bright lads " talk, not one of them ever feels capable of telling us what they mean by democracy. True, when they are driven to the wall, they can always be relied on to jump back to the Gettysburg speech of Abraham Lincoln and give us his famous phrase " Government of the people, for the people, by the people." That's about all we've ever got by way of definition. What is it worth? It's not worth a damn. It means nothing and explains nothing. But it sounds nice and as our " intellectuals " are always more concerned with " sound " than they are with " content," it has been lapped up as the final word on the vexed question of democracy. There never has been, and never will be, Government " for the people." There always has been, and always will be (while there are governments) Government in the interest of certain people, against the interest of other people. Take America, " The " great democracy. Is there anyone crazy enough to say that the Government there is a government " for the people " whether that government be Democratic or Republican?

The American " people " is composed of great monopoly capitalists, plantation-owners, grafters and crooks of all descriptions, all of whom live at the expense and on the labour of great masses of workers and professional people. Amongst these are millions of " foreign-born " workers, who are particularly subjected to exploitation. Even more so are the negroes and poor whites in the Southern States of the Union.

Is the American Government, Democratic or Republican, " for " those masses of workers? Far from it. It is " for " Private Enterprise, in other words, it is a government for the big financiers, whose job is to keep the masses in order, either by brute force or by concession, whichever is most in accord with the interest of the big financiers.

Of course there can be opposing interests amongst this ruling clique and out of this opposition there may be certain advantages to be obtained by the masses, but these must always be in the

nature of things, limited. The Government is a government for the ruling cliques.

Let us come back home and see what goes on. Would anyone say that a Tory Government is a government " for the people "? Liberal and Labour leaders have for long enough impressed us with the fact that a Tory Government is a government of vested interest.

There again we must ask the question. What is the British people? It is made up of Tory landowners, Tory financiers, crooks and quacks of all descriptions and masses of workers and professional people on whom they batten, like limpets to a rock.

Here let me digress for a moment. Professional people are often deluded into the belief that their interests are somehow or another tied up with the Tory landowners and financiers. It is all wrong. An advancing working class represents an advancing civilisation, and that means an ever-widening sphere of activity for all professions. So always if I speak of the workers I include along with them those who should be their allies in the search for " new horizons."

To get back to the Tories. A Tory government is a government for the Tory landowners and Tory financiers and only incidentally concerns itself with the welfare of the masses. That concern may take the form of drastic repression or the form of a mild concession, but always with a view to protecting the present structure of society, the maintenance of the Tory landowners and the Tory financiers. Just try to imagine a Tory government coming out to the country and gathering the trade unions and the masses of workers behind it for an assault on the landowners and the financiers—well, we'd have to have strange powers of imagery. A Tory government is not " for the people," it is for the parasitic few and against the exploited many.

But now we have a Labour Government, is it " for the people"? Well, I hope not, I want to see it acting for the great majority of the people against the parasitic few. In other words, if the Labour Government is going to do its job, as it should be done, it will be " for the workers " and against the landowners and financiers. It cannot be for both. If it doesn't face up to that it will fail and failure would be a disaster. Not government " for the people," but government for a class against the enemies of that class. In the Soviet Union, whose democracy our pundits so volubly criticise, there is government " for the great mass of the people," workers, collective farmers, and professional people, all united, against the remnants of Czarism, the remnants of Kulakism, saboteurs, wreckers and agents of outside capitalism.

Government of a class, against another class, that is the function of Government, the function of the State. A study of Marx and Lenin would make that clear to the most reluctant. Alas, they will not make the study.

What, then, is democracy? I will hazard a definition of what is generally meant when we discuss it.

Democracy is majority decision, arrived at by men and women who stand in an equal relation one to the other.

The Party System

Now take that definition and jump across to America again. Mr. Byrnes, the Secretary of State, has recently been lamenting the absence of democracy in certain of the Balkan countries. It saddens Mr. Byrnes to think of it. But it doesn't worry Mr. Byrnes, in his own State of South Carolina the "poor whites" and the negroes are deprived of the right to vote by the poll-tax, which they are quite unable to pay. In those cases where the negroes are able to pay the poll-tax, they would take a great risk going to the ballot stations. Is there anyone would dream of saying that the negro in South Carolina stands in anything like equal relationship to Mr. Byrnes? Or that any ordinary worker in any American city stands on an equal relationship to a big monopoly capitalist with all his control over the press, the radio and the pulpit? What a foundation on which to build democracy! And it is the same over here. Take the miners labouring long hours every day down in the bowels of the earth, getting home tired and weary and compare him with the man who controls millions and through these millions buys up all kinds of propaganda and educational agencies; is it possible to say that they stand in equal relationship to one another? Or take the agricultural labourer and compare his position with that of the Squire or the Bishop of the English Church. The relationship between these makes democracy, in any real sense, impossible.

But then we have the party system and that helps to equalise things. Maybe so, but the party system is in itself an admission of the faulty character of our democracy, even while it serves to maintain its worst features. For never let us forget, we have had the party system in this country for at least three centuries, and it has, so far, kept the landowners and parasites generally well on the top, while the masses have struggled, generation after generation, to keep body and soul together, down at the bottom.

In America the party system has been eminently successful. So successful that in "democratic America" there are no representatives of the workers in the Congress or the Senate. No wonder Byrnes looks askance at the Balkans.

But after all our party system, which we are so anxious to impose on other people (we would even like Russia to adopt it) is a reflection of our social system.

In the earlier days of Parliament there were no parties, only members controlled by the King's Ministers. But then there were no great differences between those who were qualified to be elected. Gradually the opposition of the city merchants to the privileges of the aristocracy began to assert itself. It took on, at first, a religious character, for the robbers, on whatever side they may be, must always have a religious sanction. The fight, therefore, gathered around the "Exclusion Bill." This was for the exclusion of James, who was an avowed Catholic, as successor to his brother, Charles II. It was around this issue in 1680 that the division took on the character of Whigs and Tories, and the party system came into being.

During the nineteenth century we had the great period of enlightenment, when liberalism became the watchword of the industrialists. They were the great protagonists of "freedom." Freedom to trade, freedom to employ the landless proletarians when and under what conditions they cared to impose and in line with that freedom for every man to go to hell by whichever way he chose. It was a great party, the Liberal Party. But even as it prospered, it was moving to its inevitable end. More and more as industry grew and concentrated the powerful capitalists made their peace and joined their families with the aristocracy. They had no further need for liberalism. At the same time as this decaying process was going on, a new party was rising—a party based on the organised working class—the Labour Party.

Now the Liberal Party has gone, never to return, and the stage is held by Labour and Tory. What do they represent? They represent a society with landowners, capitalists and workers. But suppose the Labour Party succeeded in realising its ultimate goal, what then? No landowners, no capitalists, would mean no party of the landowners and capitalists. That would leave only one party, a party of the workers. True it is that at the present moment the working-class movement is not united. But we all want it united. We are only not agreed on the method. The Communists want affiliation, the labour leaders want unity through liquidation of the Communist Party. We are all, ostensibly at any rate, for unity. Sooner or later we'll achieve it. If we get unity, one party for the workers and professional people, and then put the landlords and capitalists out of business, we'll be left with one party and it would be childish nonsense to look around for another, just for the sake of having two. It would be madness in particular to encourage the existence of a party that aimed at sabotaging our Socialist State for the purpose

of restoring landlordism and capitalism again. Yet this is what we are trying to force on Poland and the Balkan countries. In these countries capitalism was not highly developed. The big landowners all had their sons in the Officers Corps of the armies, and through these imposed their will upon the masses. The Government was their Government, the Army was their Army. Now they have gone. Their estates are divided up amongst the peasants. The various groupings who fought against the Germans remain united to hold and keep their gains. They have put forward agreed upon lists of candidates. "It's not right," our pundits shout, "it's not democracy, you must give the landowners a chance to get back on top again." That's how the Foreign Office sees it. That's how it decides its policy. Was it because Leeper the Ambassador and General Scobie were such devotees of democracy that British tanks and British lives were put at the disposal of the landowners of Greece, and used against the E.A.M.?

Here in this country democracy carries with it the landowners and the capitalists, and what's good enough for us ought to be good enough for the Balkans. If there isn't a party of reaction, then there isn't democracy; that's our story and we stick to it; and if these fellows in the Balkans won't listen to it, then we'll hammer it into them with tanks, bombs and bayonets.

But at this point, just a thought. There is democracy, very much so, in the trades unions of this country and in the great Co-operative movement. Democracy in the sense of which we always speak of it, where majority decisions are made and operated by men and women who stand in equal relation one to another and there is no "party system" to make it work. The "party system" is no part of democracy. It is, as I have already made clear, a reflection of the character of our society; and with a change in society, the form of democracy will change. Instead of objecting to the "one party" method in other countries, we should be working towards the "one party" method here. In other words, to the end of landlordism and capitalism and the realisation of our Socialist goal.

Talk Unlimited

One of the arguments put up for our form of democracy is especially peculiar. The All-Union Soviet Parliament meets only periodically, sits for a few days, does its business and departs, each of its members going back to work in his area. What a contrast with our Parliament, which, apart from frequent recesses, is always sitting and always talking.

Even a careful writer, like A. J. Cummings, can say in the *News Chronicle* (October 2, 1945): "We are pretty certain ours,

with all its defects, is the better one. Let it end there." No, I don't think we'll let it end there. I think we'll just begin. Our method of government is not designed to get things done, but to prevent things from being done. Is that a desirable method of government? Of course, there's talk, plenty of it and it's called "democratic discussions." But what is it all about? Take the Catering Bill for a start. Here was a Bill seeking to give the most elementary justice to a body of badly exploited men and women. It should have been passed in half an hour. In the Soviet Union, the subject matter of such a Bill would be discussed in the trade unions and co-operatives and general agreement arrived at. When it came before the Soviet Parliament, it would only have to be registered. Why? Because there are no landowners and capitalists there to block it with amendments. But in the British Parliament, what happens? As soon as the Bill appears, the Tories interested in the catering trade get the lawyers on the job. Hundreds of amendments are put down. Every conceivable obstacle the vested interests can find is placed in the way. Days and weeks of talk inside the House, with interminable squabbles outside, before such a small and insignificant measure can be got through the House of Commons. But it latterly got through. Now consider the claims of the old age pensioners. For over ten years they have been making a campaign for 30s. per week without a means test. Time and time again it has been raised in the House. Joe Tinker, with the backing of quite a number of us, raised it in season and out. Any god's amount of talk, but no justice for the old age pensioners. The job, after ten years, still remains to be done, although every democratic organisation in the country is in support of the demand. It is our method of government that has held it back.

And then, consider the coal crisis. Shinwell has been handed a tough job; but he is a tough lad, and we will do all we can to help him through with it. But twenty-five years ago the Sankey Commission, by a majority, recommended nationalisation of the mines as the only solution for the mining crisis; twenty-five years ago. Since then there has been discussion after discussion in the House of Commons on the question of mines. All the time the House of Commons was concerned with preventing the solution. While the House of Commons went on talking, miners were being killed and maimed down the pits, strikes and lock-outs were bringing, time and again, starvation to the mining villages; and now after all this suffering, and after twenty-five years of quite unproductive talk, we are back to the Sankey proposal, nationalisation of the mines. No, I don't think that method of government can commend itself to those who are exploited, however desirable it may be to those who are exploiting. As a matter of fact, the situation has become so bad that the first action of the Labour Government was to propose a committee

to examine into the procedure of the House of Commons and see if anything could be done to expedite its business. As things are, it's impossible to carry forward any wide range of important legislation. The Tories will do everything within their power to prevent any real speed up. When we get rid of the Tories, then there will be less talk and more and quicker decisions. We also will be able to " register " what the democratic organisations have discussed and agreed on; and then get back to our districts.

Dictatorship and Democracy

Another matter that calls for consideration and one that has been the subject of endless confusion, is that of the " Dictatorship of the Proletariat "—a phrase used by Marx to express the character of a situation that was bound to arise when the workers' State replaced the capitalist State. But those who refuse to study or understand Marx, and who therefore know little or nothing about the forces operating in society—to such, dictatorship is dictatorship and democracy is democracy and " never the twain shall meet." To these history has no meaning, nor has the [illegible] class relations of a particular society. They see the surface appearance, they refuse to penetrate beneath it. Were they to examine present-day society in this country, it might strike them as strange, that their vaunted system of democracy is built on a foundation of class dictatorship, that is very real to those who suffer under it. Of course, for the " intellectual " who has never been inside of a factory, never been bullied or cursed by a " gaffer " or manager, the dictatorship doesn't exist. But it's there. Shortly after the last war the A.E.U. had a terrific fight on its hands on the issue of " Managerial functions." The engineers were claiming a say in conditions in the factories. The employers denied their right to any say, and claimed for themselves all power to employ or dismiss and to govern the factory through their managers and foremen. No say of any kind for the masses of workers. After a long fight the A.E.U. was forced to submit and the dictatorship of the employers was accepted. During the recent war, production at a higher rate than anything hitherto known was essential; and to get it, " Production Committees " were set up. These committees were of the greatest value for the nation, but were continually being sabotaged by employers, who feared their dictatorial powers were being jeopardised. Now the war is over these same employers want controls removed; want back their old powers complete. But leaving that, we will consider the question purely in relation to political democracy.

While it is true that there can be dictatorship, as was the case in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, or as in Franco Spain, with

no element of democracy left, there have been continual instance of the two going together. Dictatorship, in the modern world, always expresses the will of a class, against the enemies of that class within and outside the country of its adoption. The circumstances determine the measure of democracy that will operate within the dictatorship.

No one would say, for instance, that democracy was unknown in this country till the Reform Act of 1832. Yet prior to that a very limited number of people in this country had a vote. There was democracy for the ruling clique. But the ruling clique, through a whole series of laws and subservient judges, kept a rigid dictatorship over the masses of the people. For a period even the ruling clique was divided. For over two centuries, from the time of Henry VIII till the Emancipation Act, there was a ruthless, savage dictatorship directed against the Catholics.

No Catholic could hold a public office or sit in our democratic parliament. For two centuries that went on, but for almost six centuries, while the "Mother of Parliaments" was nursing "democrats" of one kind and another, the iron hand of dictatorship was clamped down heavily on the people. Read the history of this country and see there how the dictatorship built up its powerful bulwark of defence (by democratic methods), holding off the masses from participation, until its defences were complete.

Or let us have another look at the United States of America. Where did the Democratic Party of America have its home, its stronghold? In the Slave States. Lincoln was the first President of the new party—the Republican party—and he represented the industrial North and Middle West against the "Democratic" slave-owners. In these Southern States, before the Civil War, there was a classic case of dictatorship and democracy. There was democracy for the aristocratic planters, from which the "poor whites" were excluded (what could "White Trash" know about affairs of State? What "rights" were they entitled to? None whatsoever). So there was there a rigid dictatorship over the poor whites, as well as slavery for the negroes, but all the democratic forms recognised and operated by and for the planters. Since the Civil War there has been little actual change. In some of these States the dictatorship is so rigid that only about seven to ten per cent of the citizens are qualified to vote.

In the Soviet Union the Proletarian Dictatorship is directed against the enemies of the proletariat. Of course, there are those who foolishly talk about it being a dictatorship imposed on the proletariat. By whom? Oh, they will answer, the Communist Party. But the Communist Party is made up of proletarians, the great bulk of whom work in the mines, the mills and factories.

It doesn't make sense. Dictatorship, let me say again, is used by a class against the enemies of that class. It may be used, as it has been used time and again, by the capitalists against the workers; it may be used as it is in the Soviet Union, against the internal and external enemies of the Soviet people. It cannot be used by people against themselves. It is possible for the capitalists to impose a dictatorship on the workers and operate democratic forms for themselves. So will the workers. They also, through a workers' State, may operate a dictatorship against their enemies while maintaining every form of democratic expression for themselves. That is the basic character of trade unionism. Democracy for its members, but its whole power used to impose the will of the members on their enemies the capitalists. Of course, trade union leaders will negotiate with the employers, because they do not feel strong enough to enforce their demands. But even in negotiation there is always the latent threat; accept our terms or we close down your business.

When the movement is strong enough it will put the capitalists out of business altogether. Democracy and dictatorship, these are expressed in all our union activities. If we are strong enough, we will dictate our own terms to our enemies.

That is the case in the Soviet Union. The Soviet, or Workers' Council, is the great contribution to progress made by the Russian workers. It is not some artificial piece of machinery invented by the Bolsheviks. It was the form of democratic expression organised by the workers in the Revolutionary struggle of 1905. It was their democratic method of organisation in 1917. It was the genius of Lenin that early enabled him to realise that something new had entered into the class struggle, that what Marx and Engels saw for the first time "as through a glass, darkly" had now become clear—the Democratic weapon that would impose the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and that would carry the Revolution to victory.

Democracy in the Labour Movement

In all countries, the big bourgeoisie have been prepared to use the strength of the people in order to force an accommodation with the aristocracy. In this country they said in effect: "Take us in along with you or we'll use the masses to destroy you." Having become part and parcel of the aristocracy, they had no more time for the workers other than to exploit them.

But some of the lower middle-class, always willing to learn from their "betters," took up where they left off. They saw the value of the masses as a threat to the new combination of aristocracy and finance. They sought ways and means of using it, and so the Fabian Society was born. Of course, the leading

Fabians didn't declare this to be their business. For them to have come out and said, "We're going to use the masses, or at least the threat of the masses, to force the new combination to take us into the charmed circle" would have been fatal. Yet Tawney, in his book *The Acquisitive Society*, puts it almost as bluntly as that.

Shaw, Wells, Webb and Co. had a much better approach. They, out of their own heads, formulated a theory of socialism, of the most nebulous, but at the same time of the most attractive character, Shaw, who is an authority on big game hunting, explained it somewhat as follows: If you're going to cut the head off a tiger, don't approach it from the front. Take it in the rear. Speak soothing words to it and cut off its tail. It won't notice that. Keep up the process and you'll have its head off before it ever dreams you're attacking it. "Aw," you say, "nobody believes that." Well, I'll call David Kirkwood and Alex Sloan to witness, that one of the most popular Ministers in the Coalition Government, whenever anything came up affecting his department, always pleaded with us not to make a row in the House. "Ive got to the rear of the tiger," he would say, "it doesn't know what I'm up to. But if you fellows start shouting, you'll startle it and give the whole game away." Yes, sir, the Fabians have a theory, "the inevitability of gradualness," although a couple of world wars have knocked it somewhat cock-eyed. But the idea is to achieve socialism a little bit at a time, getting the capitalist class accustomed to it as you go along, and sooner or later, without trouble of any kind, we'll arrive at complete Socialist Society.

But as you can understand, this is a very delicate process and requires men with special aptitude to handle it. Rude, crude, brutal Marxists would never do for this. They'd spill the beans before the process got right started, and off would go the tiger. No, for this job the cultured intellectuals of the middle-class are necessary and these the Fabians propose to supply.

We cannot here discuss the history and development of the Labour movement, but from early on, it came under the baneful influence of the Fabians.

In 1920 the Communist Party was founded. It had a hard fight against Fabianism in the Labour movement. But however hard it was, we kept at it and would ultimately have beaten the Fabians, had they not taken drastic measures to stop our progress. They succeeded in getting a series of resolutions carried, depriving us of all democratic rights within the Labour Party. The Labour Party has all along depended for its existence on the political levy paid by the trades unions. Every trade unionist who paid the political levy was, and is, a member of the

Labour Party, and can participate in all conferences and activities of the Labour Party and be eligible as Labour Party candidate for local authorities or for parliament—all except the Communists—they are banned. No Communist can hold an official position in the Labour Party, no Communist can be elected to Labour's "annual parliament," the Labour Party Conference. They are in exactly the same position in the Labour Party as the Catholics once were in the country: yet Catholics, who consider that one of the greatest crimes in history was the banning of the Catholics between the time of Henry VIII and the Emancipation Bill, join with non-Catholics in the unholy task of depriving trade unionists who are Communists of their democratic rights within the Labour movement. As a result of this ban, the success of the Fabians has been phenomenal.

The trade unions put up the money to keep the Labour Party going. They pay the piper, but the Fabians enjoy the music. Engineers, railwaymen, transport workers, miners, general workers, electricians, moulders, cotton-workers and all the rest of them "pay, pay, pay," and Hannen Swaffer tells us in the *Daily Herald* that 229 of the Labour Members of Parliament are Fabians. Could there be a better system of democracy anywhere? The aristocracy is secure, the financiers are safe, the Fabians are sitting pretty. What more could anyone ask for, as long as the workers are prepared to carry the burden. If only Stalin and Tito and the peoples of the Balkans generally would understand democracy as we understand it, everybody would be happy—well, everybody that matters, that is. But somehow or another they won't be reasonable. They persist in a form of democracy that excludes aristocracy, financiers, and Fabians. A form of democracy that retains the power in the hands of the workers. Maybe one day soon the workers here will get tired of carrying all these others on their backs, then we also will have a new form of democracy. That day can't come too soon.

Democracy and the Press

In this country we have a free press. At least, we are always told so. In the Soviet Union the press isn't free, not, at any rate, in the sense that ours is. Just consider for a moment. In the Soviet Union there are thousands of daily papers, Government papers, party papers, trade union papers, Co-operative papers, young Communist papers and factory papers, as well as army and navy papers: plenty of them: discussing every question that affects the work and life of the people. Often these papers are extremely critical of the administration, in the factories, in the local or national Soviets. The late Marcus Samuel, who never missed a chance of getting an article published against the Soviet

Union, always quoted at great length critical articles from Soviet newspapers in order to bolster up his attacks. In what sense are the Soviet papers not free? We'll understand that question better, if we ask in what sense our papers are free. Out of all the daily papers in this country (and there are hundreds of them) only one daily newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, doesn't belong to a capitalist undertaking. The main dailies belong to Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Kemsley, Lord Camrose, Lord Southwood or some other such well-known "democrat." But if the Tory landowners, the Tory financiers and, *ipso jacto*, the Tory Party, were abolished, as we propose to abolish them, then who would run the press? Obviously, the Government, the party, the trades unions, co-operatives, etc., the same as in the Soviet Union.

But it's difficult, very difficult, to get people to grasp a simple proposition of that kind, especially when our "free" press is able to hire, at very high salaries, a whole host of subservient scribes. Added to these are the voluntary scribes, who tower high in the realm of intellect. Such a one is a lad named Bertrand Russell. He, if I may say so, is a bloke with a great mind. But to be quite frank, if it wasn't for the position I occupy and which I must try to live up to, I'd say he was just a damned blether. He writes to the Glasgow *Forward* to lament the fact that the Soviet people are kept in ignorance of what is going on outside the Soviet Union. If only they had a "free" press! If only Stalin and his associates would allow a few Grand Dukes to take over, what a difference it would make! The Grand Duke Mike with the *Express* in Moscow, the Grand Duke Nick with *The Times* in Leningrad, another for Kharkov, one for Kiev and a special Grand Duke for Stalingrad. All of them with estates and millions stolen from the workers, engaged in tearing the heart out of the Soviet system and advocating the return of Czarism, landlordism and capitalism, what a delight that would be to all the advocates of a "free" press controlled by and in the interests of the capitalists. And what a soothing picture for Bertrand Russell, Michael Foot and the rest of their tribe.

This Bertrand Russell fellow told in *Forward* of someone who met some Russian soldiers who talked about Moscow's subway and they thought it was the only subway in the world. They didn't know there was a subway in London or in New York. My, oh my! Mr. Russell felt like shedding tears. "Imagine," says he, "nobody in Russia except the few at the top knew we had a subway in London." Will you shed a tear with Mr. Russell? Now I believe it's possible that a soldier in the Red Army, drawn from some of the far-away Republics, might not have heard of London's tubes. Nay, it may even be possible to get one that hadn't heard of Moscow's subway. I wouldn't like to bet on it either way. But I am absolutely positive there's a

whole lot of people in England, aye, and in Scotland, who don't know we have a subway in Glasgow. I wonder if Mr. Russell knows? What does that prove? It doesn't prove anything. Now I'll tell a better one than Russell's and it has the advantage of being true. A very good comrade of mine left Scotland for a holiday in England at the beginning of September, this year, 1945. He is a naturalised British subject and he spent a few days with a couple of compatriots, also naturalised. They wanted to pass the time playing cards. My friend didn't want to play cards, he wanted to talk politics. " Never mind politics," the older one said, " play cards. Let Lloyd George talk politics, that's his business." My friend said to me in a tone of utter disgust, " They didn't know that Lloyd George was dead. They thought he was still Prime Minister." How's that, Mr. Russell? Would I be entitled to say on the strength of it, that naturalised Britishers, with the exception of a few on top, don't know that we have a Labour Government, with Attlee as Prime Minister?

I happened to be in Moscow when the Underground was started. In every factory, in every trade union they were discussing it, because all of the workers producing material for it, were working to a plan. In many cases they were able to make a considerable cut in the time originally scheduled. In these discussions, they had all the information regarding labour, material and time taken in similar undertakings in Germany, France, Britain and America. Time and again I was asked questions about London's Tubes and what I thought about the projected Moscow Tubes, how they would compare with London. What a travesty of intelligence this man Russell displays, when he tries to get people to believe, that engineers, say, in any country, don't know what is going on in other countries. " Free " press. What a joke. Here is something that can be tested, that can be put to he proof. We have a " free " press. Have we? We have an Embassy in Moscow, none of whom have ever been specially distinguished as pioneers of human progress.

This Embassy makes regular reports to the Foreign Office. Along with the Embassy, press representatives of all the principal papers. They also send regular reports to this country, the country with the " free " press. Yet, so strictly is our " free " press controlled, when the Nazis made their treacherous onslaught on the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941, nobody in this country, outside of readers of the *Daily Worker*, not even the few at the top, knew anything whatever about the strength or the power of resistance of the Soviet Union. Not even Churchill or the members of his Cabinet had any idea of what the Red Army and the Soviet people were capable of achieving. " Three weeks and it will be all over." That was the opinion of our

military " experts." That was the dismal feeling in the House of Commons. Our Embassy and our " free " press had piled up lies on the top of lies and anyone who tried to convey anything that approximated to the truth could find little opportunity in any of the popular papers. At the time of the Finnish war, self-deception was carried to an amazing height—or depth. Here was a great military undertaking. An attack on a well-prepared, well-defended strategic line, in the dead of winter. Yet in two, or three months, the well-constructed miles of the Mannerheim line, were blown to smithereens and the war was over. No other nation in the world could have done it. But did we learn anything from that outstanding military feat? Not a thing. Our " free " press gave us nothing but lies and slanders of the most disgusting character. A deputation from the Labour movement went to Finland to see the situation for themselves. Citrine, Noel-Baker and a representative of the Co-ops. They saw Mannerheim and his fascist colleague Tanner. They told them all about the Red Army. They even produced some wretched Finnish peasants, dressed up in bits of Red Army uniforms and introduced them as Red Army prisoners of war. When they came back Noel-Baker made a report to the Parliamentary Labour Party. It almost broke his heart to give it, but he had to be honest, he'd tell the truth though the heavens fell. The men of the Red Army, said he, are poor, poor specimens, half-starved, ill-clad, no decent equipment, and no boots. That was the gist of his story. And Noel-Baker is really an honest fellow, but he had swallowed Mannerheim's lies wholesale, because they were in keeping with what he had already been reading each day in our " free " press.

When the Germans were driving towards Moscow, Members of Parliament were anxiously watching the tape. They had the feeling that when the Nazis finished with the Red Army they would possess the whole of Europe and could then deal with Britain at their leisure. It wasn't a comfortable thought. I was then in great demand. The few at the top wanted to know something about Russia. Day after day they were at me. Again David Kirkwood or Alex Sloan will testify, if need be. " Tell me this," " Tell me that." Question after question. " Is the Red Army well equipped? What sort of man is Stalin? Have they got sufficient industry to keep the Army supplied? How strong is the Air Force? Will the people of Russia stand up to it? " These and others were put to me by members of all parties. All anxious to know the truth. Our " free " press had not only kept them in ignorance, much worse, it had filled their heads with rubbish taken from the European sewers. Unfortunately some of the rubbish came from the British Embassy in Moscow.

One day I was speaking to Sydney Silverman, when who should come over but Noel-Baker. He was greatly disturbed. The Germans were at the gates of Moscow. But as the force of their offensive had weakened it ought to have been obvious that they would never break through to Moscow. "Hello, Willie," said Noel, "do you think Moscow will hold out?" "Sure it will," I replied, "there's no fear of Moscow." "You think the Red Army will hold them?" was his next. "What do you think they're doing?" I exclaimed. "Oh," he said, with a touch of fervour, "I think they're magnificent." "Yes," I said, "and without boots." He had the grace to blush. Soon after this the Ministry of Information sent out a few lecturers, with lantern slides, to lecture on the Soviet Union. For the first time our people got to see a little of what life was like in the Soviet Union. At these meetings it was a commonplace to hear men and women say, "Why haven't they told us the truth before?" Because the press of this country doesn't exist to tell the truth. It exists under the control of the capitalists to defend and maintain the capitalists. Time and again it had lied about and slandered the miners, the railwaymen, the engineers and all other sections of the workers, when they have been on the streets fighting for existence. If it will lie about and slander the workers at home, what will it not do about the workers of other countries, who seek to free themselves from the power of the exploiters? There's over forty million people in this country. The great daily papers are owned and controlled by a handful of capitalists. That has nothing in common with democracy. Only when the people themselves, as in the Soviet Union, control the press, only then will it be free, only then will it be democratic.

* * * *

So I could go on. I have already referred to industry, where the masses of people spend the greatest part of their working life and where democracy is conspicuously lacking. Then take such powerful and influential institutions as the Church, particularly in the country areas; the Radio and the Cinema. What democratic control is there in these? None whatever. "Bourgeois Democracy," as Lenin so often said, is limited, very, very limited and cannot by any means be presented as a standard for our progressive people.

Published by The Trinity Trust, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Farleigh Press Ltd. (*T.U. all depts.*), Beechwood Rise, Watford.

the united nations

by MOHAN KUMARAMANGALA

THE UNITED NATIONS

Instrument For Peace . . . . Or Dictatorship Of The Big Five?

by

Mohan Kumaramangalam

PEOPLE'S PUBLIHSING HOUSE

Bombay 4

EIGHT ANNAS

First Edition, September, 1945.

CONTENTS

		Page
1.	Scope of The Conference	1
2.	What is the "Veto"	4
3.	The Story of Intrigue	12
4.	The Great Press Deception	20
5.	Colonial Trusteeship	26
6.	The Road to Peace	31
	APPENDICES.	
	I. Summary of the Charter of the United Nations ..	40
	II. Soviet Stand on the Colonial Problem ..	45
	III. Egyptian "Independence"	46

Printed by Sharaf Athar Ali, New Age Printing Press, 1908, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4, and published by him for People's Publishing House, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

SECTION ONE

Scope Of The Conference

The San Francisco Conference ended two months ago. It laid down a charter for an International Organisation which was signed by the representatives of 50 nations attending the Conference, an international organisation to keep the peace, to prevent war. What is its significance—for our people and the peoples of the world ?

In our country the reaction to the Conference has been almost unanimous—that the New Peace Organisation is not an organisation for the maintenance of peace—but for the domination of the world by the Great Powers ; that it means the dictatorship of the Great Powers over the small ; and finally that it was the Soviet Union that was unyielding on the question of "dictatorship of the Big Five" while even Britain and the U.S.A. were prepared to make concessions.

Five years ago would we in India have believed that it was the Soviet Union that stood for the domination of Great Nations over small, while our own rulers of Great Britain and the biggest capitalist power of the world, the U.S.A., were standing up for the rights of small nations ?

At that time we could see through the open British propaganda against the Soviet—as a 'red' dictatorship, as "a menace to civilisation"; we did not believe it, knowing that the Soviet alone has launched no aggressive war, has no colonies, is a socialist republic of free peoples. But in 1941 Germany attacked the Soviet, the Anglo-Soviet alliance to destroy Hitlerism was achieved. *Reuter's* line of propaganda changed—now it was that the Soviet

leaders had become 'realists', had given up their anti-imperialism, had become just another imperial Big Power with similar interests and a similar policy. And in our own country, frustrated because we still remained slaves, and the Soviet entry into war against Hitler had not brought us freedom, we began to accept and believe this new line of Tory anti-Soviet propaganda.

It was this four-year propaganda barrage that has led us into the peculiar position when we are ready to believe that Churchill, sworn enslaver and enemy of our people has been transformed into the crusader for the rights of small nations, while Stalin, symbol of Russian people's struggle to establish a new socialist democracy, has also been transformed—into the trampler of rights of small nations!

Even the Working Committee of our National Congress, highest tribunal of our people, has echoed these sentiments. Four years ago it passed a resolution, saying:

> "The Soviet Union has stood for certain human, cultural and social values, which are of great importance on the road of the progress of humanity. The Working Committee consider that it would be a tragedy if the cataclysm of war involved the destruction of this endeavour and achievement. They have admired the astonishing self-sacrifice and heroic courage of the Soviet people in defence of their country and freedom and send them their warmest sympathy." (Bardoli, December, 1941).

Yet the Working Committee—after the very same Soviet Union by "its self-sacrifice and heroic courage" had proved victorious in its battle against Hitlerism—condemns a charter for peace which the Soviet had a big part in drafting:

> "The Committee regrets" runs its resolution of July, 1945 "that the position allotted to the smaller nations is one lacking all effectiveness and the Great Powers not only dominate and completely control the organisation but are placed above and beyond the law they themselves have helped in framing."

Is this criticism justified ?

First let us get straight the objective of the San Francisco Conference. The objective of the Conference was *not* to confer freedom and independence on the colonies, on our own country ; it was not to establish socialism in Great Britain and the United States ; it was not to nationalise all arms industries.

For all these can be achieved only with the abolition of imperialism, and pre-eminently of British and U. S. imperialism. And imperialism is abolished, destroyed not by diplomacy, round the Conference table, but by the power of the *people*, the people of Britain and the U.S.A. and our own country—just as Czarist imperialism was destroyed by the people of Russia.

The San Francisco Conference had one objective—the establishment of an international organisation for peace, an organisation whose structure would be the best possible through which the peoples of the world to-day could struggle to maintain peace. The Conference met after five long years of bloody carnage in which tens of millions had died, hundreds of millions had lost their nearest and dearest. It met because all the peoples who had contributed to the victory over Nazi Fascism did not want that their children and grandchildren should have to suffer as they had.

It met to outlaw war. But everyone knows that war cannot be abolished till imperialism is abolished. The first world war arose out of imperialist rivalry between Britain and Germany ; the second world war arose out of the hatred of the Western imperialists for the Soviet, their refusal to join up with the Soviet against Nazi aggression ; their hope that Nazi Germany would turn eastward against the Soviet.

Prevention of war in today's world means the defeat of the imperialist policy of aggression and conquest of small nations ; it means defeat of the imperialist policy of organising a war to destroy the Soviet Union (which was the red line of British foreign policy during the entire period between the two world wars) ; it means particularly today defeat of the plans of Tory reaction in Britain and the U.S. to launch an anti-Soviet war, to launch a war aimed at enslaving new peoples.

But, it is also clear enough that the peoples of Britain and

the U.S.—dominant imperialisms—while they *want* peace, while they do not want an anti-Soviet war, do not yet see that unless they destroy the imperialists in their country. the real causes of war cannot be removed. Thus the international peace organisation had to be the best possible organisation through which in today's conditions, the peoples of the whole world and particularly of Britain and the U.S.A., could learn to fight their own imperialist Tory reactionaries and those of other lands and thus to fight for the preservation of peace.

Did the San Francisco Conference produce the charter of such a peace organisation ?

SECTION TWO

What Is The "Veto"

The main outlines of the Charter adopted at San Francisco were laid down at Dumbarton Oaks after discussions between the four powers, Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China. By this the purpose of the new organisation was laid down as to maintain international peace and security and to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve international co-operation in solving social and economic international problems and in the promotion of human rights and freedoms.

The key constituents of the organisation for the attainment of these objectives are two :

First a GENERAL ASSEMBLY composed of representatives of all nations, each member having one vote. This Assembly has the right to discuss any issue " within the scope of the Charter " and to make recommendations to its members or to the Security Council (see below). It will not however have the right to take action to enforce its recommendations ; that will be the job of the Security Council. The General Assembly will take all important decisions by a two-thirds majority vote.

Second is the SECURITY COUNCIL which will have the task of undertaking the peaceful settlement of disputes and of taking action on behalf of the International Organisation " with respect

to threats or breaches of the peace". The Security Council has eleven members—five of them (the "Great Powers"), Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China and France, permanent members ; six of them will be elected by the General Assembly to serve on it for a term of two years.

Decisions in the Security Council on all matters "except procedural matters" will be taken by a majority vote of seven (out of eleven), *the seven votes necessarily including all the five votes of the Great Powers,* the permanent members. The Security Council will be "organised to function continuously", i.e., representatives of every member will be "represented continuously at the seat of the Organisation," so that it can meet at short notice. Through the Military Staffs Committee composed of the Chiefs of Staffs of the Great Powers, it will have a military adviser to counsel it on any military steps that it decided to take. All members of the United Nations must furnish the necessary armed forces, particularly air forces, when called upon by the Security Council.

Thus the Council has a speedy organisation for it to take action when necessary ; it has not one defect of the old League of Nations, which had no military advisers, nor a speedy means of carrying out its decisions. But all this can only be done when a majority of seven members including all the Big Five vote for action—i.e., if even one member of the Big Five votes against action, then the Security Council cannot take action. It is this feature that is called the "veto" of the Big Powers ; it is this, I suppose, that, according to the Congress Working Committee, puts the Great Powers above the organisation, will prevent the Internatonal Organisation ever being used to check *a Great Power* from breaking the peace.

It is this that is termed the DICTATORSHIP OF THE BIG FIVE.

What is the reality ?

The fact is that only with the unity of the Big Five, only if the Big Five vote together, can the peace be kept, war prevented. If they fall out, it means WAR, whatever the International Organisation may have to say.

For instance, suppose the U.S. decides on war. Whatever the International Organisation may say about it, the U. S. can make war : it has the men and the productive capacity to make war and that is just what makes it a Great Power. Whatever all the 20 states of Latin America plus the six states of the Arab Federation plus all the rest of the world say ; whatever the forty-nine other states in the World Organisation say or do, Great Britain, if it wishes to, can make war. The only force in the world that can stop the U. S. or Great Britain from making war are the peoples of the two countries, nobody else. The only thing the U. S. or Great Britain or any other really Great Power has to do before it can go to war is to convince its own people, persuade them to follow it into war.

So long as capitalism exists, war as an instrument of foreign policy—to conquer small nations in order to win more cheap raw materials and labour, more profitable fields for capital investment, bigger markets for goods ; and to destroy the socialist Soviet Union, standing challenge to their chaotic economic system,—will always be the aim of the big monopoly-capitalists in Great Britain and the U.S.A. They can be checkmated only by their own people ; and their own people will checkmate them only if their foreign policy is shown to be one of rapacious aggression, not in the interests of the people, but only in the interests of the small group of monopoly-capitalists.

The principle of unanimity—that the votes of *all* five Great Powers must be among the votes of the majority in favour of a decision—ensures just this : that the Government of each Great Power takes on itself the responsibility for its actions, has to justify them in front of its own people—and of the peoples of the world.

For the first thing we have to understand in the world of to-day is that of the fifty powers assembled at San Francisco, all are not independent free powers. Many are satellite powers of Great Britain and America whose votes will be cast on the side that their master, not their people, decides ; and so long as imperialism exists, there will always be a number of satellite states which are their satellites because economic power in these countries is in the hands of the foreign imperialists. For instance the

entire Latin American bloc of twenty states almost uniformly voted at San Francisco as their big boss, the U.S.A., wished them to vote ; this they did because the dominant economic power in Latin America is still the U.S.A. So also the Philippines, Liberia ; equally, Britain has its stooge-states—India, Iraq, Transjordania, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Holland, Greece, to some extent the four Dominions ; altogether out of the 50 states represented at San Francisco, more than thirty are almost directly satellite states of Great Britain and the U.S.A., economically at the mercy of the big capitalist bosses of these two countries.

The principle of unanimity prevents these Great Powers from taking shelter behind the screen of their small satellites, forces them to take their own decisions openly and frankly before all. The rulers of Great Britain, for instance, will never be able to say : " The majority of the International Organisation (a majority composed of their own satellites and those of the U.S.A.) are against taking action. Therefore we can do nothing ! " If Britain or the U.S.A. wants to sabotage action against an aggressor, it can do it only by itself voting against—and it will have to render account to its own people why it has done this.

Thus the principle of unanimity does two things :

First, it cuts away the protective screen of small powers behind which a Big Power can avoid taking action to fight back an aggressor that threatens the independence of a small nation.

Secondly, it prevents the Organisation from being used against the Soviet or against any free nation, for the Soviet would vote against such action and automatically this would prevent the International Organisation being used for such purposes.

And this principle arises directly from the experience of the League of Nations. Under the League of Nations, action could only be taken if all the members—small and Great—voted in favour of action.

Thus when the Hitler-Mussolini aggression against the Spanish Republic took place, the legal Spanish Government appealed to the League to end the farce of " non-intervention " by which Franco got arms from Hitler while the Spanish Government got none. The resolution recommending the Spanish Government's request came up before the League Assembly ; but two

states—Portugal, a British satellite which was also a friend of Hitler ; and Albania, an Italian satellite—voted against it. The request was turned down.

Inside Britain itself the vast mass of the people were in favour of helping Spain. So when Lord Cranborne, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had to explain why the British Government continued 'non-intervention', he did not dare to give the real reason—that British reaction was backing Franco. Instead he said :

> " The League is completely split (Portugal and Albania !—*M.K.*) on the question of Spain....I think the reason is a very simple one. It is that the war in Spain is not an ordinary civil war but has a certain ideological factor...."

When in fact it was really Britain's or Italy's own stooges who were sabotaging aid to Spain, Britain's minister could say : " We can't do anything. The world is split on this question " and thus escape responsibility.

Again when in 1940 the League expelled the Soviet Union during the Soviet-Finnish War, this same small power screen was put up. For twenty years of its existence, the League took no effective action against any aggressor. China was attacked, the League sat tight ; Abyssinia—the great 'decision' to apply economic sanctions to Italy—was sabotaged by the notorious Hoare-Laval Pact ; Spain's story I have given ; Austria and Czechoslovakia were handed over to Hitler without any stir in the League ; even when Hitler attacked Poland, no action was taken. But the Soviet-Finnish war, this was quite a different problem. Immediately the big guns of U. S. and British Tory propaganda got going—that the huge aggressive blood-thirsty Russian bear has attacked 'poor little innocent Finland.' and so on. The matter came up before the League ; of course Britain and France did not bring it up. As the Tory London *Times* almost shamelessly wrote on December 9, 1939 :

> " It is felt that the move (for expulsion of the U.S.S.R.) had best be made by thoroughly disinterested (!) neutrals.

The moral judgment (!) involved would be all the more effective if the belligerents confined themselves to supporting disinterested parties." ! !

So a committee of 14 was entrusted by the League with deciding what to do ; 7 stood neutral ; 7 voted for the expulsion of the Soviet, 5 of them, of course being 'disinterested neutrals', while two were Great Britain and France. Who were these disinterested neutrals ?

South Africa, Egypt, Belgium—three satellites of Great Britain.

Bolivia and San Domingo (!)—two satellites of the U.S.A.

Such was the farce of voting under the old League of Nations.

The principle of unanimity in the 'Frisco Charter blows up all attempts to play this sort of game. There can be no situation when Britain or the U. S. can say : "We wanted to stop aggression ; but San Domingo and Panama, Iraq and Egypt did not want to—therefore what could we do ?" Now openly and frankly they will have to state their stand and justify it.

For instance, supposing French reaction under the direct inspiration of General Franco started a civil war against the present people's government in France. This breach of international peace would clearly come up before the United Nations Organisation. Under the principle of unanimity, the British or U.S., if they wished to sabotage giving help to the French people, would themselves have to vote against it—and if they did, would have to go back to their own people and say why. Obviously under present conditions, any Government either in the U.S. or Great Britain that dared to back Franco, would just be thrown out. On the other hand, if the voting was merely on the basis of a simple majority, then Britain and the U.S. could rally their small satellite states, make them vote against helping the French people, while they themselves stood neutral—and then could go back to their own countries and say':

"In the war in France a certain ideological factor is involved (!). As good democrats we were prepared to do whatever the International Organisation said ; but it has

decided against intervention ; accordingly we are pursuing a policy of strict neutrality." !

Such a stand is no longer possible with the present arrangements for voting.

Or to take another example nearer home.

Supposing a Round Table Conference on India were held ; the British invited Gandhiji for the Congress (one vote), Jinnah Sahib for the League (one vote), Alwar (one vote), Indore (one vote), Jaipur (one vote), Patiala (one vote)—and every one of the hundreds of little Indian states, each with one vote ; of course all decisions would be taken 'democratically' by a majority of those attending. Naturally you and I, Gandhiji and Jinnah Sahib, would object—these are just satellites, agents of Britain, we would all say. Not at all, Amery would reply. His Majesty has a separate treaty with everyone of them, they are virtually independent. Would we not say—they don't count.

Amery would of course reply that this was an undemocratic. dictatorial demand of the Big Two ; and we would rightly say that this was hypocritical nonsense. The Soviet's position at San Francisco was based on the same principle as ours would have been in such a Round Table Conference.

It is argued that if British Imperialism wants to commit an aggression, by the use of its 'veto' power, it can prevent the International Organisation from being used to rally the forces opposing its aggression. True—it can. But is it not easy enough to see that with the present international set-up of imperialist satellites and independent nations in the world, if the question of British or U.S. aggression inside an international organisation where decisions were taken by a simple majority were brought up, it is likely that the votes of Britain, the U.S. and their satellite powers will give a majority supporting aggression ? Is it not easy to see that this is just the way by which Britain and the U.S. can utilise the platform and prestige of the International Organisation to cover up their aggressions and thus to confuse their peoples and drag them into war ?

Obviously if Great Britain does launch an aggression war will be a settled fact ; and equally obviously it will not need an

international organisation to persuade all honest democratic states, all good men and true, to come together against this aggression as they have done in this war against Hitler-Fascism. But to throw overboard the unanimity principle is to allow two things —*first,* to allow the imperialist powers to use the screen of a fake majority of their satellite powers to avoid taking action against an aggressor ; *second,* to give them the opportunity to use the international organisation to cover up and support their own aggressions.

The League of Nations, just because it did not have this unanimity principle, became an organisation in the service of international reaction. As Molotov said at San Francisco, the League's "prestige was particularly undermined whenever unceremonious attempts were made to turn it into a tool of various reactionary powers."

This is why the Soviet Union took up such a firm stand at San Francisco over the question of unanimity. It knew that this was the only way by which the imperialists would be forced out into the open, would be compelled to take a straightforward stand on every issue, to justify to their peoples and the world's peoples every action they took. The Soviet Union knew that this was the only way by which the Great Powers on whose shoulders—because of their strength and power—rested the main responsibility for keeping the peace, could be forced to undertake openly that responsibility.

The Soviet Union—because it has no aggressive aims or designs on any other people's lands, because it sincerely wants peace to build up socialism and a free happy future for its peoples—came forward boldly to take up the responsibility, confident that it can justify its every action before its people and the peoples of the world.

The imperialists wriggled hard. For an international organisation based on this principle could never be used to further their own imperialist aims. Thus adherence to such an organisation makes a hundred times more difficult deception of their people—the first pre-requisite for imperialist war.

That was why at San Francisco they fought so hard and bitterly against the principle of unanimity, invoking the great

principles of the rights of "small nations," "the equality of all peoples" and the rest. This was why we had the strange spectacle of the jailors of India, Churchill and Eden, in the role of crusaders for the "little" powers !

SECTION THREE

The Story Of Intrigue

The struggle over unanimity at San Francisco opened early.

Imperialist Eden in his opening speech warned against too much power being concentrated in the hands of Great Powers and insinuated that a bigger place should be given to the small powers !

From Molotov came a clear answer :

> "The opponents of the creation of an international organisation have not laid down their arms. They continue their subversive activities even now, though mostly in a hidden, veiled form. For this purpose they frequently use the most democratic catchwords and arguments, including professed protection of small nations or of the principles of equity and equality of nations."

The first big crisis arose over the question of Argentina. The Soviet Union opposed its admission on the ground that it was a Fascist base ; Molotov in arguing the case against admission said that Roosevelt and Cordell Hull, former U.S. Secretary of State, had both condemned Argentina as "the head-quarters of a Fascist movement" and that he knew of no change in its Government which would warrant its admission into an assembly of democratic nations. It was in this speech that Molotov made his famous reference to India, greeted with loud applause :

> "We have at this Conference," he said, "an Indian delegation. But India is not an independent state. We all know that the time will come when the voice of an independent India will be heard, too."

But 28 nations voted against Molotov's motion to postpone the decision on Argentina, only 7 voted for it. Of the 28, 20 were Latin American countries, the other eight were made up of the Philippines, Liberia, Holland, Great Britain and her satellites. Thus already the power of the satellite vote began to emerge ; as the Conference went on, it became crystal clear so that B. Shiva Rao, correspondent of the Madras *Hindu*, cabled on May 24 that "the United States have for all practical purposes a bloc vote of 20 Latin American countries at her disposal."

Soon after this Molotov made clear enough the Soviet's stand on a number of key questions, so that Michael Foot of the *Daily Herald* summing up his impressions of the first ten days of the Conference wrote that "it must be admitted that public leadership among the Great Powers of this Conference has on the whole been taken by Soviet Russia." It has, he went on, opposed the admission of Fascist Argentina, upheld the Indian demand for independence, found plentiful opportunities to denounce Fascist Spain, expressed a logical view on the question of trusteeship, and finally pressed for the inclusion of the right to work and education as a clause among the fundamental freedoms.

In fact Molotov's statement on trusteeship was the highlight of this opening stage of the Conference.

> "The Soviet delegation," he said, "realises that from the point of view of international security we must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence."

Soviet stock rose high. J. J. Singh, leader of the India League of America, a stalwart propagandist for Indian freedom in the U.S.A. for years, gives his reaction :

> "I confess," he wrote, "that when Molotov read this clause, my eyes moistened. I felt an indescribable thrill. Here was a great and powerful nation striking out forcibly and in unmistakable terms for the 'national independence' of all people." (*Hindustan Times*, May 10.)

Thus by the end of the first week of May, things were not going at all in the way Eden wanted them to ; at the Conference's

start, he had cast himself for the role of the defender of the rights of small nations, of little peoples, and so on. But Molotov's forthright stand had stolen his thunder. Immediately came his counter-offensive—a big red herring across the trail of San Francisco.

On May 5 Eden, and the U.S. Secretary of State, Stettinius, suddenly announced that their Governments had broken off negotiations with the Soviet over the Polish issue on account of the arrest of "a group of prominent Polish democratic leaders." Eden later described these "democratic leaders" as "some of the leading figures (in Poland) and some of them have excellent records of service which led us to believe that they would be the men to consult on the reconstitution of the Polish Government in accordance with the Yalta Agreement."

Naturally the Tory press in both Britain and the U.S.A. took their cue from their bosses. Lurid stories of the Soviet 'gestapo' inviting these sixteen 'democrats' for 'discussions' and then arresting them were broadcast over the world's press. On May 9, Eden's junior, Richard Law, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, even insinuated that he could not say whether these 'sixteen' were even alive. The press, of course, took it up as—"perhaps the sixteen have been murdered"! In a few days the whole world was being treated to columns of anti-Soviet poison —"Hitlerian methods," "Red trickery," "Stalin wants his own way in Poland."!

Of course, six weeks later, after these 16 men had been given a fair and open trial and it had been conclusively proved that they were not "democrats" but individuals who had flirted with the Fascists and organised underground sabotage activities behind the Red Army lines, nothing was said by Eden about the need for consulting these 'democrats' in forming the new Polish Government! But the anti-Soviet bombshell on this issue at 'Frisco had done its job—it served as a useful starting-point for one of the most blatant anti-Soviet intrigues of recent years. It was the beginning of the whole anti-Soviet propaganda barrage, it prepared the way for the fight on the major issue—the issue of the 'veto', of unanimity, which became prominent by the middle of May.

By the third week, the propaganda barrage was in full swing. Eden and Stettinius of course kept quietly in the background—they could not openly lead the fight, having committed themselves to the principle of unanimity at the Yalta Conference. But they let it be understood that it was the Soviet that was "unyielding", wanted to trample on the just rights of small nations, while, of course, Britain and the U.S.A. were prepared to change the formula "in favour of the small powers"—Eden, Toriest of Tory imperialists became now the champion of small powers!

The fact that the British were behind the intrigue came out in a *Reuter* dispatch of June 2, which stated that "the Russian refusal (to modify its position on the question of unanimity) came as a considerable disappointment to the British Ambassador to the United States (Lord Halifax—do we not remember him as the great upholder of the rights of small nations when, as British Foreign Secretary, he sacrificed Czechoslovakia to Hitler at Munich? !), Stettinius, the Chinese and the French leaders."

On June 4, the cat came properly out of the bag. We were informed then that "it was no secret that the British Government some weeks ago in London gave assurances to other Governments of the British Commonwealth that 'it would go to San Francisco prepared to insist on a *liberal* (!) interpretation' of the Big Power veto"—yes, liberal enough to allow it to use the International Organisation for its own intrigues, to escape the responsibility for keeping the peace that it should have, if honest about the whole matter, undertaken.

And the really big gun in the entire propaganda barrage of this stage was fired on June 5. On that day an *official* commentary of the *British Information Service* was issued, declaring that to accept the Russian interpretation of the Yalta voting formula. . . . "would be to bring the Security Council into being with its hands tied or liable at any moment to be tied behind its back."

The commentary added that it seemed clear that

"the Soviet delegation had been instructed to adopt an ***unyielding*** attitude on matters to which the British (note

this !—M.K.) and other delegations attach high importance. There is here, therefore, a sharp divergence of views reflecting fundamental differences of approach (!) to international problems."

And as a last shot, the commentary says.

"The Dominions considered that the United Kingdom delegates 'should not compromise further to meet the Russian view'" (*Reuter*—June 5).

But the carefully manufactured crisis blew up suddenly ; on June 9, came the startling news that Russia had "yielded"—the whole controversy over the question of unanimity had been solved with the Soviets accepting a "liberal" amendment to the Yalta voting formula.

Actually, what was the "controversy" ?

The Yalta Agreement on voting in the Security Council was the following :

"*First,* procedural matters as recording minutes, parliamentary rules, etc., were to be decided by a majority of seven out of eleven members.

"*Second,* quasi-judicial matters such as a peaceful settlement of disputes required a majority of seven including *all* the permanent members *except* that a party to a dispute could not vote.

"*Third,* EVERYTHING else, including amendments to the Charter, application of economic sanctions or the use of force had to have a majority of all the permanent members whether they were involved or not . (J. J. Singh, *Hindustan Times,* May 30).

The point of difference was over the interpretation of the formula : Was a motion to take a dispute for discussion in the Security Council to be voted by a simple majority (i.e., as under clause 1 of the Yalta Agreement) ; or, did it require the unanimity

of all the Great Powers (i.e., as under clause III of the Agreement) ; or, to put it in other words, did a Great Power have the right to 'veto' discussion on a particular dispute ?

The Soviet view was that if any dispute were taken up for discussion in the Security Council, then the discussion itself might be ended by a motion which in fact would involve a decision on the dispute taken up—and in which the unanimity principle did not apply, i.e., the discussion might be used by the imperialists for their intrigues. The "compromise"—which was widely broadcast as a surrender on the part of the "unyielding" and "dictatorial" Soviet to the liberal-minded British—in fact only made the voting formula more fool-proof. It said that any dispute may be taken for discussion but during the discussion, whether any motion was procedural (i.e., did not need unanimity of the Big Five) or not, would be decided by a majority vote which would necessarily have to include the unanimous votes of the Big Five. Thus after weeks of "nerve-racking" "tense" discussions over the "veto", what emerged was the Yalta Formula in essential unamended.

How did this "revolt" against the "veto" end in a fiasco ? After a highly worked-up propaganda barrage, the whole issue suddenly collapsed. It is the story of this that reveals what a big defeat 'Frisco was for Tory intriguers.

Till almost the end of May, the British and the U.S. delegations worked hand-in-hand. Then suddenly, while British propaganda was still beating hard its anti-Soviet drum, U.S. Secretary of State, Stettinius, made an important speech, described as "a frank bid for closer relations with Russia."

The *United Press of India* (May 30) revealed that this broadcast "is interpreted by American political circles as signalling a reversal of the stand taken up by the State Department in conjunction with the British Foreign Office on Russia since the breakdown of the negotiations over the Polish question. They feel that Mr. Stettinius now realises that the truculent attitude *vis-a-vis* Russian adopted by him *largely under Mr. Eden's instigation* (my italics) is not best calculated to serve American interests."

On June 2 came another important dispatch—from B. Shiva Rao, *Hindu* correspondent :

> "Another point worth pointing out is the effort of both the United States and Russia to take off the edge from the differences which manifested themselves in the earlier period of the Conference, Mr. Stettinius' hurried visit to Washington last week and the prolonged discussions between M. Stalin and Mr. Hopkins at Moscow have doubtless had visible effect."

But the story of the British Tory intrigue came out fully only on June 8 in a dispatch of Frank Pitcairn, Correspondent of the London *Daily Worker*.

> "Mr. Eden and Mr. Churchill," he wrote "wanted to make political capital in Britain, first by exacerbating Soviet-American relations and then by appearing—on election eve, no doubt—as 'mediators.'
>
> "On the colonial issue, on trusteeship and, above all, on the whole central question of Big Three collaboration, the Tories took charge and acted as a nucleus and the justification of every reactionary endeavour at San Francisco."

The British Tories, of course, got the whole-hearted support of the most bitter anti-Roosevelt American reactionaries in their whole anti-Soviet campaign.

> "The veto issue was, of course, the one they chose—for several reasons as the central point of the campaign.... because it could be used for the purposes of an anti-Soviet campaign disguised as a campaign for 'the rights of small nations'" and because "the weakening of the veto power is an obvious essential preliminary to making the new organisation 'safe for fascism'."

But towards May end "the U.S. administration and its advisers began to stop, look and listen.

> "They looked and they saw their native reactionaries

along with the British brand doing their utmost to weaken the central structure of Big Three leadership . . . . . and in particular to drag the United States into some 'anti-Soviet front' of the kind so long dreamed of by so many members" of the British Government.

"The White House intimated that it would decline to act as an election agent for Mr. Churchill."

After this clearing-up of issues, signalised by Stettinius' speech of May end (see above), the U.S. moved fast. Truman sent Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's closest friend, to Moscow, the issues at stake were quickly cleared, the compromise over "procedure" settled by Stalin and Harry Hopkins, final agreement achieved.

The game of our Tory imperialist masters at San Francisco failed, failed miserably. All their efforts to emerge as the guardian angel of "small nations", as the "mediator" and "bridge" between the U.S. and the Soviet were blown up. And the measure of their failure was shown by the decisive way in which the British people rejected them in the last General Election.

The struggle over "veto" at San Francisco was thus a key battle. It was a battle against the same reactionary imperialist elements, Britain and the U.S., who in the days before the war, opposed unity with the Soviet, abetted Fascist aggression, brought World War II on peoples of the world.

The 'delay' at San Francisco was due to the obstructive tactics of those elements who were trying to whittle down the unanimity principle which, if made the firm base of the International Organisation, would leave them no cover to pursue their aggressive policies either against small nations or against the Soviet.

The Soviet took a firm stand and defeated these intrigues. Thus the new International Organisation is not like the old League of Nations where the small stooge powers could be used by big imperialist ones to build war blocs against the Soviet Union, or to sabotage a united stand against aggression.

In the new organisation every big power will have to take

upon its own shoulder the responsibility for refusing to take a firm stand on aggression and justify it before the world and its own people. It can never use the organisation to cover up aggression.

That was the meaning of the battle over 'veto'.

SECTION FOUR

The Great Press Deception

But is all this really true? If so, how is it that we did not realise what was happening?—these are the questions any Indian can honestly ask.

And the answer too is simple. While Eden tried to put through one of the biggest anti-Soviet intrigues known to history, the monopolist-owned press backed him with a press campaign of confusion and outright slander of equally huge dimensions. *Reuter, United Press of America and Associated Press of America* are the three huge news agencies which give us our news; all are controlled by the big press lords of Britain or the U.S. and they led the Indian reader properly along the anti-Soviet road.

I give you the headlines of the supposedly very sober and impartial *Times of India* for the Conference.

First of all we got very garbled summaries of the opening speeches which conveyed nothing. Eden's suspicious reference to the small powers was not mentioned. Molotov's warning about the use of deceptive slogans was suppressed.

Then on April 28 came the first big shot:

"MOLOTOV'S THREAT TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE"

What was the threat? On reading the news, we find that Molotov, quite justly, was demanding that the presidency of the Conference should be shared by the sponsoring powers. He had uttered no threat—but *Reuter's* correspondent somehow managed to infer from Molotov's demand that "Molotov had threatened

to withdraw Soviet sponsorship of the United Nations Conference" !

Thus already the ground was being laid : the Soviet is unyielding, obstinate, unreasonable, is not interested in the success of the Conference—this was the propaganda.

The next dose of anti-Soviet poison came on May 1st :

"ANOTHER DEADLOCK AT 'FRISCO"

This time apparently the Soviet was pressing for representation of the Polish Provisional Government in return for the admission of Argentina—i.e., one thief bargaining with another ! Yet later it became clear that Molotov had not asked for one in exchange for the other—that again was the 'inference' of *Reuter's* imaginative correspondent !

Next was on May 2 :

"RUSSIA SUFFERS OPEN DEFEAT AT SAN FRANCISCO"
"ARGENTINA ADMITTED ; M. MOLOTOV MAY LEAVE FOR MOSCOW SHORTLY"

The "open defeat" splashed was meant to tell people—"Look ! The Soviet is so isolated ! And on top of it all, Molotov is so angry because he did not get his way that he is going to leave the Conference" ! Another lie, Molotov did not leave till over a week later !

The reality of the voting (28 to 7—see above) was carefully hidden away, we were not told that everyone of the 28 votes against Molotov's proposal to postpone the admission of Argentina was either of Britain, the U.S.A. or one of their satellites, that out of the 28 votes, 20 were of the states of Latin America !

The same day came the news, tucked away :

"SOVIET DESIRE TO SEE INDIA FREE"—and even here the *full text* of Molotov's historic reference to India was again not given !

Then came the Polish barrage :

"NEGOTIATIONS ON POLAND WITH RUSSIA BROKEN OFF"
"GRAVE CONCERN OVER POLISH LEADERS' ARREST BY SOVIET"

And the "serious" statement of the British is given in full —with plenty of juicy interpretation by *Reuter's* correspondent.

But two days later came Molotov's press conference where he defined clearly the Soviet attitude on the question of trusteeship—obviously a question of burning interest to India—itself an enslaved country. But somehow the *Times of India* did not think so ; it gave the headline :

"DUMBARTON OAKS PLAN REVISION"
"UNANIMITY REACHED" !

And underneath again the full text of Molotov's statement is not given.

But something had to be done to offset the growing popularity of the Soviet ; so out went another BIG LIE—on May 14 :

"RUSSIA'S BID TO BECOME MAJOR COLONIAL POWER"

The story was that Russia was coveting Formosa, Korea, Manchuria ! And when this lie was contradicted by the Soviet paper, *Pravda*, the *Times of India* did not even print the contradiction.

The rest of the month nothing much is done. But by May 29, the 'veto' issue comes up and here are a succession of headlines :

May 29 : "SOVIET DEMAND ON VETO QUESTION"
"FRESH HITCH AT SAN FRANCISCO"

June 4 : "RUSSIAN DEMAND ON VETO QUESTION"
"SMALL NATIONS LIKELY TO OBJECT"

Of course, the small nations !

June 5 : "CRISIS AT SAN FRANCISCO"

June 7 : "*BRITISH* (!) MOVE TO END VETO ISSUE DEADLOCK"

The Britain-is-the-mediator game still being pushed !

June 9: "BIG FIVE AGREEMENT ON VITAL VETO QUESTION"!!

And if you read again all the various reports about the 'crisis', 'hitch', 'Russian demand' and the rest, nothing stands out clearly; everything is carefully confused—so that the issues actually at stake become quite incomprehensible!

In fact the whole game of the press lords at San Francisco was first to make it appear that the Soviet was the trouble-maker while the U.S. and Britain were most "accommodating"; secondly, that the 'veto' issue was a battle between the Soviet and the 'small' nations—with the U.S. and Britain doing their worthy best to bring about some compromise!

In India most of our publicists got caught by this clever game; they forgot their distrust of *Reuter*, they forgot what 200 years of anti-imperialist history should have taught them—that British Imperialism could never honestly stand for the interests of "small nations", for "equality", for "justice". They were led up the garden path even more by the Indian correspondents who went from India to San Francisco; by *Bombay Chronicle's* Sabavala, who reduced the difficulties of the Conference to just this:

> "All the Russians here" he cabled on May 20 "lack that finish and poise that seems so necessary to Western diplomatic culture. The result was that they rubbed a lot of nations the wrong way and failed to carry issues vital to them."

Or to put it shortly, according to Sabavala, the real trouble at 'Frisco was that Molotov's suits were not properly creased since he had not been to a British public school!

The extent to which he was taken in by the anti-Sovieteers can be shown by two of his many dispatches, all of which are strewn with references to the struggle between "small" nations and "Big" Powers.

On the day Eden held his press conference about the arrest

of Polish 'democrats' Sabavala's dispatch is headed: "LIGHT ON IMPRISONMENT OF POLISH LEADERS."

And after a eulogistic review of all that Eden had said, Sabavala sums up:

> "Mr. Eden has this day rendered yeoman service to his country. He has contributed towards restoring international trust in her aims and views."

I wonder what Sabavala has to say about the Polish question now that his friends, the Polish *emigre* pro-fascists of London, have been finally set aside!

The second instance is his dispatch of May 27, whose anti-Soviet character is worthy of the worst Tory rag, the *Daily Mail.* The headline this time is:

"RED TIDE SWEEPS OVER EUROPE"

> "The setting-up (!) of a Communist Party in Berlin increases apprehension (to whom?—*M.K.*) but the Western Democracies have no plan to combat the rising Red tide over Europe."!

Sivaraman of the *Indian Express* was deceived equally easily. He fell for the Tory game over Poland, even going to the extent of sending a viciously anti-Soviet story of a demand by the *emigre* aristocrats from the Baltic States for an end of Soviet "occupation."

Thus the two ambassadors of the Indian press helped in no way to clear the issues but added their quota of anti-Soviet fuel to the Tory propaganda fire.

What is the lesson of all this?

An ordinary reading of the news in the press is today just no assistance in helping anyone to understand what is happening in the world. With the final defeat of Fascism both in the west and the east, the entire concentration of the Tory reactionaries in Britain and the U.S., the men who backed Hitler before the war, who connived at Jap aggression in China—all in the hope that the aggressors would end by attacking the Soviet—these elements will concentrate all their strength, their control of big newspapers

and the news-agencies, to confuse every issue, to throw mud at the Soviet.

J. J. Singh writing in the *Hindustan Times* showed clearly enough how the correspondents of these anti-Soviet papers write not the truth, but what fits in with their papers' policies.

> "Molotov" he wrote on May 9, "was most popular with the press. Even those correspondents who pounded out *anti-Soviet stories in accordance with the individual policy of their papers,* liked him personally and immensly enjoyed his Press Conferences."

And summing up his impressions, he cabled on June 14:

> "Naturally there are some people here who are so fundamentally anti-Russian that they cannot read or see any honest or sincere motive into anything that Russia does."

This anti-Soviet press campaign has been and will be led by the men who have always been enemies of the democratic anti-Fascist movement—men like Hearst, the American press lord who was described by *Hindu* correspondent, Michael Foot, thus:

> "Mr. Hearst," he wrote on May 2, "power-crazed even in his second childhood appears eager to crown his inglorious career by wrecking the Conference. He has moved into San Francisco for a campaign. Every day a stream of innuendos, fears and downright distortions against the Soviet Union flows from his printing presses."

Twenty-five years ago the imperialists attacked the young Soviet Republic as a "regime of blood and war," "of poverty for all", "of mass murder", "communisation of women" and the rest. Only five years ago Winston Churchill grandiloquently declared: "Communism rots the soul of any nation."

Today after the Soviet's great victory over Hitler Fascism these accusations don't go down, just won't be believed. So the enemies of the Soviet have put on a new garb. Now they mouth

the most democratic phrases, simulate sympathy for the oppressed and dependent peoples, for small nations ; they protest against "harshness" when it is directed at Fascists and their allies ; they will demand "independence" when they themselves hold enslaved thousands and millions—just like Japan and Germany, conquerors of Europe and Asia, were so free with their support for Indian independence.

'Frisco tells us to be wary of them. It is a lesson every honest son of our people must take to heart if he is not again to be tricked as he was by the reports of the 'Frisco Conference.

SECTION FIVE

Colonial Trusteeship

The battle over unanimity was the biggest battle of all at San Francisco, for it was the keystone of the whole International Organisation. But though it overshadowed all other questions, in our country particularly the deepest interest was aroused over the question of colonial trusteeship, of guardianship of dependent peoples.

We know something of this theory of trusteeship. It was first put forward in the League of Nations and during the twenty-one years between the two world wars became a cloak for the most rapacious exploitation of the peoples of what were termed "mandated territories", i.e., former colonies of Germany taken over by different imperialist powers after World War I. Our own rulers frequently say that they are merely trustees for the young Indian peoples and that they will stand aside as soon as we grow up. We know this is all nonsense, we rightly do not believe it. How then, we ask, could the Soviet Union have anything to do with the trusteeship, how was it that it did not reject outright the whole proposal ?

The question of trusteeship came up concretely at San Francisco when the problem of the future of the former colonies of the Axis powers, Italy and Japan, had to be faced. A committee was set up to discuss what should be done with these colonies and with the former mandates of the League of Nations.

The Soviet through Foreign Commissar Molotov took a clear and forthright stand. In a press conference (referred to above), Molotov stated :

"The chapter (of the preamble) on 'purposes' expressly provides now for the observance of principles of justice and international law. It also contains reference to the necessity of respecting the principles of equality and self-determination to which the Soviet Union has always attached first-rate importance. . . . .

"Only recently proposals have been put forward concerning territorial trusteeships and are now being widely discussed in the press. . . . The Soviet delegation realises that from the viewpoint of international security, we must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence. This should be promoted by a special organisation of the United Nations which must act with a view to expediting realisation of the principles of equality and self-determination of nations. The Soviet delegation will take active part in the consideration of this problem in its entirety." (See Appendix II. page 45).

Concretely the Soviet urged that all colonies, not only mandates and ex-enemy colonies, should come under the Trusteeship council, the "special organisation of the United Nations" whose aim it would be to realise the objectives outlined above. The Trusteeship Council should have the power to see that the objectives were carried out.

But the Soviet's proposals met with bitter opposition from the oldest colonial power, our own rulers, Great Britain. Lord Cranborne, its representative, protested strongly against the ultimate aim being national independence ; after all, he said hypocritically, the ultimate objective of Great Britain's colonial system is self-government within the empire—the colonies don't want independence ! He flatly refused on behalf of his government to put either the 100% colonies or the British mandated territories (taken from Germany in the last war) under the proposed Trus-

teeship Council. The only change he would commit himself to was a form of regional council, designed to bring in the Americans in an advisory capacity over economic and social matters but with political control remaining solely in British hands. The British blocked every progressive move on the colonial issue—and of course received full support from their satellites, particularly their Dominions, led by 'white' South Africa. They fought to make the Trusteeship Council responsible exclusively for the 'new' colonies (of Italy and Japan) and with membership only from the colony-owning powers (i.e. excluding the Soviet Union and China). They tried their hardest to limit the supervising role of even such a Trusteeship Council so as to nullify its powers almost completely.

The position of the U.S. was different. It has no large colonial possessions ; American public opinion would not easily have consented to taking over colonies ; and finally U.S. monopoly capitalism was confident that its tremendous production-power would enable it to conquer new markets so long as no competing power had any political hold and the economic principle of no discriminating tariffs (the 'open door') was practised. Thus it was against the exclusive monopoly of potentially good colonial markets by powers like Britain exercising political control.

One snag however was that naval circles in Washington were anxious to secure strategic areas and bases in the Pacific for purposes of effective military control of the entire areas.

The attempt of Britain to shut the Soviet and China (also a non-colonial Great Power) out of the Trusteeship Council completely fell through ; but a bitter battle was waged over the question whether the Trusteeship system should be "self-government" (British stand) or "self-determination with the object of hastening full national independence" (Soviet stand), with the U.S. inclining towards Britain and China towards the Soviet.

The final decisions, born out of a compromise, boil down to this :

1. The basic objective of the Trusteeship system is :

"to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories and

their progressive development towards self-government or independence, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstance of each territory and its people and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."—(this last phrase was violently opposed by Britain but carried on Soviet insistence).

2. China and the Soviet, as permanent members of the Security Council, will also be members of the Trusteeship Council.

3. Strategic areas are to be administered directly by the Trustee state under the control of the Security Council.

4. The Trusteeship Council will have the right to inspect the trust territories and must make an annual report on each trust territory to the General Assembly.

5. As for which colonies were to go under the Trusteeship Council, it was decided that ex-enemy colonies (of Italy and Japan) would go under the Council ; as for the rest nothing was finally decided except that it would be left to the present colony-owning powers to decide whether or not they would put their colonies under the system. The only proviso is that as far as mandates of the League of Nations are concerned, there should be no delay in bringing them under the Council ; also every colony-owning power if it owns a colony which it has not specifically put under the Trusteeship Council, must submit reports regularly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations with " information of a technical nature relating to the economic, social and educational conditions."

Thus due to the obstinately imperialist stand of Tory Britain, what emerged from San Francisco for the colonies was far from what the colonial peoples would have liked. In the words of a Soviet writer " the regime of international trusteeship does not fully meet the demands of the colonial peoples."

But it is an advance on the old League of Nations mandate system.

First, the formulation of the aim of Trusteeship is more clear and precise, more political than in the League Covenant. And as Professor Korovin of Moscow wrote :

"To be sure the proclamation of principles is not always tantamount to their implementation but it undoubtedly makes it easier to work for them."

Secondly, the powers of the Trusteeship Council are more precise than those of the old League Council ; it has the right to investigate conditions in territories under it, to make reports and to see that the principles are implemented.

Thirdly, the trusteeship system, unlike the mandates system, can be extended to apply not only to ex-enemy territories but to other colonial territories, by 'voluntary action' of the colonial power concerned.

Fourthly, the signatories of the charter have pledged themselves even in relation to colonies not under the Trusteeship Council to certain broad principles—particularly "to develop self-government" and to submit information about conditions in their colonies (see above).

And *finally*, while the permanent mandates commission of the League was dominated by imperialist Britain and France, and their satellites, this time the two leading anti-imperialist powers, the Soviet and China, will be inside the Trusteeship Council to continue the struggle for colonial liberation.

Thus the total result of the whole battle over trusteeship is to lay a basis for advance by greater international action, by strengthening the freedom movements of the colonial peoples.

Of course it has not ended the colonial system, imperialism continues to exist. But that could not be done just because the democratic movements in the metropolitan countries and the freedom-movements in the colonies were not strong enough to back the Soviet in its battle. And the colonial system will only be ended when these movements do grow stronger.

The Soviet stand, like that of any democratic power, like that of a free India had it been at 'Frisco, was simply this : fight for the maximum advance considering the given strength of the people and of reaction ; state the correct just position, fight to see that it is adopted. Faced however with imperialist obduracy and the weakness of its supporters, the Soviet fought for the maximum advance it could get—knowing this would ensure

some basis on which the people could move forward, holding that some sort of trusteeship council inside which it could fight for the right principles, for justice to the colonial peoples, is better than no trusteeship council at all.

Thus on the Colonial issue—as over the question of unanimity —the two camps emerged clearly at San Francisco. On one side the progressives—China, the Philippines, and some of the near-colonies like Egypt which took heart on seeing the Soviet stand, all led by the Soviet itself ; on the other the reactionaries—South Africa, France (whose government still does not represent its people's views as shown by the Municipal election results where the parties which still dominate De Gaulle's Government suffered a resounding defeat), some of the more reactionary Latin American States (Argentina, Brazil etc.), led by arch-Tory Great Britain.

SECTION SIX

The Road To Peace

On every issue at San Francisco, the battle raged ; on every issue on opposing sides were ranged the Tory-imperialists of Britain and the U.S.A., and the Soviet Union and the democratic movements. And it was the imperialists who were defeated, the Soviet Union and the democratic movements that triumphed. Not a victory for the Big Powers and a defeat for small nations—as *Reuter* tried hard to explain to us, but a victory for the people, a defeat for imperialist reaction.

The Tories tried their hardest to prevent the establishment of an international organisation that would be a mighty instrument in the struggle of the people against war, for a stable peace. They tried their best to keep some loophole open which they could use for aggression, by which they could escape shouldering the responsibility for keeping the peace. They failed.

Thus the signature of the Charter was a singal defeat for these elements. It marks a great landmark in the history of the world, the establishment for the first time in history of a reliable weapon for the protection of a lasting peace.

Reaction tried to torpedo the Charter from two ends :

First, by weakening the principle of unanimity, so that it could manufacture its plans for a new world war behind a protective screen of small powers. In this attempt it was defeated by the firm stand of the Soviet.

Second, by its refusal to agree to independence for the colonies, without which, clearly enough, imperialism will continue to exist, permanent peace cannot be assured. In this too, it failed to prevent an advance being registered, and the basis laid for further advance.

But, is this by itself, are the signatures on the Charter alone, enough to take the world forward, to prevent a third and hundred times more devastating world war ?

People in our country look back twenty-six years and recall the birth of the League of Nations, the big boost it was given as a world organisation pledged to and capable of ensuring peace. Yet in spite of the League, they say, the Second World War came. So also this time, they argue, the United Nations Charter has been signed by fifty nations, its constitution may be better than that of the League, but all the same, imperialism still exists, a Third World War is inevitable.

But the difference between the League and the United Nations lies not only in the big differences in their constitutions ; the key difference arises out of the difference between 1919 and 1945.

The League of Nations was born in 1920—brought into existence by British and French reaction not as a weapon to keep the peace but as a weapon to rally the maximum forces against the U.S.S.R., the young Soviet Republic. It was a part of the Versailles Peace Treaty ; and one of the chief architects of this Treaty, Britain's war-time Premier, Lloyd George, summed up the situation then in these words :

"The whole of Europe is filled with the spirit of revolution. The greatest danger that I see in the present situation is that Germany may throw in her lot with Bolshevism and place her resources . . . at the disposal of the revolutionary fanatics." (*From memorandum to the Peace Conference,* March 1919).

The League of Nations was therefore not a weapon with which to keep the peace, it was a weapon to rally defeated Germany also into an anti-Soviet front.

By 1933, the world had changed. Fascism, nurtured by British and U.S. reaction as an instrument with which to fight the Soviet, had won power in Germany. Two forces appeared in the League—first, the Soviet and the peoples who wanted to transform the League as a collective front to stem Fascist aggression ; second, the Tories like Chamberlain in Britain and Daladier in France who wanted Germany to attack the U.S.S.R. and therefore who wanted on the one hand to make the League ineffective for stemming Fascist aggression and on the other hand to use its prestige as a screen behind which they could carry out their manœuvres. It was during these years that Britain and France most effectively used the smaller power screen (see Section II), to dupe their own people.

For many small nations, particularly of Euorpe, were nations ruled by the most reactionary elements among their people, the big landlords and capitalists. These men, afraid that their democratic movements among their own people would sweep them from power, ruled their countries through dictatorial methods. relying for support on the imperialist Big Powers. For instance. every Balkan country immediately after the last war was a stooge of Britain or France and then as the centre of gravity of reaction moved to Germany, became a stooge of Hitler.

From 1933 to 1939 the battle went on between the two sides —the democratic movements and the U.S.S.R. determined to preserve peace ; the pro-Fascist reactionaries, equally determined to 'direct' German aggression eastward against the Soviet. The Tories failed in their objective—(Soviet strength made Hitler turn west first)—but they brought about the Second World War.

Far different are the conditions under which the United Nations is born. Out of the bitter experiences suffered in battling against Nazi Germany, the world alliance against Fascism led by the Big Three, U.S.A., Great Britain, and the Soviet, was forged, unity of all peoples to destroy Hitlerism emerged. The heirs of the Chamberlain policy of pitting Germany against the Soviet did their best to sabotage this alliance ; they opposed the

launching of a Second Front in Europe ; as the tide turned and the Soviet drove the Nazis westward, they spread lying stories about the ' Red Hitler ' swallowing country after country, and the danger of a Europe minus the strong ' stabilising ' influence of Germany. They used their stooges like the London Poles, Mihailovitch of Yugoslavia, Radescu of Rumania, Mannerheim of Finland, to create conflicts between the Western Allies and the Soviet. Before every Big Three meeting, their main organ, *Reuter* backed by the Tory press of England and the U.S.A. magnified every difference, so that the press and the people in India were convinced that ' this ' Big Three meeting would break down, would reach no agreement. San Francisco was only one chapter in this long story of intrigue.

But they failed to break the alliance against Fascism ; they failed because the interests of the people, above all of England and the U.S.A., of Europe's peoples battling against Fascism, demanded its continuance ; they failed because the determination of the people to preserve this alliance was too great.

It was the future of this great democratic alliance strengthened immeasurably in the battle against Fascism that was at stake at San Francisco. For if this unity is preserved, peace is assured ; if it is not, war is certain.

At San Francisco, then the question posed itself once more before all peoples :

(*i*) If the Big Three agree to work together, to ' solve all mutual differences by pacific agreement and not by war '—then the peace can be kept.

(*ii*) If the Big Three act together to finally destroy Fascist aggression, and prevent its resurgence ; to tear out its roots, monopoly capitalism and militarism—then the peace can be kept.

(*iii*) If the Big Three act together to remove the key cause of war, viz : end the subjugation of the colonial peoples by imperialism, solve the colonial problem on the basis of the freedom and equality of all peoples, then the peace can be kept.

This was the lesson taught to the peoples of the world during the last twenty years ; it is this behind which the great world-

wide anti-Fascist democratic movement of every country has grown. It is for this that the Soviet waged such a bitter and successful struggle at San Francisco, knowing this alone to be the road to peace. For a peace based on these three principles must inevitably lead to the ending of monopoly capitalism not only in defeated Germany and Japan but also in the big Western countries, and thus to the ending of imperialist domination.

It is for implementing this that the Soviet, the democratic liberation movements of Europe and Asia, the national liberation movements of the colonies stand, for they know that it means peace and freedom for all ; it is against this that the Tories and reactionaries of every country are rallying their forces, intriguing their hardest, for they too know that freedom for all will mean death for them.

But at San Francisco, they could not openly say this. No people would have tolerated their government or any representatives of their saying : We want to amend the Charter in this way—because we want to attack the Soviet ; or—because we want to leave room for growth of Fascism in Germany and Japan ; or—because we believe in the exploitation of colonies by imperialist countries ! !

They could not do this openly—so to attack the principle of the unity of the Great Powers (expressed in the unanimity principle), they raised the false issue of big nations versus small ; to confuse the question of independence for colonies, they raised the false issue of self-government versus independence.

Who supported them, who opposed them ?

It was the representatives of countries that lack internal democracy the most, the governments of small nations like the Balkans before the war, that depend on outside assistance to keep them in power, that most volubly supported them.

Over the question of unity of the Big Three, it was South Africa out of whose total population of 96 lakhs, 76 lakh "non-Europeans" are disfranchised, that fought for the 'small nations' and most bitterly opposed independence for the colonies ; the other Dominions followed suit, Australia's representative, Dr. Evatt, though a Labour man, falling victim to the clever propaganda that posed the issue as one of the Big versus the Small.

The Latin American countries, many of whom are notorious for their anti-democratic governments, followed their boss, the U.S.A. And, of course, Tory Britain's biggest puppet, the Indian delegation in a long and wordy statement elaborating its 'stand' on 'principal' matters discussed at 'Frisco said :

> "In the crucial matter of the Great Powers' veto, India lined herself on what may be called the liberal side" (i.e. for modification !)—*Times of India,* June 28.

Is it not clear as daylight that Mudaliar and Noon could only have taken the 'liberal side' because their boss, Eden, *told* them : "Yes, you had better take the 'liberal side'." !

On the other hand, backing the Soviet were the *new democratic* small nations of Europe—that had passed through the fire of the struggle against Hitler, that had thrown out their old landlord-capitalist rulers (who handed them over to Hitler) and had decisively broken the power of these men by dividing up the big landed estates and nationalising key industries. It was these nations, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, that backed the Soviet stand ; for the governments of these countries are no longer stooges of foreign reaction, they do not need to rely on its aid to keep their positions, they derive their power from their own people whose confidence they have won for their leadership in the battle against Hitler occupation.

In the middle, vacillating, were powers like France and Norway—where the governments are not yet fully representative of the people, where only after the elections are held, will the people's real representatives rule.

So also in Britain and the U.S.A. The Tories talked about small nations, intrigued their hardest ; it was the Labour movement, the C.I.O. in the U.S.A., the Trade Union Congress in Great Britain and the World Trade Union Congress, representing 60 million workers, that gave the fullest support to the Dumbarton Oaks Charter and the basic principle of unity of the Big Five. At the Labour Party Conference last June, Ernest Bevin, now British Foreign Secretary, told the delegates :

"We pledge ourselves never to use small States to play off against big States (Russia), and so get advantage. There should be cards on the table, face upwards."

In the end the Tories lost, the people and the Soviet, the progressive movement won the battle. And the victory itself is a measure of the tremendous change between 1918 and 1945. Then at Versailles the whole conference table was dominated by the imperialists and their plans to crush 'Bolshevism' and the rising democratic movements in Europe. Today the socialist infant of 1919 has become the giant Soviet Union, No. 2 industrial power of the world, whose armies marched from Stalingrad to Berlin, and by their decisive intervention brought the Pacific war to an end.

Then the democratic movements were weak, crushed by intervention of British and French arms and American money. In the words of Herbert Hoover, in charge of American 'Relief' to Europe, written in a letter of 1921 :

"The whole of American policy during the liquidation of the Armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik or being overrun by their armies. . . ." !

Today, the democratic movement the world over has grown, all Europe is far on its way out of the imperialist orbit, in England and the U.S. themselves strong and rapidly growing working class movements are taking a dominating part in their nations' life.

Then the colonial liberation movements were being born ; the first civil disobedience movement of 1920-21 was yet to come in India ; the Chinese revolution of 1924-27 was just due to begin. Today mighty democratic movements exist in China and India, and the peoples of smaller countries, Burma, Indonesia, Indochina, the Philippines, are stirring.

This is why the Tories lost their game at San Francisco, failed in their intrigue. The people have grown too strong.

They will fight on, of course. Their intrigues and desperate attempts to stop the world moving along the road to peace and

freedom will continue until they are finally destroyed. But as the democratic movements grow, the balance will steadily shift against them. In England, Labour's victory is their biggest defeat. In every other country including their own satellites where, as in Iran, Syria, Lebanon, most of all as in India, their right to rule through their agents is being increasingly challenged, the end of their day is nearing.

The Potsdam Agreement between Britain and America on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other has decreed the complete liquidation of German Fascism and its remnants in Europe. It has given the green light to the emergence of democratic governments in the former allies of German Fascism—in Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Finland, Hungary and Italy. The entry of these countries into the United Nations, and the growing victory of democracy in all the countries of Europe is a guarantee that the evil plans of the protagonists of imperialism and fascism and of the enemies of peace and colonial freedom will be defeated.

With the end of the War in the Pacific, and the defeat of Japanese militarism, a Potsdam Agreement for Asia, between America, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China becomes inevitable. That agreement will no doubt create conditions for the emergence of a united and democratic China, for the complete independence of India and for the speedy liberation of all the countries of Asia.

Nobody expects that these agreements and the United Nations' Charter *by themselves* can secure to the peoples of the world stable peace, can ensure the final defeat of the plans and intrigues of imperialist and fascist remnants. Nor will they *by themselves* bring the long-enslaved peoples of Asia independence and democracy.

The promises of these agreements and of the Charter will be translated into reality only in the measure the peoples of Europe consolidate the fruits of victory over fascism by strengthening democracy and unity in their country and liquidating the landlord-capitalist traitors—the friends of fascism and imperialist reaction. Similarly, for us Asiatic peoples these agreements and the Charter have created conditions for our freedom—which, however, we can *actually* realise only by forging the unity of our

peoples for winning independence and democracy.

The Peace of 1945 opens a period of new struggles in Europe, in Asia and in the Americas. In Europe defenders of people's unity will be battling against fascist remnants and their imperialist helpers, for broadening the foundations of democracy, for building a people's economy, for strengthening the bonds of unity with the Soviet Union and with democratic forces in other countries. In India, China and the Asiatic countries, the main battle will be to forge people's unity to win independence from imperialism and begin rebuilding the ruined life of our peoples on democratic foundations.

These struggles of the aftermath of World War II will be fought under extremely favourable circumstances. The struggles of the aftermath of World War I were fought under unfavourable circumstances—with reactionary imperialist forces yet strong as against the growing but young revolutionary democratic ones. Today the popular democratic forces in the countries of Europe and in Britain are in important positions of vantage. The Socialist Soviet Union is next in power to the U.S.A. and has won the widest support among the peoples of Europe and America, among the peoples of Asia, still battling for freedom. As against them the forces of imperialist reaction, though yet strongly entrenched, are socially isolated and are growing weaker. A great opportunity thus opens up before the peoples of India, China and the other Asiatic countries to win their independence by uniting their people on the basis of a programme of democratic freedom.

It is the success of these struggles and their growing unity on a worldwide plane which will smash the anti-Soviet intrigues of imperialist reactionaries and make the Charter of the United Nations, based on the unity of Great Powers, Britain, America and the Soviet Union, a weapon for building a stable peace on the foundation of equality and the freedom of the peoples.

APPENDICES

I

SUMMARY OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

PURPOSES

The purposes of the new organisation are four :—

1. To maintain international peace and security.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations.
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving social and economic international problems, and in the promotion of human rights and freedoms.
4. To be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations for these ends.

PRINCIPLES

The organisation is based on seven principles : the sovereign equality of all its members ; the fulfilment by all members of their obligations ; the peaceful settlement of disputes by members ; their abstinence from use of force ; every assistance by members to any action taken under the Charter ; the organisation to ensure that non-members act in accordance with these principles ; the organisation not to interfere with domestic affairs of its members except in regard to threats to the peace and acts of aggression.

MEMBERSHIP

Open to all States who participated in the Conference and to other states "by decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." For violation of the principles of the Charter members may be suspended or expelled by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of

Justice, a Secretariat, and such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly consists of all members ; each member state has one vote.

> "Decisions of the General Assembly on all important questions (e.g., questions of peace, elections to Council, etc.) shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting."

Other questions are to be decided by simple majority.

The Assembly meets annually. "The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter . . . and may make recommendations to the members . . . or to the Security Council or to both" with the exception that it may not make any recommendation on a subject under consideration by the Security Council unless the Security Council requests it.

Any question of international peace and security "on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council either before or after discussion."

In addition to its complete power of discussion, and its limited power of recommendation on security questions, the Assembly can initiate studies and make recommendations for the promotion of international co-operation in social and cultural fields, etc.

The Assembly receives annual and special records from the Security Council, and reports from other organs, deals with finance and elects the elected members to the various Councils.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Composed of five permanent members : China, France, U.S.S.R., Britain, and U.S.A., plus six members elected for two years, of whom three retire annually and are not immediately eligible for re-election.

Each member has one vote. "Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be by an affirmative vote of seven members. Decisions....on all other matters shall be by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members ;" provided that a party to the dispute shall abstain from voting in matters concerning suspension

and expulsion and pacific settlement of local disputes by regional agencies.

The Security Council is organised to function continuously, each member being represented continuously at the seat of the organisation. It meets periodically and at other places if necessary. It may invite any member or non-member State to participate, without vote, if concerned in a dispute.

It has two main functions : *the peaceful settlement of disputes, and action with respect to threats to or breaches of the peace.*

It may investigate, on its own initiative, any dispute or any situation which may lead to dispute, and may call upon parties to settle the dispute by negotiation, etc., or recommend methods of adjustment (e.g., by the International Court) or it may recommend its own terms of settlement.

In the case of a threat to, or breach of the peace it may:

(a) ask parties to take provisional measures while it is considering,

(b) enforce its decisions by calling for all members of the United Nations to enforce partial or complete diplomatic or economic sanctions.

(c) "take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security."

All members of the United Nations undertake to have "on call" by the Security Council, under special agreement, armed forces necessary to maintain peace. In particular "members shall hold available national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action."

A Military Staff Committee, consisting of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members or their representatives, shall advise and assist the Council and be responsible for the strategic disposition of forces.

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Nothing in the Charter impairs the right of self-defence of individual States or regional agencies until the Security Council can take measures necessary to maintain peace.

Nothing in the Charter precludes regional arrangements provided their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Such agencies "shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes," but they may

take no enforcement action "without the authorisation of the Security Council," except against the enemy States of the Second World War. At all times the Security Council is to be kept fully informed of activities under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

With a view to creating conditions of stability and friendly relations among nations the United Nations shall promote :

(a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development ;

(b) co-operation in social, health, cultural and education matters ;

(c) universal respect for human rights and freedoms.

Responsibility for the discharge of these functions rests with the Assembly, and, under it, the Economic and Social Council of 18 elected members of the Assembly, who are elected for three years and may be re-elected. Each member of the Economic Council has one vote and decisions are by simple majority.

It may make studies and reports, make recommendations, prepare draft conventions, and call international conferences, may enter into agreements with specialised agencies, and co-ordinate their work, and is to set up commissions.

COLONIES AND TRUSTEESHIP

Two sections of the Charter deal with colonies.

The first sets out general principles applying to all colonies. "Members of the United Nations . . . recognise the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount" and accept the obligation to develop self-government, to ensure political, economic, social and educational advancement for these peoples, to co-operate for these ends, to act as good neighbours, and to supply statistical and other technical information to the Secretary General.

The second establishes an International Trusteeship System. Territories now held under mandate (except those which themselves are members of the United Nations), territories which may be taken from enemy states as a result of the Second World War and territories voluntarily placed under the system are covered by it.

The objectives of the system are to promote peace, progressive development "towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate," respect for human rights, and equal treatment in commercial matters for all members of the United Nations.

Terms of trusteeship are to be made between the Trusteeship Council and the individual Administrating Authority. In Trust Territory areas may be declared strategic, in which case the area comes under the Security Council.

The Trusteeship Council is to consist of members administering Trust Territories, plus any of the permanent Security Council members who are not, plus members elected by the Assembly. Its function is to accept and examine petitions, to arrange periodic visits to Trust Territories, to send questionnaires to Administering Authorities, and to report to the Assembly.

AMENDMENTS

Amendments to the present Charter come into force when adopted and ratified by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly. A two-thirds majority can also decide to call a conference to review the whole Charter. Such a conference, unless already held, shall be discussed by the tenth annual session of the Assembly.

RATIFICATION

The Charter comes into force when ratified by the five leading powers and a majority of the other signatory states.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

An International Court of Justice is set up by a special statute. All members undertake to comply with its decisions.

SECRETARIAT

The Secretary General is to be appointed by the Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Staff is to be appointed under regulations established by the Assembly.

II.

SOVIET STAND ON THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

(i)

"The most clear-cut and consistent line in this matter (of trusteeship—*M.K.*) was taken up by the Soviet delegation. Beginning with Molotov's declaration in his speech of April 30 and his statements at a Press Conference on May 7, and ending with the Soviet proposal for self-determination and independence for colonial peoples as the direct aim of the trusteeship regime, the position of the Soviet Union has been clear and unswerving. This policy logically follows from the activities and teachings of the great founders of the Soviet State, Lenin and Stalin, who proclaimed the right of every nation to self-determination, including the right to secede and form an independent state.

"It was on these principles that the great Soviet State was founded. The Soviet Union has adhered to them consistently in its international practice. Stalin publicly recalled in his speech on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the October Revolution when he mentioned among the aims of the great Patriotic War: 'equality of nations and inviolability of their territories; liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to manage its affairs in its own way.'

". . . . Need it be argued that there can be neither friendly relations among nations nor real equality and self-determination, nor true respect for human rights and basic liberties as long as the system of colonial oppression exists in one form or another, and as long as some nations and states are masters of the fate of others.

". . . . The organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security, now being created by freedom-loving nations, cannot consider its task completed as long as all peoples, including peoples of colonial countries, are not ensured opportunity speedily to realise their cherished aspirations, opportunity for free and peaceful development, opportunity to cooperate on an equal footing with other nations in the general march of human culture and progress."

(from *The Red Star*, June 1, 1945).

(ii)

". . . . A new question, one that was not discussed at Dumbarton Oaks, was that of the international trusteeship system. In the charter three sections, viz., Declaration Regarding Non-Self-governing Territories, International Trusteeship, and the Trusteeship Council, are devoted to this important question, which concerns the fate of the colonial and mandated territories. During the debates on these sections of the charter the different interests pursued by the powers in the sphere of the colonial problem were clearly revealed. However, in spite of these differences, and the fact that neither the British nor the American delegations went as far as the Soviet Union delegation proposed as regards guarantees that colonial countries shall be granted independence, the formulas adopted in the charter afford possibilities for further progress, *and for the creation of conditions that will ensure the satisfaction of the legitimate striving of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries towards freedom and national independence* (my italics—*M.K.*).

"Thus, in Article 73, the members of the United Nations Organisation recognise the principle that the interests of the population of non-self-governing territories are of prime importance and, as a sacred duty, pledge themselves to promote to the utmost the well-being of the population of these territories within the system of international peace and security. They pledge themselves also to promote self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of these peoples, and to promote the development of their free political institutions. . . ."

(from *New Times*, July 1, 1945.)

III.

EGYPTIAN "INDEPENDENCE"

Egypt is nominally an independent country. I give below extracts from an article on "Egyptian Politics" by Abdûr Rahman Siddiqui from the July issue of *Indian Quarterly*, edited by Dr. A. Appadorai and published by the Indian Council of World Affairs, which reveals just what lies behind this "independence." (Mr. Siddiqui is a well-known Muslim businessman

of Calcutta who began his political career by going in the Ansari Mission to Turkey in 1912 ; in the twenties he participated in the Khilafat movement and today he is a Muslim League M.L.A. He visited Egypt recently on his way to and from the United States.)

"The Residency of old (in Cairo—*M.K.*), which has now been metamorphosed into the British Embassy, has not only retained all its ancient characteristics but, on the contrary, taking advantage of the presence in large numbers of British forces, has added to its strength and dominates the Polity and Economy of the country as never before. The King, his Ministers, and the two Houses of Parliament dare not go against the wishes of His Excellency the British Ambassador. Cabinets come and go as he desires and Prime Ministers hold office at the will and pleasure of this dignitary. When dissatisfied with Ali Mahir Pasha, the Ambassador ordered the Royal Palace to be surrounded by tanks, one of which, on the refusal of the sentry on guard for admittance, crashed against the main gateway, dashed under the portico and deposited its load of the Ambassador, the General and several high military officers, in the main hall. The officer on duty, as the guardian of the King's person at night, also refused admission to the uninvited guests. Had King Farouk, who had heard the noise, not entered the hall at the nick of time some good lives would have been lost. A paper was presented to the King for signature purporting to appoint Mustafa Pasha Nahhas as Premier. When he had served the purpose of the Embassy, Nahhas Pasha received his dismissal equally unceremoniously while he was away in Alexandria, preparing the Protocol of the Arab League. Ahmad Pasha Mahir, who was assassinated in the Parliament House, in January last, was shoved into his place so that Egypt may renounce its attitude of neutrality and declare war against Germany and Japan." (Pages 219-220.)

"Under the Treaty, Great Britain has constituted itself the advocate of the subjects of the European Christian Powers who held and exercised extra-territorial rights in all parts of the Turkish Empire including Egypt under the *Tanzimat*, that is rights bestowed by the Sultan on his non-Muslim subjects under the Millat System and also on non-Muslim foreigners entering Turkey as businessmen, missionaries or private individuals. With the decline of Turkish supremacy and power these *Tanzimat*

became those dreadful engines of mischief and intrigue, called Capitulations. Turkey abolished them after the Anatolian War of 1918-1923, at the Lausanne Peace Conference, but Egypt, although separated and detached from the Sultan's dominions, has to suffer them till today in the shape of Mixed Courts and the vicarious liability for protection assumed by Great Britain under the Treaty. The Capitulations created a privileged class in the country composed of every Christian nation in Europe but especially of thousands of Italian and Greek bourgeoisie, who have established a monopoly over all retail and shop-keepers' trade as well as Export and Import business, in Alexandria and Cairo, pushing out the local inhabitants almost completely.

"Politically under duress and economically suppressed, the Egyptians are unable to exercise or enjoy the rights of a free people. It is no wonder therefore, that every section of its population is keen and anxious to get rid of the incubus holding up their progress nationally and internationally." (Page 221.)

"Cotton is the pivot round which the whole economy of Egypt turns. It is produced by about 300 Pashas and landlords, who have enriched themselves enormously at the expense of the *Fallah*—the peasant—who is living in conditions of extreme and grinding poverty." (Page 220.)

". . . The Arab League, formed in the early part of this year, is a League of Kings and their obedient Ministers. Malik Farouq of Egypt, Malik Abdul Aziz of Hijaz and Najd, Malik Yahya of Yemen, Malik Faisal of Iraq, the Ameer Abdullah of Transjordania and their Ministers are its sponsors to the entire exclusion of their people. Syria and Lebanon being republics could not produce Kings ; so their Presidents did duty for them. Palestine alone sent a representative chosen by its six Arab political parties. The League undoubtedly is a League of Arab States, and Kings and Presidents must act in their name but not to the total exclusion of the people. It would appear as if there are no leaders outside the groups composed of their Excellencies the Ministers. The future alone will prove if the swing in favour of the people will come within a measurable distance of time. . . ." (Page 223.)

These extracts show three things : first, that Egypt is independent only in name ; second, that just because Egypt's independence is only nominal, decisive power inside the country lies in

the hands not of her people but of 300 Pashas and landlords (out of a total population of 1 crore 42 lakhs !) whose interests are bound up with those of foreign imperialism, as a real Egyptian people's democracy would not only break Britain's power but also the power of these landlords ; thirdly that the entire ring of Arab States with the exception of Syria and Lebanon are similar in structure and in the form of independence.

Thus whenever we hear that an 'independent' country is protesting against "Soviet interference" it is always worth asking "who" is protesting, i.e. first ; see whether the independence is real ; second ; whether there is a real democratic people's regime in that country. It is these two tests that will reveal to us the real truth of such propaganda and expose who is behind these vigorous protestations about "freedom". For we must never forget that British, U.S., and French imperialists are still alive, have "interests"—and very dubious ones—all over the world, and have yet to be finally liquidated.

Our Latest Publications

[illegible]

By Anna Louise Strong and Stefan Litauer *Price Rs.* 1-4.

Is the Polish Provincial Government independent or is it a mere satellite of the Soviet Union? Who are the leaders of present-day Poland? How much support do the London Poles command in their own country? Were the 16 Poles recently convicted in Moscow of fifth-column sabotage activities given a fair trial or was it just a put-up show? What is the nature of the Agrarian Reform being carried out by the Polish Government about which so much is heard in the newspapers? This book gives you all the answers.

In Part One and Part Two, Anna Louise Strong and Stefan Litauer, two famous journalists, give accounts of their visits to Poland this year. Part Three is a detailed report of the recent Moscow trial of the 16 Polish saboteurs, agents of the London Poles.

By V. S. R. Chari *Price As.* 10.

During recent months the anti-Communists of Andhra (led by Ranga, Kaleswar Rao & Co.) have been publicly staging and circulating a filthy, obscene play called *Vengamma* against the Communist Party. No better commentary on the morals and policy of the anti-Communists themselves could be found than this play.

This booklet is a factual exposure of the anti-Communists of Andhra. It tells you what *Vengamma* is, who its authors and organisers are and who are the Congress leaders in Andhra who use such obscene and degenerate methods against their political opponents. Read this book to see to what depths of degeneration our public life is reduced by anti-Communists and anti-Communism.

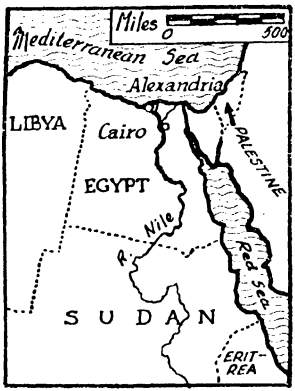
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,

Bombay 4

Egypt and the Labour Government

By
GEORGE
AUDIT

6D



Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2 and printed by Farleigh Press Ltd. (*T.U. all depts*), Beechwood Rise, Watford, Herts.
CP/N/86/1/47 (3050)

EGYPT and the LABOUR GOVERNMENT

by GEORGE AUDIT

THE PROMISE TO LEAVE EGYPT

In March, 1946, Mr. Attlee told the House of Commons that the Government had decided "freely and unconditionally" to withdraw British troops from Egypt.

In December, 1882, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then President of the Board of Trade, said that the Government had no intention of maintaining a permanent protectorate in Egypt: "As soon as order is restored, we will withdraw." That was sixty-four years ago.

Mr. Attlee's promise to withdraw was welcomed in the Labour Movement as a step towards a clean break with the imperialist past; but events have shown that there has been no such change. It is over a year since Mr. Attlee made his announcement. Negotiations have been conducted with the Egyptian Government, but no new treaty has resulted, nor have British troops been withdrawn from Egypt.

In this time, a nation-wide demand has grown up in Egypt for the breaking-off of negotiations with Britain, for an appeal to U.N.O., and for free elections in Egypt to provide a Government more representative of the country. At the end of January, 1947, this demand forced the Government to break off the talks with Britain and to announce that it would appeal to the Security Council to get the foreign troops out of the country. Mr. Bevin announced at once that as the negotiations had failed, we shall keep our troops in Egypt by virtue of the 1936 Treaty. Stay in Egypt by force

and damn the consequences—that was the policy demanded by Churchill last summer. And this policy has now been taken over by the Labour Government.

The Labour Movement is faced with the prospect of trying to impose on the Egyptian people a treaty of alliance whose terms have been rejected by the Egyptians. A far cry from the harmonious and equal partnership that Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin talked about!

EVACUATION AND NEGOTIATION

When Mr. Attlee made his promise of evacuation, press headlines in this country announced "Evacuation first, then negotiations." The Labour Government had "rejected imperialism." It was widely reported that the evacuation had begun. Reports appeared of the transfer of the naval floating dock from Alexandria to the Bahamas, of the moving of troops to Palestine, of the evacuation of the Citadel in Cairo, and other details which suggested that Britain was voluntarily and unconditionally clearing out.

In May, 1946, negotiations to determine the conditions of "unconditional evacuation" began.

When the U.N.O. Security Council was considering the case of Iran in January, 1946, Mr. Bevin stated: "It is one of the cardinal principles of my policy that you cannot negotiate with a country while your troops are in occupation of that country."

The negotiations with Egypt have been going on with British troops still in occupation. There has been no evacuation. The troops that were moved to Palestine were reinforcements for the Sixth Airborne Division there, and fresh conscripts from Britain took their place in Egypt. The troops from the Citadel marched to Kasr el Nil barracks in the middle of Cairo, within full view of the statue of Saad Zaghloul, the first hero of the Egyptian independence movement.

Evacuation has not even been definitely promised. Mr. Bevin has repeatedly made it clear that British troops will be withdrawn only on condition that Egypt signs a military alliance giving the Imperial General Staff wide powers in Egypt. This military alliance is " the most important part of the new treaty," said a Foreign Office spokesman on May 7, 1946. He added that if the new treaty were not concluded Britain would remain in Egypt by virtue of the 1936 Treaty.

Mr. Bevin told the House of Commons in March, 1946: " I will give the House the assurance that I shall be no party to leaving a vacuum . . . If there can be nothing substituted, it is quite true that the 1936 Treaty must stand."

The 1936 Treaty

This Treaty, which has been the subject of negotiations, forms the basis of present Anglo-Egyptian relations. The main articles declared:

1. " The military occupation of Egypt by the forces of His Majesty the King is at an end."
2. Britain agreed to evacuate Cairo and Alexandria as soon as barracks had been built, at the expense of the Egyptian Government, in the Canal Zone.
3. Egypt agreed to the installation of British defences in the Canal Zone; British troops were to stay there until the Egyptian Army was in a state to " assure by its own means the freedom and entire security of the Canal."
4. The military clauses of the Treaty were to remain valid for twenty years.
5. Modifications to these clauses would be considered by both parties after ten years.
6. The Capitulations were to be abolished. (These were special privileges, e.g., freedom from taxes and Egyptian laws, that had been enjoyed by foreigners in Egypt since before 1882.)

In addition, Britain promised to support the application of Egypt for admission to the League of Nations.

The Negotiations

The negotiations that were carried on from May, 1946 to January, 1947, with the Egyptian Government were to revise this Treaty, which, in itself, had already promised evacuation of Egypt. The main points of the negotiations have been :

1. **Delay In Evacuation:** The British Delegation, headed by Lord Stansgate, at first demanded five years in which to complete the evacuation of Egypt. By November, this had been reduced to two years. The Egyptian Delegation have demanded that it be completed within a year: the Egyptian people demand immediate evacuation.

There have been so many promises to evacuate Egypt, including the one in the 1936 Treaty, which have not been kept, that most Egyptians are afraid of a long period of evacuation. They fear that a " special emergency " might be produced in order to justify another " postponement " of evacuation.

2. **The Military Treaty** : Cairo is a hotbed of speculations about a third world war. These have increased Egyptian fears, and have been increased by the course of the negotiations.

Mr. Bevin has insisted that British troops should be free to re-occupy Egypt automatically in the event of war or the threat of war. The British Delegation have demanded that joint action should be taken not only if the *bordering* countries are threatened (i.e., Palestine, Libya and the Sudan), but also if *neighbouring* countries are threatened with war (i.e., Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and perhaps even Greece).

The Egyptian Delegation has maintained that joint defence measures should be taken only after preliminary consultations between the two Governments. It demanded that the Joint

Defence Council proposed by Britain should meet only at the request of both countries, while Mr. Bevin insisted that it should meet when a simple majority of its members considered a meeting necessary. The Egyptians also proposed that the article defining mutual aid should not come into effect if Britain is the aggressor; this was opposed by the British Delegation.

The British proposals in the negotiations really mean that if Britain gets involved in war with any power in the Middle East, no matter who is the aggressor, she insists upon the right to use Egypt as a base, and that Egypt should be her ally.

3. **The Sudan:** The Sudan is a huge country, four times as large as France, situated along the banks of the Upper Nile. Officially, it is jointly ruled by Egypt and Britain (the " Condominium "), but in actual fact it is governed by the British alone.

The policy of British imperialism has been to treat Egypt and the Sudan as two entirely separate questions, and to refuse any concessions to Egypt in the Sudan. From the beginning of the negotiations this was the attitude of the British Delegation. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin both said that Britain had no intention of permitting any alteration in the status of the Sudan " until a plebiscite can be held to determine the real wishes of the Sudanese people."

On the other hand, the question of the Sudan and its status is an important one for Egypt. The Nile is the life-stream of Egypt. For 6,000 years the question of the control of the Upper Nile has been a vital one for the Egyptian people. Feeling runs high in Egypt for the " unity of the Nile Valley "—so high that Sidky Pasha's one hope of pushing through the new Treaty with Britain depended on whether he could get concessions from the British on this question of the Sudan. Accordingly, when he returned from his conversations with the Foreign Office in London in November, 1946, he had obtained

the addition of a protocol to the proposed Treaty which recognised the formal unity of the Sudan and Egypt under the Egyptian Crown. Unfortunately, immediately afterwards, both Mr. Bevin and the Governor of the Sudan went to great lengths to explain that this was indeed formal, and, in fact, would not alter the status of the Sudan in any particular.

The Results of the Negotiations

The British proposals for revising the 1936 Treaty have failed to satisfy Egyptian public opinion. Popular opposition has prevented the signature of a new Treaty. Sidky Pasha's Government was willing to sign. It agreed in principle to the Joint Defence Council and to exclude the Sudan question. But the masses of the people refused to allow this to go through, and Sidky had to resign in December, 1946.

The question of a military alliance is the touchstone for the Egyptian people. They see no reason why the interests of either Egypt or Britain require a treaty that ties Egypt closely to Britain as an ally, and affords any pretext whatsoever for the retention of British troops on Egyptian soil. They demand immediate, unconditional evacuation.

Why a Military Alliance with Egypt?

Is a military alliance with Egypt important to the defence of Britain?

Egypt occupies a very central position in the world. The Suez Canal, the main link between Europe and India and the East, passes through its territory. It has a central position in relation to Europe, Asia, Africa and India. It is the western end of the oilfields of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and the rest of the Middle East.

For fifty years Egypt has provided a naval base which has given British imperialism naval command of the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, and a military base that has contributed to the defence of monopoly capitalist rule over the subject

peoples from the Iraqi oilfields to the Calcutta mills and the Malayan tin mines.

Today Egypt plays an ever-increasing part in the development of air strategy. The recent non-stop flight of an American flying-boat from the Pacific to Cairo clearly shows that whoever controls Egypt can use it as a base from which to cover the world by air.

Thus Egypt forms an important link in imperialist strategy. It has little to do, however, with the defence of the British Isles.

In November, 1945, Mr. Bevin made a speech to the Anglo-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce, i.e., to big businessmen interested in trade with Egypt. He said:

"I began when I took office to tackle this problem of the Middle East, and may I say that I have approached it as an entity. I have seen indications of rising nationalism in Egypt, but I beg you not to overdo this nationalist business. A United Nations Organisation, you know, presumes a sacrifice of a certain amount of sovereignty. We do not want to dominate Egypt. I would like to see our defence built up, not on the basis of our protecting you, but on joint co-operation, a partnership paid for and manned by both of us on a common basis of partnership between the Middle East and ourselves. In that way I can see the mutual interests, mutual character, and great design of that area contributing not only to its own security and prosperity, but contributing a great example to wide regions of the world by its mutual understanding and common effort."

The newspaper of the largest Egyptian party, the Wafd, *Sawt el Umma,* has made the following comment on Mr. Bevin's use of generalities about the United Nations to disguise imperialist policy in the Middle East: "The draft treaty would be contrary to the stipulations of the United Nations' Charter, in spite of its frequent use of the words 'United Nations' Organisation.' This treaty would be a treaty

of mutual assistance for the security of the Middle East. Now, U.N.O. is directly responsible for the security of these countries, and the agreements to be made between U.N.O. and these countries will be arranged directly and without the need for intermediaries . . . Great Britain has no right to arrange with Egypt the security of the Middle East, nor even the security of the bordering countries, as some of them are independent countries over which neither England nor Egypt have any rights at all . . . Some others are under mandate, and the mandatory powers have not the right to dispose of them strategically or politically except through U.N.O. or through the Trusteeship Council of the General Assembly . . . This treaty would bind Egypt to the destiny of the British Empire. It would compel us to go to war not for our own defence, but for the defence of British imperialism, even outside Egypt. . ."

Why are there British Troops in Egypt?

British troops have been in Egypt since 1882. Before that Britain had financial control over Egypt.

Anglo-French dual control was imposed on Egypt in 1876. It guaranteed foreign investors in railways, state loans and cotton cultivation a first claim on the Egyptian budget. In 1877, out of the total actual revenue of £9½ millions nearly £7½ millions were handed over to these foreign investors.

In September, 1881, there was a brief attempt at resistance. A movement led by Egyptian Army officers under Arabi Pasha seized power. On June 11, 1882, the British Navy bombarded Alexandria, a British army was landed, and Arabi was defeated at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir in the same year.

Dual control was abolished. From 1882 until after the First World War, Egypt, although nominally still subject to Turkey, was governed by British colonial civil servants. During this period came the most rapid extension of the canal system, the cultivation of cotton to such an extent that this crop became dominant in the economy of Egypt, the making

of huge fortunes by foreign capitalists, and the reduction of the people to the most abject level of poverty.

The Rise of the Egyptian Resistance

In Egypt, as in other colonial countries, the 1914-18 War hastened the emergence of a national liberation movement based on the support of the masses. The movement was led by the Wafd*.

At first, this was the sole party of the Egyptian people. It was led by an important section of the Egyptian landowners, who were eager to break the monopoly of export trade enjoyed by foreign capitalists.

The Wafdist movement of 1917-21 shook imperialism in Egypt to its foundations. The 1919 revolt showed plainly that the old policy was no longer adequate. During the war, and for three years afterwards Egypt was ruled by martial law.

In 1922 came a change of tactics. A unilateral " Declaration of Egyptian Independence " was issued by the British Government. This was notorious for the four reservations attached to it which, of course, made a mockery of "independence." These were " absolutely reserved to the discretion of H.M. Government " and were :—

1. The security of imperial communications.
2. The defence of Egypt.
3. The protection of foreign interests in Egypt.
4. The Sudan.

In 1923 a committee of Egyptians was appointed by King Fuad (who had been foisted on the Egyptians by the British) to draw up a Constitution. Soon after an important section of the Wafd broke away to form the Liberal Constitutional

* Wafd is Arabic for " delegation." The party took its name from the delegation formed in 1919 under Saad Zaghloul Pasha to go to London to present demands for independence for Egypt, and the evacuation of British troops.

Party, which was ready to make the Constitution work, and to compromise with British imperialism.

Breakaways from the Wafd came to be a normal feature of Egyptian politics. All the Egyptian political groups and parties have been formed in that way. The Wafd remains, however, the sole mass party of the national movement, with deep roots among the peasantry and the town and rural lower middle classes. The people have voted for the Wafd in overwhelming strength whenever free elections have been held.

Various means have been employed to keep the Wafd out of real power, from offensive British naval displays off Alexandria and Port Said to the dissolution of Parliament by the King. Since 1923 there have been dozens of Egyptian Cabinets. Not a single Parliament has survived for its constitutional term of office. In 1930, the Wafd won a big victory at the elections, but the King dissolved Parliament, and Sidky Pasha abrogated the Constitution, and set up an open dictatorship (1930-33), during which hundreds of Egyptian workers were killed or died in prison.

In the 'thirties the fascist powers began to threaten British imperial positions in the Middle East. German and Italian propaganda made a deep impression in Arab countries by promising "liberation from imperialism." In 1935, Mussolini seized Abyssinia and established a base for fascism in the heart of the Middle East, threatening British control of the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, the Sudan, Egypt, and the Suez Canal.

The same year, the Wafd, led by its present leader, Nahas Pasha, was called into office. A treaty between Egypt and Britain was negotiated, which stabilised the strategic position at the cost of a few minor concessions by Britain. Soon after the treaty was signed in 1936 the King dismissed Nahas. A section of the Wafd broke away under Ahmed Maher and Nokrashi Pasha (the present Prime Minister) to form the Saadist Party. From 1937 to the War Egypt was governed by

four " Palace " Cabinets, composed mainly of " technicians " and " independents."

EGYPT AND WORLD WAR II

By 1939, Tory policy in Egypt had produced a most dangerous situation. Ali Maher Pasha, chief organiser of the fascist fifth column, was Prime Minister. The country teemed with Axis agents. The Chief of the Egyptian General Staff, Aziz el Masry, was suspected of giving Allied military secrets to the Italians, with whom the Palace was actively in touch.

The Egyptian people were totally ignorant of the aims of the war. Their conviction that Britain could not possibly be fighting for democratic aims or national freedom was the cause of the sympathy shown in Egypt for fascist Germany and Italy.

Cairo escaped the fate of Singapore, thanks solely to the Allied soldiers, and in spite of all that had been done in the previous thirty years by the Milners, Curzons, and Lampsons to implant hatred of Britain among the Egyptian people.

On the eve of Alamein the danger was so clear that drastic steps were taken. On February 4, 1942, British tanks surrounded the Abdin Palace. The British Ambassador forced his way in and told King Farouk to appoint Nahas the head of an all-Wafd Government. The King was given a few hours in which to make up his mind. A destroyer lay at Suez to take him to the Seychelles if he refused.

With the threat of an Axis invasion, it was imperative that Egypt be kept quiet. The formation of a Wafd Government was the only way of ensuring this, for this was the only Party that enjoyed the confidence of the Egyptian masses.

The Wafd remained in office until the Axis threat was over, and succeeded in introducing some social legislation such as a minimum wage for workers and peasants, and permitted certain types of trade unions (trade unions had hitherto

been illegal in Egypt; they are still illegal in the Sudan). But in 1944 King Farouk dismissed Nahas once again. Fake elections were held, which the Wafd boycotted. A Parliament consisting solely of reactionaries was elected, and has formed the basis for the successive Cabinets with which Britain conducted the negotiations.

THE RESULTS OF BRITISH OCCUPATION

The results of sixty-four years of British occupation and unrestricted exploitation are to be seen everywhere in Egypt, in the poverty, disease and the social and cultural backwardness of the people.

Of Egypt's 18 million people, 15 million are *fellaheen*. Whether they are small proprietors, tenants, or landless labourers, the majority live and work in conditions not fit for human beings. They work from dawn to dusk in cotton, rice or maize fields, which are let to them annually at exorbitant rents by the big landowners, who own over half the cultivable area. Their average income is just over a shilling a day.

Nearly all the known diseases have established their hold on the population. The most common are trachoma, tuberculosis, ankylostomiasis, pellagra, typhoid, typhus, pneumonia, bilharzia and syphilis. Recently an Egyptian Minister of Health, Wakil Bey, calculated that the average person suffers from at least three different diseases.

Ninety per cent of the people working on the land suffer from bilharzia, a disease caused by microscopic worms which swarm in the irrigation canals that are all over Egypt. Chief cause of the spread of the disease was the extension of irrigation by British companies during the last fifty years, which turned the annual cleansing flood of the Nile into a network of stagnant canals in which the bilharzia worms found ideal breeding conditions. This disease permanently enfeebles, and often causes death. The children catch it at four or five years, when they first go to work in the fields.

The Egyptian death rate is among the highest in the world. In 1942, infant mortality reached 200 per thousand births. The average expectation of life is about 27 years.

Primary education has been compulsory for over twenty years, but illiteracy in the country as a whole is still over 80 per cent of the population.

In the villages there is not a semblance of democratic rights. Life is regulated by a brutal hierarchy of **mudirs** (governors), **mamours** (police inspectors), and **ghaffirs** (constables), who are nominally appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, but in fact responsible to the district notables, their friends and relatives. There are few holidays, no weekly day of rest, nothing to break the monotony of endless toil. Trade Unions, or any form of free organisation, are forbidden by law, although they are legal in the towns.

The Egyptian delegate to the 1945 Conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions asked some important questions:

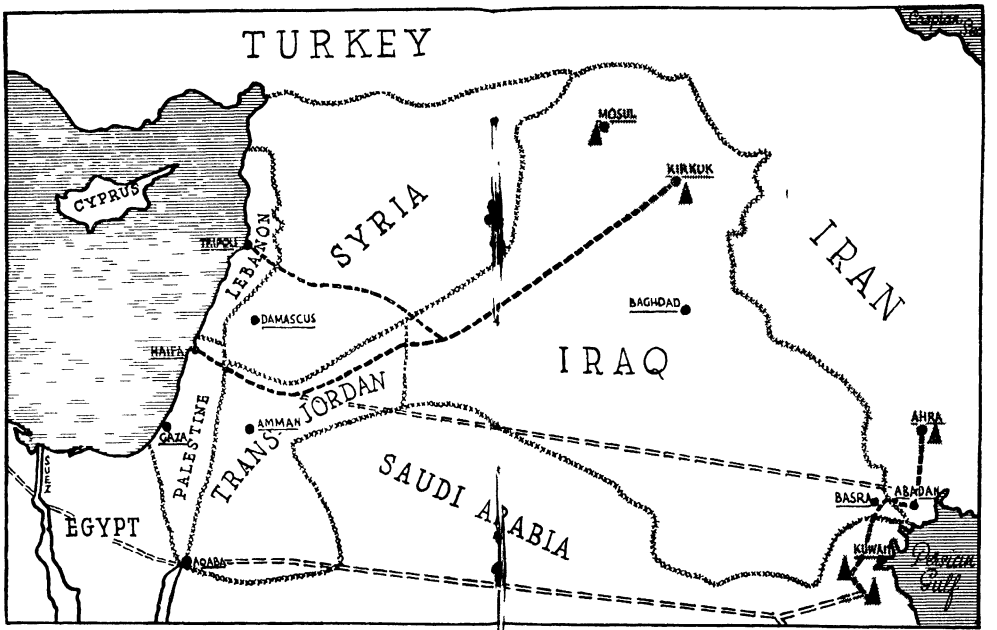
"Why is is that the poorest peasants and landworkers in the world live in the most fertile country? That in the healthiest climate the people suffer from so many diseases? That an ancient civilised country such as Egypt is today so backward a State?"

BIG BUSINESS IN EGYPT

The answer to his questions lies in the domination of Egypt by foreign capitalists who exploit it as a colony, though it is independent in name.

Domination of Egypt by foreign capital dates from the end of the nineteenth century, when cotton became the country's chief crop. Cotton cultivation grew rapidly because it provided a cash crop that would bring in foreign exchange to pay interest to foreign bondholders. Cotton cultivation was further developed by big Egyptian landowners, and foreign Loan Companies and Export Agencies.

In 1938-39 cotton exports accounted for over 75 per cent



This sketch-map shows the strategic position of Egypt in relation to the Middle East and the oil bearing regions.

of Egypt's total foreign trade. One-fifth of the cultivable land was given over to cotton. The greater part of the national income comes from its culture, processing and sale.

Most of the land is owned by Egyptians, but the real control and most of the profits belong to foreigners. The most profitable branch of the cotton trade—export—is in their hands. The reclamation of new land by drainage and irrigation belongs to foreign Loan Companies, which also own mortgages estimated at £E40 million in 1936. The Companies usually sell the " new " land to Egyptian landowners at high prices, which are passed on to the *fellaheen* in high rents and low wages.

The lion's share of the profits go to foreigners. This unequal division inevitably arouses the political opposition of Egyptian landowners and monied classes, who desire to expel the foreign interests and take all the profits. That is why a big section of landowners supported the Wafd in its early days.

Estimates of foreign capital invested in Egypt range from £E400 to £E500 million. According to the *Economist* (23/1/37) " the market value on December 31, 1929, of public loans, stocks and shares quoted on the Alexandria Stock Exchange totalled nearly £200 million, of which 90 per cent was held by foreigners in and out of Egypt." No reliable figures exist for the present, but whether the proportion is greater or less, the dependence of Egyptian capital on foreign capital has increased, because industry in Egypt, whether Egyptian or foreign, is more and more organised on monopolistic lines.

The greater part of the mechanised light industry started during the last ten years, especially during the war, is controlled by foreign banks and private capitalists. The only exception is the Misr group of banks and industries, in which membership is limited to Egyptians; but even here foreign capital has penetrated under various disguises.

Since 1918 direct investment has become more important in

Egypt, that is, the opening by foreign firms of branches in Egypt, to escape customs duties and heavy income tax. American automobile assembly plants, the Anglo-American Tobacco Company, Bradford Dyers, Bleachers and Printers, French textile concerns, Swiss cement firms, and I.C.I. have established themselves in this way.

From the beginning Egyptian industry has taken the form of trusts and large concerns intermingled with British capital. There are no large Egyptian-owned banks (with the exception of Misr), strong enough to play an independent role in the role of Egyptian industry. All the key industries are controlled by foreign concerns. All the oil companies are foreign owned, except for Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields, £100,000 of whose £2,000,000 capital is owned by the Egyptian State. (Its profits in 1938 were £238,993.)

The war brought chances to make big profits, which Egyptian capitalists exploited to the full. They chiefly developed manufacturing industries whose products (textiles, glassware, medicines) could be sold at high profits in the Middle East countries, cut off from European and American sources of supply. No basic industries like iron and steel, mining, or electricity supply were developed during the war. Instead, Egyptian capitalists concentrated on quick returns from light industry, contracting for the Allied armies, and speculation and hoarding which drove up prices for the poverty-stricken population.

Egypt, which is rich in every type of mineral wealth, including iron (some of the largest iron-ore deposits in the world exist south of Assuan), completely lacks coal. However, there exist enormous potential supplies of electric power: the dams that span the Nile. Plans for the electrification of the Assuan dam are known to have been in existence for thirty years, but the actual electrification of the dam has never been carried out—possibly because Britain did not care to allow Egypt to be transformed from a mainly agricultural country

(and therefore a ready market for manufactured goods) into a country possessing a semi-heavy industry.

It is interesting to note, at a time when the capitalists are insisting on the beneficent results of foreign financial and commercial intervention in Egypt, that the opening of the Suez Canal by making communications easier should have helped in the industrialisation of Egypt. It has in fact prevented the industrial development of the zone richest in mineral deposits, the zone that lies between Suez and the Egyptian-Sudanese border. Canal dues are so high that Egyptian ores which, in spite of fairly high operating costs, could have competed with other ores on European markets that require them, cannot do so. They can therefore only be shipped to the Far East (a very limited market, even before the War) or else be dumped or not extracted at all.

THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IN EGYPT

Since Egypt is controlled by British and foreign capital, what stands in the way of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement that would put a political seal on its economic subjection? The answer is that the Egyptian people are standing in the way.

The movement of the Egyptian people, which has grown ever stronger since the beginning of negotiations, has revivified the Wafd, has led even reactionaries to express its demands, has split the Egyptian Delegation from top to bottom, and has forced it to reject every British draft treaty. The driving force of this movement is the struggle of ordinary Egyptians for a better life, which they have come to see requires evacuation as a first step to any improvement in their economic and social conditions.

The war made the rich richer, but it impoverished the masses. The cost of living rose to over three times the 1939 level, but wages were barely doubled during the war and are now falling. The large Allied armies in Egypt and nearby countries were fed partly by Egyptian produce. The full

effects of concentration on cotton growing were felt. Basic foods such as rice and wheat had to be imported. Starvation gripped the countryside. A malaria epidemic in Upper Egypt in 1943 killed over 100,000 people, because they were so weak that they died at the first onset of fever, and were so short of food that they sold the quinine supplied to them by the Government.

The war developed and strengthened the Egyptian working class. Allied repair shops, factories, airfields, ordnance works, garages and dependent trades employed about 300,000 new workers who were mostly recruited from the villages. After the Wafd Government had legalised trade unions, workers began to reform their organisations. A strike movement for better conditions came to a head in February 1946, when it merged with the national struggle in a General Strike. This strike was called by a joint committee of workers and students, which was something new in Egypt. It turned into great demonstrations and was the most important factor in determining the British Government to make its promise of voluntary evacuation. As Mr. Morrison said in the House: "The alternative is revolution."

The movement spread during the summer. Textile workers, civil engineers, tramway and transport men, teachers, civil servants and students all took strike action. Unemployment grew until it was estimated to be close on 200,000. Thousands of workers were dismissed as Allied military services closed down. The Egyptian Government had no plans for taking over the abandoned war factories to provide work; its solution to the problem was to force redundant workers to go back to the villages.

Sidky Pasha unleashed a police terror against the workers, but the trade unions continued to grow in strength and numbers. In 1946 a Trade Union Congress was set up, in spite of the legal prohibition of associations of trade unions.

By June 1946 150,000 workers out of approximately 1,000,000 were organised in some 135 unions.

THE RED SCARE

In July 1946, the Egyptian Government staged what was intended to be a knock-out blow to the workers' movement and the mounting political opposition to the signature of the new treaty with Britain. Sidky Pasha, then Prime Minister, arrested over 200 trade unionists, students, Wafdist journalists, Socialists and Communist sympathisers and announced that he had acted to save the country from a Communist Plot aimed at "subverting the social order and sabotaging the negotiations on the instructions of a foreign power."*

All the leaders of the Egyptian T.U.C. were imprisoned, as well as well-known Wafdists such as Mohammed Mandur, editor of *Al Wafd al Misri,* official organ of the Wafd, which had been daily printing warnings of Sidky's intention to sell out to the British.

The red scare aimed at breaking the unity of the workers and lower middle class, represented by the students. The stunt failed. The old bolshevik bogy, used before the war with great success in all Arab countries against the national movements, would work no longer. By the end of the month all the arrested "communists" had been released, and the "sensational secret inquiry" into the "plot" had been quietly dropped because not a shred of evidence was available, and the lawyers refused to become accomplices in Sidky's attempted frame-up of the political opposition.

Nevertheless the ban on *Al Wafd al Misri* and other anti-Government left-wing publications was maintained, and is still in force.

By December, 1946, it was clear that Sidky had failed. The

* It was possibly just a strange coincidence that the discovery of the Communist plot in Egypt coincided with the stay there of Scotland Yard specialists, some of whom had also been in Canada at the time of the discovery of the Red Plot there.

treaty could only be imposed upon an unwilling country by force. This is what he was prepared to do when he dissolved the Egyptian Delegation, and got a mandate from the hand-picked Egyptian Lower House to accept the British terms. But on December 8th he had to resign, following on the popular indignation caused by the revelation that he had won no concessions from Mr. Bevin on the question of the Sudan, and he was succeeded by Nokrashi Pasha, the Saadist leader, who, however, openly declared that the treaty would still be signed.

Popular resistance continued to grow, and stiffened the opposition of the Wafd. During the war the Wafd had compromised itself seriously whilst in office, and its fall in 1944 was met with popular indifference. Two years of reaction have brought about a change. On October 1st 1946, the Wafd published a manifesto that abandoned the " wait and see " attitude of its right-wing. The manifesto declared:

1. That the Wafd opposes any alliance with Britain.
2. That U.N.O. alone has the right to take steps to ensure the defence of Egypt.
3. That it rejects the principle of a Joint Defence Committee (" Britain and Egypt are not neighbouring countries and have no common enemies.")
4. That no negotiations can take place whilst British troops are in occupation of Egypt.

The manifesto added that the Wafd would not accept the results of the present negotiations, considers the 1936 Treaty to be null and void, and calls upon U.N.O. to settle the Egyptian question.

The Wafd demands the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and the holding of free elections. The Palace has stated that under no circumstances will it permit elections to be held; free elections would sweep away the present representation of Saadists and Liberals, and would give the Wafd an overwhelming majority.

Each day that our Labour Government deals with such people as Sidky and Nokrashi, it is clinging more tightly to the Tory alliance with the semi-feudal big landowner class. Churchill recommends the jettisoning of Mr. Attlee's evacuation pledge. There is a tendency towards full military support for a Palace dictatorship.

IMPERIALIST AIMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

It is not enough just to consider the situation in Egypt. The destruction in Europe of the old " cordon sanitaire " and the failure of all attempts to revive it by means of a Western bloc and Anglo-American intrigues against the new Balkan democracies, have greatly increased the imperialist desire for new bases and anti-democratic alliances in the Middle East.

Thus British policy in Egypt must be considered above all in the light of the policy of building an Eastern bloc against the Soviet Union and the Arab democratic movement, to which Mr. Bevin and American big business are committing the Labour Government.

The Egyptian newspaper *Al Mussawar* (22/8/46) reported that Mr. Bevin told the Egyptian ambassador in London:
" We would, of course, evacuate our troops from Egypt in less than two years, but we must take into account the Soviet menace, and it is not in Egypt's and Britain's interest to leave Egypt and the Middle East open to the risk of a Russian invasion."

The Eastern bloc is not designed as a defence of the Middle East peoples against Russia. On the contrary it is the spearhead of strategic preparations for a third world war. It is a disguise for the defence of imperialist exploitation in the Middle East.

Egypt is the main base of imperialism in the Middle East, strategically and politically. Nearly half the 40 million Arabic-speaking peoples of the area live in Egypt. It is the

most economically advanced, most influential Arab country, with the strongest and most numerous working class. A free and democratic Egypt would change the whole balance of strength between semi-feudal reaction and the progressive forces. The winning of real independence and real sovereignty for Egypt therefore is a most important issue for all Middle East peoples.

Hence the prospect of having to evacuate Egypt was bound to have far-reaching consequences for imperialism. It must lead, as *The Times* said on May 16, 1946, to "the attempted readjustment of imperial strategy in the whole Middle East."

Since 1919, the two "legs" of imperialist strategy in this area have been Egypt and Palestine. In 1919-21, when British rule in Egypt had been shaken by the national liberation movement led by the Wafd, the imperialist policy of support for the Jewish National Home took final shape.

This policy provided a permanent pretext for the military occupation of Palestine, in the alleged necessity to defend Arabs against Jews and Jews against Arabs. It also diverted the Arab national movement into a struggle against the Jewish immigrants.

PALESTINE AND OIL

Today, when Britain is pledged to evacuate Egypt, imperialist pressure on Palestine is greatly intensified, and every attempt is made to deepen Arab-Jewish dissension. Palestine is the alternative base to Egypt. Every effort is being made to strengthen and extend this base. At Haifa is the terminus of the pipeline from the Iraq Petroleum Company's oilfields at Kirkuk, the most important fields in the area. Through Palestine runs the coast road linking the Suez Canal to Syria and Turkey, and the new rail route constructed during the war. Haifa is the only practical alternative naval base to Alexandria in this region.

East of Palestine lie Transjordan and Iraq, despotically ruled by the Hashemite kings in the interests of British imperialism. These two states, together with Palestine, form a solid land-bloc extending from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. They straddle the oil regions. From this base pressure can be exerted on Southern Iran, which is a kind of private empire of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, today threatened by the democratic forces growing in Iran, but still immensely powerful, as the recent events in Azerbaijan have shown.

In order to strengthen this Haifa-to Basra base, Mr. Bevin negotiated the Treaty of Independence with Emir Abdullah of Transjordan in February 1946. This treaty gave Britain unlimited garrisoning rights in " independent " Transjordan, rights of passage, and control of communications. It turned a League of Nations mandate, which only U.N.O. had the right to dispose of, into a military base over which Britain has unrestricted control.

Transjordan, however, is useless without Palestine. It must be linked with the oil terminus and the Navy at Haifa. The Morrison plan to partition Palestine, put forward in August, 1946, aimed chiefly at effecting this link-up. It would divide Palestine into an Arab province, a Jewish ghetto, and a British colonial strip which would include Haifa. It would consolidate the Palestine-Transjordan bridgehead, dominating all the vital Arab centres.

The " Federal " partition plan gives sovereignty over the whole of Palestine to the British High Commissioner. It would postpone indefinitely the question of independence for Palestine, thus retreating from the 1919 Mandate, which contained a promise of independence within a few years. It would give the Arab and Jewish provinces no more rights than local municipal councils, as Finance, Defence, and Communications would be the responsibility of the Central Government appointed by Whitehall.

Big military bases are under construction at Gaza in Palestine, and in Cyprus. These developments, together with a large scale concentration of troops at Basra, and the placing of Turkish radar stations and airfields at the disposal of the Imperial General Staff illustrate the " northward " tendency of imperialist strategy. These strategic moves correspond to political preparations for an Eastern anti-Soviet bloc which are now in hand.

THE EASTERN BLOC

During 1946 the most reactionary and anti-Soviet forces in the Arab League gained the upper hand. The Arab League, formed in 1944, with the British blessing, claimed to be a fulfilment of popular aspirations to restore the unity once enjoyed by the Arab world under the Caliphs. In fact, it has remained the tool of imperialism. It has developed the unity, not of the Arab peoples, but of the Arab princes and reactionary land-owners against the democratic liberation movements. Real control is wielded by the Egyptian palace and the British Foreign Office.

Among the Eastern bloc supporters there are two main tendencies: the first aims at turning the Arab League into a regional bloc under British military and political direction. Thus *Le Progrès Egyptien* writes on October 18, 1946: " We learn that the Egyptian Delegation at U.N.O. will propose the recognition of the Arab League as the regional group of the Middle East, entrusted with the maintenance of security in this region. Ali Maher has repeatedly declared that Britain might join this regional group in its capacity as a Mediterranean power having a mandate over Palestine and interests in Cyprus and Crete."

The second tendency is the one supported by Turkish and Iraqi reactionaries. It aims at preparing the way by a system of bilateral agreements between the Arab countries and Turkey. Hassan Saka, the Turkish Foreign Minister declared last October, that Turkey was ready to conclude military

alliances with Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt, for the defence of their common interests. The Emir Abdullah of Transjordan (since promoted to Kingship by the British), the most extreme and least discreet of Arab reactionaries, revealed the real purpose of the Arab leadership in an interview with the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriet* in December, 1945; "Europe is envisaging the possibility of an Anglo-Russian clash. If it degenerates into an armed conflict, the Middle East will be the battlefield. Therefore it is necessary for the Middle East to take its own measures and to ally itself to the Democracies. Such an alliance would obviously not mean an aggressive war against the Soviet Union. But the Russian intentions presuppose dangerous ambitions which require the greatest attention. In my opinion, to safeguard peace, an alliance is necessary between Turkey and the Balkans, which would subsequently include Iran and Afghanistan on the one hand, and Syria and Iraq on the other. So would be established a cordon stretching from Basra to the Gulf of Aquaba."

Imperialism has failed to establish the "alliance between Turkey and the Balkans." The bloc-builders have met with a smashing defeat in Eastern Europe. Their wish to construct an Eastern bloc in the Middle East has become all the more pressing and desperate.

The Middle East implications of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations were made clear by Randolph Churchill, speaking to a Press Conference in Cairo on September 13th, 1946. "The Suez Canal can only be defended if Syria and the Lebanon participate in its defence. For Britain could not permit the enemy to cross the territory of Syria and the Lebanon while she was defending Egypt in the Canal Zone alone."

The Wafdist newspaper *Saut el Omma* commented on September 16th: "The British only helped to drive France out of Syria and the Lebanon in order to supplant her. Today they are trying to lead Egypt by the nose, and under pretext

of defending her, to extend their domination over Syria and the Lebanon. That is why they want Egypt to participate with them in any war in case of aggression against anyone of the **neighbouring** countries. It is clear that it is Syria and Lebanon which are being aimed at, because the other Arab countries are all bound to Britain by treaties and obligations no less imperialist than those that keep Egypt in chains."

The *Egyptian Mail* wrote on September 14, 1946, that: "the Egyptian Government is reported to be considering the signing of a treaty of alliance with Turkey", and that "conversations might begin after the signature of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty." The paper added: "This treaty will probably be followed by a series of others between Arab countries and Turkey and might be the beginning of the formation of the Eastern bloc."

BRITAIN'S REAL INTERESTS

When Mr. Attlee's promise was made, it was hailed by many supporters of the Government as the beginning of a statesmanlike and progressive Labour policy. The history of the negotiations since last March has proved that this was an illusion.

The demands raised during the negotiations, the anti-Soviet scare campaign, and the simultaneous attempts to organise an anti-democratic and anti-Russian line-up of states throughout the Middle East, have proved the complete continuity of Labour and Tory Foreign Policy in this area.

There is nothing progressive in **promising** to leave Egypt. The promise to evacuate is a hardy annual of Tory imperialism, dating right back to the first year of occupation.

The point is: **will the promise be kept?** The Labour Government has today accepted the failure of the negotiations. It must be prevented from trying to hold Egypt down by force.

That is what Churchill demands. Faced with the refusal of

the U.S.A. to withdraw its support of Zionist aspirations, which increases Britain's difficulties in Palestine, Churchill demanded in a speech in the Commons: " If the U.S.A. will not come and share the burden of the Zionist cause, we should return our mandate to U.N.O. and evacuate Palestine within a specified period. At the same time we should inform Egypt that we stand by our treaty rights, and will by all means maintain our position in the Canal Zone."

The British people have no interest in the continued occupation of Egypt by British troops. Our interest lies in assisting the emergence of a sovereign and independent Egypt, in which democratic and working class forces will sweep away the relics of feudal power, and make possible a decent life for the millions submerged in want by imperialist exploitation.

The vital interests of the British people are the same as those of the Egyptian people; the ending of monopoly capitalist rule over the Egyptian and other subject people, without which capitalist anarchy in Britan cannot be ended.

We British people have no interests in the Eastern bloc which Bevin in trying to build on the basis of a satellite Egypt, militarily bound hand and foot to the Imperial General Staff. The aims that such a bloc would serve are not the aims for which we voted Labour to power.

They are the aims of Anglo-American big business, which would lead to a third world war.

The present struggle of the Egyptian people for independence is a main obstacle to the realisation of imperialist aims. They are in the front of the fight to preserve peace. This makes them the friends and allies of the ordinary people of Britain.

So far Bevin has succeeded in ranging Britain against the progressive movement in Egypt, as he has done in Greece, Spain, Indonesia, and elsewhere. Bevin and Attlee must be forced to reverse their policy in Egypt in our own interest.

The pledge to free Egypt must be honoured. Support for reactionary Egyptian land-owners and slave-drivers must be withdrawn.

If any special international arrangements are necessary in relation to Egypt and the Suez Canal, they must be arrangements which are really in the interests of international security and not aimed at continued enslavement of the Egyptian people by Imperialism. Such arrangements must be made not unilaterally by Britain in "negotiations" carried out at the point of a pistol, but by the United Nations Organisation.

Read

WE SPEAK FOR FREEDOM

The Report of the Conference of Communist Parties of the British Empire

96 pages 2/6

From Communist Party Branches, progressive bookshops, or from Central Books Ltd., 2-4 Parton St., London, W.C.1

19th National Congress of the Communist Party

BRITAIN'S PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED

THE REPORT BY

HARRY POLLITT

RESOLUTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

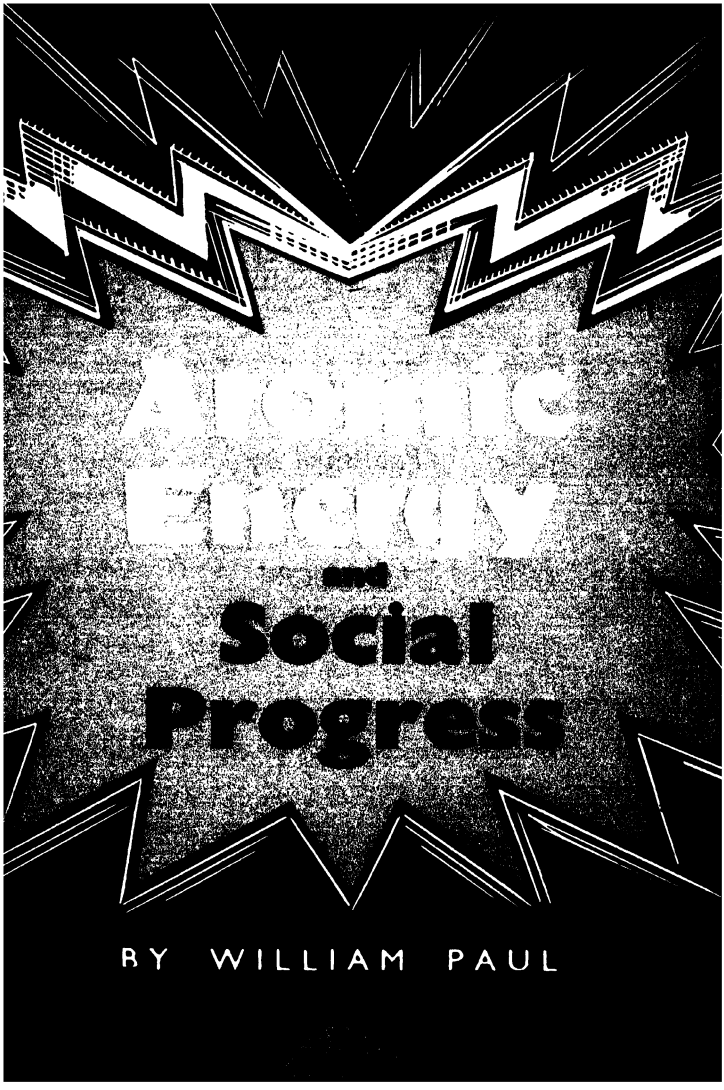
These two pamphlets constitute the Report of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party, held in February 1947. Both are indispensable for those actively participating in, or wanting a full understanding of, the progressive movement.

6d. each

Obtainable from Communist Party branches, progressive bookshops, or from:

CENTRAL BOOKS LTD.

2-4 Parton Street, London, W.C.1


Atomic Energy
and
Social Progress
BY WILLIAM PAUL

Published by
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
16 KING STREET
LONDON
W.C.1

Printed in the United Kingdom by Farleigh Press Ltd. (T.U. all depts.), Beechwood Works, Beechwood Rise, Watford, Herts. CP/M/37/3/46.

ATOMIC ENERGY and SOCIAL PROGRESS

By William Paul

When the news was flashed from America that an atomic bomb had been produced—with an explosive energy many thousand times greater than T.N.T.—a wave of curiosity and apprehension swept over the country.

Before using the atomic bomb the Allies urged Japan to surrender. This offer was brusquely rejected. Thereupon an atomic bomb was dropped on the important Japanese arsenal of Hiroshima; and another one on the strategic port of Nagasaki. The military result was as devastating as the rapid and sensational defeat of the Japanese main forces, in Manchuria, by the Red Army. These combined operations quickly forced Japan to surrender. Thus ended the major military struggle of the fascist powers who had plunged the world into war; who had murdered and maimed millions of peaceful people; and who had deliberately and savagely organised economic anarchy and ruin throughout Europe and the East.

All intelligent people know that the atomic bomb helped to shorten the war and thus saved millions of lives. They also know that it was the sheer historical compulsion of the fascist war that made atomic energy—humanity's greatest *constructive* force—first appear on the social stage as a *destructive* agent. The allies knew that the Nazis were using the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin for research work on atomic bombs; and were producing essential ingredients in Norway for this purpose. It was this knowledge that urged forward the allied scientists to co-operate in the most comprehensive form of international planning ever known, in order to speed up victory and end the bloody agony of chaos

and war. Nazism, however, had expelled, imprisoned or murdered the greatest German scientists. As Professor Sir Robert Watson-Watt said: "*The Nazi system seemed to contain a principle of auto-sabotage more destructive to science than anything that had been foreseen.*"

CRITICS OF ATOMIC ENERGY

While the bells were still ringing out the glad tidings of returning peace and hope, the reactionaries of the world, led by the Vatican with its hundredfold contacts with fascism, were hurling their curses at those who had solved the problem of atomic energy and had used it to defeat a cruel and cunning enemy. Every scientific and technical advance made by mankind is opposed by revulsive bigots. Centuries ago brutalised and superstitious feudalism was defended by the emissaries of the Inquisition who burned Giordano Bruno at the stake in Rome, persecuted Galileo, and directed their Terror against the rebirth of science and culture and the leaders of a new social order.

Twelve years ago it was Hitler, Goering and Goebbels who—representing decadent monopoly capitalism at its most bestial level—uprooted the culture of Germany; burned the libraries, imprisoned, exiled and murdered the most progressive scholars and scientists; prostituted and debased science; and debauched the population with the "science" of race and blood and world conquest.

Today, in this country, it is the flabby and reactionary pacifist, Dr. Joad, who denounces the scientists and who asserts that atomic energy is "the greatest single disaster in the history of mankind." He demands: "Will nobody stop these damned scientists, put them in a bag and tie them up? Or into a lethal chamber." (*Sunday Dispatch,* 12th August, 1945.)

These critics of atomic energy, with their mystical and reactionary philosophy, contend that man lacks the moral capacity to control the growing scientific forces at his command. They do not understand that humanity's moral and ethical standards grow out of society and can only go forward in the measure that man progressively interferes with

and controls the forces of nature. Each advance in human progress and moral strength has been determined by the social use man has made in developing the technical facilities, and in exploiting and transforming the natural forms of energy, at his disposal at each great period in history.

It is at the stages in history where ruling classes fail to extend the technical and natural resources that social crises develop and the prevailing moral and cultural values collapse. At such moments of social disintegration the forces of reaction can always find tame philosophers to denounce new methods of technical and scientific advance. At one period it is the brilliant Plato; at a later moment there are hundreds of Joads to bark at the invention of the internal combustion engine, and yelp at the discovery of atomic energy.

MAN, THE CREATOR

Other critics of atomic energy denounce the scientists as criminal "nosey parkers," whom they condemn for "tampering" and "interfering" with nature and her secrets. Do these ignorant pessimists know anything at all about the record of man? Do they know anything about the science of history or the history of science? Do they not understand that man is Man only because he has directed his efforts into working upon nature and keeps changing her to satisfy his advancing needs? It is this unique feature that distinguishes man from the animals. The animal must adapt itself to nature or perish, and can therefore never rise above nature. It lives parasitically upon nature. Man transforms nature and in the process transforms himself. He becomes a creator.

How does he do this?

Man, unlike any other animal, can make and use tools. For thousands of generations he struggled to learn how to use his free hands to make and wield stone hammers and flint implements. This long and arduous apprenticeship of toil and strife, directed against nature, has left its stamp upon his physical and mental make-up. The function of the tool, which is a simple machine, was to enable man to concentrate and direct his energy upon a given point in order to change

nature. By thus changing nature, and by using her products for his own needs, he gradually modified his environment and changed himself.

EARLY FORM OF ENERGY

The only energy available to primitive man, in his first onslaught upon nature, is the strength and weight of his own body. His muscular dexterity and the manipulation of the hand with its sense of touch and power to grip and direct the tool, under the guidance of the eye, enabled him to advance. Marx and Engels drew attention to this almost a century ago. Dr. Munro, in 1893, in an address to the British Association, showed the influence of the hands and muscular skill in giving man his mental supremacy. In his famous lecture on the "Evolution of Mind," delivered at the Royal Institution on 19th January, 1934, Professor G. Elliott Smith declared: "It is an obvious truism that man's mental superiority is largely the outcome of the perfection of the co-operation of hand and eye in the attainment of manipulative skill and dexterity." This is what Professor T. H. Pear wittily described as the "intellectual respectability of muscular skill." (*Skill in Work and Play.*) Elliot Smith further contends that: "One result of the continual handling of objects is the attainment of a fuller understanding of their properties and of the natural laws involved in their movements. The close correlation of the information gained by vision and touch played a leading part in the cultivation of an appreciation of form, which represents the germ of the æsthetic sense." (*Evolution of Man,* p. 154.) "It is largely due to the hand's two functions, prehension and touch," says Professor C. Wolff, "that man has obtained the capacity of cognition and thought." (*The Human Hand,* p. 7.)

We can readily see what a far-reaching influence man's earliest form of energy—his own muscular strength and activity—had upon his development. Man the worker became Man the thinker!

Owing to the precarious condition of their existence, primitive people were compelled to live and work together in simple communal units—the clan. It is this working

together, the labour process, that stamps man as a social animal. Their first efforts to understand and communicate with each other were through the medium of gesture. Professor Tilney, of Columbia University, declares that the speech centres in the human brain are a development of the hand-gesture centres. But as the labour process needed the almost continual use of the hands and eyes, human speech slowly developed. With the growth and extension of a vocabulary, man's mental capacity widened and deepened.

THE FIRST SCIENTIST

Early man sought to improve and intensify his own bodily energy by splitting and sub-dividing the labour process. The first savage who found a way to improve a tool to win more from nature *with the same expenditure of energy* was the first scientist. There is nothing mysterious or magical about science. Science, says Crowther, is the method by which man acquires mastery over his environment. That mastery is directly related to man's increasing control over various forms of energy and in the advancing perfection of his tools and machines. The great technical inventions of primitive times —the lever, the pulley, the wheel, and inclined plane—were mechanical aids whereby man sought, through strains and stresses, to multiply his muscular energy and direct it more efficiently for a definite economic purpose. We have here, too, the early beginnings of the science of mechanics. Man learns and advances by *doing*.

After thousands of generations prehistoric man began groping to find other forms of energy to add to and supplement his own strength. His first triumph in this direction was the domestication of animals. He harnessed the energy of the animals and exploited them, in various ways, for his own needs. This had far-reaching results in the social life of the early community. It meant, in many places, that the hunter became a shepherd with a more regular supply of food and clothing at his command. It brought man into contact with nature at a new level. It created new problems and experiences for him and these broadened his vision and added to his growing knowledge of the world. It changed his

method of work and his mode of living. It transformed his social, religious and moral relationships.

DISCOVERY OF FIRE

But the greatest industrial revolution of the early world was the discovery of fire. Prehistoric man, on many occasions, must have seen fires started by lightning and the sun. These were, to him, accidental and fearful happenings. Fire, as a form of natural energy, only began to play its great role in history when man had the power to produce it at will. "The generation of fire by friction," says Engels, "gave man, for the first time, control over one of the forces of nature, and thereby separated himself for ever from the animal kingdom." (*Anti-Dühring*, p. 129.)

The first reaction to this great new form of energy, in the primitive community, would be one of curiosity and apprehension. Neolithic popes and bishops would curse the brave inventors for their unholy ardour in creating an element unknown in their mythology and therefore a danger to man. (Even today the superstitious illiterates of Rome define hell in the terms of fire.) The woaded Joads would denounce the discovery of fire as the greatest single disaster in the history of mankind—not excluding the domestication of animals. The prehistoric Tory medicine men would urge the group to keep the great discovery as a secret monopoly and use it as a war weapon against the Russco tribes.

The discovery of the new form of energy had many dangerous and destructive tendencies. It was a power extremely difficult to control and organise, and created a whole series of new and urgent problems. But this is one of the dynamic factors in the history of human advancement. Man is always challenged by the results of his own activity. The inner law of progress is one continuous sequence of changes that create new struggles, and new struggles that demand new changes. The many problems arising out of the discovery of fire could only be solved at a higher level of technical and social development.

Fire enabled man to add new and better foods—cooked foods—to his larder. It not only kept him warm but its

flames kept off wild animals. He was now able to smelt ores and make metal tools and weapons. He passed from the Stone Age to the Iron Age. He had better and stronger tools, and these forced forward the rise of new techniques and a greater sub-division of labour. He had the power to tear new treasures from nature in the shape of use-values which passed, as wealth, from hand to hand, and from tribe to tribe. Barter and trade was developing, and the old barriers between tribes were disappearing. The new crafts were able to produce strong ploughs that led to an agrarian revolution in sowing and tilling the soil.

With fire and iron and agriculture, combined with growing technical skill, man was able to batter his way forward from barbarism upwards to civilization. He built towns and cities. His cultural and moral life was deepened and modified. Fire, as a source of creative energy, had transformed early society. Man was now able to throw aside many of the old tribal taboos which had held him in the grip of fear and superstition; he was now able to face his new problems from a new level of social knowledge. The old simple communal basis of tribal life was replaced by the more complex political form rooted in private property and the struggle of conflicting classes.

IMPACT OF SLAVERY

The outstanding feature of the ancient empires—Egypt, Greece and Rome—was the remarkable vigour of their early productive period. But those empires, based on private property and conflicting classes, carried with them a fatal weakness which finally led to their collapse—the social canker of slavery.

In the early days of Greece and Rome the property-owning traders and the merchants played an important and socially necessary function by organising and developing the productive process on land, in the crafts, and by trade. In Greece particularly, the brilliant group of early scientists were men busily engaged in the practical and technical problems of their time. With the passage of time, and with the expansion of slavery, these creative and energetic leaders

gradually ceased to be managers, organisers, and scientific specialists. Slavery had made it undignified and unfashionable for a property owner to be actively engaged in the vulgar and technical task of augmenting the forces of production, or of struggling with the economic problems of the day. The ruling class had become an idle clique of pampered and quarrelling parasites concerned only with maintaining their political domination over the slaves and poorer workers. Slavery barred the way to technical advance. The time came, in Athens, when the scholastic Plato could write a brilliant and poignant elegy on the dying Socrates—but lacked the statesmanship to carry out a practical policy of action to save dying Greece, whose vigour was ebbing and rotting due to the parasitical and social diseases of slavery and imperialism. The time came, in Rome, when the same paralysis had so enfeebled this once invincible power that the barbarian invaders captured and sacked the imperial city. At this moment of crisis the emperor Honorious was found playing with his peacocks in a pleasure garden!

With the collapse of leadership and with the obstruction of all efforts to expand the economic process; with the failure to encourage scientific and technical advance, the social and moral collapse was complete. The civilizations of Greece and Rome drifted helplessly and hopelessly into the Dark Ages.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

From the welter and chaos of the Dark Ages there slowly emerged a new form of organised agricultural life. This was the feudal system which was an agricultural economy based on the military domination and exploitation of the serfs by the lords, the king, and the Catholic Church, which was the greatest property holder in Europe. The object of the many military exploits of the barons and the king was to extend their landed domains and add to the number of their serfs. In this environment art and science found little scope for development and expansion.

In the small towns the free craftsmen and traders carried on the productive process which served, mainly, the agricultural

needs of the local manors, and the growing luxurious demands of the ruling lords. It was in the remarkable technical skill of the craftsmen that art and the practical sciences germinated and later blossomed in the rich flowering of the Renaissance. The traders were rapidly strengthening and extending the forces of production and distribution. As their economic power grew and developed, they demanded important political and economic concessions from the lords and monarchy. They insisted on controlling their municipal political affairs and breaking down the monopolistic restrictions imposed against freedom of trading. Many local and national concessions were sometimes secured by cash payments, but in most cases the demands led to open conflicts and to the great class struggles of the Middle Ages which foretold the emerging of a revolutionary force and the rise of a new social system—capitalism. While this conflict was in progress a new form of energy made its appearance in Europe—gunpowder. The full explosive energy of gunpowder could not be used until technical science had produced a strong gun metal.

ROLE OF GUNPOWDER

Gunpowder transformed the science of war and helped to change the balance of class forces within feudalism. Feudal weapons and armour, castles and moats, lost their strategic value. Like all reactionary classes the feudal lords were slow to realise the importance of the new explosive energy. With the intensification of the class war, however, they believed that gunpowder, guns and artillery could be used to sustain the economic and political privileges of decaying feudalism against the growing revolutionary demands of the burghers, traders, and independent farmers. History shows, however, that new forms of energy and higher forms of technical advance can never be developed, to their utmost economic and scientific capacity, by decaying social classes. The technical and scientific problems created by the new explosive energy called into activity the skill and genius of chemists, mathematicians and technicians. Brilliant scientists like Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Newton, and hundreds of others,

studied the new theories and provided practical solutions. Not even the bloody threat of the reactionary Catholic Inquisition in Europe—always eager to support the old against the new—could hold back the great sweep forward of creative science and expanding technical knowledge.

The making of cannons and artillery provided an important basis for a very rapid expansion of the metal and iron trades. This, with other contributing elements, led to an equally rapid growth in the economic power of the burghers and middle class. Emerging capitalism, strong and resolute in England, demanded from the monarchy the rights and liberties necessary for the expanding needs of the new social system. Relying upon the mystical feudal legend of the divine right of kings, Charles the First plunged the country into civil war. His lordly cavaliers were armed with dainty and elegant fire-arms from Italy. Cromwell and his revolutionary Roundheads were equipped with plain, well-made, strong English weapons. The new model army was one of the best disciplined and best armed forces in Europe. There was also splendid discipline among the gunsmiths and artificers who supplied Cromwell's troops. In March and April, 1652, at the height of the struggle, Cromwell received 335 cannons; and in December a further 1,500 guns, weighing 2,230 tons, with 117,000 balls and 5,000 hand bombs. These were the methods by which England advanced towards democracy and transferred political power from one class to another. Cromwell and his Roundheads threw the king's head at the feet of their class enemies as a token of their determination to enforce their social demands and their freedom. "Revolutionary dictatorship," says Professor E. H. Carr, "was the instrument used to bring bourgeois democracy to birth." The same struggle, in its main outlines, was continued in the French Revolution, 1789, and at a higher social level, in the Russian Revolution, 1917. Today the peasants, workers and middle class, in the Balkans, weapons in hand, are fighting and defeating their feudal-fascist rulers in the struggle for democracy. In denouncing this struggle, Mr. Ernest Bevin—who imagines that democracy is some contrivance that emerges mechanically from a ballot box—can

only repeat the outworn Churchillian shibboleths of a discredited and reactionary imperialism. Bevin is treading the same path as Ramsay MacDonald.

THE ENERGY OF COAL

Having swept aside the restrictive barriers of feudalism, having swung over many of the nobility to its side, capitalism set forth to develop industry and commerce on a new basis of expansion. Great difficulties stood in the way. One of the main drawbacks in speeding up the iron and metal trades was the absence of an adequate heating agent. The smelting of ores was first done by burning wood. This consumed such quantities of timber that many laws were passed limiting the supply of wood for smelting ores. It was this urgent crisis that forced forward, in England, the most remarkable form of energy then known to man—coal. The usual reactionary pessimists denounced the burning of coal as a crime against God and Man. Hundreds of petitions were lodged in Parliament, and strong protests were made to the king.

Once again, Man was challenged by the results of his own activity. The effort to utilize the great energy stored in coal created a series of new technical and scientific problems. The reason why each new form of energy produces a technical crisis is because the old tools, processes, and techniques are useless for the higher technical and scientific levels demanded by the new force. One difficulty, for example, in extracting coal from the bowels of the earth was the absence of powerful pumps to keep the mines and shafts clear of water. Owing to the inrush of water many mines were dangerous to work in and the shafts often collapsed. The solution of this difficulty was one of the basic technical and scientific problems of the period. Many brilliant men in Europe grappled with it and tried to solve it.

In England, where the urgency was greatest, the first steps were made towards solving the enigma. David Ramsey, in 1630, obtained a patent "to raise water from low pits by fire . . . by a new way never yet in use." About 1660 a steam pump was erected at Vauxhall by the Marquis of Worcester. These attempts were not very successful. Follow-

ing Torricelli's discovery of the vacuum, Savery, a military engineer, erected an engine in 1695. A further step forward was made by the Cornish tin-miner, Newcomen, in 1712. This engine was not very economical. Its wasteful nature was at once noticed when a young craftsman and scientist at the Glasgow University, named James Watt, was asked to repair a Newcomen model. In 1769, Watt patented his steam engine. By 1784 he had so improved upon it that steam power was established as the main factor in the leading British mines and industries. Watt had succeeded in unleashing the stored-up energy in coal. Living in a period of social expansion, James Watt did not seek to conceal or restrict the use of his great invention. Coal and the steam engine ushered in the industrial revolution and transformed many technical natural processes. It was no longer necessary for Man and the productive process to rely on such natural forms of energy as the wind, water, or animals. By transmuting the energy of coal into heat and mechanical motion, Man had created new changes in nature—and by his activity great and rapid changes were also taking place in Man and society.

EXPANDING CAPITALISM

Following the industrial revolution, capitalism spread rapidly. In quick succession there followed the great series of mechanical inventions and the rise of the factory system, with its big, sprawling, hideous towns. This process was speeded up by what Marx has described, in *Capital*, as the expropriation of the agricultural population from the land. No less than five million acres of land were enclosed by the rapid passing of four thousand Enclosure Acts. This meant that the landlords got the land and the factory owners got workers —a dual process which formed the basis of the great compromise between capitalists and landlords, but which brought ruin and misery to the landless masses.

The industrial areas grew and expanded at an amazing rate. One example will show what was happening elsewhere. The population of Manchester, in 1773, was 13,786; in 1801 it had reached 102,000. Workers for the factories were also

recruited from thousands of skilled craftsmen who had been ruined by the impact of the new machines; every new form of energy displaces old technical methods and renders them obsolete. Women and children were also driven into the factories. In the mines women were harnessed and chained, like animals, to haul coal tubs under the most agonising conditions. Little children were also exploited in the coal mines. The liberation of the energy of coal into heat had enslaved millions of wage workers. It was upon this basis that British capitalism was able to boast that private enterprise had created the greatest expansion of trade and wealth known to history. Britain was the workshop of the world, and her goods were being sold all over the world at the beginning of the 19th century. Manchester, which was then the industrial metropolis of the world, had her economists who claimed that capitalism was the natural and therefore the most stable economic system ever devised; its economic foundations, it was alleged, were sound and indestructible. And it was in Manchester at this date, 1804, that John Dalton, the famous chemist, was declaring that the unit of matter, the atom, was indivisible.

CAPITALISM AND CRISES

With the end of the war against France, and the defeat of Napoleon, capitalism received a shock which upset the optimism of many of its apologists. It plunged into its first industrial crisis. For the first time, on a great scale, history revealed one of the underlying and destructive contradictions of capitalism—markets glutted with wealth while workers were starving in the midst of shut-down factories and mills, and silent machines. It was revealed that the aim of capitalist production was not the creation of wealth for social needs—but that the object of production was to produce for a market with a view to profit. The crisis of 1815 was followed by another one in 1825. Crises followed each other, during the 19th century, every other ten years. Each crisis became more violent and catastrophic than its predecessor. Each crisis weeded out weak capitalist units and strengthened the stronger units which were concentrating and centralising

their grip, in monopoly fashion, over the means of production. Competitive capitalism was changing into its opposite—monopoly capitalism.

The basis of capitalist profit is the surplus value which the workers create over and above the value of their wages. In order to realise this profit, capitalism prevents the productive and technical process from developing in a logical and scientific way. The law of producing only to seize profit, which is the very essence of capitalism, shows a pattern of uneven and irregular development in which the economic system staggers from one catastrophe to another. The law of profit reveals itself when capital is withdrawn from a "weak" or unprofitable industry and is invested in a "strong" or profitable industry. The outcome of this is that the weak industry becomes weaker and the strong industry becomes stronger—thus creating an unbalanced economy. It is the lust for profit that creates the unplanned, unbalanced, and uneven line of capitalist development and explains why the system is always swaying towards a crisis.

While each crisis retards the productive forces and throws millions of workers out of the factories, capitalism must, in obedience to the law of profits, keep continually speeding up and intensifying the labour process (which alone creates surplus value) by introducing new and faster machinery. That is why British capitalism did everything possible to maintain its world monopoly of trade in the first half of the 19th century. With the rapid development of improved means of transportation by rail and sea, by utilizing every new technical process in the production of steel and iron and machinery, the character of British exports, while continually expanding, was gradually changing. Textile exports, which are quickly consumed and need not cause international complications, gradually cease to be as important as iron, steel, rails, and machinery and many other products of the heavy industry. In many cases those iron and steel exports were being used, by Germany and America, for the creation of their heavy industry. As both of these countries had large coal and mineral reserves, they were destined to meet and challenge Britain in the world markets. The latter part of

the 19th century saw the development of competitive world capitalism reach its peak. Being the oldest and strongest capitalist power, Britain was still able to add to her strength by embarking on a policy of imperialist expansion. The changing technical character of British industry, with iron and steel becoming more powerful and influential than textiles, saw an equally significant change in political leadership. Manchester, with its competitive liberal-pacifist Cobden and Bright outlook, was replaced by Birmingham with its aggressive monopolistic Tory imperialism led by the Chamberlains at the opening of the 20th century.

MONOPOLY AND IMPERIALISM

Monopoly is the inevitable outcome of competitive capitalism. It is the method by means of which the large controllers of industry and finance-capital seek to escape from the competitive ravages and crises of their own system. But as the law of profit still operates, monopoly only carries the competitive conflict to new levels where fiercer struggles and greater crises develop on an international basis. As monopolistic finance capital grows in strength it influences, and in many cases dictates, the policy of the government and compels it to embark on imperialistic adventures to lay hold of rich mineral zones and spheres of influence. Just as competitive capitalism creates the law of uneven industrial development within the nations, so monopolistic capitalism intensifies the law of uneven development among the nations. Thus monopoly capitalism carries the competitive struggle to the point where great financial groups and combines use national governments and States as their weapons in the battle for world domination. Where monopoly capital completely dominates and controls the government, and where it destroys all democratic and progressive movements, fascism and war becomes inexorable. This was the basic cause of the Second World War.

Monopoly is the stage in capitalism where all the contradictions of the profit-making system burst forth in their most violent and negative form. This is seen when the various national combines demand international expansion

while, at the same time, enforcing a reactionary policy of economic nationalism upon their own governments to exclude all potential competitors. But for our purpose it is necessary to emphasise the most significant and reactionary function of monopoly capital—its method of enforcing high profits by restricting production and by creating artificial scarcity. When this point is reached the productive process is deliberately obstructed and sabotaged. Important centres of economic activity are transformed into depressed areas with millions of workers unemployed; mines, iron and steel works, mills, factories, shipyards and essential industries are shut down and their owners paid a profit for keeping them closed. The remaining industries are " rationalised," by intensifying the labour-progress, while allowing the plant and technical facilities to become obsolescent. This is the proof that monopoly is the period when capitalism passes into the downward slope of decadence. The only trades that expand and develop are thos engaged in distribution and luxuries—thus revealing the parasitical trends in society.

The science of history shows that when a ruling class ceases to develop and expand the productive and technical potentialities of society, that ruling class is doomed, and must make way for the new revolutionary class which is ready and able to carry the productive and technical process to a higher social level. The evidence regarding the destructive and obstructive character of monopoly capitalism is overwhelming. Each crisis is an orgy of devastation. A statesman of the quality of Roosevelt could see no other way of solving the American crisis of 1931-33 than by spending millions of dollars, during 1933, destroying valuable wealth and by uprooting important food and clothing crops. This was done in the name of progress! Small wonder a dazed American professor of agricultural science lamented: " Ten million acres of cotton and some thousands of tobacco have been ploughed under. The latest move is the killing of some five million pigs weighing under 100 lbs., and the slaughter of some 200,000 prospective mother sows. If this will bring national prosperity, I have wasted my life." (*The Frustration of Science*, p. 3.)

Monopoly capitalism and imperialism are tearing their own planless economic system to pieces. Peace has become as destructive as war. One of the leading economic international experts of the League of Nations, Professor Woytinsky, in one of his surveys, showed that the capital damage of the 1914-18 war was approximately £21,000 millions; and the industrial crisis of 1929-33, by stifling production, meant a social loss of about £20,000 millions.

FIGHT FOR OIL

Under monopoly capitalism the ruling class is unable to use, to its fullest economic capacity, all the new forms of energy that the scientist and technologist can wring from nature. The great stores of oil, available in various parts of the world, have not been sources of economic and social advance but have become, since 1912, dangerous spheres of influence for scheming capitalist cartels seeking monopoly profits. The 1914-18 war was, in part, an imperialist struggle between competing syndicates to dominate rail routes leading to the rich oil reserves of the Near East. Thus, new forms of energy, instead of making for a rich and sound economy, become, under declining capitalism, dangerous forms of social disintegration.

The crisis in coal production is a serious lesson regarding the technical decline of British industry. The crushing defeat of the Tory party at the General Election was also a fierce condemnation of the mine-owners, for their criminal neglect of the country's most precious source of energy. Despite many warnings, since 1919, the country only realised the actual situation when confronted with the threat of Hitler. The tragedy of the miners, victimised and frustrated by the obsolescent condition of their industry, revealed the parasitical and obstructive role played by the British mine-owners. The ruling class, since 1918, have shown no initiative in seeking to find alternative forms of energy, to relieve the growing scarcity of coal; they have become so debauched by their profit-making system and spoils of empire that they are showing the same form of social paralysis that let ancient Greece and Rome drift to collapse. Fortunately, new and

powerful social forces are sweeping them aside and are striving to rescue the energy of coal as the most urgent and fundamental need of Britain at the present moment.

Modern science and technology, given the opportunity, could provide more energy from water power than can be supplied by the present sources of coal and oil. It is believed, at a modest estimate, that the natural water power resources of the world are about 600,000,000 horse power. Only a fraction of this is being utilised and it is in the planned economy of the U.S.S.R. where the greatest development has taken place. Lenin, who clearly understood the role of energy in human development, realised the immense power that can be generated by modern hydraulic turbines, which can exploit any head of water from 10 feet to 5,000 feet. These enable high voltage electrical power to be transmitted long distances for industrial, agricultural and domestic purposes. All this can be done and save the painful and laborious toil of mining, and overcome many transport problems. "Communism," declared Lenin, "is the Soviet power plus electricity."

Modern science has also directed attention to the amazing amount of energy generated by the sun; the amount falling on the earth's surface has been estimated at one million horse-power per square mile. Monopoly capitalism has made little use of this, but in the U.S.S.R. (according to *Soviet War News,* 20th March, 1945) the Soviet Academy of Science has created a special commission to study the technical application of solar energy. Already there are "solar" kitchens, refrigerators, baths and laundries in the U.S.S.R. And now the scientists of the Soviet Union are carefully investigating cosmic rays which are the most penetrating radiations known to modern science. "Russia," said Molotov, "would have atomic energy and other forms of energy, too."

The vigorous example of a socialist planned economy in helping and encouraging science to develop the most modern and powerful forms of energy, as an aid to human advancement, stands in vivid contrast to the attitude of capitalism towards science and the scientist. Capitalism, being based on the production and exchange of commodities, seeks to buy its

science and scientists in the cheapest market. It hopes to exploit the scientist and his research work in the interests of profit. The scientists know this and have denounced it. Professor M. L. E. Oliphant, F.R.S., spoke strongly on this point when addressing a recent British Association conference on Scientific Research and Planning. He said: " In Britain there are too many sleeping partners, whose main activity is concerned with attempting to ensure next year's profit by cutting down expenditure on long-term research development."

SCIENCE HELD BACK

Britain has produced some of the most brilliant research workers in the whole range of science. Many of them were ignored during their life-time and left to vegetate on a few shillings per week. At the height of his career in 1832, Michael Faraday, the greatest physicist and experimental investigator of the 19th century, and the creator of a complete descriptive theory of electricity, was receiving less than £2 per week. In 1832 British capitalism was the workshop of the world and the wealth of London was growing with leaps and bounds. Many rich Whig lords, steeped to the lips in gambling debts, found it difficult to jog along on £20,000 per year. Meanwhile, Faraday found it almost impossible to get funds to keep the Royal Institution of Science alive. He told the manager of the Institution that " we were living on the parings of our own skin." One hundred years later, 1934, Professor Bernal showed that Britain only spent one-tenth of 1 per cent of the national income on scientific research. During the same period the U.S.S.R. was spending £36 million per year in planning and organising science in the interests of her people.

Monopoly capital not only starves science. It degrades and destroys much of the rich treasure, so useful for humanity, that the scientist and technician creates. Many scientists and technicians, doing research work on behalf of the leading combines, often discover new and important processes of a highly progressive character. If these processes mean the scrapping of existing obsolete plants which, under restrictive monopoly conditions, can still show a good profit, then the

magnificent work of the scientists and technicians may be pigeon-holed or even sabotaged. Finance-capital always robs science of its rich harvest and seeks to hold it as its secret and private monopoly. Professor Bernal warns us that " patents more often than not fail to provide a reward to the original inventor and hold up rather than facilitate the development of invention." (*The Social Function of Science,* p. 145.) And Doctor Levinstein, in his History of British Patent Laws, estimates that some 95 per cent of patents are obstructive. The sabotage of science helps to explain the bitter complaint of Professor Oliphant regarding " the long line of geniuses that Britain has produced and the comparatively poor practical use that has been made of their results."

It is in America, despite the advance of strong democratic forces, where finance-capital and monopoly are so powerful that the sabotage of science and technology, in the interests of profit, reaches its most reactionary and anti-social level. There the patent law protects the suppression of new scientific and technical processes when these threaten " the fundamental rules of property." In a Government Report it is admitted that " the Bell Telephone System suppressed 3,400 unused patents " which enterprising competitors might have used against them. This illustration could be multiplied a thousand times, showing how monopoly capital stifles technical advance on the altar of dividends. The Vice-President and director of research of the General Motors Corporation confessed in 1927 that " Bankers regard research as most dangerous, and a thing that makes banking hazardous, due to the rapid changes it brings about in industry." We can understand the panic and fear that a new super-power like atomic energy would have upon American monopoly capital with its billions of dollars sunk in industrial plants threatened with obsolescence—they would seek to smother the new form of energy as a national and secret monopoly.

SCIENCE AND PROGRESS

Fortunately, for human progress, science has its bold explorers and adventurers who carry on their splendid work

and even triumph over all the frustrating difficulties caused by both lack of funds and adequate equipment. The epic of Marx, poor and ill, seeking to lay bare the dynamics of social development; of Lenin, hounded from garret to cellar, from country to country, searching out successfully and showing the path from the competitive anarchy of restrictive and decadent capitalism to the planned order of social abundance; or of the Curies in their desperate struggle to reveal the wonders of radium. These, and a thousand similar stories that could be told, reveal the unconquerable gallantry of great minds seeking only to serve advancing humanity.

It required great courage for a Rutherford to challenge, and sweep aside, many of the accepted and seemingly established conceptions regarding the unchangeable and indestructible nature of the atom. It was in the nature of a revolution, in science, to show and prove that the atom could both be smashed and transformed. In this great scientific adventure Rutherford gathered around him the leading physicists of the world. While Rutherford's was the directing genius, the others made valuable contributions towards solving the problem of atomic energy. It was, indeed, an international scientific community that placed atomic energy at the disposal of humanity. Never, for one moment, did these international scientists imagine that their great co-operative contribution was to become the private and secret monopoly of one government.

It needed an even greater effort in organised and co-operative planning to transfer the theory of atomic energy into technical and practical reality. It has been estimated that over a million scientists, technologists, and workers—at many levels of skill—organised according to a definite plan, at a cost of £500 millions, were needed to unleash the energy of the atom in the production of the atomic bomb. It was the most complex and ambitious scientific and industrial project ever planned under capitalism, and it successfully achieved its object within a period of a little over two years. Even the Tory, Sir John Anderson, had to admit that under normal conditions it would have taken twenty years to do what had been done, by planning, in such a short period. But

we must never forget that this triumphant miracle, that vindicated the potential social and industrial productivity of organised social planning, was not carried out under conditions of normal capitalism. It was imposed upon Britain and America by the sheer pressure and urgency of the war, and the need to try and anticipate Hitler, who might have used some invulnerable secret weapon and method of military attack. The military pundits declare that atomic energy has transformed the science of war; it is destined to do something much more important—it will aid in transforming the whole basis of society. The disintegration of capitalism coincides with the disintegration of the atom.

MONOPOLY AND REACTION

No sooner was the war over than President Truman, fumbling and stuttering in the shadow of Roosevelt, voiced the interests of the great American combines by declaring that his government intended to retain, as a secret monopoly, the technical processes regarding the production of atomic energy and the atomic bomb. In this he was supported by the leading American reactionaries, who in one united chorus chanted the words of the *New York Times,* "that the United States will control a weapon more potent than victory itself." In Britain, Mr. L. Amery, ex-Secretary of State for India, consoled himself for his terrific defeat at the General Election by saying that America in power politics can now dominate the world, and that Russia has been reduced to a vulnerable and secondary power. All the foes of democratic progress are emphatic in demanding that the American Government must keep the secret of atomic energy. The Truman policy of jealous secrecy and monopoly control is poisoning and disrupting the unity of the Allied Nations. Even the British Labour Government, and its Foreign Secretary, seem to have forgotten the great part British and European genius played in making atomic energy possible; it has also forgotten its international and allied responsibility by not standing up to President Truman on this important issue. It must be remembered that one of the conditions that made the discovery of atomic energy possible was that,

up to 1940, all scientists in all countries openly discussed all their discoveries and processes. Science had an endless frontier of freedom and creative co-operation, and this made rapid interchange of problems possible. Today, in Britain, the freedom of scientists to discuss their problems with allied colleagues has been denounced by Mr. Churchill. We must never forget that one of the first freedoms that Hitler destroyed was the freedom of science—in an effort to sustain the economic power of the rich reactionary monopolies and combines that raised him to power. To stifle the full liberty of science is the first act of all dictators and is the path to Fascism.

Just as the discovery of fire, and the early use of coal created serious problems for humanity, so atomic energy has brought forward a harvest of difficulties. Man, as we have already seen, at the beginning of each period of social advance, is challenged by the results of his own activity. But the creative social forces that impel humanity forward carry with them the ability and courage to face and solve such difficulties. A period of advance that has seen the growing strength of a multi-national socialist planned economy over one-sixth of the world; that has crushed the heavily entrenched forces of reaction led by Hitler and Mussolini; that has brushed aside the reactionary Tory party that barred the way to social advance in Britain; that has created the United Nations Organisation representing fifty-one nations determined to plan world order and peace—such a creative and germinal period in history can solve the problems produced by atomic energy.

We have seen that the economic nationalism of monopoly capitalism cannot use and economically develop the miraculous productive potentialities of atomic energy. We have seen that monopoly capitalism, unless during an epoch of destructive war, cannot even utilise the technical and productive forces at present available. Due to its urge for profits it must restrict and does restrict the productive process. Atomic energy, as the first condition of its full development demands such an expansive and productive output that it can only be utilized, economically, in a social economy planned

for the creation of plenty and abundance for all. Monopoly capitalism, with its economic nationalism, is stifling the productive process within its national frontiers. Today the productive process is so complex and fruitful that it needs the whole world in order to develop to its greatest capacity. Up to 1939, monopoly capital in each of the leading capitalist countries compelled their various governments to create national barriers in the shape of tariffs, restrictions, quotas, import and export licences and permits—all of which impede the productive process within each country. This economic nationalism was carried to its utmost intensity by Hitler in his so-called policy of "national self-sufficiency" or "autarchy." It must be noted that Hitler did not invent Nazism—it sprang from the policy of German monopoly capitalism and economic nationalism seeking, by violence, to force a way out of the contradictions of the profit-making system through war to plunder and world domination; the first step in this policy was to stamp out the courageous and vigorous democratic opposition and debauch the remaining apathetic elements of the population. This helps us to understand some other contradictions created by monopoly capitalism. While proclaiming their ardent national patriotism the leaders of monopoly-capital are ready to have deals and pacts with leading monopolists in other countries. Most of these deals, price-control arrangements, etc., are aimed at other combines and syndicates. Thus in March, 1939, the Federation of British Industries met the Reichsgruppe Industrie, at Dusseldorf, to arrange to lend them £1,000 million. This was aimed at America. During this period, Mr. Neville Chamberlain was giving Mr. Bevin some early lessons on how to stand up to and be tough with the Soviet Union—a policy that left Britain isolated at the moment she needed help.

MONOPOLY AND BETRAYAL

At the same period the American monopolists were having rather alarming deals with the German monopolists over prices, profits, and the use of very important patents and scientific processes—useful and necessary for any aggressive

Power anxious to build up its war strength. These agreements helped Hitler to launch his war and the American monopolists were helping him to win. When, however, America entered the war it was revealed how anti-patriotic and reactionary were the leading American combines—despite all their bluff on the sacredness of economic nationalism. Henry Wallace, then Vice-President of the United States, denounced, " those groups which rule over economic Empires have usurped the sovereignty of the people in international relations." This is a brilliant endorsement of Lenin's declaration that " the division of the world among the international trusts has begun." The United Nations Organisation has big tasks before it.

It is interesting to note that, prior to the war, no one in America, with the possible exception of U.S.A. Ambassador Dodd, in Berlin, protested against the handing over to Nazi and fascist combines some of the most jealously guarded secret processes, both scientific and technical, in the country. It is necessary to contrast this with the present policy of the American Government, and its Hitler-linked combines that did such dirty business with I. G. Farben of Germany, and who are now shouting out against sharing present-day scientific and technical atomic-energy processes with Britain—and particularly with the Soviet Union, which did so much to smash Hitler, and end the war. In this chorus of hate against the U.S.S.R., the most strident and raucous voices are those of the most reactionary defenders of finance-capital who realise and fear that only a great planned economy can handle, adequately, the new form of super-energy in the interests of peace and abundance.

BUILDING A NEW WORLD

It is at this great moment in history when decadent and crisis-ridden capitalism is showing its inability to solve the immense problems confronting humanity, and when great progressive movements are rising all over the world—from the backward areas of the Balkans to the immense Continents of India and Asia, involving hundreds of millions who are determined to go forward; it is at this moment when the

industrial workers are building their international trade union movement, and when Socialists and Communists are uniting their forces for the next great social advance; it is at this moment when the United Nations Organisation is seeking to plan the beginnings of world democracy, order and peace; it is at this moment when all progressive people realise that only an internationally planned economy can deal with great emerging problems; and it is at this moment when hundreds of millions in the so-called backward continents are advancing, and who are determined to throw off the fetters of an enslaving imperialism, and leave behind the ignorance, squalor and hunger enforced upon them by their rulers—their advance to take their place in a new world of creative labour and plenty is one of the most inspiring wonders of history—and it is at this moment that atomic energy appears with all its problems and with all its manifold potentialities!

"This new energy," said Sir Lawrence Bragg, the famous scientist, "would bring about a World State. It was the final stage in the process of joining humanity together." Just as fire enabled Man to advance beyond the narrow confines of his barbaric clan to civilisation; just as coal and steam finally swept aside feudal localism and opened the way to the industrial nation with its millions of organised and disciplined workers—so atomic energy is destined, by the aid of the very millions trained by capitalism, to sweep aside the reactionary elements and local national restrictions, and make possible the extension of the world multi-national Socialist State planning a great international economy for social abundance and peace.

Great possibilities are urging forward progressive humanity. Already at the huge plants at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and at Hanford, Washington, controlled atomic energy in the form of heat is in continuous production in amazing quantities. There is nothing technically difficult in producing an atomic power plant to generate electric power. In a recent address to the American Philosophical Society and National Academy of Science, Professor Arthur H. Compton said: "If there were sufficient demand for a demonstration a reasonably efficient plant using super-heated steam for driving a turbine, could be in operation within a year." He also said the fission

energy available from a pound of uranium, when completely consumed, " is equivalent to burning more than a thousand tons of coal."

The reactionary policy of President Truman, in treating the technical process of atomic energy as an American secret monopoly, cuts right across the speedy utilisation of the new energy as a source of industrial power. Science cannot advance in a world of secrecy. The free interchange of material and open discussion on achievements and difficulties, among scientists, are the basis of speedy progress. " New thoughts develop in their discussions, and more refined techniques are available. A team which thus supplies a combination of originality and special skills is the pattern towards which research is moving," declared a brilliant scientist.

PEACE AND PLENTY

President Truman's atomic imperialism has opened the eyes of scientists all over the world. He has compelled them to study things other than atoms. They now realise that they have also an important function to play in society if they wish to retain their freedom as scientists. In America thousands of scientists, many of them engaged in atomic energy, have emphatically protested against the prostitution of their specialised skill in the brothel of reaction. Democratic and progressive Americans will find ways and means to overcome the secretive and monopolistic hopes of their new isolationists, and will join and co-operate with common humanity, organised in the United Nations Organisation, in utilising atomic science at its highest level of achievement. In Britain the Association of Scientific Workers has grown from a handful of members to an energetic and progressive organisation 20,000 strong. In this way monopoly capitalism, by its reactionary policy, organises the powerful democratic forces that are uniting and are advancing to a higher social order based upon scientific planning. To strive and struggle to reach this great historic objective, a new social and moral conscience is being created through millions working together, co-operatively, for human ends that go beyond their individual

selves. This was clearly stated by Professor Arthur H. Compton when he said that no cause had " met with the wider response the Russians have given to Communism as a political system, in which each person consciously works for the good of all." Love thy neighbour as thyself, has become economically and socially practical and almost imperative. Atomic energy, despite the obstruction of humanity's enemies, will play its great part in social progress.

Fire and coal and all the other forms of energy utilised by Man took their place in the historic period based on class-struggles, and where the necessary condition of social advance was that of human exploitation with all its human misery. Today atomic energy makes its appearance at the moment when mankind is planning the scientific control of production and distribution, and abundance for all, as the basis of a classless and peaceful society. This is demanded by the imperative need of the historic process; this social need is reinforced by the urge of scientific and technical development. Henceforth instead of being the plaything of powerful economic forces and social crises, men will make and direct the process of history. Here men will be able to develop their real social characteristics. In the brilliant phrase of Frederick Engels—" It is humanity's leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom."

Communist publications ; books and pamphlets dealing with the British Labour movement, and progressive literature of all types, may be obtained at the following bookshops :—

Belfast: The International Bookshop, 20 Church Lane.

Birmingham: Key Books, 115 Dale End, 4.

Bradford: People's Bookshop, 60 Thornton Road.

Brighton: People's Bookshop, 161a North Street, Brighton, 1.

Bristol: West of England People's Bookshop, 8 West Street, 2. Kingswood Bookshop, 45 Regent Street, Kingswood.

Cambridge: Maclaurin's Bookshop, 1 Rose Crescent.

Cardiff: South Wales Bookshop, 47 The Hayes.

Chatham: Progressive Bookshop, 277 High Street.

Cheltenham: People's Bookshop, 80 High Street.

Coventry: The Bookshop, 39 Jordan Well.

Edinburgh: The Progressive Bookshop, 37 Lothian Road.

Glasgow: Clyde Books, Ltd., 3 Bothwell Street, C.2. Collet's Bookshop, 15 Dundas St,, C.1.

Gloucester: People's Bookshop, 124 Barton Street.

Kings Lynn: Modern Bookshop, 7 Tower Street.

Leeds: Progressive Bookshop, 45 Woodhouse Lane.

Liverpool: Central Books, Ltd., 18 Norton Street.

Manchester: Progress Bookshop, 7 John Dalton Street. Collet's Bookshop, 13/15 Hanging Ditch.

Middlesbrough: Modern Books, 61 Borough Road.

Morecambe: Tom Platt & Son, 34 Queen Street.

Newcastle-on-Tyne: People's Bookshop, 122 Westgate Road.

Nottingham: The Bookshop, 90 Upper Parliament Street.

Oxford: The Bookshop, 36 Hythe Bridge Street.

Plymouth: The Bookshop, 3 Whimple Street.

Portsmouth: People's Bookshop, 338 Fratton Road.

Reading: People's Bookshop, 83 London Street.

Sheffield: Sheffield Bookshop, 85 Carver Street.

Stroud: People's Bookshop, 45a High Street.

Swindon: Progressive Bookshop, 73d Commercial Road.

Worcester: Modern Books, 29 Lowesmoor.

Wrexham: The Bookshop, 30 Temple Row.

LONDON: THAMES BOOKSHOPS, LTD.
ACTON: 2 Church Road, High Street.
CAMDEN TOWN: 45 Parkway.
EAST LONDON: 20 Whitechapel High Street.
HARROW: 360 Station Road.
HAYES: 83 Station Road.
PECKHAM: 91 Peckham High Street.
TOOTING: 28 Mitcham Road.

Or from

CENTRAL BOOKS LTD.

2-4 PARTON STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

Send 2d. for full list of progressive literature and special subscription offers.

INDONESIA'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Indonesia's War of Independence

Being The Voice Of 60 Million People 350 Years Under The Dutch Heel

by S. Mohammed

People's Publishing House
Bombay

First Edition, December, 1945.

TEN ANNAS.

Printed by Sharaf Athar Ali, New Age Printing Press, 190B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4 and published by him for People's Publishing House, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

PREFACE

The best selling book in Indonesia today is *The Voice of Free Indonesia*, a 20-page brochure edited by "Men who fight for Freedom, Justice, Goodwill and Understanding."

The Voice Of Free Indonesia tells you about the Indonesian people, their country, their culture and their struggle for freedom.

The text of the constitution (which we are giving in the present publication as an appendix) also finds its place in *The Voice of Free Indonesia*.

In that booklet the following slogans are displayed in bold type, and directly contradict the propaganda against Indonesian ideals recently released in the British and Anglo-Indian Press in India :

"THERE IS NOTHING AS FALSE AS THE ALLEGATION THAT THE INDONESIAN CONSTITUTION IS THE PRODUCT OF JAPANESE 'MACHINATIONS'"

"WE WANT PEACE WITH THE WORLD AND TO BE LEFT IN PEACE OURSELVES"

"OUR GOVERNMENT IS OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE"

"WHAT IS GOOD FOR THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY IS GOOD FOR US TOO"

"DOWN FOR EVER WITH IMPERIALISM"

"AWAY WITH COLONIES"

"WE ARE FREE PEOPLE. YOU MUST RESPECT OUR CONSTITUTION"

"HOSPITALITY TO ALL WHO RESPECT OUR CONSTITUTION"

"FREEDOM AND EQUALITY ARE THE FIRST CONDITIONS OF A JUST WORLD PEACE."

This short pamphlet has been written to introduce the Indonesian people fighting for their freedom to the non-Indonesians and to their brother freedom-fighters of India. It is dedicated to the success of the freedom struggles of both our countries.

December 10, 1945.

AUTHOR.

CONTENTS

	Page
I. THE COMING OF THE DUTCH	1
II. THE RISING SUN OF INDONESIA	10
III. INDONESIA IN REVOLT	14
IV. AFTER INTERVENTION	22
APPENDICES :	
(i) Dr. Hatta's Statement on the Jap Attack	30
(ii) Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia	32

INDONESIA AT A GLANCE

There are 60 million people in Indonesia.

240,000 Europeans rule the rest.

Literacy is 7.2 per cent.

Holland makes £32 million profit yearly from Indonesia.

The average per head income of Indonesians is nine pies daily.

61 per cent of Indonesia's produce goes to Holland.

The Dutch first came in 1602.

The Japanese came on March 8, 1942.

The Indonesians declared their freedom on August 17, 1945, after the Japanese capitulated on August 15.

All Indonesia is behind the Republic, the Constitution of the Republic recognises the sovereignty of the people.

I. The Coming Of The Dutch

THE first Dutch to set foot on Javanese soil came as a pleasure-tourist collecting archaeological data on the famous Hindu Empire of Madjapahit. Natives carried him on a sedan-chair, women and children on the muddy streets cheered lustily as he scattered silver coins. But Arabs. Hindus, Portuguese and Chinese were suspicious.

They were right. He was the advance scout of the Dutch East India Company which Jan Pieters, Dutch soldier-adventurer, established in 1602. Back in his rig-out made of straw and bamboos by serving natives, he wrote a lengthy report on the "prospects of monopolising trade in the 'Emerald Isles'". This report won for Jan Pieters his commission from the Dutch Government to explore Java.

Predecessors of the Dutch in Java were a) the Hindus who had arrived in the second century ; b) the Arabs under the banner of Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century ; c) the Portuguese in 1509. and d) the Chinese who are perhaps as old as Java itself.

When Jan Pieters came the Portuguese had already established a warehouse in Bantam in west Java, and Arabs and Chinese were securely settled with small trading dumps along the coast. In Java at that time there was no central Government. no organised administration. The country was ruled by petty monarchs who exercised arbitrary powers over their subjects and constantly waged war with one another. The most important of these rulers were at Cheribon in north-west Java, Mataram in the middle and Bantam in west Java. There were three principal races : Sundanese in the west, Javanese in the south and middle and Madurese in the east. In all, there were 11 distinct languages spoken but the common language for all islands was *Laag Maleisch*, or Low Malay originating from Sumatra.

Trade was largely in the hands of Arabs and Chinese, only a part of it with the Portuguese in spite of their warehouse in Bantam ; the main occupation of the people was fishing and agriculture. Education, introduced by Arabs and Hindus, was confined to the ruling classes and priests. Jan Pieters knew he had a tough assignment, an assignment which made him unpopular not only with the natives but also with other trading nations, equally unscrupulous in their methods. Two things egged him on : the internal strife in the country, and the enormous wealth of soil which would give Holland unlimited quantities of rubber, tea, cinchona, cocoa, pepper, sugar, iron, coal, tin and even gold and silver.

In 1603 Jan Pieters established a trading station in Batavia, and brought in a garrison for the "defence" of Dutch workmen. Very soon he began taking an active interest in local politics, and now and then used armed intervention—"to restore peaceful trading conditions." But in the process, one native ruler after another was dispossessed.

Thus, in 150 years the Dutch found themselves masters of the greater part of Java, Mollucas and Palembang.

From 1811-1815 was a period of British influence, known as the English Interregnum, after the fall of Holland to Napoleon. But the British troops under Sir Stamford Raffles kept on the good work, and when the Dutch returned they found there was not a single independent native region left.

During 1825-1830 the Dutch moved on towards Sumatra. Receiving Denkoelen, an important agricultural station, in return for a smaller region in exchange from the British they advanced right through Sumatra meeting with very weak resistance. The last opposition offered them was a rising headed by the Javanese Prince, Diponegero. This daring hero, whose name is legion to this day, became the victim of a crafty intrigue and was betrayed into the hands of the enemy. The Dutch General invited him to a peace conference and beheaded him.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Dutch annexed Aljeh, the last remaining native stronghold. They made the pretext that the people of Aljeh were engaged in piracy against Dutch shipping. In vain the Aljehites appealed for foreign aid,

particularly to Turkey. But all major powers were then busy with their own dreams of colonization.

With Aljeh, the Dutch became absolute masters of Indonesia. The "Emerald Isles" visualised by the Dutch pioneer was now solely theirs.

Undisputed masters of a vast and resourceful domain the Dutch now set out in right earnest to rule to their advantage a backward and ignorant people.

Outstanding features of the Dutch colonial system were "forced culture" which compelled natives to cultivate for the benefit of the Dutch masters, all surplus goods being burnt ; and the "dual rule system" under which Dutch officials ruled through native hereditary chiefs.

Under Dutch rule, the favoured few led comfortable lives and the bulk of the people toiled and had to be content with a low wage and without even the barest necessities.

An American who has spent 12 years in Indonesia said, "When the Dutch entered Java humanity went out by the back-door." This American when he gets back to New York is going to tell the head of the organisation he works for his determination not to return to Java if the Dutch are still there. In 350 years the Dutch have made themselves hated by fellow whites as well as by Asiatics.

Here are statistics of conditions in Indonesia under the Dutch :

ADMINISTRATION

Indonesia is governed by a Governor-General appointed by the Crown. He is assisted by an advisory Council. In 1942 when the Japanese came this Council consisted of two Dutch members and two Indonesians *nominated* by the Governor-General. The Governor-General who is also the Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces exercises autocratic powers.

By an Act of 1917 in pursuance of their so-called democratic policy the Dutch had given the Indonesians a People's Council, the *Volksraad,* but it has no power to make laws. Its function is to "help to keep the Government in touch with the wishes of the people." The *Volksraad* consists of 60 members made up as

follows—30 Indonesians, 25 Dutch and five other Asiatics of whom 10 Dutch, 10 Indonesians and two of the other Asiatics are *nominated* by the Governor-General ; the remaining 38 are elected on a limited franchise, and by an indirect system of voting. The *Volksraad* meets twice a year, once to discuss the Budget, once otherwise.

The Governor-General has direct superiority over all departments of State. Chief of these is the Dutch Political Intelligence branch which reports on the activities of Indonesian politicians. Members of this body attend all meetings and are empowered to stop a speaker—even to suspend a meeting.

Under Dutch law "those who can be considered by Government to have roused the cause of a labour strike by means of speech, writing or drawing will be fined for a maximum amount of £50 or sentenced to five years' imprisonment." A supplement to this Act also provided the maximum penalty for "directly, or indirectly, inciting a strike."

Another Act provided "exile for an indefinite time at a specially appointed place" for those who can be considered by Government to disturb, or to have disturbed, the public peace. A supplement added "No legal proceedings are necessary in passing the sentence of exile."

For Indonesian politicals the Dutch Government maintained two camps for internment, the Tanamara and Tanatingi, on the upper reaches of the Dego river in Dutch New Guinea. Here in 1931 there were 1,321 Indonesians interned detailed to hard labour ; in 1932 the figure was 842 ; 636 in 1933 ; 631 in 1934 ; 646 in 1935 ; 697 in 1936 ; 699 in 1937 ; 606 in 1938 ; 627 in 1939. No prisoner sent to Tanamara and Tanatingi ever returns. He dies on the swamps, and guards belabour his comrades if they are caught burying him. Many of the internees were released by the Australians when liberating Hollandia after 17 years of the best part of their lives spent in detention. When released they worked enthusiastically for the war against the Japanese fascists. Now there is news that some of these men reclaimed by the Dutch are being sent back to the hell-camp. This is one reason why Indonesians in Batavia shout : "Better be in hell than colonised again."

There are separate courts for Europeans and Indonesians—the better ones with restricted powers for the Europeans, the lower ones with wide criminal powers for Indonesians.

An Indonesian, under an Act of 1878, may also be punished for impoliteness to a Dutch national. Addressing a Dutch in the Dutch language is considered one of the forms of "impoliteness" an Indonesian can be guilty of. Here there is no option between imprisonment and a fine ; the maximum is £20, three years' hard labour and flogging.

An Asiatic is not expected to remain standing before a Dutch court ; he must squat on a special basket-mat kept for the purpose. In 1926 a Chinese journalist was flogged for refusing to squat before a Dutch Magistrate.

A hundred years ago no Asiatic dared step on the road before a Dutch. Though there was never a law against this, and is not even now, yet up to the end of 1942 when the Japanese came Indonesians were "advised to give precedence to Dutch nationals no matter what their respective social standings."

RESOURCES

Annually, on the average of the past ten years, roughly £32 million profit flows from Indonesia to Holland. In 1939 the total export tonnage to Holland was 61 per cent. Indonesia, one of the richest countries in the world, provides 92 per cent of the world's pepper ; 91 per cent of the world's cinchona ; 80 per cent of the world's bauxite, a mineral consisting of the oxides of iron and aluminium ; 77 per cent of the world's kapok ; 19 per cent of the world's tea ; 29 per cent of the world's cocoa products ; 20 per cent of the world's tin ; 33 per cent of the world's tow fibres ; 5 per cent of the world's sugar and 2.5 per cent of the world's oil in addition to moderate quantities of gold and silver. In 1940 Indonesia produced 7,934,000 tons of crude oil putting her in the fifth place among the oil-producing countries of the world.

Of the agricultural exports 69.3 per cent is produced on exclusively Dutch-owned farms, only 30.7 per cent on native-owned farms. In 1938 99.4 per cent of the exported sugar and 81.9 per cent tea was grown on Dutch plantations. Kapok, copra

and rubber were mostly grown on native farms. But even in regard to the 30.7 per cent of native-grown agricultural exports the monopoly is held by the big foreign trading concerns and shipping magnates who can dictate prices to the farmers.

In 1940 the figure of import to Indonesia was Fl. 437,678,000; and exports Fl. 881,913,000. In other words the Indonesians who made the exports got only half of the comforts in return for their country—of which, of course, the cream is for the European population.

In a recent article, R. Dixon, Assistant General Secretary of the Australian Communist Party pointed out that in the last year before the war Indonesian exports were around the £225 million mark, and imports were about £125 million. Australia's imports in 1938-39 were £114 million while the population of Indonesia is *ten times* that of Australia.

POPULATION

At the end of 1939 when the last Census was taken the total population of Indonesia was 60,727,000. Of these there were 59,138,000 Indonesians ; 240,000 Europeans ; 123,000 Chinese ; 116,000 other Asiatics. European status includes many privileges denied to Asiatics, specially in trade such as the profession of a pharmacist which is not open to Asiatics. Japanese nationals, by Dutch courtesy were classed among the Europeans. European status can also be obtained by affluent Asiatics—on presentation of certificates from three Europeans testifying that they are on equal terms with the applying Asiatic, and on payment of a fee of 1,000 gulden (a gulden is Rs. 1-12 or 53 American cents).

Of the total 240,000 Europeans there were 208,000 Dutch (this figure includes Eurasians who enjoy the same privileges) : 7,195 Japanese ; 7,397 Germans ; 2,414 English ; 790 Swiss ; 643 Americans ; 625 Belgians ; 542 Armenians ; 488 Scandinavians ; 414 French ; 282 Filipinos ; 238 Russians ; 186 Italians ; 132 Poles ; 130 Turks ; 121 Czechs ; 110 Hungarians and 9,948 Indonesians (having "acquired" European status).

LITERACY

Of the total 60,727,000 peoples, in 1939 4,296,579 were literate. Of these there were 3,746,000 Indonesians (6.4%) ; 180,504 Europeans (75.2%) ; 344,147 Chinese (28.9%) ; 25,703 other Asiatics (22.4%). This works out to 7.2 per cent literacy on the whole. In 1939 only one child in 11 children was attending school ; the annual cost of the educational system was less than 8 annas per head of the population. Although there was no compulsory education for Indonesians, education for Dutch children in Indonesia was both compulsory and free. Of the Indonesians only those who were approved by the Dutch authorities—which meant a thorough check-up of the parents' political opinions—were allowed to attend secondary schools on payment of high fees.

INCOMES

Income tax is levied on incomes over 900 gulden per year (Rs. 1,675). Below this everyone pays a basic wage tax of 4% —even the plantation labourer earning half a gulden per day. According to the Heunder Commission (a Dutch Government Commission) in 1933 the average income of an Indonesian was 9 pies per head per day.

In 1939, of the total 59,138,000 Indonesians, 36,006 were paying income tax ; while 70,625 of the total 240,000 Europeans paid income tax. (Percentage : Indonesians .05%; Europeans 32%.)

The total net income at the end of 1939 was : 68,780,000 gulden earned in one year by 59,138,000 Indonesians ; and 336,755,000 gulden earned in the same period by 240,000 Europeans. (Average : 1.3 gulden per year per Indonesian ; roughly 100,000 gulden per year per European.)

The following is a table of income groups calculated at the end of 1939 :

GROUP	INDONESIANS	EUROPEANS	OTHER ASIATICS
60,000-180,000 gulden per year	.. 2	76	22
30,000- 60,000 gulden per year	.. 8	400	97
12,000- 30,000 gulden per year	.. 140	3,924	699
6,000- 12,000 gulden per year	.. 577	13,135	2,298
3,000- 66,000 gulden per year	.. 3,667	22,208	7,320
1,200- 3,000 gulden per year	.. 9,990	25,742	26,897
900-1,200 gulden per year	.. 19,621	5,931	10,241

Note the sudden drop in the European figure at the bottom-most level, and the rise in the Indonesian figure.

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

Substantial Government grants are given both to the Catholic and Protestant missions in Indonesia ; none to other religious bodies. According to the 1939 Census there were in Indonesia 58 million Muslims ; two million Christians ; three million Pagans and 1½ million Hindus confined to the Bali islands.

Of the total 59,138,000 Indonesians, records in 1939 showed that there were 25,608 possessing radio receiving sets as against 45,039 of the total 240,000 Europeans. In addition, Asiatics must tune off at 11 p.m. sharp.

SOCIAL SERVICES

For the entire population there were 689 doctors ; 157 dentists, 104 pharmacists and 280 apothecaries.

Where the birth rate is 28 per 1,000 per year there are only 109 Government employed midwives, 116 maintained by town councils, 476 in private practice.

Pharmacists, who are Europeans close their doors to Asiatics at 11 p.m., and do not dispense medicine after that unless on a prescription signed by a European doctor whose fees are between 50 and 100 gulden per visit.

This is the story of Indonesia under the Dutch, in figures.

II. The Rising Sun Of Indonesia

ON March 8, 1945 the Japanese took over from the Dutch in Indonesia. The Dutch laid down their arms. It was "unconditional surrender." Not a shot was fired by the defending Dutch garrison. The surrender party was composed of minor military officials ; Dutch war-leaders had flown a week earlier abandoning tens of thousands of their allies to their fate.

So ended, ingloriously, the proud haughty Empire of the Dutch in Indonesia.

But the Japanese remembering the concessions they had received during the Dutch rule were now grateful—in the mild way a Japanese can be grateful. Dutch nationals in civilian life were allowed to retain their positions, and to enjoy "European" privileges. Many Dutch were admitted as "honorary Japanese citizens."

Indonesians looked on with disgust. Indonesians too at the start had heartily co-operated with the Japanese. But that was different. Indonesians were taken in by the Japanese slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics". The Dutch who collaborated with the Japanese were doing so for personal gain. Even their women openly consorted with Japanese officials.

When Holland was overrun by the Germans, Indonesian families had hung out coloured lanterns in the fashion of the Chinese, fearless of Dutch police. The Japanese offer of "Asia for the Asiatics" was appealing ; it gave them rich hopes. Hopes of freedom, of Japanese fraternizing with fellow Asiatics in Indonesia. So when on March 8 the Japanese garrison arrived. Indonesians festooned the soldiers as heroes and liberators.

Disillusionment followed soon. The Japanese brought a new colour bar which baffled the Indonesians and wrecked their hopes. A bar not between black and white, but between yellow and the rest of the rainbow.

Under Japanese occupation. many shops, theatres, restaurants, hotels were closed to non-Japanese (Dutch were frequently seen going in as honoured guests); many brands of food were reserved in shops for Japanese buyers.

Japanese soldiers were arrogant towards the Indonesians who smarted when they saw the relaxed, friendly attitude of the occupational authorities towards the Dutch.

There were frequent street-scenes of Indonesians being assaulted by Japanese soldiers. To protest was high treason.

In their defence works the Japanese employed thousands of Indonesian workmen; the cost of living was three times more but payment for work—when made—was absurdly low. Many workers died of starvation and disease, unattended because all doctors had been requisitioned for Japanese military hospitals.

The best dressed men and women in Indonesia were the Japanese officers in their resplendant uniforms and the Dutch. Dutch women sported Japanese scarves, many blazoned in deep gold with the Rising Sun.

Everything was being Nipponised. But the Japanese knew that to secure Indonesian co-operation they would have to stimulate nationalism. They knew also that too much of this thing called nationalism may endanger their position in the country. Therefore, their policy was a dualistic inconsistency of Japanese and Indonesian ideologies of nationalism. The last bit of hope the Indonesians had put in the Japanese was destroyed.

For the Indonesians it was a change of masters and it was difficult to decide which of these masters was the more ruthless. Fear of being harassed kept some of them from openly resisting the Japanese and the fear that if they resisted their services would for ever be lost to the community. But underground the anti-Japanese movement simmered. In the mountains, under Communist leadership, guerilla bands were organised. Even on the open roads groups gathered to chat of what the leaders were planning while the Japanese soldiers looked on. The correspondent of the Tory London *Times* wrote in October this year that "the period of Japanese occupation saw a great growth in the strength of the national movement in the East Indies." (October 10, 1945).

In April-July 1943 the movement against the Japanese burst into the open, and there were many uprisings and mutinies throughout the country. The peak of the movement was reached in April 1944 when more than 2,000 persons were beheaded for "pro-Dutch" (!) conspiracy.

It is a fact also—as the Dutch authorities themselves announced in March 1944—that "the Japanese have succeeded in creating a deep hatred among virtually all sections of the native population" while even the London *Times* admitted in March 1944 that "Indonesia had produced no Quislings worth mentioning" while "the arming and training of the natives has resulted in their taking heavy toll of the Japanese."

Outstanding among those who worked secretly against the Japanese were Amsterdam educated Republican leader Soekarno and Dr. Mohammed Hatta. Like many other Indonesians Soekarno had felt relieved when the Japanese came, but he with his people soon realised that they all had been mistaken. He was not foolhardy enough to tell the Japanese so : but he also helped in the Indonesian underground movement which grew and gathered strength.

Mohammed Hatta was interned in Banda Neira near Amboina when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour. From his cell he wrote to the Indonesians warning them that Japan was out to rob. He cited the instance of Subhas Chandra Bose who had been attracted by fascist promises and propaganda and asked the Indonesians not to follow in his footsteps. "If you want an example from India," he said, "take Jawaharlal Nehru. He has always opposed imperialism, but he does not ask for help from the fascists and the Nazis." (see Appendix).

However, the Japanese occupation brought the different sections of Indonesians together. Seething with discontent and determined to strike they waited for long months. The long-hoped-for hour came when Japan was atomised at Nagasaki. The Dutch were in internment camps, in Tokyo the Mikado had surrendered to MacArthur. Then the Indonesians, on August 17, 1945, proclaimed their independence and began rounding up the Japanese garrisons, and disarming them.

In Djakarta the Republic of Indonesia established its head-

quarters. Dreams of 350 years at last materialised. Indonesian guards paraded the streets, Japanese soldiers slunk away into manholes, the descendants of Jan Pieters fattened on three years of Japanese occupation peevishly looked on hoping for help from a European nation.

For a week after the Constitution was posted on the walls of all principal market-places throughout the country, Indonesians rejoiced as their soldiers disarmed the remaining Japanese stragglers.

But help for the Dutch came ; then Mallaby, Commander of the Indian Division ; then Britain and war with the Indonesians. The cause ? To disarm the Japanese who had already been almost totally disarmed by Indonesian revolutionaries themselves!

The fight is on, in right earnest. Even before the British came out into the open their intentions regarding Indonesia were not disguised. A British ex-prisoner of war and formerly of the RAPWI staff said that the British were training Dutch soldiers released from Japanese internment camps. In early October 10,000 such soldiers were selected for specialised training in jungle-warfare before being " repatriated " to Indonesia.

When the British came, Indonesian leaders including Soekarno complained to the British liaison officer that Indonesians could never be sure of the " contents " of a British uniform. Mallaby may well have been a Dutch General.

In November, an American awaiting a plane in Batavia met eight officers in British uniforms. Two spoke Dutch and Malay, no English ; two spoke only Dutch , and only two spoke English, no Dutch or Malay.

" The Indonesians do not want to fight the British, but they want to know who they are fighting," Soekarno told the British authorities when a complaint was made to him of sniping at a British party.

III. Indonesia In Revolt

THE first people's movement in Indonesia whose legal heir is the Provisional Government was started by a retired Government doctor. In a small tumbledown cottage he addressed a group of Indonesian intellectuals, told them that it was no use fighting the Dutch. they must fight their own illiteracy and ignorance first.

In 1908 the first people's party was formed under the name of the "Boedi Oetomo". A party of young hot-bloods (many of them educated at Amsterdam University), the "Boedi Oetomo" outlined its programme under two heads : better, free education for all Indonesians and higher wages for labourers. By 1910 the "Boedi Oetomo" had 10,000 active Party workers, twice as many sympathisers. The name which means "beautiful spring" caught on with the agricultural labourers, and in 1911 the rural strength of the "Boedi Oetomo" was almost doubled ; after working on Dutch plantations labourers would congregate in small groups and listen to spirited young students from Batavia. At night they had educational classes.

In 1910 a more radical movement was begun, called the "Sarekat-i-Islam" whose motto was "Patriotism is a part of Religion." The leaders of the "Sarekat-i-Islam" appealed to the masses through religious slogans. This party incorporated the "Boedi Oetomo" ideals, and added religious teaching to the general programme. Often its teachers were beaten up by Dutch soldiers ; some were sent to Tanamara.

Unlike India, Indonesia has no developed native capitalist class. Development of industry has been backward. Capital, outside the Dutch, has been in the hands of other Europeans, Japanese, Arabs, Chinese and British Indians. To supplement Dutch oppression the Eurasians who were treated as Dutch by the Dutch looked upon themselves as part-rulers of Indonesia.

In many ways the Indonesians looked upon their problems, the problem of the working classes, as similar to those in Russia.

The Russian Revolution in October 1917 had a profound effect on the people of Indonesia. Indonesians looked more and more to the example of the Soviet revolutionaries as a beacon light for their future and their own revolution, of which Indonesian intellectuals had already begun to whisper as, "not very distant."

The First Congress of the "Sarekat-i-Islam" (1913) had pledged loyalty to Holland, but in 1917 after the Russian Revolution the Congress went all out to boldly declare: "Independence is our main objective."

This was to be attained by parliamentay means, if possible but the Congress made it clear that if the peaceful way proved impossible, the Party would know how to make sacrifices for their land and people. Great emphasis was laid on the class struggle.

The first central labour organisation in Indonesia was formed in 1919 in Batavia with branches all over the country. The "Boedi Oetomo's" programme of better education and higher wages was taken up by the Trade Unions. A wave of strikes followed when Dutch authorities refused to listen to trade union executives. Most important of these strikes were the Semarang Cheribon tramway strike, the Sumatra East Coast railway strike, the Sourabaya printers' strike, the tailors' strike and finally a strike in the stronghold of European capital—the sugar industry.

In 1920 the Communist Party of Indonesia was formed. Communists brought together the radical and national elements in Indonesia, all Indonesian parties working together with different programmes. The strikes continued. In 1922 there was a general strike in State pawn-shops, and again a general transport strike in 1923. The Governor-General took drastic measures, restricted the people's right of assembly and threatened exile and imprisonment in Tanamara and Tanatingi to trade union workers.

In 1923 Communist influence had grown strong in the majority of the local branches of the "Sarekat-i-Islam." The inner right-wing in the executive affected a purge, and the new "Sarekat-i-Islam" devoted itself more to patriotism, and less to Islam. The new name given to the "Sarekat-i-Islam" was "Sarekat-i-Merah" (Red Protestant League). Under its new banner the Party received almost nation-wide support.

Communists had seen that the most vulnerable point in Dutch rule in Indonesia was their export trade. The strikes continued with increased vigour. In 1925 there were a series of strikes, down-tool strikes, lock-out demonstrations and from November 1926 to January 1927 there were violent clashes between patriots openly led by Communists and Government forces in both Java and Sumatra. The outbreak in Java lasted six weeks, and in the end the leaders of the people's movement were thrown in jail, many sent to internment camps in the marshes of Dutch New Guinea, a few even beheaded.

Early in 1927 the Indonesians under Communist leadership again rose in rebellion, the biggest pre-war event in all Indonesia's struggle for freedom. There were skirmishes all over the country, the most violent at Silooengkang where seven patriots were killed and two policemen wounded. In the Dutch counter-offensive, 4,500 Indonesians—Communists, strikers, and nationalists were jailed in Indonesia ; 1,308 were sent to Tanamara and Tanatingi. The Communists were forced underground and fought on from there against the Dutch and then against the Japanese, right up to the proclamation of the Republic.

To Indonesians Tanamara and Tanatingi are what Belsen, Dachau and Buchelwald are to Europeans. 1927 was the year of glory for Indonesian patriots. Ever since, every man, woman and child in Indonesia remembers the exiles to Tanamara in prayer, and talks of them as heroes.

In the Dutch terror-regime which followed the people's movement, organisation became increasingly difficult. The old parties, such as "Sarekat-i-Merah", the "Partai Kommunisti Indonese" and others were driven underground. The Dutch authorities for a time allowed the "Partai Nasionale," formed of Indonesians educated in Holland. Both Dr. Soekarno and Mohammed Hatta were leaders of this party. The Indonesian national anthem, "Indonese Rajaa" dates from this time. But in 1929 the "Partai Nasionale" was also banned ; its leaders including Soekarno and Hatta, exiled. After this ban any open movement was impossible. Organisation, in any form, for independence was now declared illegal with serious punishment in consequence. (See "Administration" in first chapter).

1929 onwards was a struggle in whispers, in a hush-hush tone lest the Eurasian or Dutch policeman round the corner should hear you and send you to Tanamara. But the movement underground gained in strength, and even grew stronger than it would have in the open. Under his shirt lapel every second Indonesian wore the secret five-point sign of the underground.

Indonesian sufferings did not cease when in March 1942 the Japanese arrived. After a brief period of hopes of freedom for "Asiatics in Asia" the Indonesians gave up all illusions and returned to their underground cells, waiting, and planning, for the day when the Allies would throw out the Japanese and give them their chance.

The Japanese occupation had brought the different sections of Indonesians together. Seething with discontent and determined to strike they waited for a long time. The long-hoped-for hour came when Japan surrendered. The Dutch were interned in prisoner-of-war camps. In Tokyo on August 15, 1945, the Japanese surrendered to MacArthur. Then the Indonesians on August 17 proclaimed their independence and began rounding up the Japanese garrisons, and disarming them.

In Djakarta, the Republic of Indonesia formed its headquarters. Indonesians walked in their land as free men. Indonesian guards in bright-new uniforms paraded the streets, Japanese soldiers went into the background. The descendants of Jan Pieters who had prospered under Jap rule for three and a half years now looked on dazed and peevish. The first act of the Republican Government was to release all political prisoners including a large number of Communists who had been interned in Bandoeng Jail.

For a week after the Constitution (see Appendix) was posted on the walls of all principal market-places throughout the country Indonesians rejoiced as their soldiers went on disarming the remaining Japanese stragglers.

This is what Indonesians read on August 19, when they were two days old as free people ; the proclamation was over the signatures of Soekarno and Hatta "on behalf of the Indonesian people" :

"We, the Indonesian people, hereby declare our independence.

"Independence is the right of every nation. Any form of subjugation being contrary to humanity upon this world must be abolished.

"Our struggle has reached a state of glory, in which the Indonesian people are led to the gate of the Free Indonesian State which is independent, united, just and prosperous.

"With the blessing of God Almighty and led by the highest ideals of a free national life the Indonesian people do hereby for ever declare their lasting freedom.

"In the Republic of Indonesia the people are sovereign.

"The Republic is for righteous and moral humanity, for the unity of Indonesia, and for democracy."

The Indonesians in one voice swore to remain free, and never to have Dutch rule back again. But help for the Dutch arrived. British troops began trickling in, saying the Japanese had to be disarmed although most of the Japanese had already been disarmed by Indonesian patriots.

British intervention on behalf of Holland was a severe blow to Indonesians who knew that the Dutch, by themselves, were too weak to assail the new-born Republic.

Soekarno and Hatta tried hard to dissuade the British, and also appealed to the United Nations. The appeal was made after a broadcast by San Francisco Radio on October 11, 1945 that the United Nations Far Eastern Advisory Council would meet in Washington on October 23. Indonesia wanted its case to go before the United Nations body. So Soekarno and Hatta on behalf of the Indonesians wrote their appeal to Soviet Russia, the United States, Britain, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, the Netherlands, China, Canada, France and India.

Here is the text of the appeal :

In view of the fact that geographically Indonesia is a part of the Far East, the people of Indonesia are anxious to have their voice also heard at the meetings of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission of the United Nations, as they feel that

they are entitled to representation as based on the following grounds :

1. Indonesia has declared her independence on August 17, 1945.
2. Indonesia has a population of seventy millions eager and determined to break off all ties for ever with the Dutch colonial rule.
3. The National Government of the Republic of Indonesia is an effective and stable Government based on democratic principles.
4. The Indonesians are opposed to any form whatsoever of autocratic or fascist rule as evidenced by their Constitution which places the emphasis on the sovereignty of the people.
5. The Indonesians do not recognise any other civil Government in their country other than that of their own Republic.
6. Indonesia owns raw materials and resources which may contribute to Far Eastern prosperity, if not to world prosperity.

The political situation at present in Indonesia does not satisfy the free will of seventy million Indonesians. There are momentarily four forms of administration which make orderly behaviour and proper conduct impossible.

There is the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, the Allied Military Administration, the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration and the Japanese Military Administration. The existence of these four administrations causes confusion and tumult. As is understood, the Allied Military Administration will withdraw itself as soon as the Japanese are disarmed and interned. The Japanese Military Administration consequently will cease to exist. There remain the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration.

There is no question that the Indonesians stand united behind the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, and even in these early days they have given proof of their deep-rooted determination to put up resistance against any attempt

of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration to re-establish itself here. However, the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration has tried by all means to gain a foothold on Indonesian soil that since 1942 ceased to be theirs. They not only employ propaganda methods, but also terroristic means. Since they started their terroristic activities on October 1, until today, October 12, there have been hundreds of victims of Dutch atrocities.

The people of Indonesia are at present highly excited by the unjust and inhuman measures with which the Dutch try to annihilate the Indonesian independence movement. The people of Indonesia want once and for all to be free from all foreign oppression. The Indonesians have faith in the United Nations, acting as champions of liberty, humanity and justice in this greatest war of all times, but they will forever be disappointed if their just claim for national independence is answered with the re-establishment of Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia.

The people of Indonesia therefore appeal to the world in general and to the people of the United States in particular to support their application for membership of the United Nations, who will hold the first meeting of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission on October 23, of this year.

To allow Dutch rule in Indonesia means the failure of the United Nations to make the world safe for democracy and for a just world peace. In allowing Indonesia to participate as a full-fledged member in the first meeting of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission of the United Nations, the aims and ideals for which the United Nations have fought and won the war, will be realized.

The British, of course, accused then, as they do today, the Indonesians of being Jap puppets, and justify their war of intervention as a war against Jap puppets and to disarm Jap soldiers. Yet it has been clearly declared by numerous press correspondents that it is the British and Dutch who have used the Japanese after the surrender—"defensively" (!), of course—but it is they who have used them. In reality the British have put up the ac-

cusation that the Indonesians are Jap puppets only in order to cover up the enormity of their own sins.

For the oil monopolists who are the big "guns" behind British and Dutch intervention, through the mouth of one Viscount Bearsted, declared their intention and their plans to get back their oil-fields long ago.

Viscount Bearsted is the Chairman of British-Shell Transport and Trading Co. In a report circulated to share-holders of the company before the annual general meeting of July 10, referring to the oil-fields of Indonesia, he said :

> "These great fields are still in Japanese hands, with the exception of the Island of Tarakan, where a successful Allied landing was recently made and where we believe that some of the group's properties have been liberated (!). We are all ready with our plans for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the group's properties as soon as the necessary equipment and materials become available" ! ! !

A very clear indication that British intervention in Indonesia had been planned long before the Japanese surrender.

Again as soon as it became clear that the Indonesians were not going to lay down their arms quickly and submit to foreign rule, the British began to train up 10,000 Dutch soldiers liberated from Japanese prisoner-of-war camps ; these men were armed with the most modern weapons, trained in the latest tactics of jungle fighting and were then "repatriated" to Indonesia.

The truth is that the war in Indonesia despite all British lies is a war for national freedom. General Christison is only following in the foot-steps of General Dyer. And all honest men will condemn, and have condemned, him as sharply as they once condemned Dyer. And it must be seen by all that when on September 29, British troops under General Christison landed in Java under the pretext of "disarming" the Japanese troops, the latest chapter in Indonesian history, the imperialist war to crush the Indonesian People's Republic, was due to begin.

IV. After Intervention

BUT the path to British victory was not easy.

The Government of Soekarno and Hatta did not represent every section of the people, it contained many who had collaborated with the Japs and had not assisted the resistance movement ; but as soon as the British landed in Java, all rallied to the Government as one man and a great National Convention was held at Batavia in the middle of October.

This Convention gave birth to a Central National Committee, headed by Dr. Sultan Sjahrir, (later to be Premier) and the Committee was given legislative authority until a People's Congress was established. It was also decided to hold a general election early in the next year. The day to day administration was entrusted to a Working Committee, responsible to the Central National Committee.

This National Convention marks the consolidation of Indonesian national opinion behind the demand for a free, democratic and independent Indonesia. It demanded the international recognition of the Indonesian Republic as an independent Republic and instructed the National Committee to achieve representation for Indonesia at the coming Peace Conference.

The National Convention also assured the British that Indonesia's full co-operation would be given to enable the Allies to disarm the Japs ; Soekarno made it clear that after this was done, all foreign troops must quit Indonesia.

Finally the Government on the instructions of the Convention made the proposal to General Christison that :

(1) Dutch troops at present in Indonesia should quit while no fresh Dutch troops should be landed there.
(2) Dutch Civil Administration should not function.
(3) Until the Indonesian question was considered by the United Nations or the Big Five the present In-

donesian administration be recognised as the *de facto* administration of the country.

The British—by now impressed by the strength of the Indonesian movement—dissolved the Dutch administration nominally but they absorbed all the Dutch officials into a new British Civil Administration.

In contrast, the Dutch in Indonesia, desperate at their growing incapacity to cope with the situation, went to the wildest extremes in their efforts to smash the spirit of the Indonesian people.

Even the extremely reactionary *Times of India's* War Correspondent reported about the Dutch "Belsen" camp in Java where 218 Indonesians had been crammed "into five cells, each eleven feet by eighteen."

Finally the British who were desperately seeking a way of compromise by which they would preserve their own oil interests, persuaded the Dutch and the Indonesians to meet in the first week of November. Dr. Van Mook, Dutch Imperialism's representative and Dr. Soekarno were brought together in General Christison's office.

But the talks soon broke down. The Dutch Government in Holland issued a *fatwa,* repudiating the negotiations—which thereupon ended. Almost simultaneously, the British Commander in Sourabaya, Brigadier Mallaby was killed in the course of an armed clash. In retaliation, the British started full-scale operations : the real war against Indonesia had begun.

At this time too the Dutch made their latest offer—that Indonesia should "become a full partner in the kingdom which will be organised as a commonwealth." This offer was on the old familiar lines of a limited form of Dominion Status—a "democratic" Central Government with an Indonesian majority, Indonesian to be the official language, etc.

Naturally, the Indonesians rejected the offer ; they wanted not an Indonesian majority with plenty of opportunities for Dutch intrigue under a Dutch King, but independence, a People's Government fully responsible to the Indonesian people.

This move therefore solved nothing ; fighting continued sporadically and the deadlock in Indonesia continued. The young

Republic's Army fought well, gave away very little ; it became increasingly clear that subjugation of Indonesia by British troops was going to be a long and costly affair.

Faced with the prospect of a long battle, the Indonesians decided to strengthen the Government, to take not only the real but also the official leadership into its own hands. On November 13, President Soekarno announced the formation of a new Cabinet, headed by Dr. Sultan Sjahrir, composed entirely of leading nationalists who had not collaborated with the Japanese but had fought on for Indonesia's freedom.

Dr. Sjahrir, proclaiming the formation of this new Cabinet, said :

"The Government of Indonesia having successfully weathered the storm and stress attendant upon the initial stages of its assumption of power, feels the time is now ripe for the institution of several necessary measures aimed at democratizing the administrative structure of the country."

Dr. Sjahrir then emphasised three points :

Firstly : the formation of a new Cabinet, which did not include any one who had collaborated with the Japanese.

Secondly : the promise of elections to the National Assembly at an early date, i.e., of a body to which the Cabinet would be responsible.

Thirdly : "in order to stimulate the growth of sound political thinking, the Government of the Republic has called upon the people to organise parties to represent all shades of political opinion in the country. The nuclei of some such parties were in existence before the Japanese occupation and had to remain quiescent during the period of Japanese rule. Both the Dutch and the Japs were equally hard on Communists and those political parties which stood for complete untramelled independence. The Republic of Indonesia will ban no political organisation so long as its tenets or actions do not run counter to recognized democratic principles."

Towards the third week of November, Dr. Sjahrir issued an

important pamphlet in which he sharply attacked the pro-Japanese racialist propaganda and outlined the task of the national revolution.

"The driving-forces at present behind revolution," wrote Sjahrir, "are the working class and the youth. But while to the latter freedom means freedom from foreign rule, to the workers it means freedom from foreign rule and the end of their suffering. If the Indonesian people forgot this aspect of the battle for freedom, the democratic aspect, and saw in freedom only the overthrow of foreign rule, their revolution would degenerate into fascism."

He concluded, "Thus their movement must be a democratic movement fighting for the demands of the workers and peasants and must be organised as such."

"Again," Sjahrir continued, "if the movement is to be such, it must be led not by "pure" nationalists who reject the democratic content of their revolution, but by revolutionary democrats who understand this content. Only such leaders will see the effects of three and half years of Japanese rule—how it has not merely affected the Indonesian people physically in the form of starvation and forced labour but also psychologically, made them victims of fascist racialist propaganda. Such racialism weakens the movement and must be rooted out."

Finally Sjahrir emphasised the need for a democratic Government based on the people which would fulfil the wishes of the people.

The publication of Dr. Sjahrir's pamphlet was followed immediately (on November, 25) by the National Convention of Indonesian leaders, held in Batavia. About 100 members attended, the rest of the total of 232 being prevented from attending by transport difficulties. However, representatives of every centre except Semarang were present. The National Convention had in the course of the last three months emerged as the real leader of the Indonesian people, including within it the representatives of the Trade Unions, businessmen, youth, peasants and—seven different political parties. The Ambonese, whom the Dutch are

always claiming as their loyal allies, are also represented; there are ten women members, four Chinese and three Eurasians.

During the debate on support for the new Government of Sjahrir, the struggle between the democratic-minded sections and the pro-Japanese section came to the forefront. One speaker—connected with pro-Japanese elements in the old Cabinet, demanded that only one party be allowed, a Nationalist Party. Others bitterly opposed this—particularly the leader of the Islam Party which pleaded for a united front of all parties; and the proposal for only one party was decisively rejected.

The temper of the meeting was also seen in the elections to the Working Committee of the Convention. The nine names proposed by the sub-committee elected for that purpose were rejected on the grounds that these nine were a group of intellectuals, out of touch with the youth and the workers. The final list approved consists of twenty-five members with representatives of all parties.

The Convention gave decided support to the Sjahrir Cabinet - the voting being 84 to 8, 16 abstaining from voting. The eight who opposed were all members of the old pro-Japanese Cabinet.

The Convention also declared for full and vigorous resistance to the Dutch and British but at the same time laid stress on the need for an all-in programme of economic reconstruction, including the drawing-up of a three-year plan.

It is in this period after the formation of the Sjahrir Cabinet that political life has grown widespread and active. Among the main political parties that have been formed are:

(1) The P. S. I. (Indonesian Socialist Party) which has fully backed the Sjahrir Cabinet.

(2) The Indonesian Christian Association which held its conference on December 8, at Soerakarta and also pledged full support to the Sjahrir Cabinet.

(3) The Indonesian Communist Party (illegal since 1926) has emerged again; its Chairman is Mohammed Yusuf* and the

*News has recently been received that the leader of the Indonesian Communists, Tan Malakah—a legendary hero who was captured by the Dutch in 1927 and later escaped from the concentration

Party has issued a statement supporting Indonesia's freedom struggle and declaring its will to participate in the coming elections.

(4) The Islam Party—mainly based on middle-class intellectuals.

In addition there has been a rapid growth of the trade union organisation. In the rubber factory at Bogor (Buitenzorg), for instance, the workers formed their union in late November. There has also emerged the *Ikatan Sarekat Sekerdja* (ISS) the Trade Union Federation, which is supporting the Republican Government.

Peasants too held their First Congress at Djokjakarta from November 24 to November 26 and formed the *Barisan Tani Indonesia* (Indonesian Peasant Front).

Student associations have sprung up all over Java ; for instance on December 11, the Conference of the East Java Students' Federation (*Ikatan Peladjar Indonesia*) was attended by 63 delegates representing 20.000 students and also pledged full support to the Sjahrir Government.

This democratic upsurge has been reflected also in the increased attention that the Working Committee of the National Convention has begun to pay to the people. The Working Committee at its meeting in November decided to invite all political parties to submit to the Government before December 20, 1945, suggestions about the three-year economic plan they propose to undertake. This request, it explained, was being made so as to ensure complete agreement between the Government and the will of the people.

The formation of the Sjahrir Cabinet and the great democratic upsurge, therefore, marked a new stage in the development of the Indonesian national revolution. It signified the attainment of power by the democratically-minded sections and the withdrawal into the background of the pro-Japanese (and therefore not resolutely anti-imperialist) sections.

It marked the adherence of the people of Indonesia to a

camp in New Guinea and worked underground all these years—is back again at his post. Mohammed Yusuf, mentioned here as the Chairman of the Party is one of the provincial leaders.—Editor.

fully democratic form of government, with freedom of speech, association and organisation for all democratic sections of the Indonesian people.

But the consolidation of the democratic movement instead of persuading the British and Dutch interventionists to recognise the Government has led to bitter and more intense warfare. Aeroplanes have come into action, bombing Samarang, Sourabaya and Bandoeng. Whole villages have been razed to the ground—on a scale that brings to one's mind the worst Nazi atrocities.

This Allied terror, however, far from destroying the people's morale has roused them all the more. Hundreds of demonstrations pledging support to the freedom-battle were held all over Java in the first week of December ; on December 6, for instance, 30,000 people attended a meeting at Poerwakerta ; the meeting addressed by representatives of all parties, demanded the withdrawal of the British and Allied armies from the soil of Indonesia.

The fighting capacity of the Indonesians has also grown ; on December 9, there was a sharp clash between Indonesians and Gurkhas at Tjitjoerock (near Buitenzorg) ; the Gurkhas had two heavy tanks and six armoured cars supporting them and yet they were forced to withdraw with heavy losses.

It was this increasingly difficult problem of subjugating the strong Indonesian movement that led to the Allied Conference at Singapore in early December.

Mountbatten presided and it was attended by British Commanders and Dr. Van Mook, Dutch Lieutenant-Governor. It is rumoured that this conference decided to launch full-scale armed warfare against the Indonesians, hoping to effect a split between the so-called "moderates" and "extremists." But Dr. Sjahrir has repudiated this suggestion.

Sjahrir also categorically said :

> "The world has seen that the Indonesians are firm in their fight to achieve their political aim of national freedom at any cost—but we want a peaceful solution and not one imposed by force."
>
> "A solution by force," he said, "would be resisted and the resistance would have far-reaching results. The first ba-

sis for further discussions for attaining a peaceful solution can only be the recognition of the political and territorial integrity of Indonesia."

Thus the battle for freedom in Indonesia goes on—and the people in the fire of struggle are steeled and determined to win their freedom. It is the duty of all democrats abroad—and particularly in India, the military-naval supply base for the Anglo-Dutch interventionists in Indonesia—to see that their fight is successful, that we do all in our power to stop British intervention, to help Indonesia to win and retain its freedom.

APPENDICES

I. DR. HATTA'S STATEMENT ON THE JAP ATTACK ON INDONESIA

We give here the statement made by Dr. Mohammed Hatta, now Vice-President of the Indonesian Republic.

Hatta issued this statement while yet in exile and imprisonment at Banda Neira, near Amboina. The statement was printed in the entire Dutch and Indonesian press—so important was it, coming from a person like him—and it shows clearly that the Indonesian nationalist leaders saw clearly enough the real face of Japanese Imperialism.

"What is now," asks Hatta, "the position of the Indonesian people?

"Our people who are, with the exception of a small number in the armed forces and in the militia, unarmed, and who are deprived of taking any responsibility for their fate, must not think that this war does not concern us. One should not think under these conditions that it does not matter much as to who is the master, the Dutch or the Japanese. This standpoint is wrong, and will surely damage the interests of Indonesia forever. No doubt there are people who think this way, and there are even those who say that Japan will rule us for 100 days (old Indonesian story), after which we will be free, but it is our duty, as conscious human beings, to oppose such a line of thinking. We must tell these fools, that such wishful thinking will jeopardize forever the interests of Indonesians.

"I am making this public statement, because there are among us some who are fond of imitating the actions of outsiders. We have seen that Rashid Ali has invited German help for the establishment of his country's independence from the British. We believe that Rashid Ali is an Arab nationalist who loves his country. But don't forget that his narrow-minded outlook will bring

his country more suffering than ever before. If the Germans come into Iraq, the people of Iraq will not become 'freer'; on the contrary they will be enslaved, and that under the heels of the Nazis. For the Nazis there are no such things as a Parliament, and rights for the foreigners (non-Nazis—*Writer*) ; for the Nazis there is only one thing, i.e., obey the Government orders. If not, there is for you the bullet or the concentration camp.

"*While judging Rashid Ali, don't forget that he is an Arab nationalist, who does not know of any definite political line.* A people's movement of the European and Indonesian type never existed there. Usually only those who have the money become the leaders, and they have no definite political programme. Their aim is only one : Independence. And every leader wants to be a dictator. I have obtained this information not merely from reading books but also verbally from the mouths of Syrian and Egyptian leaders whom I knew when we were together in the League for the Struggle Against Imperialism and for National Independence ; most of the Arab leaders tried to obtain help from the enemies of their opponents. In 1915, he sought British help to fight his Turkish masters, and now in order to be completely free, he is seeking German help against the British. He forgets what the Italians and the Germans have done in Palestine in the last world war. He forgets that many of the leaders have been shot dead with German bullets. *All these because they have never learned to fight for freedom in accordance with the principle of 'rely upon your own self.' They all expect foreign help.*

"There is another instance of a leader's political line, which is apt to be followed as an example, and that is that of Subhas Chandra Bose, who, in accordance with the latest reports, has outspokenly sought the help of Germany and of Italy to drive the British from India. Bose was once the President of the Indian National Congress, and for that reason he has acquired great influence and popularity, and just because of this latter, his actions can easily become an object of imitation. Bose's course of action does not surprise us at all, for since long he has had fascist leanings. Fascism, with its kind of propaganda and its boisterous show, has a great attraction for the young and the

hot-tempered. A young man likes bragging, hero-worship, and is ready to be at the feet of a hero, his idol. And fascism and Nazism with their resources to produce these necessary factors, can easily capture the hearts of the youth. The youth likes action and fascism supplies this. And Bose is a man of this type.

"If you want to take an example from India, take Jawaharlal Nehru and not Bose. *Nehru has always been opposing British Imperialism but he respects the British, he never asks for help from the fascists or the Nazis.* In his writings and in his actions he has supported China's struggle against Japanese Imperialism. He even wants to form an Asiatic League, but Japan on account of her aggressiveness should be excluded. It is small wonder that in this war Nehru remains opposing Japanese Imperialism.

II. CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia

We the Indonesian people, hereby declare our independence —acts concerning the transfer of power, and so on, will be executed with exactness and as soon as possible.

Djakarta, 17-8-1945.
On behalf of the Indonesian people,
Sd. Soekarno, Hatta

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

Since independence is the right of every nation, any form of subjugation being contrary to humanity upon this world, and justice, must be abolished.

Our struggle for Indonesian independence has reached a stage of glory, in which the Indonesian people are led to the Gate of the Indonesian State, which is independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous.

Further, to establish a Government for the Indonesian State, protect the whole Indonesian people and territories, promote the public welfare, raise the standard of life, and participate in establishing a world order which is founded on freedom, eternal peace and social justice, the national independence is laid down within a Constitution of the Indonesian State which is a Republic with the people's sovereignty, founded on the belief in God Almighty, righteous and moral humanity, the unity of Indonesia, and democracy, led by the wise guidance in the Representative's Congress forming a social justice for the whole Indonesian people.

CHAPTER I

Form and Sovereignty of the State

Article I.

Sec. 1. The Indonesian State is a unitary State, having the form of a Republic.

Sec. 2. The Sovereignty shall be vested in the people and shall be fully exercised by the Congress of People.

CHAPTER II

The Congress of People

Article 2.

Sec. 1. The Congress of People consists of members of the Council of Representatives, and delegates of regional territories or groups, in accordance with provisions prescribed by law.

Sec. 2. The Congress of People assembles in the capital at least once every five years.

Sec. 3. All decisions of the Congress of People are taken by majority of votes.

Article 3.

The Congress of People enacts the Constitution and decides the outlines of national policy.

CHAPTER III

The Power of the Government

Article 4.

Sec. 1. The President is vested with the Power of the Govern-

ment in accordance with this Constitution.

Sec. 2. In executing his duties the President shall be assisted by a Vice-President.

Article 5.

Sec. 1. The President is vested with the Legislative Power in concurrence with the Congress of People.

Sec. 2. The President enacts the necessary ordinances to execute laws.

Article 6.

Sec. 1. The President must be an Indonesian by birth.

Sec. 2. The President and the Vice-President are elected by the Congress of People by majority of votes.

Article 7.

The President and the Vice-President hold office during a term of five years, and they may be re-elected.

Article 8.

In case of death, removal or inability to discharge the duties of his office during his term, the President is replaced by the Vice-President until the end of his term.

Article 9.

Before assuming the duties of his office, the President and Vice-President take an oath according to his religion or promise solemnly before the Congress of People or the Council of Representatives, as following :

Oath (promise) of the President (Vice-President) : "I swear (promise) that I will faithfully and conscientiously fulfil the duties of President of the Republic of Indonesia (Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia) to maintain the Constitution and to execute conscientiously all its laws and regulations, and to devote myself to serve my country and my people."

Article 10.

The President, in concurrence with the Council of Representatives, declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties with other countries.

Article 11.

The President proclaims martial law. The conditions and the consequences of the martial law shall be provided by law.

Article 12.

Sec. 1. The President appoints ambassadors, and consuls.

Sec. 2. The President receives ambassadors and representatives of other countries.

Article 13.

The President has the power to grant pardon, amnesty, abolition and rehabilitation.

Article 14.

The President has the power to grant titles, marks of merit and other marks of honour.

Chapter IV.

Council of State

Article 15.

Sec. 1. The composition of the Council of State is provided by law.

Sec. 2. This Council of State is obliged to answer questions submitted by the President and has the right to make proposals to the Government.

Chapter V.

Ministers of State

Article 16.

Sec. 1. The President is assisted by Ministers of State.

Sec. 2. The Ministers are appointed and discharged by the President.

Sec. 3. The Ministers manage the Ministries.

Chapter VI.

Local Administration

Article 17.

The division of the Indonesian territory into large and small spheres, and the forms of their administration are prescribed by law, considering and respecting the principle of conference in the Governmental system, and the traditional rights of particular territories.

CHAPTER VII.

Council of Representatives

Article 18.

Sec. 1. The organization of the Council of Representatives is prescribed by law.

Sec. 2. The Council of Representatives assembles at least once a year.

Article 19.

Sec. 1. Every law is enacted in concurrence with the Council of Representatives.

Sec. 2. Whenever a bill is not passed by the Council of Representatives, that bill may not be submitted for the second time during the same session of the Council of Representatives.

Article 20.

Sec. 1. Members of the Council of Representatives have the right to submit a bill.

Sec. 2. Every bill, though passed by the Council of Representatives, but not accepted by the President, shall not be submitted for the second time during the same session of the Council of Representatives.

Article 21.

Sec. 1. At critical times, the President has the right to enact Governmental provisions replacing the law.

Sec. 2. These Governmental provisions, need the agreement of the Council of Representatives during the next session.

Sec. 3. If no agreement is obtained, these provisions must be revoked.

CHAPTER VIII.

Finances

Article 22.

Sec. 1. The draft of the Budget of receipts and expenditure is provided by law every year. If the Council of Representatives does not approve the draft of the Budget proposed by the Government, then the draft of the preceding year is executed.

Sec. 2. Every form of tax on behalf of the Government is prescribed by law.

Sec. 3. The sort and the value of money is provided by law.

Sec. 4. Other matters concerning public finances are provided by law.

Sec. 5. A General Audit Office is instituted, the provisions of which are stipulated by law to control the accountability of the public finances. The result of which must be presented to the Council of Representatives.

CHAPTER IX.

The Judiciary Power

Article 23.

Sec. 1. The Judiciary Power is executed by the Supreme Court and other courts as may be established by law.

Sec. 2. The organization and competence of these courts shall be provided by law.

Article 24.

The conditions to become judge and to be discharged from this office are provided by law.

CHAPTER X.

Citizenship

Article 25.

Sec. 1. Citizens are Indonesians by birth, and persons of other nationalities, who are regarded as such by law.

Sec. 2. Matters concerning citizenship are provided by law.

Article 26.

Sec. 1. All citizens have the same position in the law and the Government, and are without exception obliged to respect the law and the Government.

Sec. 2. Every citizen is entitled to work and to a reasonable standard of life.

Article 27.

The right of free assemblage, the right to express one's opinion orally or in writing etc. shall be provided by law.

CHAPTER XI.

Religion

Article 28.

Sec. 1. The State is based upon the Faith in the All-embracing God.

The State guarantees the freedom of the people to profess their own religion and to fulfil their religious duties.

CHAPTER XII.

Defence

Article 29.

Every citizen is entitled and obliged to participate in the defence of the State.

Matters concerning national defence are provided by law.

CHAPTER XIII.

Education

Article 30.

Sec. 1. Every citizen is entitled to get education.

Sec. 2. The Government establishes a system of national education, provided by law.

Article 31.

The Government promotes the national culture of Indonesia.

CHAPTER XIV.

Social Welfare

Article 32.

Sec. 1. The economy is organized co-operatively, based on the principles of a Family State.

Sec. 2. Branches of production, which are important for the State and which dominate the life of most people, are regulated by the State.

Sec. 3. Land, water and natural riches therein are regulated by the State and shall be used for the greatest possible prosperity of the people.

Article 33.

The State takes care of the poor and the uncared for children.

CHAPTER XV.

Flag and Language

Article 34.

The flag of the Republic of Indonesia is the Red and White Flag.

Article 35.

The official language is the Indonesian language.

CHAPTER XVI.

Amendments to the Constitution

Article 36.

Sec. 1. To amend the Constitution, there must be present at least two-thirds of the total members of the People's Congress.

Sec. 2. Decisions shall be made in concurrence with at least two-thirds of the total members, who are present.

Transitory Provisions

Sec. 1. The Committee for the Preparation of the Independence of Indonesia regulates and prepares the transition of the Government to the Indonesian Government.

Sec. 2. All existing official institutions and laws shall be in force until new ones are instituted in accordance with the Constitution.

Sec. 3. For the first time the President and Vice-President will be elected by the Preparatory Committee for the Independence of Indonesia.

Sec. 4. Before the People's Congress, the Council of Representatives and the Council of State are elected in accordance with the Constitution, their competences will be exercised by the President, assisted by a National Committee.

CHINA'S WAY OUT OF THE CIVIL WAR

By Mao Tse-tung *(In the press)*

Mao Tse-tung is the leader of China's one million Communists and of the new democratic regions of the North against which Chiang Kai-shek's feudal-fascist armies are today waging a disastrous civil war, egged on by American imperialists. This booklet contains an English translation of the famous speech Mao delivered at the Congress of the Communist Party of China in April last year.

Written before the end of the Pacific war the report brilliantly forecasts the developments in Chinese politics that we witness today. It clearly outlines the new democratic programme of the Chinese Communists to build a united democratic China —against the Kuomintang's efforts to plunge the country into a fratricidal civil war which can only result in the complete destruction of the Chinese national movement and would reduce China to the status of a colony of American imperialism and a feudal reactionary stronghold which world imperialism would use to crush the freedom movements of all the other Asiatic countries.

Indispensable for a proper understanding of present-day problems of China. The book will be ready by the end of January.

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
RAJ BHUVAN. SANDHURST ROAD
BOMBAY 4.

Read These Books

FOR THE FINAL BID FOR POWER

By P. C. Joshi *(In the press)*

A brilliant popularisation of the electoral programme of the Indian Communists—a programme that aims at uniting all for the final battle against British imperialism, a programme that guarantees free villages, free towns and free homelands in a free India through the rallying of all patriots together on the slogan, "Indian must not fight Indian! All together for a final assault against the common enemy!" First edition will be out by the end of January. Don't miss your copy.

BRITISH WORKERS IN WORLD WAR 1939–1945

By John Stammers *One rupee four annas.*

Unless the British workers and the Indian people join hands together in fighting their common enemy, British imperialism, it will be slavery—and hell for both—this is the lesson of this challenging book written by a British Communist in answer to the commonly repeated charge—"Every Briton is an imperialist." Written specially for Indian readers. Just out. Write immediately for your copy.

Introduction To Marxism No. 5

NATIONALITIES IN EUROPE

by

J. WINTERNITZ

A straightforward and simple Marxist analysis of the national problem in Europe, of great value in understanding the problem facing India.

Eight Annas

Introduction To Marxism No. 5

NATIONALITIES IN EUROPE

by

T. WINTERNITZ

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,
Bombay 4.

EIGHT ANNAS.

First Edition, October 1945.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	FOREWORD *by Prof. Benjamin Farrington* ..	1
I.	RISE OF NATIONS IN THE DAWN OF CAPITALISM	3
II.	THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION	15
III.	FASCISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION ..	22
IV.	NATIONAL LIBERATION IN EUROPE ..	34
	SUMMARY	43

Printed by Sharaf Athar Ali, New Age Printing Press, 190B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4 and published by him for People's Publishing House, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

In this essay, written in March 1944, Dr. Winternitz attempts to apply Marxist principles to the analysis of the national question in Europe.

With the defeat of Hitler-Fascism the peoples of the new democratic countries in Europe are already beginning to solve successfully the vexed question of national differences which had so far been used by the big imperialist powers to divide and disrupt the unity of small states and use them as a cat's-paw in their own imperialist interests and against the working people's state, the U.S.S.R.

In the new European democracies the Marxist solution based on the principle of self-determination is more and more coming to be accepted as the only lasting solution. The best example in this respect is Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia—the traditional cockpit of national enmities and fratricidal civil wars—which has become today a strong union of brother peoples united on the basis of self-determination for all nationalities.

Dr. Winternitz's essay must be read by all those who want to work for a free democratic India based on the brotherly unity of our peoples.

Introduction To Marxism Series

1. What is Marxism

by Emile Burns *One Rupee.*

A very simple exposition, that anyone can understand without previous knowledge.

2. The Soviet Spirit

by The Dean of Canterbury *Eight Annas.*

The best short introduction to the real basis and achievements of the first Socialist State in the world.

3. Marxism and Democracy

by A. Sokolov & N. Baltiisky *Eight Annas.*

A popular explanation of the Communist viewpoint towards Democracy, Patriotism and Freedom of the Press.

4. Philosophy of Marxism

by J. Stalin *Eight Annas.*

The leader of World Socialism explains in crystal clear language the principles that guide the entire movement.

Foreword

THE world struggle against fascism brought the words Race, Nationality, Nation, to everybody's lips and revealed the intricacy of the problems and the violence of the passions associated with the reality people try to describe in these words. Out of the confusion of the struggle one great fact is beginning to emerge clearly, and that is that on the question of the rights of nations fascism and communism stand at opposite poles. From its foundation the Soviet State had denounced imperialism and the doctrine of a master race, had granted absolute freedom of development to every national group within its borders, and it finally inscribed in its constitution the basic law that discrimination against any person on racial or national grounds is treason, and punishable as such. It was in conscious and deliberate reaction against the Marxist policy of the Soviet State that Hitler sought to impose on the world the doctrine of a master race which alone was the creator and bearer of civilization, attempted to solve the question of national minorities by persecution and extermination, and reduced weaker nations to the level of satellites.

The outcome of these two policies is now visible to all. When the trial came nothing could shake the allegiance of the various members of the multi-national Soviet State to their Union: Hitler's vassal states and national minorities are seizing every opportunity to revolt against his tyranny. So great was the success of the Soviet policy in liberating and advancing the oppressed peoples of the old Tsarist empire, that when the fighting power of France, Belgium, Holland and Norway had been broken, and their agricultural and industrial potential had been harnessed to Hitler's war machine and Hitler felt free to turn east, freedom and democracy found new resources and new reserves in Georgia, Armenia, Tajik, Kazakh and other Caucasian and Asiatic republics and autonomous regions. From these peoples who had so newly entered upon the stage of history came soldiers, sailors and airmen, nurses and doctors, industrial workers and collective farmers, generals and administrators who made an indispensable contribution to the allied cause. The success of the Soviet national

policy was visible to all. Since Teheran the Soviet Union has officially taken its place among the democracies. But it still remains true that few people understand with what good title it does so. Few people know that democracy was the key-word with Lenin and Stalin in their approach to the complex national problems with which they were faced. To every proposed solution of the problem the same touchstone was applied : Does it promote the interests of the people ? Is it a step forward in democracy ?

The military triumph of the Soviet Union in the present war means that the Soviet solution of the national question will affect the future of the whole of humanity. In every continent of the globe exist similar problems, which, if they remain unsolved, will wreck the lives and fortunes of millions of mankind. True, none of these problems can be solved except in the light of the particular historical circumstances in which it originated. But that Marxism has an approach to these questions which can ensure their solution the experience of the Soviet Union shows.

In this essay Dr. Winternitz attempts to apply Marxist principles to the analysis of the national question in Europe. It will be found that he has thrown a clear light on the general considerations that must govern a successful approach to such problems. Europe, however, is not the whole world ; and there are also special problems outside Europe which may require from us in Great Britain a more particular attention. Problems of nationality that have a particular importance for the British people are those that affect their dependent colonial empire, those that affect the Dominions, and those that are found in the British Isles themselves. To these we hope to return in separate essays.

BENJAMIN FARRINGTON

NATIONALITIES IN EUROPE

I. Rise of Nations in the Dawn of Capitalism

IT is certainly not an easy task to explain in a few pages the basic ideas of Marxism, of scientific socialism, on the so-called national question. This is, indeed, one of the most complicated problems of sociological theory, one of the most difficult problems of political practice. We have to explain how nations arise, develop and decline. We have to find out what is the basis of their mutual relations, of their antagonisms, the part different classes play when there is national oppression and a fight for national liberation. We have to determine what is the relation of different kinds of national struggles and aspirations to the great struggle for human progress, for a higher stage of democracy, for the abolition of class oppression and exploitation. All these questions of theory are, of course, closely connected with practical questions of the utmost importance, such questions as whether the working class should oppose or support the struggle for national independence, whether the striving of smaller nations to form their own independent national states is a progressive tendency or whether it should be opposed in the interest of a higher unity of nations.

The national question is involved in the problem of India and Ireland, of the Arab States and of Palestine ; it plays a great part in the discussion of the future frontiers of Poland. But—and this is the most important topical aspect—the national question is a decisive element in the problems and tasks of the great war of liberation, which is being waged now against Hitlerite Germany. Its correct solution is one of the preconditions of a lasting and just peace.

I mention all these questions, just to make it clear how impossible it is in this limited space to deal with all the aspects of this problem and to answer all the questions arising in this connection. I will only try to explain some basic ideas of Marxism

about this fundamental problem of modern society and give some help to a clear understanding of the attitude the Marxist movement, i.e., the working-class movement, led by the theory of Marxism, adopts on the national questions under the present circumstances of the world-wide fight against fascism.

The colonial question is certainly one of the most important aspects of the national question in modern times. I shall, however, in the present essay take illustrations and examples from the national problems of Europe only, and I do not propose to enter into the complicated problems of the nations of Asia and Africa, although I am fully aware of the vital importance of a correct approach to this aspect of our problem, in the solution of which hundreds of millions, the majority of mankind, are immediately interested. It may suffice in this connection to state that exactly the same principles which should be applied to secure a just democratic solution of national problems in Europe are valid for nations and races in other parts of the world.

Let me explain first the way in which Marxism, the scientific theory of the evolution of human society, approaches such a problem. We have to apply the method of materialist dialectics. That is to say, we must not regard social phenomena in an abstract, dogmatic way, beginning with such general principles as, for example, 'nationality is an absolute value' or 'mankind stands higher than nationality.' We have to make a historical analysis, we have to find out how modern nations arose, what part national movements played and are playing in modern society; we must not regard national movements as isolated things in themselves, but see them in the light of class struggles, which play an essential part in the evolution of society. To put the problem in its correct perspective, I shall try to give a brief historical outline of the development of the national question during the last century.

How Nations Arose

THE national question is, in fact, a modern problem. Those nations which play a prominent part in modern history—the French, British, Germans, Italians, etc.—did not exist and act as nations, i.e. as closely-knit stable communities, centuries ago. The

attempt to explain the behaviour of the Hitlerite Germans of our time by the warlike and barbarous character of the Teutonic tribes, supposed to be their ancestors two thousand years ago, cannot claim any scientific truth. The barbarous virtues and vices of these tribes can be explained by the conditions of their times. Nomadic, primitive tribes living by hunting and robbing, consistently on the warpath against other tribes, have similar characteristics, whether they are Red Indians, African Negroes, Australian Bushmen or Teutons. And, by the way, these wild barbarous Teutonic tribes are the ancestors not only of the Germans, but also of the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans who contributed essentially to the formation of the British nation, of the Scandinavian peoples ; and mingling with tribes of other origin they contributed to the formation of the French and Italian peoples too. All the nations of Europe arose from the intermingling of different tribes and racial groups. Some distant common origin, a common heritage of blood, does not explain the character of modern nations.

Modern nations arose through the amalgamation of different tribes, clans or racial groups, living together on a common territory, speaking the same language and connected with one another by close economic ties. This is the sense of the definition given by Stalin in his fundamental essay, *Marxism and the National Question*, written in 1913. Stalin says here :

> 'A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.' (J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 7.)

This is not an arbitrary, artificial definition, but the result of a concrete historical analysis of the circumstances in which such 'stable communities' arose, became able to act in common, and evolved a national conscience, a desire to form a national state. Call to your mind the conditions under mediæval feudalism and you will easily understand why a higher development of production, commerce and traffic was necessary for establishing bigger national communities. The consciousness of belonging together, of common interests, the possibility of joining forces for common action, the feeling of national solidarity, could not arise,

say, between a Scotsman in the mountains of his country and a fisherman on the south coast of England, when a journey of several months was necessary to travel from one place to the other; when commerce and intercourse were closer between southern England and western France than between England and Scotland; when the community of the 'clan' was a living everyday reality for the Scotsman, while he hardly knew anything concerning the Englishman who lived in the same island. Similar conditions prevailed throughout Europe in the age of feudalism. Germany for instance consisted of hundreds of greater and smaller principalities with a very loose connection in the German Reich. The Prussian was as much of a foreigner to the Bavarian as the Frenchman or Italian.

The closer connection between different parts of a country, different sections of the population, arises with modern capitalism. This is the powerful integrating force breaking down the barriers of feudalism, concentrating huge masses in big industrial centres, connecting the countryside with the town, producing the middle class which becomes in the beginning the main representative of the new idea of nationality. Therefore the origin of modern nations is closely connected with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, which destroyed feudal seclusion and dispersion, and for the first time united vast popular masses in a common struggle with common ideas. In this way the British nation arose from the revolution of the seventeenth century, the French nation from the Great Revolution of 1789.

The Communist Manifesto *on the National Question*

MARXISM as a political theory and a political movement entered the field in the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time there was no special national question in Western Europe, it had been solved by the bourgeois-democratic revolution in England and France. But in Central Europe, in Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, this was a burning question; in Eastern Europe, Tsarist Russia was the most powerful reactionary empire, oppressing dozens of peoples, which—with the exception of the Poles had hardly begun to develop a national consciousness.

The ideas of Marxism on the national question found their first expression in the *Communist Manifesto* written by Marx and Engels as the programme of the Communist League, the first international association of workers, which accepted Marxist principles at its conference in London in November 1847. Marx and Engels were representatives of the German working class and the German progressive movement, and only a few months later became practical leaders of the extreme left wing of the democratic revolution in Germany. But when they elaborated what has been since that time the basis of the programme of the international working-class movement, they did not approach the national question from any narrow national point of view, but from the viewpoint of *proletarian internationalism*. In fact, the *Communist Manifesto* proclaims internationalism as a basic principle of Communism.

> 'The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: (1) In the national struggles of the proletarians of different countries they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality. (2) In the varied stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.' (K. Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 219.)

This is the fundamental difference between the Marxist approach to the national problems and the bourgeois-nationalist approach. The working class fights against every oppression and exploitation, and therefore as a rule it supports every struggle of an oppressed nation for independence. But it does not accept the nationalist principle of 'My country, right or wrong' or 'My nation, right or wrong'. It regards the fight of different nations from the point of view of the *general progress of mankind towards democracy and socialism*. Marxists understand that the fundamental interests of every nation depend on the overthrow of a reactionary system which threatens the development and existence of every single nation, great or small. Therefore the fight for national freedom is a progressive force, so far and only so far as it is connected with the international struggle for human pro-

gress against backwardness, oppression and exploitation.

Proletarian internationalism finds forceful expression in another famous, frequently quoted sentence of the *Manifesto*:

> 'The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got.' (*Selected Works*, Vol. I. p. 225.)

There were bitter discussions about this principle during the first World War. It must not be understood as a general dogma valid under any circumstances, but correlated to the circumstances under which it was coined. So long as the workers are an oppressed class in a reactionary country, where state power is used for the oppression of the popular masses within and for external conquest, socialist workers must not feel any solidarity with their 'fatherland' and should not support it in a war. This was the correct attitude of class-conscious workers in Tsarist Russia, in the Kaiser's Germany and in the other imperialist countries in 1914. It is certainly the only possible attitude for socialist workers and all progressive people in Hitlerite Germany and her vassal states today.

But when a country, a nation, wages a war for a just cause, a cause connected with the progress of humanity—as in the case of the present war against fascism—it is the duty of the working class to support their country, to go all out for its defence.

Marx and Engels, while they condemned vulgar bourgeois patriotism, were far from adopting an anti-national or anational attitude. In the same context, the *Communist Manifesto* goes on:

> 'Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.' (*Selected Works*, Vol. I. p. 225.)

This is a very deep idea, the full meaning and implication of which became evident only in our time. The working class—as the most productive and progressive class—in industrially developed countries the most numerous class too—fights for supremacy, aims at leading the nation. In assuming leadership, it becomes responsible for the fate and future of the nation, the representative of the national cause, the defender of the *true*

national interests, which are very different from the bourgeois idea of 'national interests' aiming at expansion and domination over other nations.

What this means in practice, we see in the mighty example of the U.S.S.R. Here the Russian working class, leading the whole nation, has become the true and noble representative of the greatness and power of the Russian nation, inheriting and continuing all the glorious traditions and achievements of the nation throughout the centuries.

This is one great example—others will follow. But the U.S.S.R. is a multinational state, not only the great Russian people has found its full expression in this socialist state, dozens of nations are living together in this great Union, as free and equal members, and every one of them, led by its working class, enjoys a greater and fuller development of its national life and culture than ever before.

So we see how another prophetic forecast of the *Manifesto* has become true in the first state built upon Marxist principles. Forecasting the future development to socialism, the *Manifesto* states :

> 'In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonisms between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.' (*Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 225.)

Oppression of one nation by another is carried out in the interest and under the leadership of the ruling, oppressing and exploiting class of the oppressor nation. Therefore national oppression will vanish when the working class rises to destroy the power of the exploiting class. This is also the reason why the issue of national liberation is closely and inseparably connected with the issue of social liberation. Therefore also the most progressive representatives of the bourgeois-democratic national movements, such as for example, Sun Yat Sen in China or T. G. Masaryk in Czechoslovakia, understood more or less clearly that weak and oppressed nations should make common cause with the working-class struggle for social emancipation.

NOW let us see how the founders of Marxism put into practice their ideas on the national question, which are so clearly expressed in the programmatic sentences quoted above. Marx and Engels took a very active part in the democratic revolution of Germany in 1848. The aim of this revolution, in the intention of its most progressive leaders, was to destroy the forces of feudalism and absolutism, to destroy the backward conditions of Germany which consisted at that time of dozens of petty, more or less despotic principalities, and two larger reactionary powers, Prussia and Austria, to unite all Germans in one democratic republic. This programme of the bourgeois-democratic revolution proclaimed by Marx, was a radically democratic and national programme, a programme of national unity, independence and greatness. But as far as Marx and Engels were concerned, it was far from being a nationalistic programme. Marx did not forget that there were other nations oppressed by reactionary German states, such as the Poles in Prussia, the Italians, Czechs and other nations in Austria. Marx severely criticized the cowardly, faint-hearted, unprincipled liberal leaders of German democracy who failed to support the struggle for national liberty waged by these oppressed nations against Prussian and Austrian despotism, the common enemy of these people and of the popular masses in Germany. It was in this connection that Marx coined the famous slogan: "A nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free."

The revolution of 1848 was defeated, first in France and then in Germany, Austria and Hungary, mainly because the leaders of the upper middle class in France and in Germany were frightened by the first independent appearance of the working class, notably when the workers were provoked to insurrection in June 1848, in Paris. That is the reason why they preferred to surrender to the old forces of absolutist reaction instead of waging a bold revolutionary struggle, which would have carried the bourgeois middle class to power, but by which the working class could have emerged as a strong and independent force.

The defeat of the Paris workers in June 1848 foreshadowed

the defeat of the bourgeois-democartic revolution in Germany, and doomed the nations fighting for their national freedom against Prussia, Austria and Tsarist Russia to a continuation of their servitude. This was the conclusion which Marx drew from the first defeat of the revolutionary forces in Paris in 1848 :

> 'Thus the peoples who had begun the fight for their national independence were abandoned to the superior power of Russia, Austria and Prussia, but, at the same time, the fate of these national revolutions was subordinated to the fate of the proletarian revolution, robbed of its apparent independence, its independence of the great social revolution. The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, as long as the worker remains a slave ! ' (*Selected Works*, Vol. I. p. 220.)

Prophetic words ! The Hungarians, Poles, Italians in fact *won* their national freedom later on, for some time even while the workers remained slaves. But experience has proved how precarious this national freedom was while the Polish, Hungarian and Italian workers were kept in bondage. And when these nations win freedom again, they will certainly, in the first place, have to give thanks for their freedom to the great fight of the only country where the workers are really free. Nor will they try again to build national power and greatness on the slavery of the working class.

German Unity in 1870

IN the revolution of 1848 and in the following years, German bourgeois democracy proved unable to solve the national question. Nor was the working-class movement which arose in the sixties able to assume leadership. F. Lassalle, who founded the first independent workers' party in Germany in 1863, was strongly influenced by Marx. But while he clearly understood the necessity of a working-class organization, independent of the bourgeois Liberal Party, he did not assume a clear-cut uncompromising attitude against the Prussian state and its leader, Bismarck. He even tried to make a deal with Bismarck, offering support for a Prussian policy in the German question, if Bismarck would grant

universal suffrage. He even dreamed of 'solving the social question' with the help of a democratically reformed Prussian monarchy. Lassalle died as early as 1864, but Lassallian influences and traditions greatly hindered the development of a truly Marxist working-class party in Germany. The weakness of the bourgeois democracy and the labour movement reflected the backwardness of the industrial and political development of Germany.

So it was the most reactionary class in Germany, the Prussian junkers, the landed aristocracy, who, led by the able and unscrupulous Bismarck, effected national unity in the German Reich by his infamous method of 'blood and iron.' First of all, he threw the Austrians out of the Reich in the war of 1866, and in this way established Prussia's supremacy over Germany. Then he provoked the war with France ; and France, led by the ambitious adventurer Napoleon III, stumbled unprepared into Bismarck's trap. The war of 1870-71 which ended in the defeat of France, in the foundation of modern imperial Germany and in the annexation of the two French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, was a fatal *turning point* not only in German history—but as events since that time have proved—in the history of Europe and the world.

Victorious Germany, entering the paths of rapid modern industrial and financial development, led by the triumphant Prussian militarist gentry, who formed an alliance with the representatives of heavy industry, became a hotbed of modern aggressive imperialism. While nationalism, up to the end of the nineteenth century in the time of the democratic revolution of the middle classes, was a progressive force, a driving force against the remnants of the middle ages, feudalism and absolutism, now a new reactionary, chauvinistic nationalism developed in Germany. This German nationalism dominated not only the capitalist class, but also the lower middle class and the intelligentsia ; it became the ideology of reactionary imperialism, which, having come late to the division of the world among the great powers, prepared for the redivision of the world by armed force, by a world war for world domination.

Lenin, who revealed the economic roots of imperialism in the

general monopolistic trend of capitalism, who certainly did not see in German imperialism *alone* the culprit of the world war of 1914, drew attention to these special circumstances which made Germany more rapacious and aggressive than other imperialist countries. In his lecture on the war, delivered in May 1917, he said :

> 'Opposed to this group, mainly Anglo-French, stands another group of capitalists, *even more predatory and more piratical*,[1] a group which came to the capitalist feasting-board when all the places had been taken, but which introduced into the struggle new methods of developing capitalist production, better technique, incomparable organization, which transformed the old capitalism, the capitalism of free competition, into the capitalism of gigantic trusts, syndicates and cartels. This group introduced the principle of State capitalist production, uniting the gigantic forces of the State into one mechanism, and amalgamating tens of millions of people in a single organization of State capitalism.' (Lenin, *War and the Workers*, Little Lenin Library, XX, p. 10.)

This is the basis of German aggressive, chauvinistic nationalism, which degenerated in our time to the bestialism of 'National-Socialism'.

Mr. Brailsford wrote in *The Left News*, February 1944 :

> 'We see in Nationalism the principle that brought us to the edge of the abyss.'

This is an example of that kind of abstract reasoning and superficial generalizing which is opposed to the spirit of Marxism and prevents real understanding of historical developments and the issues of our time. Bourgeois nationalism in imperialist countries is a very dangerous ideological weapon of the most reactionary forces, as fascism and Hitlerism have proved. But the nationalism of an oppressed people uniting the popular masses in a fight against imperialist—or in our time—fascist oppression, can be and now is one of the strongest progressive forces.

[1] My italics—*J.W.*

The Example of the Working Class in 1870-71

WHEN I say that Germany became the hotbed of the most reactionary imperialist nationalism, and that this ideology won mass influence over the German people, I do not imply that there were no counter forces. It is a fact that the German labour movement in 1870-71 valiantly and steadfastly opposed Bismarck's war policy and especially the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. The spirit of the proletarian internationalism found splendid expression at that time in mutual proclamations of solidarity exchanged between German and French socialist workers and in the famous addresses of the First International, written by Marx, in which the common views of the class-conscious workers of all countries on the war and the following events were clearly and forcefully expressed.

After the defeat of Napoleon III, the people of Paris began to organize the defence of their glorious capital. And when the treacherous government of the reactionary Thiers tried to disarm the National Guard, the people of Paris rose and constituted the Commune, which was hailed by Marx as the first attempt at a working-class government, and later on, by Lenin, as the glorious precursor of the Soviet Republic. This first workers' government in history was a splendid illustration of the Marxist idea, that proletarian internationalism, far from preventing the workers from doing their duty to their nation, enables them to become the true leaders and representatives of the nation just in the nation's most critical times. The Paris Commune was the embodiment of working-class internationalism, and at the same time a government of heroic national defence. This cannot be explained in better words than those of Marx in his *Civil War in France*:

> 'If the Commune was thus the true representative of all the healthy elements of French society, and therefore the truly national government, it was, at the same time, as a workingmen's government, as the bold champion of the emancipation of labour, emphatically international. Within sight of the Prussian army, that had annexed to Germany two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world. . . . The Commune

admitted all foreigners to the honour of dying for an immortal cause. Between the foreign war lost by their treason, and the civil war fomented by their conspiracy with the foreign invaders, the bourgeoisie had found the time to display their patriotism by organizing police hunts upon the Germans in France. The Commune made a German working man its Minister of Labour. Thiers, the bourgeoisie, the Second Empire, had continually deluded Poland by loud professions of sympathy, while in reality betraying her to, and doing the dirty work of Russia. The Commune honoured the heroic sons of Poland by placing them at the head of the defenders of Paris.' (*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 508.) There is more than one topical analogy between this glorious story of the past and what we have seen happen in our days.

II. The Struggle for National Self-Determination

THE end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century mark the transition of capitalism to a new stage. The liberal era of free competition and free trade is being replaced by the imperialist era, characterized by the domination of powerful monopolies, banks and trusts merging into finance capital, exploiting not only the working masses in their own country, but, by the methods of capital export and colonial policy, exploiting hundreds of millions of people all over the earth, mainly in the backward colonial countries.

It was Lenin, who continuing the theoretical and practical work of Marx and Engels, gave a thorough analysis of the basic contradictions and tendencies of development of this new epoch, and outlined the task of the working class under the new conditions. It was Lenin and his greatest disciple Stalin who reviewed the national question in the light of these new developments. Most of the searching articles which Lenin wrote on this problem are contained in his *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, and the

numerous enlightening contributions of Stalin to this problem are collected in *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question.*

What are the new facts of imperialism which alter the context of the national question ? The bourgeois-democratic revolution has come to a definite end in the greater part of Europe. The bourgeoisie is no longer a revolutionary force fighting against feudalism for a free development of the productive forces of modern society ; it has become, especially in the most powerful imperialistic countries, a thoroughly reactionary class, not interested in the issue of national liberation, but in imperialist expansion, conquest and exploitation of other nations. Even where semi-feudal despotism still survived and ruled over oppressed nations, as in Tsarist Russia, the Hapsburg monarchy and Turkey at the beginning of this century, these reactionary powers became more and more the instruments of modern imperialism and finance capital. In this way the connection which already existed between the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for social emancipation became even closer. For it was the same enemy that had to be fought by the oppressed nations and by the working class : imperialism, monopoly capitalism.

From this follows firstly that it is the duty of the working class to side with the oppressed nations, to support their struggle, to oppose their own ruling class where it is oppressing other nations, to support the struggle of their own nation for independence where it is one of the oppressed nations. This principle was applied by Lenin and Stalin both to the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa, and to the oppressed European nations who lived mainly in Tsarist Russia and in the Hapsburg monarchy. From the point of view of revolutionary struggle against imperialism, they propagated the principle of *national self-determination*, a principle which Marx had already proclaimed in his draft resolution for the Geneva Congress of the first International (1866). It is a basic idea of democracy that every nation has the right to decide its own economic, political and cultural questions ; no democratic case can be made for the right of any nation to rule over other nations.

Stalin, in his splendid pamphlet on the national question, written in 1913, mainly as a criticism of the opportunist views of

certain Russian and Austrian socialists, made it perfectly clear why the Austrian Social Democrats were not able to solve the national problem, while the Russian revolutionary Marxists, the Bolshevik Party, found a correct solution in theory and in practice. The Austrian Social Democrats—O. Bauer and K. Renner—defended a programme of national-cultural autonomy within the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. In Austria, the German bourgeoisie had a dominating position. The Hapsburg empire, closely allied to Germany and dependent on her, followed an aggressive policy of conquest in the Balkans against the Southern Slav peoples. Even if the oppressed nations of this empire had got all cultural rights, as many schools and universities as they desired, which they did not get, they would not have been satisfied with living in a state whose economic and foreign policy did not serve their interests and offended deeply the Slav sympathies of the Slav nations living in the Hapsburg empire. A fight for the right of self-determination would have been a fight for the overthrow of the reactionary Hapsburg monarchy, this prison of nations. But the reformist socialists of Austria were afraid of such revolutionary struggle, they wanted to reform this state, not to overthrow it. Just because of this they were not able to find a solution to the national question. This was the reason why the working-class organizations, the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions, which had been founded on an international basis, were split. The main responsibility for this lamentable state of affairs, of dissension between different bourgeois-nationalist parties, reflected in disputes, quarrels and splits in the labour movement, has to be attributed to the German Social Democrats in Austria, who did not wage an uncompromising revolutionary struggle against the oppressive policy of their own bourgeoisie.

The Bolshevik Solution

THE Bolshevik Party, however, worked for the revolutionary annihilation of Tsarist Russia, and therefore they defended the right of all nations of the old Russia, the Poles, the Finns, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, etc., to secede from Russia and to form their own national states. By such a policy all forces of national

revolution, all democratic forces of the peasantry, combined with the revolutionary struggle of the working class of Russia, both for the overthrow of Tsarism and for the final annihilation of Russian imperialism. What Lenin and Stalin had proclaimed in the years of struggle was implemented when the revolution was victorious in 1917. As early as 16th November 1917, a 'Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia', signed by Stalin as People's Commissar for National Affairs, and by Lenin as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, was published proclaiming these principles of the Soviet Government with regard to the nationalities of Russia :

'1. The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.
2. The right of the peoples of Russia to freedom of self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states.
3. Abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions whatsoever.
4. Freedom of development for the national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.'

(Lenin and Stalin—*The Russian Revolution, writings and Speeches from the February Revolution to the October Revolution* 1917, p. 255.)

The same principles are embodied in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. of 1936.

There were even true internationalists, devoted socialists, who did not understand this bold, high-principled policy. Rosa Luxemburg, the great leader of the revolutionary Left Wing of the German working-class movement, the uncompromising fighter against German imperialism and imperialist war, criticized the Bolshevik policy on the national question, and opposed the idea of the international unity of the working class against the principle of national self-determination. Especially with regard to the Polish nation, but also to the other nations oppressed by Tsarist Russia, she declared that the recognition of the right to national independence would strengthen petty-bourgeois-nationalist tendencies, weaken the revolution and lead to the disintegration of revolutionary Russia. But just the opposite happened, as Lenin and Stalin had foreseen and predicted. On the basis of voluntary

decision, clearly recognizing their common interests with the great Russian Socialist Republic, the Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Georgians and other peoples of the Caucasus, dozens of different nations, proclaimed their adherence to the Union of Socialist Republics, this model of a free union of free nations. And if the development in Poland was different and the most rabid, narrow-minded, anti-Russian bouregois nationalism could win wide mass support, this was not only the responsibility of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) leadership who deserted the cause of international proletarian solidarity, but it was partly also the fault of the truly internationalist Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, founded by Rosa Luxemburg, because this party ignored the national aspirations of the Polish popular masses and so isolated the working class from these masses.

The latest change in the constitution of the U.S.S.R., adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in February 1944 (separate Peoples' Commissariats for Foreign Affairs and for the Defence of every Union Republic), granting even greater rights to the Union Republics than before, and that in the midst of the most terrible war, is a shining proof of the correct solution of the national question found and practised by the greatest Marxists of modern times—Lenin and Stalin.

Self-Determination no Dogma

LENIN'S and Stalin's attitude to the national question cannot be correctly understood without taking into account another aspect of the Marxist approach to national movements, the principle of proletarian internationalism. Every single concrete national question should be regarded from the point of view of the general progress of human society. Therefore it would be wrong to say that Marxists must support *every* national movement and that they have to apply the principle of national self-determination as a dogma in every single case. It happens that national dissatisfaction is made use of by the most reactionary oppressive forces. In this way sometimes develop tendencies in national movements which serve absolutely reactionary purposes, e.g. the Axis Powers instigated a national insurrectionary movement in Iraq in 1940-41.

Of *course*, no Marxist could support a national movement of this kind. Japanese fascist imperialism made use of the national movements in the Far East and finds such dupes as the Indian S. C. Bose, who tries to win over the justly dissatisfied Indian masses for a policy of co-operation with, i.e. practically submission to, Japanese imperialism. Of course, Marxists are absolutely opposed to such tendencies in national movements.

Also, the right of self-determination of this or that national group has to be definitely denied if under the given conditions it would serve reactionary purposes and do a disservice to the general cause of democracy.

Therefore German and Czech anti-fascists in Czechoslovakia, in the crisis preceding the Munich agreement of 1938, strictly opposed the right of self-determination for the Sudeten-Germans which was demanded by the Hitler puppet Henlein, and supported by the Chamberlain government at that time, because they knew that granting this right under the given conditions would only serve Hitler's purpose, his war preparations, his aim for the destruction of the national existence of the Czechs, the Slovaks and dozens of other nations.

Lenin, in an article written in 1916, summing up the discussion on self-determination, explains why Marx and Engels were not in sympathy with the national aspirations of the Slav peoples of Austria in 1848-49 when the leaders of these peoples did not support the democratic revolution, but connected their cause with the Austrian monarchy and even with Tsarism, the most reactionary power in Europe of the nineteenth century. At this time Marx and Engels advocated revolutionary war against Tsarism and all its outposts in other countries. Explaining this, Lenin says :

> "If the concrete situation which confronted Marx in the epoch when Tsarist influence was predominant in international politics were to repeat itself, for instance, in such a form that a number of nations were to start a socialist revolution (as a bourgeois-democratic revolution was started in Europe in 1848) while *other* nations serve as the chief bulwark of bourgeois reaction—then we would have to be in

favour of a revolutionary war against the latter, in favour of "crushing" them, in favour of destroying all their outposts, no matter what small national movements arose there. Consequently, we must not discard examples of Marx's tactics —this would mean professing Marxism in words while discarding it in practice—we must analyse them concretely and draw invaluable lessons from them for the future. The various demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not absolute, but a *small* part of the general democratic (now general socialist) *world* movement. Possibly, in individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected.' (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 287 f.)

An invaluable lesson indeed for our time, which has almost exactly produced the conditions Lenin gave as future possibilities! There are the nations of the U.S.S.R. which have started the socialist revolution, there are other nations, mainly the *Germans*, which have become the chief bulwark of reaction, and there are outposts of this reaction, e.g. East Prussia or the so-called 'Sudetenland'. If it is necessary for the defence of democracy and socialism, we are all out for 'crushing' these outposts of German imperialist reaction however much it may hurt the national feelings of the Germans. In this sense Prime Minister Churchill was absolutely right when he proclaimed that the Atlantic Charter—i.e. mainly the principle of national self-determination—does not contain an inviolable right of the German people to the frontiers of 1938, precluding their change by the victorious democratic powers. Unfortunately, some representatives of the labour movement do not understand that a defence of the inviolability of the frontiers of Germany at the present time is a defence of the interests of the most aggressive and reactionary power. Granted this problem would assume a new aspect if a really democratic popular revolution smashed German fascism from within. But nobody knows yet how strong the anti-fascist forces of the German people, which have not been able to act since 1933, are, and whether and when they will be able to act again efficiently. But even then, after such a fundamental change in Germany's position, the fate of Germany's eastern formerly

Polish and now Germanized provinces, should not be decided with regard only to the wishes and desires of the present population of these provinces, but from the higher point of safeguarding peace and democracy in Europe and in the world.

This higher point of view was—to give another example of the same principle—very clearly applied by Lenin to the Polish question. Against the Polish Social Democrats who, under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg, denied as a matter of principle the right of the Polish nation to form an independent state, Lenin resolutely defended the right of the Polish nation to unrestricted self-determination. But, writing on this question in 1916, when the German and Austrian imperialists won the support of Polish nationalists for their imperialist war against Russia by *promises* of Polish independence, Lenin clearly stated :

> 'To be in favour of a general European war for the sake of restoring Polish independence, means being a nationalist of the worst brand, means putting the interests of a small number of Poles above the interests of hundreds of millions of people who would suffer from the war.' (*Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 296.)

In a similar way it could be said : To oppose the decision of the Teheran Conference on the Polish question, a solution of this vexed problem which helps not only to a lasting Russian Polish understanding, but removes also serious obstacles from the paths of growing solidarity between the world powers on which the prospect of lasting peace depends, certainly means putting the interests of a small number of Germans above the interests of mankind.

III. Fascism & National Oppression

HERE we are already touching the burning problems of our time. We have to analyse now the new aspects of the national problem which arose in our time, a time in which the deepest crisis and decline of modern imperialism found its expression in fascism. Fascism, representing the most reactionary, rapacious

elements of finance capital has produced new forms of national oppression more brutal and barbarous than any national oppression previously known. And this oppression is directed not only against backward colonial peoples who also have learned to fight back and to claim their right of independence. German fascism has attacked and subjugated the most highly developed modern nations, nations with a proud history and heritage, nations who have given the lead to mankind in the struggle for democracy, such as the great French nation. Moreover, peoples which have already begun the development to a higher stage of society, to socialism, like the Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians, fell for a time under the yoke of the most cruel oppression, and were threatened by extermination. A dozen European countries have been devastated and plundered, their political and intellectual leaders of resistance have been slaughtered by the thousand, millions of workers have been dragged away and forced to slavery in Germany. The whole economy of these occupied countries, as also of the satellite countries, has been put into the service of the German war machine.

The exploitation and oppression of subjugated nations by German (and also Italian and Japanese) fascism surpasses everything in the long and dismal history of imperialism so far as the scale, ruthlessness and efficiency of the methods of plunder and terrorization are concerned. Modern imperialism exploits backward countries mainly by export of capital. Railways, harbours, factories are built, capital goods are exported, certainly not in the interests of the colonial or dependent country, but in the interest of the foreign owner. While it is true that these backward countries might have had a much speedier and healthier economic development if they had acquired the methods of modern industry without foreign exploitation, nevertheless it can hardly be denied that these countries owe a certain economic progress to foreign capital. German fascism had not to resort to these old-fashioned methods. Invading countries like Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and France, with highly developed modern industrial enterprises, the Germans had no need to invest their capital for the purpose of exploiting the material resources and the labour power of the countries they conquered. They just appropriated what-

ever seemed useful to them by various methods, from direct expropriation to financial infiltration. There was some German capital investment, e.g. in Rumanian oil wells, in Australian iron works, in Cezechoslovak plants for synthetic oils, but this is not at all the essential feature of the fascist methods of robbery.

These vary from direct simple confiscation, as applied to industry and agriculture in the temporarily occupied parts of the U.S.S.R. and to a large extent in Poland, Yugoslavia and elsewhere, to the more subtle financial infiltration used in France, Belgium and in other countries where the Nazis wanted to maintain co-operation with the representatives of big business in the occupied countries.

For this purpose exorbitant occupation costs are charged and the foreign exchange acquired in this way is used for the buying of shares, factories, etc. As the occupation authorities controlled the delivery of raw materials, transport, the labour market, as they could give abundant orders for armament deliveries and had the means to prevent, suppress or at least hinder any production in which they were not interested, they easily won the key positions in the economic life of occupied countries through blackmail and bribery. In many cases, capitalists had only to choose between closing down their factory or accepting German control, either in the form of Germans being put on the board of directors, or by merging with a German trust.

Frequently, the same purpose was achieved by what the Nazis call 'Aryanization,' i.e. expelling Jews or those whom the Nazi laws denounce as 'Non-Aryans' from their position and ownership, and putting German commissars in their place. This was a favourite method in Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Furthermore, Germany's trade relations with occupied and satellite countries are barely camouflaged methods of theft. For the goods they are either forced or induced to deliver to Germany, the exporter may be paid by his government or state bank, but the Germans hardly deliver any goods in return. Trade debts accumulate, papers without value, to be paid after Germany's final victory which will never come.

According to an estimate, given by a spokesman of the Ministry for Economic Warfare, Mr. Dingle Foot, at the end of 1943,

Germany extorted directly from occupied countries £1,200 million annually, while the unpaid trade balances increased by about £500 million per annum. This is exploitation on an unprecedented scale. Germany's war reparations which were generally believed to be unbearably hard, and really contributed essentially to upsetting world trade and aggravating the crisis after the first World War, did not amount to more than £230 million annually, in 1921, and were reduced to £125 million in 1924. Altogether, in those ten years when Germany paid reparations—and she paid with the help of foreign loans which were higher than her payments—she paid about as much as she is now extorting year by year from the victims of her aggression.

To give another illustrative comparison, R. P. Dutt estimates that the annual tribute from India to Britain amounts to £135-150 million, while in older days before the development of modern imperialism, in three-quarters of a century of British rule, the total tribute did not amount to more than £150 million. (R. P. Dutt, *India Today*, p. 149.)

On the continent of Europe exploited by Nazi imperialism, there is a population of about 230 millions (occupied and satellite countries) as compared with India's 350 millions. The tribute, eleven times greater, extorted by Germany, reflects not only the much higher degree of economic development of the countries which fell under German domination, but also the much more thorough and ruthless methods of exploitation. Moreover, in the estimates given above, an essential part of the exploitation of foreign nations by German fascism is omitted : the forced labour of foreign workers deported to Germany which, prisoners of war included, amounts to many millions.

The methods of political oppression are as manifold as those of economic exploitation. They vary from the most cruel mass extermination, as applied against the Jews and millions of Soviet citizens, to the control of quisling governments which have to do the dirty work for their German overlords. But even where the German occupiers in the beginning stressed their 'correctness' and non-interference in internal affairs, as in Denmark or where German armed forces first came as allies as in Italy or Hungary, the logic of foreign domination under the conditions of total

war and exercised by the most tyrannical power in history, led to ever-growing conflicts, hardening national resistance and provoked the German occupiers to measures of increasing ferocity and brutality. Deportation to Germany, imprisonment without trial, shooting of hostages, the unspeakable atrocities of Gestapo trials and Nazi concentration camps, the suppression of all democratic and especially all independent working-class organizations, the removal of all honest and courageous representatives of the oppressed peoples from influential offices, and the installation of traitors, of base and corrupt tools of foreign masters, interference even in the most intimate matters of cultural and religious life, made German domination hated and detested throughout *enslaved Europe.*

We should visualize the appalling conditions of this most ruthless national oppression in order to understand the formidable explosive forces of national revolution which necessarily develop in the nations oppressed by fascism. It is evident that in countries such as Greece and Norway, France and Czechoslovakia, there is *one* idea uniting the widest masses of the people in a common struggle : the idea of *national* liberation, of chasing out of the country the hateful foreign invader, of punishing the fiendish oppressors and the traitors who served them, of establishing again a free democratic life so that the nations may decide their own destiny.

The National Front

THIS is the basis of the *united national front* arising in all these countries. It is clear that Marxists cannot stand outside this front. On the contrary, the fight against fascism and especially against the most reactionary and dangerous force—Hitlerite Germany—is the over-riding task of the working class and all progressive forces in our time. For there can be no progress towards socialism, and not even any successful defence of the political and social achievements of the working class in democratic countries, nor any prospect of lasting peace, if this embodiment of the most terrible forces of reaction—Hitlerism and every other form of fascism—is not crushed for ever. Therefore there is no class more

interested and more active in the struggle for national independence against fascist foreign domination than the working class, led by their Marxist party. In all these occupied countries, Marxists, the most resolute working-class fighters, were the first to organize the unity of the national forces and to develop the most active national struggle.

The most splendid example of this is seen in Yugoslavia, in the heroic fight of the National Army of Liberation led by Marshal Broz Tito, this noble son of the working class. It is enough to quote what Mr. Churchill, our great war leader, who certainly has no prejudice in favour of Marxism, but is open minded and sincere enough to acknowledge merit where it is due, said in his report to the House of Commons on February 22nd, 1944 :

> 'In the autumn of 1941 Marshal Tito's Partisans began a wild and furious war for existence against the Germans, and they wrested weapons from the German hands. They grew in numbers rapidly. No reprisals, however bloody, whether of hostages or villagers, deterred them. For them it was death or freedom. Soon they began to inflict heavy injuries on the Germans and became masters of wide regions. Led with great skill and organized on guerilla principles, they were at once elusive and deadly. They were here, they were there, they were everywhere....Not only Croats and Slovenes, but large numbers of Serbians joined with Marshal Tito.... The Communist element had the honour of being the beginners, but as the movement has increased in strength and numbers, a modifying and unifying process has taken place and national conceptions have supervened. In Marshal Tito the Partisans have found an outstanding leader, glorious in the fight for freedom....The Partisans of Marshal Tito are the only people who are doing any fighting against the Germans now.'

This is indubitably a correct picture which more or less applies to other countries too.

Characteristic features of the national liberation movements, developing in Europe at the present time, are on the one hand their comprehensiveness, the fact that representatives of all sec-

tions, classes, creeds and political outlooks take part in them, and on the other the decisive part which the politically most conscious elements of the working class play in initiating, uniting, directing and intensifying all methods of mass struggle.

Both in the leadership of the resistance movements, and among the victims of Nazi repression, we find generals and workers, clergymen and peasants, artisans, professors and students, conservatives and communists, Christians of all denominations, and Freethinkers. Real Marxists, far from creating dissensions within the national movement by raising the issue of socialism against capitalism in the present circumstances, do their best by keeping the tasks of the present national liberation struggle in the foreground, to overcome sectarian prejudices, recriminations of the past and dissensions of the future, in order to extend the national front as far as possible.

It was the communist leader Togliatti (Ercoli) who persuaded the other democratic parties of the united national front in Italy to postpone the issue of the Savoy dynasty and to accept a temporary compromise with the disgraced King Victor Emmanuel and with General Badoglio. French communists are co-operating without any reservations with patriotic army officers and with devout Catholics. The Yugoslav National Committee of Liberation, headed by the communist metal-worker, Marshal J. Broz Tito, consists of seventeen members, of whom four are communists, six liberals or independents, three representatives of the Croat Peasant Party, two Slovene Christian Socialists, one Serbian orthodox priest and one Moslem army officer.

On the other hand, Marxists do not regard national unity as an end in itself, but as a weapon of the most resolute implacable mass struggle for national liberation. They advocate a strong line against traitors and against the policy of '*attentism*': of passive waiting for liberation and reliance on the armies of the Allies: they propagate, organize and lead all forms of mass resistance, insisting on the necessity of preparing nation-wide armed insurrection which cannot arise suddenly on a given signal, but can only be the result of a series of smaller and bigger actions of partisan warfare.

The experience of the present national liberation struggle has

definitely refuted the old reformist dogma that against the modern technique of war, an armed popular struggle, a revolutionary insurrection is impossible.

The armed resistance of heroic men and women fighting for the liberation of their people, frequently with the most primitive weapons against the best-equipped and thoroughly drilled mechanized modern army, has proved effective and successful, not only in the occupied parts of the U.S.S.R. where the partisans had the organized help of the Red Army, not only in the mountains and woods of Yugoslavia, but also in closely populated modern industrial countries like France.

Also, the specific weapon of revolutionary working-class struggle, the political mass strike, has been applied successfully. In France, Belgium and Greece mass strikes thwarted the German plans of mobilization and deportation of workers. A general strike of the workers of Luxemburg was the answer to a German decree incorporating this country into the Reich. Mass strikes in Turin and Milan paved the way to the wide anti-fascist and anti-war movement which caused the downfall of Mussolini in July, 1943. A general strike of the Danish workers forced the Nazis to accept the demands of the Danish National Liberation Committee in July 1944.

Teachers in Norway who preferred imprisonment and deportation to the acceptance of the barbarous Nazi creed, students in Czechoslovakia who boldly demonstrated against the Nazis in the streets of Prague in October and November 1939, Belgian judges who steadfastly refused to bow to German interference, they all played and are playing an honourable and prominent part in the united struggle for national liberation. It is, however, the working class which emerges as the backbone, the leading and driving force within the national front.

The revolutionary workers were the first to take the field and with their organizational and political experience were best prepared for this struggle, as they had no illusions about fascism and knew it as their implacable and deadly enemy. The widest masses of the people gathered around them, all healthy elements of society, all productive classes.

The Traitors

ONLY one element is excluded : the traitors. It is important to analyse who the traitors are, from which section of the nation the Petains and Lavals, Quislings, Hachas and Nediches are derived. It is easy to discern the face of the traitor class : big monopoly capitalists, high bureaucrats and militarists, the very people who were in the leadership before the catastrophe of their nations. They were the leaders into national catastrophe.

Here we find the *fundamental change* with regard to the national question which has taken place in the epoch of declining capitalism, of imperialism and fascism. While in the nineteenth century in Europe (and even in the beginning of the twentieth century in the more backward countries like Turkey and China) the middle class was the leader in the fight for national unity and independence, and the working class, as far as it existed, supported their fight as a just and progressive movement, in our time a perilous parasitic cancer has grown out of the ruling capitalist class—monopoly capital, finance capital and their fascist agents.

This new array of class forces was clearly revealed in the Spanish war. The Spanish people fought both for their people's republic against fascist counter-revolution and for the national independence of Spain against the German and Italian armies of intervention. The Popular Front, composed of workers, peasants and lower middle class, led by the working class, defended the right of the peoples of Spain : Castilians, Catalans, Basques, etc., to build up their national life in freedom. The big landowners and monopoly capitalists, represented by the fascist generals, marched with their Moorish soldiery and the German and Italian armies of intervention against their own people.

In France the Two Hundred Families and their political agents, among whom the Lavals and Bonnets were conspicuous years before her surrender, were much more afraid of the Popular Front, of a victory of the progressive forces in Spain, of the growing influence of the U.S.S.R. in European affairs, than of German aggressive imperialism. They therefore sabotaged the alliance with the U.S.S.R., they helped German and Italian fascism to

strangle Spanish democracy by 'non-intervention,' they delivered Austria and Czechoslovakia to Hitler, they did what they could to suppress the most resolute anti-fascist force, the working class, and to disrupt the Popular Front, which would have been able to organize the defence of France against the fascist enemy inside and outside the country.

Petain and his fellow-traitors in the Vichy Government were not at all forced by military defeat to accept co-operation with the Nazis, they quite purposely and deliberately made use of military defeat, chaos and despair to impose their corrupt 'authoritarian' regime on the betrayed nation, and they utilized the backing of their German taskmaster from the beginning to suppress French democrats and patriots who did not accept surrender. The fact that in the beginning not one single bourgeois politician of influence joined de Gaulle's resistance movement was a very striking proof of the utter bankruptcy of France's traditional ruling class. Among the military leaders, de Gaulle was an exception, not Petain. But while the defeatist marshal had the solid backing of the generals and admirals, there can be no doubt that the majority of the army officers turned to de Gaulle when they began to understand the betrayal. Whether the French bankers, the owners of mines and heavy industries, the leading men of French monopoly capital liked their position as utterly dependent junior partners of Germany's gigantic trusts which ruled the economic life of occupied Europe, or not, it is clear that they accepted their position and helped their German masters to exploit French economy for the German war of conquest.

In Poland the fascist colonels who governed the country have certainly to bear full responsibility for the national disaster. These representatives of big Polish landowners and capitalists were in the camp of the Axis adventurers up to 1938 when they shared in the spoliation of Czechoslovakia. Colonel Beck and his colleagues did their best to wreck the negotiations for a British-French-Soviet defensive alliance against Hitlerite Germany which would have saved Poland and peace. They were prepared to accept the military assistance of the Red Army only on condition that this army would not enter Polish territory! After the indescribable suffering of their people under the German yoke, the representa-

tives of this class are still more interested in getting back what they stole in their heyday—Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, Lithuanian, Czechoslovak territory and their estates there—than in the liberation of their nation.

In Czechoslovakia, before the Munich catastrophe, the most powerful political party were the Agrarians, representing the leading sections of banking, industrial and agrarian capital. The leaders of this party favoured the development of the Henlein movement, Hitler's agent amongst the so-called Sudeten Germans. They sabotaged the alliance with the U.S.S.R. and advocated unconditional surrender to Hitlerite Germany. They thought their property and their privileges would be safer under German fascist rule than in a truly democratic Czechoslovak republic bound by a close alliance to the Soviet Union. A similar gang accepted 'independence' by the grace of Hitler in Slovakia.

Hitler can still use the powerful industry of Czechoslovakia for his war purposes with the help of the Czech traitors who, headed by 'President' Hacha, endeavour to keep the bureaucratic and industrial apparatus running smoothly under the guidance of their Nazi masters. While Czech workers have to pay with their lives for their efforts to disrupt Czechoslovak armament works, there are still quite a number of Czech industrialists in high and profitable positions who do what they can to keep the wheels turning.

A similar story of the betrayal of national independence, of the very existence of the nation, can be told of those fascist countries which joined Germany's robber war to get their part of the spoils, sank from allies to vassals and ended in the unenviable position of being squeezed for Germany's purposes by their formidable ally who—more or less openly—became the overlord acting like a foreign power in occupation of the country. This happened in Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Finland. In this way the Italian, Hungarian, etc. fascists, representatives of the most reactionary landed aristocracy and finance capital, who had begun their career by posing as the most radical nationalists, by kindling the nationalistic instincts of the petty bourgeoisie to unbridled chauvinism, by promising the conquest of new empires, ended as the despised lackeys of a foreign power. Their betrayal

of their respective countries is now completely exposed, and this provides the basis for a wide national front, able to win over even many former followers of fascist parties in Germany's satellite countries.

It would be wrong not to observe the differences in the development of various countries. In different countries treason has played a greater or lesser part. The sort of traitor for which Quisling has become a general name, found greater or lesser support in the ruling class. Norway, for instance, stands at the opposite end of the scale from France. Quisling was and is isolated not only from the masses of the Norwegian people, but even from the capitalist class whose sympathies were from the beginning much more with Britain than with Germany.

Besides the uppermost section of capitalists, there is another section from which the Nazis recruit their followers both at home and in the occupied countries, right at the opposite end of the social scale. This is what Marx called the 'Lumpenproletariat' (*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 369), the dregs of society, people who have lost their social standing, have no definite profession or work, adventurers, criminals, outcasts. From this rabble the fascist terror guards and the leading personnel of the fascist mass organizations are recruited to a high degree. The existence of a numerous, declassed, desperate and venal mob is characteristic of a decaying society as is the political association of the wealthy and 'respectable' gentleman on top of society with this despised underworld.

Neither should it be forgotten that there were some renegades of the labour movement in different countries who were only too ready to sell to the highest bidder their special knowledge in the fight against 'Bolshevism'. Such are Doriot, Deat, Belin in France, Henrik de Man in Belgium, a specimen of those labour 'theoreticians' who were acclaimed for overcoming 'old-fashioned' Marxism by the new ideas of the twentieth century.

Wherever the old ruling class, the top section of finance capital, have thus betrayed their nation for their narrow selfish sectional interests, they can no longer claim to be the leaders of the nation, to represent national interests, even to be a part of the nation. They have unmasked themselves as international gang-

sters without any loyalty to any nation, knowing only one loyalty, that of their pocket.

IV. National Liberation in New Europe

ON THE other hand, the working class, faithful to the principles of Marxist internationalism, becomes more and more the leading force in nations fighting for their freedom. The more the old ruling class loses its ability to secure national independence, national existence, the more the responsibility for the life and future of the nation falls upon the working class.

It is necessary to understand fully the fundamental change in class relations involved in this changed attitude of different classes. The working-class movement necessarily begins by opposing the working class to the rest of the nation. There can be no working-class movement, no struggle for social emancipation before the workers understand their specific class interests and the part they have to play in the transformation of society. At this stage of development it is essential to explain to the workers that what is generaly proclaimed as the 'national interest,' the greatness, power and wealth of the country, is in fact only the interest of their ruling class, which aims at expansion, domination, enrichment, and wants to make use of the exploited classes as catspaws for its ambitious adventures.

So the working class begins to act as a separate, definite, self-conscious class by forming its own organizations, trade unions, co-operative societies, political parties and cultural clubs, etc., opposing itself in this way not only to the capitalist class, but also to a certain degree to the middle section of society which usually follows the lead of the bourgeoisie.

But now a thoroughly different situation arises. It is not the class-conscious workers who are isolated as revolutionaries and internationalists from the mass of the people who believe in the existing order, but it is the old ruling section, the finance capitalists, the landed aristocracy, who have unmasked themselves as traitors to the nation, as leaders into disgrace and ruin. It is they

who are isolated from the masses of the nation, hated and despised, while the revolutionary workers who have proved to be unselfish, devoted, courageous, self-sacrificing fighters for the liberty of their nation, are winning universal respect and support. Their advice is followed, they win authority and leadership.

While it is a new *fact* that powerful national liberation movements develop in Europe in which not the bourgeoisie but the working class, closely connected with the whole mass of the people, plays a leading part, the *idea* that this will and must happen is not at all new. Stalin, evaluating the international importance of the October Revolution, stressed this point more than once. (*Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, pp. 65, 87ff. 222ff.)

But we find this idea already clearly expressed by Engels with regard to Poland. In his preface to the Polish translation of the *Communist Manifesto* published in 1892, he wrote:

> 'The creation of a strong independent Poland is of importance not to the Polish people alone, but to each and every one of us. . . . the Polish nobility was not able to maintain and has not been able to re-establish the independence of Poland. The bourgeoisie is becoming less and less interested in the question. Polish independence can only be won by the young proletariat of Poland, in their hands the fulfilment of this hope will be safe.'

This was written more than fifty years ago. The persistent failure of Poland's ruling class makes it still topical.

Towards a New Democracy

THE decisive part which the working class is playing in the national liberation movements is one more guarantee of the deeply progressive, truly democratic character of these movements.

Now we can already see how in the countries emerging from the nightmare of German fascist foreign domination a new type of democracy is arising. In those countries where there was either a semi-fascist or even fascist dictatorship which prepared the way for the national catastrophe—as in Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece—or an imperfect democracy which left real power to the repre-

sentatives of finance capital, who proved unable and unwilling to defend national independence as in France or Czechoslovakia, liberation from the German yoke will certainly not mean a return to the old conditions, but the establishment of a true democracy in which the will of the people will prevail.

The clearest pattern of this new people's democracy is seen in Yugoslavia. In every village and town liberated by Tito's army local committees have been elected on the basis of the most universal suffrage from which only the traitors of the nation were excluded. These national liberation committees, in which naturally those who had done most in the liberation struggle held the most influential positions, assumed full administrative and political authority. On a similar basis regional committees and finally the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation as the supreme legislative and executive organ were elected. The presidium of this council appointed the National Committee of Liberation, the provisional government which is responsible to the Anti-Fascist Council.

In this way a new state apparatus arises, built upon the full decision of the popular masses which take part in the liberation struggle. Nothing will be left of the old repressive bureaucratic and militaristic dictatorial state machine, built up by King Alexander and his followers, who ended by ignominiously surrendering to Axis pressure and signing the Tripartite Pact. The remnants of this old dictatorial state machinery are used by the puppets of German imperialism—Nedich, Pavelich and Mihailovich.

Marx, writing on the lessons of the Paris Commune, said that the smashing of the old bureaucratic-military state machine and its substitution by a fundamentally new one 'is essential for every real people's revolution on the Continent.' (*Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, p. 123, quoted and lucidly interpreted by Lenin in *State and Revolution, Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 36ff.)

In this sense the national revolutions in Europe will certainly be 'real people's revolutions.' The efforts to save as much as possible of the old repressive state machine—this is the essence of the policy of 'Darlanism'—will certainly fail in all those coun-

tries where this machine has become an instrument serving the hated foreign oppressors.

A similar development to what we already see emerging in Yugoslavia is clearly foreshadowed also for Czechoslovakia. President Benes, addressing the State Council on February 3rd, 1944, gave these directions and this forecast :

> "To carry out our struggle at home in the present phase of the war and to ensure a final transition to our new, free, national fully democratic regime, it is proposed that every parish, village, town and district in the homeland shall set up a National Committee of citizens elected by all, and these shall be duly authorized to perform their task. After the fall of the Nazi dictatorship, these committees could constitute the first democratic machinery to exercise political and administrative authority, the moment German power collapses. ....In addition to local and district national committees, there would be elected regional committees, and from these a temporary revolutionary all-national assembly for the supervision of the first home government after the war and for the united organization of national and state affairs at the time of the change-over and in the coming period.' (*Czecho-Slovak Policy for Victory and Peace*, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 45.)

And K. Gottwald, the leader of the very influential Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, wrote in an article published in February 1944 :

> 'It is clear that in the liberated Republic the people will not allow that group of financial, industrial and agrarian capital which betrayed the Republic before to return to power. Power must belong to an alliance of workers, peasants, small traders and intellectuals....the working people of Czechoslovakia must rule in their country by their elected representatives and must not be the fifth wheel on the car as they were under the old regime of party coalition.' (Translated from *Nove Ceskoslovensko*, London, February 26th, 1944.)

The National Question in Germany

IT would be fundamentally wrong to identify the situation of those nations who are waging a holy war for their national liberation with the situation of the German people who in their great majority followed their fascist rulers, partly with fanatical determination, partly in meek obedience, into the most reactionary and criminal war of conquest history has ever known. Nor can the underground resistance of heroic German anti-fascists, who are still only a minority and who have not yet succeeded in organizing wide and effective mass actions, be compared with the national resistance struggle in occupied countries in which the great masses of the people take a more or less active part, and which in some countries has already reached the stage of armed mass insurrection. But the general idea, that in the present time the fascist monopolist section of the capitalist class has become a mortal danger to the very existence of the nation, and that the working class is called upon to unite the nation in the fight for its salvation, applies most emphatically to the German nation. Only people without conscience and reason, blinded by their selfish lust for power and wealth, could believe that Germany would be led to greatness by robbing dozens of countries, waging war with the most inhumane methods, against all humanity, and by an attempt to impose upon the whole world the unbridled dictatorship of the gang who had destroyed the foundations of democracy and of civilization itself in their own country.

Germany's monopoly capitalists, the kings of iron, coal and steel, the big landowners and the magnates of the Chemical Trust, in setting up Nazi dictatorship and in hurling Germany into this war, have driven the German nation into the worst catastrophe that ever befell a great country. Their manhood killed by the million, their towns pulverized, hated and despised by all other nations, their cultural heritage in ruins, their most honest and progressive people executed, tortured, driven out of the country, their youth perverted, their economy ruined, they are now faced with a defeat the like of which the world has never seen.

This is where the once great German nation has been led by unscrupulous profiteers who made the Nazi gangsters masters of

Germany. Salvation from this catastrophe is only possible if the masses of the people unite against their rulers, against the robber war, join the just cause of the United Nations and win freedom and the way back to a civilized existence in the community of nations by the complete destruction of Hitlerism and German imperialism. This is the aim of the National Committee of 'Free Germany' which was constituted in Moscow in July 1943 and consists of exiled working-class leaders and of patriotic officers and soldiers who have at last understood that the national interests of the German people demand an uncompromising fight against Hitlerism and all it stands for.

This German peace movement is in this sense also a national movement uniting the most diverse class tendencies and creeds. But it is clear that this movement would be impossible without the initiative, experience, political understanding and fighting courage of those revolutionary workers who never surrendered to fascism, who under incredible hardships and sacrifices carried on the underground struggle for eleven years and who are now the unifying and driving force in the last-hour efforts of German patriots to end the war by a nation-wide insurrection.

National Revolution and International Peace Order

WHILE we see powerful progressive and democratic forces being engendered by the national liberation movements, some people are afraid that these movements aiming at national independence may prevent an effective and stable international order. There is a powerful trend of public opinion both in Great Britain and in the United States which denounces the idea of forming again small sovereign national states as reactionary or impracticable, and proposes various schemes of federations, confederations, federal unions, etc. All these blue prints are either illusory or reactionary or both. Their basic fault is that they do not take into account the realities of the present situation. While millions of men are fighting and dying to regain the right of their nation to decide its own future, these planners of all kinds of federations group and regroup nations according to their fancy like children playing with bricks.

Against these phantasies the resolutions of the Moscow and Teheran conferences quite correctly put the idea of a new system of collective security based on firm solidarity of the leading great democratic powers and of the principle of 'sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, large or small.' While it is hopeless to propose an artificial unity of nations which are fighting each other at present, a new solidarity arises just by the common fight against the common enemy.

The struggle for national liberation not only engenders burning hatred against the oppressors, but also firm solidarity between those who share the burdens and the sacrifices of the struggle. Old national hatreds are being overcome by the common struggle, and a new foundation for a community of nations living in peace and friendship is being laid.

The most splendid example of this—apart from the U.S.S.R. — is again Yugoslavia. The semi-fascist state of King Alexander and his followers was undermined by the oppressive policy of Serbian reactionaries who did not recognize the equal rights of the other peoples constituting the state. But in the common struggle, led by Marshal Tito, all the old controversies, rivalries, suspicions and hatreds have been swept away. A firm unity of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bosnians, Montenegrins has been established, based on the perfect equality of these nations which are equally represented in the military and political leaderships of the liberation movement.

In November 1943 the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation decided in its meeting at Jajce, 'On the basis of the right of all nations to self-determination, including union with or secession from other nations' to build up the new Yugoslavia on a federal principle which will ensure full equality to all nations of Yugoslavia. All their rights will be secured also to the national minorities of Yugoslavia. (*New Yugoslavia*, published by The United South Slav Committee in London, p. 12. ff.)

This is again a splendid example of that combination of devoted struggle for the liberty of one's own nation with the truly international understanding of the equal rights of other nations, which is characteristic of the most progressive class of modern society. In the country where the national liberation struggle

has been waged most resolutely, efficiently and successfully—Yugoslavia—we do not find any national narrowness, any national prejudices. On the soil of this martyred country, scene of the indescribable brutalities of national oppression by German, Italian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Croat and Serbian fascists, we see the resurrection of one of the finest embodiments of international solidarity. International units, similar to the glorious International Brigades of the Spanish War, reappear in Tito's Army of National Liberation. Italian, Hungarian, Austrian and German anti-fascists fight in the ranks of this glorious army.

Stalin on the Tendencies of Development in the National Question

SO THE fight for national freedom and independence is not at all in contradiction with a general tendency to closer solidarity, community, union and, finally, fusion of nations. But it is essential to understand the dialectics of the process by which a closer association of nations arises. We find a deep analysis of this process in Stalin's 'Thesis on National Factors in Party and State Development,' written in 1923. (*Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 137ff.) Here Stalin argues that the tendency of modern capitalism to internationalize the means of production and gradually to merge vast territories into a single connected whole is a progressive process, in so far as it is creating the material conditions for a future world socialist economic system. But under the domination of imperialism this process is developing by means of the subjection of certain peoples by others, by means of the oppression and exploitation of less developed peoples by more developed peoples. Therefore side by side with the tendency to amalgamate there grew up a tendency to destroy the violent forms assumed by this amalgamation, a struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed colonies and dependent nationalities from the imperialist yoke.

> 'Inasmuch as the latter tendency implied a revolt of the oppressed masses against imperialist forms of amalgamation, inasmuch as it demanded the amalgamation of peoples on the basis of collaboration and voluntary union, it was and is a

progressive tendency, for it is creating the psychological conditions for the future world socialist economic system.'

From this it follows that all and every form of compulsion in relations to the nationalities should be repudiated and the principle should be recognized that a durable amalgamation of peoples can be accomplished only on a basis of collaboration and voluntary consent.

There you find the answer to the advocates of Federal Union and similar projects.

At the present time the most intolerable amalgamation of nations by violence has been effected in Europe by German fascism. A few big German banks and trusts like the Hermann Goering Works, I.G. Farben, etc. dominate the economic life of a dozen European countries, while the Gestapo and Wehrmacht keep them in the framework of one political unity, the unity of the so-called 'New Order'. This unity of gangsterism has to be broken by force. The war of the United Nations and the national revolution of the oppressed nations will break this unity into pieces. Accordingly the next step is not a merger of nations in one state, but the resurrection of those national states which were annihilated by brute force. In this common struggle, however, a new solidarity of nations arises, a firm alliance, and when and where the conditions are ripe, closer unions of nations are also possible. But freedom, sovereignty of every nation, great or small, is the first precondition for its closer association and peaceful collaboration with other nations. This basic idea was already clearly pronounced by Engels when he wrote in the preface to the Polish edition of the *Communist Manifesto* published in 1892 :

> 'Sincere international co-operation of European nations is only possible if each of these nations is perfectly autonomous in its own home.' (Translated from the German Edition of the *Manifesto*, Moscow, 1939.)

Summary

CONCLUDING our short survey of some leading topical aspects of the national question, we sum up :

1. Modern nations arose with modern capitalism, chiefly by the victory of buorgeois-democratic revolutions. Marxists regarded this as a historically progressive movement and generally supported the struggle for national unity and independence.

2. In doing so they never forgot the higher principle of proletarian internationalism and subordinated every single national cause to the greater cause of international progress towards democracy and socialism.

3. With the transition of capitalism to the stage of imperialism the capitalist class ceases more and more to be the leader in the fight for national freedom. In the imperialist countries it becomes interested in imperialist expansion, conquest and exploitation while in nationally oppressed countries a part of the bourgeoisie collaborates with the foreign oppressors. The working class on the other hand maintains solidarity with the fight of oppressed nations for national liberty inasmuch as this fight is part of the struggle against imperialist reaction.

4. With the advent of fascism national oppression by imperialism reached its peak, creating the most unbearable conditions and provoking great national movements throughout Europe. While essential parts of the old ruling class betray the cause of national independence, the working class becomes more and more the unifying, driving and leading force in the national liberation struggle.

5. The U.S.S.R. gives a splendid example of the theoretical and practical solution of the national question based on the principles of Marxism.

Two Important Publications

Marxism and the Question of Nationalities

by J. Stalin **(Second Edition).** **Price 12 annas.**

These writings are selected from a collection of articles and speeches by Stalin published in England under the title **Marxism And The National And Colonial Question.**

This selection will give the reader a good idea about the basic teaching of Marxism on the question of nationalities. It answers such questions as "What is a nation?", "Have nations always existed or are they the product of a definite historical epoch?", "What is meant by the right of nations to self-determination?", etc.

From this book we also get an idea how the complex question of national self-determination was solved in Socialist Russia by the consistent application of Marxist teaching on the question resulting in the unbreakable union of 16 Soviet Republics of today which have demonstrated their living unity during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union.

Indispensable for all who want to understand the complex question of nations and national self-determination. And no patriotic party can solve our own problems without a proper understanding of this question.

Articles On India

by Karl Marx **(Second Edition).** **Price One Rupee.**

Karl Marx's articles on India, written in 1853, retain all their analytic vitality and importance to this day. In these articles Marx lays bare the predatory destructive role of British capital in India which forcibly destroyed the old self-sufficient village economy of the country and uprooted the old society.

Marx shows at the same time how British Imperialism in its own interest had to perform a "regenerative" role also, laying down the material premises for the future new society. He draws the consequent practical conclusion of the necessity of a political transformation whereby the Indian people should free themselves from imperialist rule in order to build the new society.

The book contains a 20-page introduction by Rajni Palme Dutt which sums up Marx's analysis of the Indian problem in the light of today's situation.

Write to :

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Raj Bhuvan,
Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY 4

SEND YOUR ADVANCE FOR

MARXIST MISCELLANY

MARXIST MISCELLANY is a series published by People's Publishing House; during the last six months, four volumes have been published; and the Fifth is in the Press.

MARXIST MISCELLANY contains important studies of national and international life, written from the point of view of Marxism, of scientific socialism.

In its first three volumes we have already given:

* A penetrating study of the problem of India's Sterling Balances, by the well-known Communist Trade Union Leader, B. T. Ranadive.

* Several exclusive studies of the post-famine epidemic situation in Bengal.

* A brilliant article by a Chungking contributor on the internal set-up in the Kuomintang.

* Article by world-renowned working-class leaders like Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Minister of Justice, Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communists, Mao Tse-tung, leader of China's 90 million free people.

We aim to give you in the future still more authoritative, objective and basic articles on burning problems facing our people and the world.

* No political worker who wants to learn from life what he must do to free his country can do without it.

* No patriotic intellectual who wants to keep up with the fast-changing world can do without it.

* The number of copies we can print is limited. The only way you can make sure of your copy is by taking advantage of our special offer. For Rs. 9|- we will post to you direct (post free) the next six volumes of MARXIST MISCELLANY as they come out.

Write to:

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Raj Bhuvan,
Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY 4

लाल बहादुर शास्त्री राष्ट्रीय प्रशासन अकादमी, पुस्तकालय
L.B.S. National Academy of Administration, Library
मसूरी
MUSSOORIE
यह पुस्तक निम्नाँकित तारीख तक वापिस करनी है।
This book is to be returned on the date last stamped

दिनांक Date	उधारकर्त्ता की संख्या Borrower's No.	दिनांक Date	उधारकर्ता की संख्या Borrower's No.

914.97
Cha

अवाप्ति सं० 113480
ACC. No. 10880

वर्ग सं. पुस्तक सं.
Class No. Book No.
लेखक
Author... Chattopadhyaya, S.
शीर्षक
Title... I saw Yugoslavia.

914.97 10880
Cha

LIBRARY
LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI
National Academy of Administration
MUSSOORIE

Accession No. 113480

1. Books are issued for 15 days only but may have to be recalled earlier if urgently required.
2. An over-due charge of 25 Paise per day per volume will be charged.
3. Books may be renewed on request, at the discretion of the Librarian.
4. Periodicals, Rare and Reference books may not be issued and may be consulted only in the Library.
5. Books lost, defaced or injured in any way shall have to be replaced or its double price shall be paid by the borrower.