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The New Spring in the Soviet Union

When, at the commencement of last winter, the first Five-Year Plan was successfully completed in four years, the international bourgeoisie and especially its social-democratic agents were filled with terror. The whole of the capitalist world is shaken by a devastating economic crisis unprecedented in history. Millions and millions of the best workers are thrown out on to the street, and the whole of the working class is subjected to monstrous wage reductions; millions of workers and artisans are ruined. And why all this suffering? Because the working population in the capitalist countries are living in a society in which production is carried on not in order to satisfy the requirements of the members of this society, but solely in order to produce profits for a relatively small handful of capitalists.

At the same time we see in a single country, in the Soviet Union, a system of production having as its object not exploitation, not the production of profit, but the satisfaction of the requirements of all members of society, before all, of those who are engaged in actual work, in short, a socialist method of production which has stood the test on a world-historical scale. And how magnificently it has stood this test! Although the Five-Year Plan was something absolutely new in history, although it was undertaken in an industrially backward country, without skilled workers, without accumulated wealth, and although the whole work of construction took place amidst hostile surroundings and under the combined pressure of sabotage and threat of war, so

that those who were engaged in this work of construction had to work with a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other, in spite of everything this socialist construction proved enormously successful. In an incredibly short space of time, it has accomplished an unparalleled transformation of economy, freed the workers from the scourge of unemployment, secured their material advancement, and transformed them mentally into new men. And all those who derive advantage from the capitalist system of society were compelled to ask themselves: will the workers of the other countries not rise up and, following the example of the Russian workers, put an end to capitalist exploitation?

But, as always when capitalism and its apologists find themselves in a tight corner, *Mr. Trotzky* hastened to their aid. Because the greatest difficulties had to be overcome in the sphere of agriculture, and they could not be completely overcome also in the time of the carrying out of the first Five-Year Plan, and because in the course of the year 1932 the industrial apparatus had to be employed for months in preparing for defence against hostile attacks which threatened, and could not produce sufficient goods in order to supply the masses with articles of consumption, *Trotsky* put forward the thesis: The collectivisation policy has ruined agriculture; it cannot feed the workers and the latter cannot produce industrial articles of consumption either for themselves or for the peasants. Consequently, the Five-Year Plan and also the Soviet Union is bankrupt!

This thesis was widely promulgated by the bourgeoisie and its hirelings, the social democracy. Like Trotzky, they also made fun about the main causes of the difficulties: the temporary switching over of industry to producing means of defence owing to the threats on the part of the enemy abroad, and the wrecking activity of the enemy at home. These, they declared, were only Stalin's scapegoats. In particular, however, they exaggerated the difficulties to the utmost in order to keep back from the fight the hungry workers, who looked longingly at the way which the working people of the Soviet Union have followed, and to make out to them that there was no material progress in the Soviet Union, but on the contrary, poverty and misery. And the aged *Kautsky* even went so far as to write with shaky hand in the scientific organ of the Austro-Marxists, that the collapse of the Soviet Union, so often prophesied by him, would now finally take place in the spring of 1933, and that he, the old man, cherished but one wish, namely, to live to see this!

Spring came, and as if with a wave of the hand the spectre vanished. The collective farms, which had been declared to be dead, awoke to a new life. The leading economic journal of the British bourgeoisie, the "Economist," in its issue of June 3, writes:

"The substitution of a fixed 'tax in kind' for the previous method of arbitrary requisitioning has given the collectivised peasant new heart, since he now knows that if he works hard and obtains a good harvest he will be secure in his enjoyment of the surplus. At the same time, the authorities have abandoned their policy of indiscriminate coercion of recalcitrant collectives and are endeavouring to offset the blandishments of the 'kulak' elements by a propaganda drive, aimed at demonstrating to the peasants that they have a greater certainty of eventual wealth if they cultivate collectively than if they cultivate individually and that their material future lies in their own hands. Whatever the cause, it is certainly true that the sowings of spring grain are greatly in excess even of the record year of 1930, while it is also claimed that cultivation and sowing have been more thorough. The aspect of the winter grain is good. Provided weather conditions are reasonably favourable the harvest should at least be well up to the average, in which case any repetition of this winter's difficulties will be avoided."

It should be noted that these lines were written by an enemy with exceedingly sharp eyes.

In the same number of the "Economist" we find a second important statement regarding the Soviet Union. In a detailed report by its Moscow correspondent we read:

"There has been visible improvement in the supply of manufactured goods. Incredible as it may seem to anyone who has known the acute goods shortage which has prevailed in Russia for many years and which was especially intensified under the Five-Year Plan, one can now see considerable stocks of unsold wares, such as shoes, suits, furniture, etc., in the Moscow shops. There is even talk of a 'sales crisis'; and customers, formerly only too glad to obtain anything which might be offered, are becoming more particular in selecting their purchases."

And finally, another passage from the same number of the "Economist":

"Kharkov, the capital city of the Ukraine, has been practically rebuilt since 1929. In the street in which I lived, Pushkinskaya, every other building is new. Where the old buildings were sufficiently imposing to be preserved, new storeys have been added. There are new offices, new shops, new schools, new institutes, new hospitals, new crèches, new workers' flats. By the side of a fourteen-storey House of Industry a giant House of Co-operation is nearing completion, and an equally vast House of Projects is under way. A new theatre has been started, which when completed will rival the Great Theatre in Moscow, and a fine new post office has been set up near the station. Outside the old town, a new city of factories and flats has grown up. The famous Kharkov tractor factory employs and houses eleven thousand workers and turns out a tractor every five and a half minutes; four

years ago its site was a bare field. Exactly the same constructional phenomena are visible in Moscow. Moreover, the towns undoubtedly have a more Western aspect than in 1929; a great increase has occurred in the number of motor-cars and bicycles and there are far fewer of the old-fashioned cab-drivers or *izvostchiki*. Most of the motor-cars and lorries are now turned out from the Soviet's own factories; for example, the A.M.O. works at Moscow. Automatic traffic signals have been installed at most crossings and asphalt has continued to take the place of cobbles. All these things are very striking and constitute an impressive monument to the Plan. . . ."

These reports and expressions of opinion have not been written by a friend of socialist construction, as is to be seen from the whole nature of his report and criticism. No, not a friend, but a clever opponent speaks here, who considers it best to look facts in the face. And therefore his statements, inadequate as they are, are all the more valuable to us.

Those who observe the historical events in the Soviet Union not with the eyes of a social-democratic philistine who is incapable of imagining that a house that is being built, which is still full of rubbish and instead of windows has only gaping window holes, will shortly be a comfortable and convenient dwelling; who are aware that anything really great can only be accomplished by means of a struggle, that sacrifices have to be made even by the victor, but still more by the vanquished; who have recognised that not only complete success but also the way to it, difficult as it may be, has something tremendously elevating in it—for such the victory of socialist construction was long since decided, even before these tremendous immediate successes, which are now recognised by representatives of the bourgeoisie, had been achieved. They now show, however, even to the most simple worker, that the only correct way to his emancipation is that which has been taken by the working class of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party, and which it is still unswervingly following. But in addition, they show that, whilst in the capitalist countries the basis of the supply of goods to the workers is becoming narrower like a spiral, in the Soviet Union this basis is becoming ever broader like a reversed spiral.

The spokesman of capitalism, who prophesied that this spring would witness a crisis in the Soviet Union, certainly held up for the capitalist countries the prospect of the end of the crisis, the commencement of a revival, a reduction of unemployment, cessation of wage cuts. With the spring the world economic crisis became more acute. It overthrew the dollar; the all-round cutting down of unemployment relief was continued; pressure on wages increased; political reaction was intensified in nearly every country.

One would think, after all this it should not be difficult for the workers of the whole world to choose the path taken by the proletariat of the Soviet Union: through struggle to victory over the exploiters, and through work and sacrifice to the victory of socialist construction. There is no doubt that the pressure of the crisis and of political reaction on the one side, and the shining example of progress in the Soviet Union on the other side, will open the eyes of millions and millions of workers and convert them into active revolutionary fighters against capitalist exploitation.

In the meantime, we must not forget for a moment that capitalism still holds some strong trumps. If the revolutionisation of the working class does not proceed rapidly enough, the bourgeoisie may try their luck in an imperialist war, and still more in a war of intervention. There is no doubt that it depends very much on our work whether it will come to that, and not least upon our work in propagating the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

It is a counter-revolutionary lie to say that the German, not to mention the international, proletariat has been beaten. No, in the fight which it is conducting against fascist reaction, it is acquiring the tremendous forces which it needs for its world-historical victory. The shining example of the Soviet Union will increase these forces until they become irresistible.

From the Soviet Union there comes to us the sound of a joyful song of Spring. Let us see to it that it is heard by the exploited and oppressed of the whole world.

Politics

The World Economic Conference

By L. Magyar

9th June, 1933.

In 1928 the total world commodity turnover was valued at 247.5 milliard Marks. In 1929, the year of greatest "prosperity," it rose to 253.3 milliard Marks. In 1932 its value was 97.2 milliard Marks, that is to say, the value of world trade has depreciated by 61.7 per cent.

During the first few months of 1933 the shrinking of the world market continued in leaps and bounds and at the moment the world trade turnover is about a third what it was in 1929.

This tremendous drop in world trade figures was caused by the collapse of price levels, but not by that alone. The quantity of goods on the world market has also declined. The export of capital from the most important capitalist countries has practically ceased, and this was a further cause of the drop in world trade.

The world economic crisis had a tremendously destructive effect in regard to economic relations both with regard to the export and the import of goods, and the export and import of capital. The destruction of the unity of the commodity and capital world market as a consequence of the world economic crisis had its effects in turn on the crisis itself and intensified it.

The more the world market shrinks the more intense becomes the crisis in the capitalist countries, and the more intense the struggle for a share in world trade. Never in history has the struggle of the capitalist countries for an active trade and payments balance taken on such sharp forms as it does at present. The essence of the trade policy of all capitalist governments is to reduce imports as far as possible and to increase exports as far as possible in order to obtain the largest possible favourable trade balance.

The role and the importance of the foreign market as compared with the home market are different for the different capitalist countries. On an average Great Britain has exported from 23 to 25 per cent. of its total production to foreign markets, including the colonies and the dominions. Germany exported an average of from 18 to 20 per cent. of its production. The very low capacity of the home market determined by the colonial standard of living and the semi-feudal agrarian structure means for Japan that it must export a high percentage of its production, from 26 to 28 per cent. The comparatively high absorbing capacity of the home market in the United States prior to the world economic crisis meant that the United States had to export no more than from 8 to 10 per cent. of its production. However, the more the world economic crisis reduces the capacity of the home market the more urgent becomes the question of winning new foreign markets, and at the same time of dominating the home market with monopolies in favour of home industries and home agriculture. At the same time, the imperialist States are faced more urgently with the question of securing a monopolist exploitation of their own colonial markets and winning the colonial markets of the other imperialist Powers.

This explains the trade and customs war being conducted with all possible means between the imperialist countries. This trade and customs war is the precursor of a new imperialist war for the re-division of the world.

The fires of this new imperialist war have already been lit in the Far East and in South America.

Attention must be paid to the fact that this trade and customs war is being carried on at a time when both the world market and the home markets are shrinking. The relative positions of the individual Powers have improved or deteriorated, but world trade as a whole has decreased by 62 per cent. during the course of the last four years and the bitter war being conducted by the imperialists is aimed at getting a little larger share of the remaining 38 per cent. Each capitalist country is doing its best with all possible means to protect its own home market. In England this is called a striving towards the unity of Empire, that is to say, a striving towards a re-creation of the old monopolist position of English capital in the English colonies. However, France also seeks to protect its colonial markets from its imperialist rivals, and in fact the relative quota of French production exported to the French colonies rose from 18 per cent. in 1925 to 29 per cent. at the present time. It is clear that French capitalism is also interested in the unity of Empire and that it will now hold its imperial conference

along the lines of the Ottawa conference. Japan has already torn out a living piece of China from the mother body inhabited by from 40 to 45 million people. Japan has depreciated its currency by 60 per cent. and is conducting a social and currency dumping of unparalleled intensity on all markets, and in particular on the eastern markets where it is trying to compensate itself for its losses to England and the United States in the Chinese market; for in the Chinese market the relative share of Japan has dropped from 28 to 16 per cent., whilst the relative share of the United States has risen from 16 to 29 per cent. This policy is described in Japan as the application of the Monroe Doctrine to Asia, that is to say, by violence and dumping Japan is trying to obtain a monopoly position in the whole of Asia. In Germany the trade policy is known as "national autarchy." In the United States Roosevelt's name for it is "economic nationalism." The essence of this policy is to strive to monopolise the home market as far as possible whilst at the same time to secure monopolies on the greatest possible number of foreign markets. Capitalist autarchy is just as much an economic contradiction as "empire unity," "economic nationalism," a "closed Asiatic economic system," and so on. In reality, behind all these slogans is the struggle for the re-division of the world and the economic preparation for the new imperialist war, the new armed intervention against the Soviet Union. The import ban on Soviet goods proclaimed by the British government is nothing but a link in a chain.

Since the world economic crisis has also destroyed the unity of the capitalist monetary and credit system and led in fifty countries to a depreciation of currencies, the currency war has become one of the sharpest weapons in the struggle for markets. A real gold currency exists now only in France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland. In Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary and Austria there exists a fictitious gold standard only and the currency quotations are maintained solely by various administrative and trade measures. Great Britain, Japan, the United States and about 45 other countries have already depreciated their currencies. The pound has lost about 25 per cent. of its original value, the dollar about 18 per cent., and the Yen about 60 per cent. At the moment the big imperialist countries are competing with each other as to which of them can depreciate its currency most thoroughly. The English Chancellor of the Exchequer has a fund of about 345 million pounds sterling at his disposal, with the assistance of which he has to hold the sterling rate down as low as possible. The Roosevelt government in the United States has received the power to emit 3.5 milliard dollars in order to depreciate the currency of the country although it has enormous gold reserves (3.5 milliard dollars), an active trade balance and an active payments balance. In the United States only the deficit in the State budget and the crisis of the bank system, which is connected with the general economic crisis, have produced an inflation and it is therefore particularly difficult for the government of the United States to hold the dollar quotations down at a low level. And this is the reason why the American Congress has given the President the power to carry out a devaluation of the dollar down to 50 per cent.

In Germany, France, Italy and other countries the inflationist policy meets with great socio-political hindrances. The petty-bourgeoisie, the working class and the peasantry of these countries have already experienced the pleasures of an inflation, and a new inflation in Germany for instance would deal the fascist government there a tremendous blow. The lowest rungs in the currency scale are occupied by countries with a silver currency, for instance, India and China and countries like Persia, Abyssinia, the Malay Islands and a number of South American States where silver currency is the internal standard of value. The 60 per cent. depreciation in the price of silver has tremendously reduced the purchasing power of these countries which are in fact the greatest potential markets.

The United States is now trying to raise the price of silver in order to increase the purchasing power of the eastern and other colonial markets, although at the same time an increase in the price of silver would naturally still further diminish the already strongly reduced export possibilities of these countries.

When the United States tried to raise the price of grain, Canada exploited the opportunity to dispose of its grain at higher prices at the cost of the United States. Brazil is regulating the price of coffee, although this process demands tremendous sacrifices, and at the same time nine other coffee-producing countries in South America are profiting by it. The attempts of the United

States to raise the price of silver have met with certain results, but those who own the silver, chiefly England, India and China, have exploited the opportunity in order to get rid of their supplies. That is the "fang and claw" law of capitalist competition.

The experts' committee of the League of Nations which was appointed by the latter to prepare the World Economic Conference proposed in a report that all customs limitations should be removed and that world trade should be facilitated in every possible way in order to overcome the world economic crisis. This committee is also of the opinion that without a currency stabilisation world trade cannot be restored. It is in favour of an increase in the price of silver, of an increase in general price levels, and economic credit-granting on a world scale.

In the present situation in which a fierce struggle for markets is proceeding, an international Customs agreement is a hopeless business. England will not be prepared to relinquish Ottawa, that is to say its attempts to re-establish its monopoly position in its own colonies. On the other hand, the United States and other imperialist Powers do not dream of abandoning the struggle to recover their old positions. Japan will not agree to abandon its military and economic assault on the eastern markets, whilst England and the other imperialist Powers are not prepared to stand Japan's dumping. Germany is closing its frontiers as far as possible to goods from outside, and at the same time it is waging a desperate struggle for an active balance of trade. The United States has been forced back into the second place, but just for this reason it has now depreciated its currency in order to be able to win back its earlier position.

An international agreement concerning the stabilisation of currencies? It must not be forgotten that the stabilisation of currencies after the first round of wars and revolution was nothing but the result and one of the expressions of the temporary stabilisation of capitalism. A whole series of countries are at the moment simply not in a position to stabilise their currencies even if they wanted to, for the depreciation of their currencies was brought about by a series of internal and external causes which cannot be abolished so long as the present crisis conditions prevail throughout the world. England seems to be prepared to agree to a fixing of the pound and the dollar at a relative value of 1:4, but the United States demands a rate of 1:3½. Japan declares itself prepared to stabilise the Yen, provided the other countries are prepared also to agree to a fixing of the relative values of the pound, dollar and Yen at the existing rate. Whilst those countries which have still maintained the Gold Standard either actually or in appearance demand that their competitors return to the Gold Standard.

An international agreement concerning the increase of general world price levels? But the drop in price levels is the result of certain economic causes; it is a logical result of the crisis. It will therefore be extremely difficult to abolish the effect so long as the cause still remains. An inflation would, or could naturally produce a rise in price levels, although both in England and Japan price levels on the home market have not risen to even approximately the same degree as the depreciation of the currency. However, the rise in prices during an inflation is not a real increase and therefore this is obviously not what is meant.

The leaders of the bourgeois world want, apparently, to stabilise currencies and at the same time increase prices. But price regulation under capitalist conditions is a hopeless matter. As is known, even monopolist prices have had to suffer under the crisis. What is the point at issue when the representatives of the big capitalist countries speak of raising general price levels? Obviously they aim at international agreements between the great monopolist associations. But there have already been enough attempts throughout the crisis to regulate price levels by international monopolist agreements. And the result was that the world economic crisis has encouraged monopoly formation within the various countries, but on an international scale has led to the breaking up of a number of international cartels, whilst very few monopolist international agreements were concluded or renewed during the period of crisis. The struggle between the monopolist associations has been considerably intensified and no World Economic Conference will be able to make this fact non-existent. A regulation of prices on a world scale presupposes a regulation of production on a world scale. Is such a thing possible? Yes, it certainly is, but not on a capitalist basis. Only international socialism can do that.

It is characteristic of the almost incredibly low level, the bank-

ruptcy in fact, of bourgeois science on the field of political economy that the most prominent economists and experts of the bourgeoisie propose to overcome the biggest and most intense of all world economic crises with measures which affect the sphere of circulation only. World trade, currency, prices, credit. These are the points at which the bourgeois economic experts want to begin their work for the solution of capitalism's problems. Since the first imperialist world war no less than 57 international conferences have taken place to solve the post-war problems of world imperialism. The result was that the problems were afterwards more complicated and farther off from a solution than they were before. The World Economic Conference will be the 58th of these conferences. There is not the slightest reason to doubt that it will leave the insoluble problems of world imperialism more complicated and involved than it found them.

What is the actual aim of the World Economic Conference? The problem of world debts is not on the agenda of the conference, but it is in fact one of the central problems of the conference. On the 12th June the conference began its sessions, and on the 15th June England has to decide whether it will pay the instalment due to America of the inter-allied debt or declare itself unable to pay. Armaments are at stake. The U.S.A. would like to use the debt question in order to exercise pressure on its imperialist rivals. England is striving for a final agreement on the question of the Four-Power Pact in order to exercise pressure on the United States by the threat of a united front of European big Powers. On the other hand, the United States is trying to utilise the debts problem, the armaments problem and the war-like intensification of imperialist contradictions in Europe in order to isolate Japan.

The fate of the World Economic Conference is already settled. In view of the whole situation in which it is meeting, its fruitlessness is a foregone conclusion, but it will become a battlefield of the warring imperialist Powers, a battlefield between England and the United States. Attempts will be made behind the scenes to find a solution to the most important problems, but the knots of imperialist antagonism are already so thoroughly tied that they can no longer be loosened. There only remains the attempt to cut them with the sword.

The Four Power Pact

By Karl R a d e k

The initialling of the Four Power Pact is a fact which crowns the development of the last eighteen months. If the pact enters into force it will tone down for a certain time the clashing of those contradictions which have so much intensified in recent months.

What is the content of the pact?

(1) The expressly and openly stated aim of the pact is to co-ordinate the efforts of the four big Western European Powers to prevent the contradictions which set them against each other in the present period from leading to war-like complications. This is stated in Article 1, which reads, *inter alia*, as follows: "The High Contracting Parties will consult together as regards all questions which appertain to them." Article 4 of the pact indicates that the questions mentioned are not merely those questions which refer to the Versailles Treaty, when it declares that the parties, "affirm their desire to consult together as regards all economic questions which have a common interest for Europe and particularly for its economic restoration." It is clear that the relations of these Powers to the Soviet Union form a part of his whole complex of questions, and equally so their relations to the colonial world and to the United States of America.

That such an interpretation is perfectly logical is seen, *inter alia*, by the fact that Mussolini has considered it necessary to point out that "some people" interpret Article 4 as "a tendency, if only potential, to form a united front." It is natural that Mussolini and also the semi-official German Wolff Telegraph Agency and the official French report deny the existence of this tendency by stressing the friendliness of the relations to the Soviet Union. However, such declarations do not alter the fact that a diplomatic instrument has been created with the assistance of which four capitalist great Powers in Europe intend to solve European questions at their own discretion.

(2) The united front aims at overcoming the antagonisms which exist in its own ranks. Have these antagonisms, which

exist in the first place between France and Germany, between Italy and France, between England and France, but also between Italy and Germany, between Italy and England, and between England and Germany, been abolished? They have not only not been abolished, but the disarmament conference has demonstrated their intensification with the greatest clarity. A few weeks ago Germany's Foreign Minister von Neurath publicly threatened that Germany would make use of its right to equality of armaments on its own account unless the conference agreed to satisfy its demands. The sharpening of the relations between Poland and Germany was demonstrated a little while ago by the presence of Polish troops in Danzig. Up to the present neither Italy nor France have signed the London naval armaments agreement.

What is the attitude of the Four Power Pact to these antagonisms? The efforts of French diplomacy succeeded in preventing the pact from referring openly either to the revision of the Versailles Treaty as its aim (as did Mussolini's first draft) or to Germany's right to an equality of armaments. The pact refers modestly to the Articles of the League of Nations constitution which deal with the maintenance of the *status quo* and the question of sanctions and revision. It makes no mention of German rights in the question of armaments equality, but promises a further "study" of this question should the disarmament conference come to no satisfactory agreement in the matter.

Mussolini, however, openly interprets the pact as an instrument to secure a revision of the Versailles Treaty and as an instrument enabling Germany to obtain an equality of treatment in the armament question. The German fascist press takes up the same attitude. On the other hand, the French governmental press declares that France has been successful by means of the Four Power Pact in curbing Germany and compelling it to content itself for ten years with negotiations within the circle of the four big Powers of Europe without undertaking any independent action.

(3) What is the real truth of the situation? A few weeks ago Great Britain openly opposed the fascist government of Germany in forms which were almost unparalleled in the relations of big Powers to each other, and it seemed as though Germany had been isolated by all capitalist countries. To-day it belongs to the "hierarchy" and signs a pact which, according to Mussolini, aims at "regulating the process of the application of the treaties in such a fashion that shocks can be avoided." There is no doubt that some change has taken place in the relations between Germany and the other capitalist Powers. What are the reasons for this change and what is the nature of it?

The intensification of the contradictions which culminated in the threats of Lord Hailsham compelled the German government to resort to a big diplomatic manoeuvre. In his speech of the 17th May Hitler declared openly that Germany would strive to secure a revision of the Versailles Treaty exclusively with peaceful means. Hitler cloaked the manoeuvre which this declaration represented by making play with pacifist principles, a circumstance which met with little understanding in nationalist circles in Germany. The significance of Hitler's speech was characterised best of all by the Berlin bourgeois daily newspaper, the "Tägliche Rundschau," in an article published on the 31st May, entitled "Fabianism and Foreign Policy." This article declares that the main principle of the foreign policy of German fascism consists in self-determination as to when and how Germany should react to an outside impulse, and as an example of this it offers the attitude of Fabius towards Hannibal. The totality of Germany's foreign policy since the war, declares the article, has suffered by being exclusively based on the exigencies of the moment, whereas now a patient and calm foreign policy based on a long view was possible.

German fascism is engaged in a struggle to consolidate its basis at home and is not in a position to solve foreign political questions; it is therefore seeking to gain time which would increase the antagonisms in the ranks of Germany's enemies and permit Germany to establish new connections. This is the reason why Germany signed a pact which concretely offers it nothing, but gives it time to manoeuvre, to put the question in its own fashion and to prepare for a solution favourable to itself.

The first question put forward by Germany is that of freeing itself from the undertaking to pay the interest on private debts in foreign currency. The conference held with foreign creditors

at the end of May was the preparation for the announcement that this interest cannot be paid in foreign currencies any longer. The English and American creditors are trying to prevent Germany taking this step and threaten counter-measures. It is clear that during the course of these negotiations, which threaten a great number of English and American banks with collapse, both sides are striving to avoid any aggravation of the situation. And this is the reason why the press of both British and American imperialism has altered its tone towards Germany during the past few weeks.

The disarmament conference has landed in a blind alley. This fact must be concealed somehow and the aim of the Four Power Pact is to do it.

If the World Economic Conference ends in collapse this will mean a tremendous intensification of the crisis. The aim of the Four Power Pact was to create a situation in which the conference need not begin with general disagreement.

French imperialism calculates that it will succeed with the assistance of further manoeuvres in preventing a revision of the Versailles Treaty and that the Four Power Pact will not be an instrument enabling Germany to bring forward the question of revision. It calculates that the pact will enable it to bind Germany by making Italy concessions and separating it from Germany and by making concessions to Great Britain. It is possible that France is miscalculating.

(4) How will events develop; what role will the Four Power Pact play? That will depend on the further development of the crisis, on the development of the internal contradictions in Germany, on how far the fascist government of Germany will succeed in preventing the fascist masses in Germany from committing nationalist excesses against Germany's neighbours, etc., etc. One thing is in any case clear: the capitalist Powers, frightened by the growth of their antagonisms and by the increasing danger of war breaking out between them, are doing their best to secure a temporary weakening of international contradictions. It is clear that British imperialism, the chief stager of the Four Power Pact, will do its best to develop the pact into an instrument of the struggle against the Soviet Union, but also into an instrument to gather the European Powers under British auspices against the United States. The main anxiety of the Diehards is that the contradictions between the imperialist Powers may develop so sharply that the organisation of an intervention against the Soviet Union will be made increasingly difficult. They therefore received Rosenberg with scant friendliness and advised German fascism not to stress tendencies hostile to France and Poland, but to put its anti-Soviet programme in the foreground of its foreign policy. The German fascists have shown themselves to be willing pupils of the English Diehards.

German imperialism proposed to the capitalist Powers of Europe that a Holy Alliance should be formed against the Soviet Union and against the colonial peoples on the basis of concessions which it would be prepared to make, chiefly at the expense of its eastern and south-eastern neighbours. Objectively considered, the Four Power Pact is the answer to this proposal and the significance of the pact can be summed up as follows: first let us have a united front against the Soviet Union; we can talk of the price afterwards. Germany has agreed to this. It has initialled the pact, despite the doubts harboured in nationalist circles in Germany.

The question of the revision of the Versailles Treaty has neither been settled nor solved. Objectively considered, the Four Power Pact is a means whereby the imperialist Powers of Europe seek to soothe Germany and draw it into the "united front" by granting less important and formal concessions.

German fascism aims with the assistance of this pact at avoiding a precipitate collision and obtaining certain if not essential concessions. It regards the pact as a step in the direction of its ultimate aim and will do its best to prepare the alignment of forces necessary to achieve this aim. The united front, which is directed primarily against the Soviet Union, can prepare the desired alignment. There is no doubt that both British imperialism and German fascism will continue to work to create this united front.

As far as France is concerned it is clear that all its assurances to its allies that the French government will not attempt to solve behind their backs any of the questions which interest

them represent in the best case the intention of the French Government and no more. But if to-day, under the influence of a fear that it might otherwise be isolated, France agrees to line itself up in the "hierarchy of the Great Powers," a hierarchy to which the allies of France do not belong, what guarantee have they that under the pressure of circumstances France may not to-morrow enter into negotiations which collide with their interests?

If certain French circles are hoping to benefit themselves at the cost of their allies they are likely to experience surprises in the future. Once in the united front German fascism will not only strengthen its position, but its appetite will grow.

The attempts to exclude a country of 165 millions of people, a country with a powerful industry, a country which enjoys the sympathy of all those who want to further the interests of the whole of humanity, from the solution of European problems are ridiculous. These attempts only show that the Western Powers over-estimate their own strength as much as they under-estimate the strength of the Soviet Union. Both errors bear in them the seeds of disagreeable consequences for their perpetrators. Public opinion in the Soviet Union observes these attempts to shift the frontiers of Europe from the Urals to the Beresina and draws its own conclusions.

The Twenty-Fifth Year of the Dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gomez

By Elisa I m a r

The twenty-fifth year of the monstrous dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gomez in **Venezuela** has been greeted with articles of extravagant praise as to the prosperity of the country in the capitalist press of the United States. In the "New York times," the "Pictorial Review," in the "New York American," etc., there have lately appeared articles in which Venezuela is spoken of as "A paradise on earth," "a country governed by a noble statesman in which all the inhabitants are happy," "a country which has escaped the convulsions of the world crisis," etc. And, as a final argument for convincing the readers as to the truth of their assertions, these publications triumphantly bring forward the fact that Venezuela "is the only country which has no foreign debt."

Even though many workers of the Caribbean countries understand that these phrases are due to the fact that the present boss of Venezuela is at the same time the docile lackey of Wall Street, who serves completely the interests of Yankee imperialism, it is necessary at this time to recall some of the concrete facts which place the horror of the real situation in Venezuela in all its nakedness.

The great oil concessions granted by Gomez to the imperialists do not represent solely the right for Standard Oil and the Royal Dutch Shell to explore the petroleum deposits, but also to enrich themselves at the cost of the blood and sweat of the Venezuelan workers. With the coming of the crisis and the restriction of oil production, already the coffers of the big operators were full with what had been squeezed out of the thousands of Venezuelan and West Indian workers employed in the oil regions. At the same time, the wages of these workers, even in the famous period of prosperity, had been so meagre that when many of them were discharged and had to return to the cities and haciendas from which they had come they did not even have enough money to pay for the trip back. With the development of the crisis the exploitation of the workers in the imperialist enterprises, as well as in the native enterprises, has become more intense.

The feudal terror, the oppression and exploitation which weigh on the Venezuelan people, the suppression of the most elementary liberties, such as the freedom of speech, of press, of meetings, and of organisation, this is the true product of the quarter of a century of dictatorship of the bourgeois landlord government of Venezuela, headed by Juan Vicente Gomez and his cronies.

Venezuela has, indeed, not escaped the crisis, because it has no external debt. This can be proved solely by glancing over the bulletin published in Caracas by the Chamber of Commerce of that country. Since the end of 1929 up to the present time it can be seen that this bulletin, which is interested in presenting the economic situation of the country in its most favourable aspects, cannot help declaring that month by month and year by

year commerce is being crippled, that the production of oil has been restricted and continues its downward trend, that the price of coffee continues to fall, that the factories are closing, that the activity of the various enterprises and commercial houses is diminishing, and the bolivar loses its value. This means the continuous rise of hunger and misery among the peons and all of the toiling elements of the city and the countryside. And to the lot of the workers and all of the toilers which is common in the countries being rent by the world crisis it is necessary to add the conditions of wild terror which are found in Venezuela.

The main manifestations of this terror are the large number of arrests for trifling reasons, the recruitments (reclutamientos) and forced labour on the roads. The recruitments and, above all, work on the roads (these roads which have brought so much praise to Gomez) these are the horrors of the Venezuelan toilers. The roads between Caracas and Valencia, and the Caracas-La Guayra highway have cost the lives of millions of "colorados" (prisoners dressed in red who work with ball and chain). The Trans-Andian highway in the region of Manpan alone (State of Trujillo) has buried 1,500 workers. The Eastern Road took thousands of prisoners from all the jails of Venezuela, who arrived hundreds at a time, every three months, to the deathly region of Palenque. To-day the same goes on in the region of Los Cocos and in the construction of the port of Turiamo.

In this road work the men have succumbed rapidly, due to the miserable feeding, the brutal treatment (for political prisoners especially), the length of the working day at forced labour, as well as from the deadly climatic conditions, against which no precautions are taken. With a few examples we will show how the recruitments and arrests for forced labour take place among the toilers:

The road worker Inojosa is prisoner in the dungeons of the Rotunda (the Caracas prison) since 1930 for having taken without permission of the foreman, a load of sand from the Rio Guayra. The peasants who in 1929 followed the opposition chief-tain, Gabaldon, had their "conucos" (small parcels of land for cultivation) taken from them, and were led to the Castillo Libertador (penitentiary at Puerto Cabello), from where they are taken out daily to work on the Puerto Cabello-Patanemo highway. On holidays, when peasants enter the villages, local authorities carry out collective recruitments, capturing the peasants as if they were animals. In 1928 in Cua a young peasant, a negro boy called Juan, who was servant to the rich Sebastian Garcia, was passing in front of the local police station when the policeman Miguel Angel Palacios attempted to recruit him. As the boy started to run the policeman shot at him with his revolver and killed him. Not long after this same policeman was rewarded for his crime by receiving the commission of Jefe Civil (Chief of Police) of Araguaita (in the State of Miranda).

Once recruited, the workers and peasants are forced to do military service, the term of which depends only on the caprice of the "chiefs." The soldiers encamped in Guigue, Ocumare, Choroni, etc., eight to nine thousand of them, are forced to work in the haciendas of Gomez for two bolivars a day. (The bolivar is worth a little less than twenty cents in gold, but at present its value has dropped to from fifteen to sixteen cents). The construction and repairing of roads, cemeteries, public parks, etc., is carried out mainly by soldiers and workers and peasants who have been made prisoners for trivial causes.

Right now thirty-five men are enclosed in a narrow cell of the Rotunda in Caracas, without air, without light, sleeping on the floor and weighed down with irons of as much as eighty pounds each. These thirty-five prisoners, the majority of whom have been incarcerated for more than two years, are accused of being Communists. And for this they are treated even more harshly than the other political prisoners who fill to overflowing all of the Venezuelan prisons. Among them are workers, peasants, soldiers, students, professional people. Some have not even reached the age of twenty years. They have not been granted trial, they are not permitted to have visitors or lawyers, and medical attention is not given to them, even though many are suffering from serious diseases. But at present all of these cruelties are taking on a character of the most cowardly assassination, with the unheard of refusal to allow the prisoners to receive food which is sent by their families and friends. This inevitably means slow death by hunger, as it is impossible to subsist long on the "rancho," the popular name for the nauseating and meagre rations of the prison.

Very often the owners of the haciendas, or big plantations (hacendados) are at the same time civil chiefs, or political officials, in their own territory, and when this is not the case such functionaries are named by them. This economical, political connection helps to bring about barbarous terror in the countryside. The best way in which this can be described is to cite some concrete cases.

Bruno Sanabria, a big landlord and local government official near Santa Lucia, in the State of Miranda, ordered that Cupertino Munoz, a fifteen-year-old agricultural labourer, should be recruited for forced labour because the boy had tried to collect seventeen bolivares which was owed to him for work he had done. Munoz has already done two years of military service.

Pablo Riera, owner of the hacienda "Sicarigua," in the state of Lara, beat the labourer Nicomedes Medina because Medina had asked that he be sold food on credit before paying up a small amount which he owed to the landlord, and not being granted this credit, Medina refused to continue working. Three other workers came to the defence of Medina and beat the landlord. Riera then called police from Carora. The four workers served two years in the Castillo de las Tres Torres, the prison in Barquisimeto, and then were forced into military service. Such cases of fighting solidarity are frequent among the Venezuelan toilers.

Antonio Pimentel, one of the most powerful Venezuelan landlords, counsellor and intimate friend of Gomez, has as a favourite diversion the violation of young peasant girls in the region of Guacara, afterwards forcing a peon to marry his victim. Many times he buys the daughters of the hungry families on his estates at the current price of 300 bolivares. The peasant Mirabel Sanchez, who was about to be married, was captured by a group of Pimentel's foremen, while another group forced his sweetheart to the home of Pimentel. Mirabel has now been prisoner in La Victoria for three years.

In the face of the fierce conditions in the haciendas, the agricultural workers and peasants try to emigrate to the cities, but the landlords utilise various means to keep them tied down to the land. Very often this is done by means of the debts. In each hacienda, or estate, there is a store, or commissary, which sells on credit to the agricultural workers and tenants at exorbitant prices. As the miserable wage which they receive never allows them to pay for even the elementary necessities, they find themselves always in debt. This is easy to understand when it is considered that the wages of the agricultural workers in the Colon District (State of Lara), for example, are not more than 1.50 bolivares weekly, and two cheap drill suits a year. This wage amounts to less than five cents in gold daily. Thus the debts force them to remain on the estates for an indefinite time. In the State of Lara the "Habilitamiento" is used. That is, the peasants are forced to sign a document before the civil chief in which they recognise the debt and pledge to pay it with work. As a rule, the debt, far from decreasing, grows, and the peasant upon death gives over to his children as a heritage the debts which he has contracted with the land owner, and they in turn remain condemned to work on the estate. The landlords of Bobures, in the State of Zulia, have the custom of shooting before a firing squad the indebted peasant who tries to escape. Many of the estates in this region belong to Gomez himself. In Guayana the big land owners and cattle raisers, such as the Casados and Espanas, play at dice with indebted peons as the prize in place of money.

Another method of subjecting the labourers and tenants to the land is through the terror rule of the "Guardias de sigüises" (in each hacienda there are groups of peasants bribed by the boss, who are known by the names of sigüises, espalderos, caporales, etc., and who constitute small armed guards to carry out the wishes of the owner). In Yaracuy the landlords Jimenez send these "sigüises" to assassinate peasants with whom they have differences. The Casados and Espanas in Guayana have armed guards with shotguns, who force the pickers of balata, sarrapia, etc., to work. The landlords Montiel, Alvarado, and others in Bobures, used to arm their guards during the time of the oil boom to kill agricultural labourers and tenants who tried to escape to work in the oil region.

In the states of the Andian region of Venezuela there abound the "Cobachados," workers primarily of Indian origin who are not paid any wage whatsoever. They receive only in return for their work a miserable portion of food, and rags to cover half their

bodies. They sleep huddled in "Caneyes," which are flimsy shelters without walls. In Guayana there are also large numbers of Indians living in such conditions. The missionary monks of Caroni ask the local landlords for Indians for the purpose of "catechizing." They put them to work in the estates of the missions and give them only a miserable food ration. When the day's work is done a missionary makes them kneel and pray, finally blessing them, saying "God will pay you."

What has been related is only a weak suggestion of the crimes which are committed daily in the "Venezuelan Paradise," of which the bourgeois press of the U.S. and other countries speaks so lovingly. The actual situation in Venezuela is best characterised by the words of the Venezuelan workers themselves, who have created the popular modification of Gomez's slogan, "Peace and Work." "Peace in the Cemeteries and Forced Work on the Roads."

But, while the powerful figures of the capitalist world, even including his Holiness the Pope, cover the tyrant with flowery praise, the Venezuelan people, subjugated, but not defeated, fights resolutely for its emancipation. The outstanding feature of this struggle has been the establishment more than two years ago of the **Communist Party**, which, while it still finds itself in its infancy, has succeeded in living through the onslaughts of most ferocious repression. Only the workers and peasants, led by the Communist Party, will succeed in overthrowing the dictatorship and carrying through the Anti-Feudal, Anti-Imperialist Revolution. The workers and peasants of the whole world, and particularly the toilers in the United States, have it as their duty to support the Venezuelan masses in their struggle for liberation.

Intensification of Antagonisms in Iceland

On this world-remote island, the most northern outpost of "West-European democracy," a remarkable intensification of the class antagonisms has recently been noticeable as a result of the ever-increasing crisis. Open fascist tendencies are developing in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and the social democracy is becoming fascised in the same manner as its brother parties on the Continent.

In the workers' struggles in **Keflavik** last year it frequently happened that striking workers were assaulted by armed students during the night, dragged from their dwellings and brought to the capital in motor cars. During the strikes in **Vestlandet**, the dwellings of the strike leaders were fired on by fascist bands, and in January last some bourgeois attempted to set fire to the premises of the Communist Party of Iceland.

In Reykjavik the coalition government intends to increase the police from 28 to 70, and to set up a so-called auxiliary police force consisting solely of officers. A purely fascist organisation, supported by various capitalists, has been set up recently in Reykjavik. Attempts are being made to win young workers for this organisation.

A systematic campaign is being conducted in the schools against all ideas of freedom, and a leader of the German national socialists has been invited to deliver lectures at the university on the advantages of the Hitler dictatorship.

Simultaneously with the fascisation of the bourgeoisie, the social democracy is sending more and more to the Right. Already in 1930 the Congress of the Trade Union Federation decided that oppositional members cannot be elected as congress delegates or functionaries. In 1931, the association of working women was smashed by the reformists, and at the Congress of the Trade Union Federation last year 21 delegates who represented the absolute majority of the members, were expelled from the Congress.

During the recent successful strike in **Akureyri**, the social democrats formed a blackleg organisation, for which they demanded increased protection from the authorities. Although the bourgeoisie provided a guard of 400 men to protect the strike-breakers, the strike was successful, thanks to the splendid solidarity of the workers.

In Reykjavik the trade union leaders have set up a body guard, which they describe as a "workers' guard," and they openly declare that the task of this "guard" is to beat up the Communists.

The C.P. of Iceland has issued an appeal in which it proposes to the social democratic labour party to set up a proletarian united front of struggle against the growing reactionary danger. No reply has been received to this proposal.

Germany

The Nazis' New Programme for "Providing Work"

Letter from Berlin

Sufficient details have now been made known regarding the "Bill to Reduce Unemployment," decided on at the meeting of the Cabinet on May 31, in order to gain some idea of this measure. In the first place the Bill makes a whole number of presents to the possessing class. For instance, industrial undertakings incurring expenditure in extending or renewing their plant, are entitled to deduct such expenditure from their taxes, provided the new plant is produced in Germany. Thus Krupp, who is equipping his armament works with new plant to the value of four million marks, receives the right to deduct this huge sum from his taxes. This means that the German State, under Hitler, simply pays the capitalists the cost of equipping their factories and works! It is quite possible that, under these conditions, the German employers will be ready to replace their old machines by new ones, the cost of which will be borne by the State Treasury. This, however, does not solve the awkward question, who is to consume the goods produced by these machines!

We find, further, an amnesty for those who are in arrear with their taxes. In order that the sensitiveness of the capitalists who are in arrear with their taxes shall not be offended, any legal proceedings against them shall take place quite secretly. And only in the event of the arrears being proved need the defaulter come forward with an "indulgence." Thus a trust magnate who owes taxes to the amount of half a million marks and fears that the tax authorities will be on his track, buys an "indulgence"; that is to say, he contributes 100,000 marks to "National Fund," and is then regarded as a very noble, public-spirited man. Should his tax fraud subsequently come to light, all he has to do is to show his receipt for his contribution to the "National Fund," and he is free from any punishment. A truly wonderful invention of the national socialist brain! It has, however, only one drawback: so long as the rich scoundrels have no cause to fear that they will be severely dealt with, what reason have they to purchase exemption from possible punishment? It is hardly likely, therefore, that this amnesty will bring in much money for "providing work."

The third point of this "Programme for Providing Work" concerns female domestic servants. The Nazis have always maintained that the woman's place is at the kitchen stove among the pots and pans, and not in the factory. To their great regret, the Nazis have not been able to realise this "ideal" entirely, because the German capitalists cannot dispense with cheap female labour in their factories. So they would like at least to throw a few hundred thousand women workers out of the process of production by converting them into domestic servants. The Government has just excluded women domestic servants from unemployment insurance, and thereby saved their "masters and mistresses" the unemployment insurance contributions. At the same time women domestic servants have been placed on a lower scale in regard to invalidity insurance, so that in future their employers will have to pay only half as much in the way of invalidity insurance contributions. The reverse side of this legislation is, that in the event of unemployment a domestic servant has no claim to benefit, and in the event of her becoming incapacitated for work through age or bodily infirmity she can expect only the most trifling pension. Persons employing a woman domestic servant are entitled to the same amount of exemption from income tax as in case of their having a child. Thus in future it will be an absolute pleasure to keep women servants, as the cost will be borne almost entirely by the State! It is true, the servant girls get no advantage but only disadvantages from these measures. But then Hitler was not made Chancellor of Germany by servant girls, but by the "ladies and gentlemen"!

The fourth part of the "Programme for Providing Work" is no less "attractive." As is known, the fascist State requires soldiers. Therefore it seeks to encourage people to marry and bring children into the world. It wants at the same time to withdraw a few thousand working women from industry and "restore them to their place—in the home." The Hitler government has therefore decided to grant to all women who have been employed for at least six months during the past year, and now wish to marry, a bonus of one thousand marks, in order that they can obtain furniture and household utensils. It is true this munificent present, with which it is intended to revive the furniture trade, has one drawback: it is a loan, and must be paid back in monthly instalments of one per cent. The money is also not paid in cash but in the form of vouchers, entitling the bearer to receive goods to the amount in question; and these vouchers have to be cashed by the seller of the goods at the Finance Office. The government intends to obtain the means for these "marriage loans" from the "bachelor tax," which has hitherto yielded 150 million marks. In view of the economic misery in Germany, it is hardly likely that these "Grants in Aid of Marriage" will greatly increase the number of those desiring to enter the nuptial state. Even the government do not assume this, as the means allotted suffice at the most for only 150,000 women who wish to marry.

The essential part of the programme is the "work bills," by means of which it is intended to provide work. This is an old plan of the Nazi money theorists, which has been somewhat watered down in that it is intended to cover the "work bills" by the usual Treasury bonds. In this way the government contemplate paying out a milliard marks. This is half the sum envisaged by Papen's programme last year; and, as is known, Papen's plan for providing work proved a complete fiasco.

The whole of the "Programme for Providing Work" bears in every feature the stamp of bureaucratism, which only produces fresh complicated administrative work, and the stamp of the Nazi "economic theory," which has thought out a complicated "system," which is bound to increase the confusion already existing.

When Hitler, in his May Day speech in the Tempelhofer Feld, announced his "tremendous plan for providing work," the masses still had big illusions; now they see the result: the mountain labours and brings forth a tiny mouse! Thus another fascist illusion is destroyed and there remains fresh disappointment, fresh resentment.

The Storm Troops and the N.S.B.O., the Greatest Source of Anxiety for Hitler

Can one by means of festivals, parades, broadcast speeches, torchlight processions and fireworks, hide from millions of people who have been promised that the "Third Reich" would be a paradise in which all their wishes would be fulfilled, the fact that their misery, instead of being alleviated is only increasing? No, even the fascist masters of lies cannot do this; and therefore, sooner or later, a great wave of disillusionment, disappointment, bitterness and resentment is bound to seize the masses of the people who have hitherto been deceived by Nazi demagoguery. It is of little use to announce again and again that Marxism and the Marxist idea of the class war are to be exterminated, and to talk about "national unity," when, owing to the objective situation, the class antagonisms arise again, the social tension increases and the class struggle appears in new forms.

This ferment among the broad masses of Hitler's followers has made itself apparent sooner than was expected; it is already caus-

ing the fascist rulers great anxiety, for it threatens to shake the very foundations of the fascist dictatorship. At present fascism is experiencing special difficulties with regard to the S.A. (Storm Troops) and the N.S.B.O. (Nazi factory organisations).

There are increasing signs that the highest leaders of the Hitler Party are systematically preparing for an approaching crisis in the Storm Troops. Goering's decree, according to which no police officer may be a member of the Storm Troops, is everywhere interpreted as indicating that the leaders of the Hitler Party wish to keep the Security Police free from all symptoms of the crisis within the S.A. in order, should necessity arise, to be able to employ them against the Brown Storm Detachments. At the same time, efforts are being made to strengthen the special position of the "Schutzstaffeln" (S.S.). These special formations, which constitute a sort of Praetorian Guard for the Nazi leaders, are thoroughly "reliable," that is to say, they consist of petty-bourgeois reactionary elements and are commanded by carefully chosen officers. These S.S. are now being specially trained and rendered politically "firm," in order that, in case of need, they can be employed against the S.A.

Finally, the third and most important fact: the Hitler Party is proceeding to disarm the Storm Troops. This move is being carried out very cautiously at present; the carrying of weapons is made dependent upon all sorts of conditions (the reason given in most cases being the foreign political situation!) Contrary to the S.S., ordinary members of the Storm Troops may no longer carry weapons openly. They are strictly ordered not to carry weapons after a certain time at night (11 or 12 o'clock). The police have been given instructions to arrest members of the Storm Troops who are carrying weapons without permission, and to convey them to certain S.A. barracks, where their weapons, permit to carry same, and uniform will be taken from them. All this is being carried out under the pretext of "strengthening discipline," but the purpose behind it all is plain enough.

The Storm Troops are also beginning to recognise more or less quickly what all these measures mean. The cause of the ferment among the S.A. is quite obvious: the social antagonisms are finding increased expression. Discontent is increasing, particularly among the older members of the Storm Troops. An old member of the Berlin Storm Troops declared:

"I and all the older members are certainly dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. There can be no talk of there having been a revolution. As a matter of fact things are just the same as before. All that we have had is a change of bureaucrats."

Many S.A. men, who hoped that they would be appointed to a post or at least obtain work under Hitler, are sadly disappointed. A Berlin leader of the Storm Troops declared:

"It is happening more and more frequently that old S.A. men obtain leave in order to look for work. They, of course, believed hitherto that the new State would find them work, and now feel that they have been deceived."

This discontent is also the reason why Herr **Kube**, the leader of the Nazi fraction in the Prussian Diet, now occupying the well-paid post of Over-President of Brandenburg, has issued an urgent appeal to all employers to give preference to old S.A. men when taking on new hands.

The setting up of the "Auxiliary Police," in connection with which there existed the greatest illusions among the Storm Troops, has likewise proved a bitter disappointment. An S.A. man stated:

"The comrades in the Auxiliary Police are already absolutely fed up. They are drilled and ordered about until they don't know whether they are on their heads or their feet, and in return they don't get a penny. . . . At the very best they have the prospect of perhaps being appointed ordinary constable in the Security Police at 80 marks a month!"

The result is that most of the S.A. men have left the Auxiliary Police. Thus, in the Wilmersdorf district of Berlin, for example, there are only 36 left out of 144.

The rise in prices which has taken place in the last few weeks has considerably increased the discontent of the Storm Troops. An S.A. man in the Ruhr district is reported to have said:

"Hitler need not kid himself that we are going to allow the peasants to get rich at our expense."

Another declared:

"Food has become so dear lately that it is time the unemployment benefit was increased, otherwise it will mean the end of loyalty to Hitler. . . . If I had known that Hitler

was going to land us in such a mess, I would have acted differently. But we are not going to put up with it much longer!"

A general purging of the ranks of the Storm Troops is to be carried out shortly. But what is the use of getting rid of individual rebellious elements when the objective class antagonisms daily produce rebellious moods?

The ferment in the National socialist factory cell organisation (N.S.B.O.) is perhaps even more dangerous than that of the S.A. In many works and factories the whole of the workers were compelled to enter the N.S.B.O. At the same time they were promised everything under the sun! At the workshop meetings the N.S.B.O. speakers adopted a very radical tone. In the Ruhr district, for instance, the N.S.B.O. frequently made the former Communist demands their own. They proceeded by means of force to prevent overtime being worked when the factories were working on short time. They prevented dismissals and threatened the factory managers with arrest. The employers were beside themselves. The situation was the same in all parts of the Reich. Strikes broke out in Berlin. Similar actions took place in other towns, regarding which, however, the press maintained complete silence. These actions are now to be prohibited by an order forbidding strikes.

Although in the last two weeks there has been no further news of fresh big strikes or similar actions in the factories, it is reported that there is a great unrest among the masses of factory workers, particularly owing to the rapid increase in prices. The Berlin undertaking **Stefan and Nölle**, in Neukölln, was formerly a Nazi stronghold. It was here that the first S.A. factory group was formed; and woe to those who ventured to express Marxist ideas. Now it is quite different. Every day the workers discuss political questions and sharply criticise the policy of the Hitler government. If it has not yet come to any big movements in the factories to enforce wage increases, this is due to the monstrous fascist terror and the as yet inadequate initiative of the Communist and R.T.U.O. members. But the power of resistance of the masses is growing, and the day is approaching when, in spite of Nazi terror and prohibition of strikes, the masses will begin to move. The Communist Party has concentrated its forces on mobilising the workers in the factories. And although their positions in the factories have been seriously weakened as a result of the Nazi terror, the generally very favourable mood of the masses will facilitate the work of the Communists.

Rescue Comrades Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev!

By Philipp Dengel.

Capitalism is writhing in a terrible crisis. Tens of thousands of factories and mining works are lying idle. More than forty million workers in the capitalist world have no work, are without bread, starving. At the same time the crisis is raging like a plague among the millions of toiling peasants, who are victims of extortionate taxes, of finance and bank capital: hundreds of thousands are driven from house and home.

Capitalism is incapable of taking a single step in the direction of overcoming the crisis. For years the capitalist governments have been conferring with each other regarding methods of "reviving industry." One Conference is followed by another. A dozen times the end of the crisis has been announced. But each time these announcements have been followed by a further decline in production, increased unemployment, fresh bankruptcies, fresh hunger and misery for the toiling masses.

Whilst the capitalist governments are conferring their antagonisms are growing; whilst they are talking of disarmament they are increasing armaments. Only one industry is flourishing—the war industry. The capitalists are heading at a terrific speed for fresh imperialist wars. In the Far East an imperialist robber war is already raging. Predatory Japanese imperialism is conquering North China by means of tanks and bombing planes, and is preparing for a war against the Soviet Union.

This is the reason why capitalism in the whole world is attempting to suppress and crush the working people. More and more the capitalist governments are proceeding to throttle the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed by means of undisguised brute force. From Finland to Sicily there exists to-day a long chain of bloody fascist dictatorships against the working class and the masses of poor peasants. But also in those countries where the capitalist dictatorship is still concealed beneath

the cloak of "democracy" the agents of capital are at work preparing for fascist dictatorship. Everywhere the nationalist passions are being roused as a means to deceive the masses, to intimidate them, to win them for the criminal aims of big capital. The terrible events in Germany and Austria are a warning to the toilers in all capitalist countries.

Therefore, the campaign for solidarity with the victims of fascism must become a fighting campaign, the solidarity week a fighting week against fascism, hunger and misery, against imperialist war. It must become a week of struggle against all those who, in a concealed manner, are supporting the criminal policy of capitalism, against those who talk of a fight against fascism and the danger of war, but who at the same time sabotage and prevent the united front of the workers and toilers.

Blood-stained fascism is at present raging most furiously in Germany. More than 50,000 fighters for the emancipation of the toilers from the clutches of decaying capitalism are pining in the prisons and concentration camps. Workers and all who are devoted to the emancipation struggle are being tortured and killed every day. The barbarity employed against the imprisoned workers is frightful. The fascist murderers in Germany are surpassing anything ever thought of in the history of humanity in the way of cruelty and baseness. The lives of the best champions of the proletariat who are in prison are in constant danger. Hitler and Göring, stigmatised throughout the whole world as the instigators of the fire in the Reichstag, are preparing the most revolting and contemptible farce ever known in history. They announce that a trial will be held of the "Communist criminals." The leader of the Communist Reichstag fraction, Comrade **Torgler**, as well as the Bulgarian Communists, **Dimitrov**, **Popov**, and **Tanev** are to be "accused." Comrade Thälmann, the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, as well as of the German working class, is also involved in this trial. The plan exists to murder these leaders of the working class, to cause them "to commit suicide." Dozens of cases of such "suicides" have occurred in the German prisons. There is no doubt that most of these alleged "suicides" have been slain or strangled by the fascist bloodhounds.

A storm of protest must sweep over Europe and the whole world. The international proletariat, all toilers, all the enemies of fascism and of imperialist war, must stay the arm of the fascist hangmen in Germany. In thousands of factories, from the millions of unemployed, at the meetings of the trade unions, of worker sportsmen, in the villages, the cry of protest must be heard, the helping hand stretched out, the pledge given to conduct the united, determined struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

Prevent the Judicial Murder of the Seven Anti-Fascists in Chemnitz and Altona!

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany to the whole of the German working class, to all anti-fascists in town and country. Class comrades! Anti-fascists!

Hitler-fascism is preparing a fresh bloody crime against the working class. After the imprisonment of 50,000 anti-fascists, after the murder of 500 revolutionary class fighters, after tortures and mishandlings of thousands of defenceless imprisoned men and women, "legal" judicial murder is now to bring a further increase of the bloody fascist terror.

Two anti-fascist workers have been sentenced to death by the class court in **Chemnitz** on account of a collision with a national socialist, in the course of which the latter was killed.

In **Altona**, where a monster trial of the courageous barricade fighters of bloody Sunday, July 17, 1932, was staged, the Public Prosecutor demanded the death sentence for five anti-fascist workers and hard labour sentences up to 15 years for the others.

What was the "crime" of the revolutionary Altona workers who are now in the dock?

The German working class remembers the events which led to the 17th July, 1932, when the heavily-armed bands of the Storm Troops and of the S.S., under the protection of the police of the social-democratic police president, **Eggerstedt**, demonstrated through the proletarian quarters of red Altona, openly proclaiming their intention "to put an end to the red canaille." The revolutionary workers of Altona made use of the right of self-defence against the murderous plans of the S.A. bandits, the right to defend their lives and the lives of their wives and chil-

dren, to protect their dwellings and their property. In a heroic mass fight they repelled the brown murder bands and defended red Altona.

The social-democratic police and the brown murderers in the S.A. and S.S. carried out their provocative intentions on July 17, 1932, and with a rapid fire from machine-guns, carbines, revolvers, shot down numerous working men and women, and even children and old people.

The social-democratic police president, **Eggerstedt**, who in spite of all warnings wished to enforce the bloody march of the Storm Troops, through red Altona with the most brutal means of force, with hand-grenades, tanks, machine-guns and tear-gas bombs; who in close collaboration with the then Prussian Minister for the Interior, **Severing**, had organised this blood-bath among the Altona workers, thereby supplied the fascist counter-revolution with the desired pretext for carrying out the fascist coup d'état in Prussia three days later. The immediate consequences of the Altona bloody Sunday irrefutably prove the provocative intentions of the fascist counter-revolution.

After more than ten months, fascism takes bloody revenge for the fact that at that time the carrying out of the bloody march of the S.A. and S.S. was frustrated by the living wall of thousands of barricade fighters. Fascist counter-revolution is thirsting for the blood of the bold anti-fascist fighters who risked their lives in the fight against the fascist counter-revolution not merely for themselves, but for you, for the whole of the revolutionary working class of Germany. Five of the accused Altona workers are threatened with judicial murder.

This must not be! Prevent the fresh abominable crime of the bloodstained fascist dictatorship! Arouse a mass protest in town and country, in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges, in the trade unions, everywhere where class-conscious workers are to be found, to rescue the condemned anti-fascists; demand their release and the release of the 50,000 prisoners, the release of the imprisoned leader of the Communist Party, **Ernst Thälmann**.

Discuss this question in the factories, decide on and carry out a protest strike in order to prevent the execution of the victims of bloody fascist justice! Set up everywhere anti-fascist defence committees consisting of workers without distinction of party. Organise demonstrations and meetings in all towns and localities! Demonstrate the power of proletarian solidarity, the power of the anti-fascist united front of the social-democratic and Communist workers in the fight against the fascist hangmen!

No time must be lost! The lives of the two Chemnitz anti-fascists, the lives of the Altona barricade fighters is in your hands! Rescue them from the gallows, wrest them from the hands of the hangman! Let the cry resound from millions in town and country:

Release the condemned anti-fascist fighters!

Down with the fascist hangmen's justice!

Organise strikes, demonstrations, the mass struggle in order to prevent the execution of the condemned class comrades, for the release of the 50,000 imprisoned anti-fascists, for the release of **Ernst Thälmann**, the leader of the only anti-fascist Party, the Communist Party.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

Section of the Communist International.

Help the Victims of Fascism!

Appeal of the Central Committee of the German Red Aid.

Dear Comrades,—

At first our brotherly thanks for the solidarity shown to us. Your assistance is not only a material but also a moral support in our fight against the barbaric bloody murder system of the Hitler-Göring bandits.

The revolutionary German proletariat and its leader, the C.P. of Germany, are waging the fight for the overthrow of the Hitler government at the cost of enormous sacrifices in blood and life. As **proletarian internationalists**, the German Communists are in the front ranks of the fight against fascism, which also threatens you, and against the war danger, which has greatly increased since Hitler came into power.

The fascist system is replying to the fight of the working class

for emancipation from the capitalist yoke with a fresh series of bestial bloody deeds, mass mishandlings and tortures.

Red Helpers, tell the social democratic workers in your countries that among those who have been killed and mishandled are many thousands of brave social democratic workers, who have been left in the lurch by their leaders. Tell them that the German hangmen are persecuting and murdering all anti-fascists, no matter to what party they belong. Tell them these facts in order to help them to free themselves from the disastrous influence of social democracy; for we know that even after these bloody events the leaders of the Second International continue to be the deadly enemies of the anti-fascist united front, and wish to deliver over the workers of their countries, without a fight to bloody fascist terror, just as was the case with us. Tell this to our social democratic class comrades, in order that they may realise that all workers, no matter to what party they belong, must unite for the fight against the fascist enemy in order to defeat him.

Although we are not able to give the final figures regarding the fascist terror, it is an established fact that 400 workers, peasants intellectuals and Jews have been murdered; 60,000 workers, peasants, intellectuals and Jews have been severely mishandled; 350,000 house searches have been carried out, accompanied by beatings and looting; 50,000 persons are held under so-called preventive arrest; 40,000 persons are in so-called concentration camps; 40,000 persons have fled from their homes and are wandering as outlaws from town to town; thousands have fled abroad; 600 newspapers have been suppressed; the Party and trade union premises have been stolen from the workers.

These are bare figures, which tell you of the sufferings of the German proletariat. But in spite of these losses, our ranks are being closed again. We do not doubt for a moment that our fight will be victorious and sweep away the whole moribund capitalist system, and that we shall be able to establish a free socialist Soviet Germany.

The German government is endeavouring to escape the indignation of the toiling masses in all countries by a shameless campaign of lies. It declares by means of the wireless, the press and also through the medium of bought foreign journalists, that there is no truth in the reports of the cruelties perpetrated by it. Do not believe a word of this government of incendiaries! A hundred, even a thousandfold of that which you have learnt hitherto is true. Many hundreds of our best comrades have been slain, shot dead, stabbed in the forests of Germany.

The lives of **Ernst Thälmann**, the courageous leader of the German working class, and Ernst Torgler, the leader of the Communist Reichstag fraction, as well as the lives of many thousands of anti-fascists are in immediate danger. It is intended to poison them in the prisons or to have them "found dead" after an alleged "suicide." They are to be shot "while attempting to escape," or brought to the gallows by means of court sentences. The lives of Ernst Thälmann, Torgler, Dimifrov, Popov, Tanev lie **in your hands**. They are accused of having had a hand in the burning of the Reichstag. If the German fascist government denies its bloody deeds, then **demand everywhere that you be allowed to see the Third Reich with your own eyes. Elect delegates** in the factories, offices, trade unions and labour exchanges, as well as from among the intellectuals!

Demand from the German Consulates visas for delegations and let your delegates report about the bloody truth!

Launch a broad protest movement against the fascist murder system! Demand that the accused be granted the right of defence!

Red helpers! Rouse the toiling masses of your countries to active solidarity! Organise mass demonstrations in front of the German Consulates! Adopt protest resolutions against the hangmen's government in the factories and offices, in the trade unions and at the labour exchanges. Add weight to these protests by sympathetic strikes. Organise collections for the victims of the terror. By helping them you are waging the fight against fascism, which is rising more threateningly also in your countries. If Hitler lowers wages and increases the mass misery, your capitalists will not hesitate to follow the "good example" and adjust your wages to those of the German workers. Therefore, we must wage the struggle against the Hitler dictatorship as proletarian internationalists, because it menaces us all. Only your mass pressure, connected with our struggle, will compel the fascists to cease murdering and torturing, to abandon their robber plans against the proletariat and all toilers, and to drop their anti-Soviet plans of a common intervention with the other imperialist robber States.

Fulfil your duty as proletarian internationalists! Demand the release of Ernst Thälmann and all political prisoners! Send delegations of workers, peasants and intellectuals to Germany! Fight for the right of asylum for the anti-fascists who have escaped from the fascist hangmen! Send protest resolutions to Hitler and Göring! Collect money for the victims of fascism and for children's delegations from Germany! Give hospitality to the children of murdered anti-fascists for some weeks!

Organise the powerful international proletarian solidarity for all anti-fascists!

Central Committee of the German Red Aid.

The White Terror

The Geneva Trial—A Class Verdict

The trial in Geneva has ended with the following sentences pronounced on seven social-democratic and Communist functionaries: *Nicole*, 6 months' imprisonment; *Lebet* (Communist), 4 months' imprisonment; *Daviet* (Communist), 4 months' imprisonment; *Millasson* (Communist), 4 months' imprisonment; *Wütrich* (non-party), 4 months' imprisonment; *Isaac* (social democrat), 2 months' imprisonment; *Bäriswyl* (social democrat), 2 months' imprisonment. Eleven accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence.

The whole trial bore an outspokenly class character. Those immediately responsible for the shooting on November 9 last; the fascist leaders of Geneva, who had provoked the shooting; the chief of government F. Martin, who had called up the troops; and the officers who gave the order to fire, have been exonerated by a military committee of enquiry, which reported that the army had completely fulfilled its duty; and the officers have even been promoted.

It was the functionaries of the labour movement, the victims of the 9th November who were brought to trial.

This political character of the trial which was even recognised by the President of the Court, was revealed quite obviously in the case of the Communist *Lebet*. In the course of the trial none of the charges could be maintained against him. He had delivered a speech in the street, calling upon the workers to form the united front against fascism and lauding the Russian Revolution. The Public Prosecutor, therefore, dropped the charge against him, but in spite of this the Jury found him guilty, as *Lebet* is known to be an active Communist functionary, who after the shooting gathered the crowd together into a powerful street demonstration and in the name of the Communist Party issued the slogan of the general strike. In addition, during the proceedings *Lebet* read out a powerful declaration of the accused Communists against the class justice and against those responsible for the blood-bath who are in the government and on the General Staff of the army. This was sufficient to get him convicted.

If one views the political and social situation forming the background to the trial in Geneva, one will realise that the class court could not but pronounce the verdict it did. Hence the whole system of defence of the social-democratic leaders before the court, who sought to minimise the political importance of the trial and declared that they stood for the "pacification in the name of democracy and the highest good of the country," was utterly wrong and criminal, as the vigilance of the masses and their fighting spirit against growing fascism was thereby lulled.

The accused Communists and the Communist lawyers, however, endeavoured to pursue absolutely different tactics.

The verdict, which was expected by the fascists, will considerably increase their activity and the reaction of the government organs against the Labour movement. Parliament is already discussing a draft of an exceptional law directed against the workers' demonstrations; prohibitions of demonstrations are becoming more frequent; the threats of the fascists are becoming so violent that the Federal Government was compelled to adopt special police measures in order to protect *Nicole* against the attacks of the fascists during the June session of Parliament.

Just as in Germany, the necessary counter-action of the workers is being hampered by the social democracy and its policy of capitulation to reaction. Nevertheless, the united front is advancing against fascism and the repressive measures, as was evident in the fight against the cuts in the wages of the government employees.

The Labour Movement

The Splendid Fight of the Citroen Workers

By J. Bénier (Paris)

One of the groups which was most enthusiastically greeted by the enormous crowd which demonstrated on May 28 in front of the Wall of the Federals, was undoubtedly that of the Paris metal workers, headed by several hundred workers from the Citroen works. And rightly so. For these workers have been waging a fierce fight for over two months against the wage-cutting offensive of their employers, a fight which has been conducted in various forms and has called forth the admiration of the proletariat.

It is the first time for many years that the whole staff of a big Paris works has come into action. Hitherto there were only isolated fighting actions in single departments or partial fights in small factories. The further intensification of the crisis compelled Citroen, in the second half of March, to launch a general brutal offensive against his 18,000 workers; his intention was to put through a 30 per cent. cut in the wages of the skilled workers, who constitute 60 per cent. of his whole staff and represent the decisive factor in production on the conveyor, in order to force them to work at a more rapid pace.

Cases of downing tools and passive resistance became more and more frequent and were participated in by an increasing number of workers, so that Citroen was compelled to lock out his exploited workers; this lock-out was twice converted into strikes on the occasion of the reopening of the factory gates.

When the 18,000 locked-out Citroen workers stood outside the works, all sorts of manoeuvres were attempted in order to split the fighting front. The leaders of the C.G.T., without having the least instruction to do so, attempted to negotiate with the government and to conclude a compromise. When the locked-out workers, thanks to their energetic action and the support given them by the Communist fraction of the Chamber of Deputies, won the right to register as unemployed, this was made use of by social-democratic mayors of the Paris suburbs in order to influence and demoralise them. The Minister for Labour organised numerous conferences between the strike delegates and Citroen, and submitted so-called reconciliation proposals. The police of the "Left" government, who were placed entirely at the service of Citroen, prevented mass picketing, placed the workers' quarters under a state of siege and arrested 150 of the most active workers.

Citroen's promises, the personal appeals to the workers to resume work, the mendacious reports that appeared in the bourgeois press, the repressive measures of the police, and also the inadequate contact which the strike leadership maintained with thousands of workers scattered in the remote suburbs, who could not attend the central strike meetings, led to the result that from the 2nd May cases of resumption of work rapidly increased. In order not to leave the cadres of the most courageous workers in the strike, and to expose them to the danger of victimisation, the Central Strike Committee and the unity trade union of the metal workers issued the slogan: All return to work and continue the fight within the factory.

When, on May 22, the workers perceived that Citroen had not kept his promises, passive resistance assumed a mass character. The workers remained in the factory, organised concerts and games. They actually occupied the factories and were in constant touch with victimised functionaries. Citroen was again compelled to close his factories. He announced that he would take on unemployed; at the same time the government had given instructions that not a single striker should be allowed to register at the Labour Exchange to receive unemployment benefit.

The admirable energy of the Citroen workers means that the metal workers of the Paris district have become conscious of their power; 1,400 Citroen workers have joined the unity trade union, which, thanks to its elastic methods in the leadership of the fight, has won the confidence of the workers.

The members of the unity trade unions have before all learnt to wage the fight inside the factory, to convert its departments into discussion clubs, to bring the active functionaries into contact with the masses, and thereby render the terror of the employers practically ineffective. Apart from their wage demands,

the workers put forward political demands: reinstatement of the victimised workers, release of all arrested workers. Citroen and his managers had to admit that his factory is now "poisoned" and that they are no longer the absolute masters of their works.

This great fight of the Citroen workers means the doing away with that disparity which has been so long apparent between the broad agitation conducted by the State employees and municipal workers and the relative "passivity" of the wage earners in private industry. It was only due to the organisational weakness of the C.P. of France and of the C.G.T.U. in the factories that the strike at Citroen was not supported except by a big solidarity action (more than 200,000 francs have been collected). A new page has been opened in the history of the workers' struggles in France, were it only due to the fact that at last an end has been put to the fatal anarcho-sindicalist traditions.

The Balkans

After the Murder of Petko Napetov

(Letter from Sofia.)

The proletariat of Bulgaria is giving a fitting response to the fresh bloody attack of the Mushanov-Gitchev government. The news of the murder of **Petko Napetov**, the workers' deputy, has called forth mass unrest in the factories, in the workers' quarters, and in the villages throughout the country. In Sofia the workers in a number of factories declared protest strikes on the day of the murder and on the following day. Thus, for instance, in the Fein factory work was interrupted for a quarter of an hour; in the Kolarov factory for a whole hour. On the evening of the day of murder the workers in Sofia held street demonstrations and meetings in many parts of the town. The police fired into the crowd and dispersed the demonstrations. Simultaneously the students of the university declared a one-day protest strike.

The workers of Sofia arranged a great mass meeting in the square in front of the "Russian Monument," near the Alexander Hospital, to which Napetov's corpse was conveyed. 4,000 working men and women took part in this meeting, which was addressed by speakers from three platforms. The police encountered the resistance of the masses and were unable to disperse the crowd. Impromptu meetings were held in the streets, as well as at numerous factory gates. A number of workers were arrested.

Protected by a strong cordon of police round the city and the cemetery, the police authorities fetched the corpse from the hospital and buried it themselves. After the burial protest strikes of Sofia workers were carried out again in a number of factories.

Particular importance attaches to the participation of the miners of **Pernik** in the mass protest campaign. They arranged meetings at the various pits. When the police arrested a speaker the miners assembled in masses outside the police station and demanded his release. A platform was set up, from which a speaker addressed the crowd. After work was finished the miners arranged a meeting in the biggest square in the town, which, in addition to the miners, was attended by the whole working population of the town and neighbourhood.

Compared with the protest movement against the murder of Comrade Christo Trakov in January last, we have now to record an extension of the movement in regard to the strikes as well as meetings and demonstrations. Greater masses have been seized by this movement. At the present moment the miners of Pernik are marching in the front ranks. The State mining works in Pernik employ five to six thousand workers, who have recently had to suffer wage cuts, dismissals of more than 1,000 workers, fascist terror, etc., and who as a result are more and more in favour of a strike against the State. This new upsurge in Pernik proves that the masses of anthracite workers are following the slogans of the C.P. of Bulgaria.

Following the strikes, meetings and demonstrations in the streets of Sofia on May 1st, the strikes, meetings, and demonstrations against the murder of Comrade Petko Napetov signify a further upsurge of the revolutionary class struggle. The Communist Party of Bulgaria, the organiser and leader of this movement, must extend and deepen it and link it up with the movement, with the fight for the release of Comrades Dimitrov, Tanev, Popov, Thälmann, Torgler, and all victims of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and Bulgaria.

Special Supplement

International Relief Week of the I.R.A. for the Victims of Fascist Terror in Germany (from 17th to 25th June 1933)

Appeal for International Relief Week

To the Toilers of all Countries!

To the Members of the I.R.A. all over the World!

The International Red Aid calls upon you to rally for the I.R.A. International Relief Week for the victims of fascist terror in Germany.

In the centre of our class solidarity we must now place our solidarity with the German toilers. The heroic struggle carried on by the German working masses—under the leadership of their revolutionary organisations—against the oppression regime of the fascist dictatorship, demands the most active support of the anti-fascists in all countries. The nameless victims of the Brown Pest—the tens of thousands of prisoners in the prisons, concentration camps and fascist barracks, the political refugees who were forced to flee from Germany and are now wandering the streets in other countries, the countless ruined lives in Germany itself, the families, the children of those imprisoned and murdered—they are all in need of the energetic practical assistance of the toilers in all countries.

Toilers in the towns and on the land!

The **I.R.A. International Relief Week** for the victims of fascist terror in Germany will be conducted on June 17-25 (in the Far East, America, and Africa—July 15-23). This Relief Week must create new funds for rendering relief to the victims of German fascism. We appeal to all the toilers who are aware of the struggle and the sufferings of their German class brothers. We appeal to all the intellectuals, writers, scientists and artists—who are compelled to witness how, in Germany, the barbarism of the Middle Ages is destroying nearly everything of a cultural value. We appeal to all the oppressed nationalities in the capitalist and colonial countries who are reminded of their own fate by the chauvinism and the persecution of the Jews in fascist Germany. We call upon all the working class men and women for—**practical solidarity with the victims of Hitler-fascism!**

We call upon all the organisations of the toilers—no matter of what political tendencies—to carry on together with us this **International Relief Week**. The relief is most urgent; it must be rendered to all the victims of fascist terror, without discrimination as to party, nationality or religion.

Our relief action is a part of our struggle for the liberation of all the political prisoners in Germany and in the other capitalist countries.

Members of the Red Aid—Set to Work!

No factory, no village, no worker's house, no working class meetings, social evenings, etc., should fail to have contribution lists or contribution boxes for the victims of fascism in Germany. Collect money, clothes, food-products.

Toilers! Rally around the banner of the I.R.A. for practical relief to the victims of the fascist terror in Germany!

Down with Fascism!

Long Live the Solidarity of the Toilers of all Countries!

International Red Aid.

The Tasks of the German Week

By Bela Kun

The crusade of darkest reaction against the working class has by no means reached its zenith. It is still in a state of constant growth. The trial of Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev is merely the preparation of a new pretext for the further intensification of the fascist terror. The originators of the system of lying and deception, of slander and provocation, the present business advisers of the German financial-oligarchy, Hitler, Goering and Goebbels, are preparing an attack on the life of the leader of the revolutionary working class of Germany—on the life of *Ernst Thaelmann*. The bloody deeds of the national-socialists are only surpassed by their furious campaign of lies and slander. Side by side with the material violence of the fascist

murder bands the ideological gas-warfare of Goebbels is being carried on in order to keep the working class in subjection. The S.A. and the S.S. are directing their murderous weapons against the workers; by means of the N.S.B.O. (the National-Socialist Factory Organisation), by means of the "adjusted" bourgeois press, by means of all kinds of "labour papers" the Hitler government is endeavouring to cloud over and to poison the class-consciousness of the German workers, just as the bourgeoisie did earlier by means of the social-democratic press.

Capitalism is not content merely to plunder the workers. It strives always to persuade the workers that the plundering of them occurs in their own interests, that they themselves desire to be exploited. German fascism will raise this to its highest point. What is now happening in Germany may be characterised in the words of Schiller—in the speech of the executioner of Don Carlos:

"I will murder thee, but for thine own good."

The executioners of the German people have always preached uncompromising opposition to the Versailles Treaty, and yet they are going to sign the castrated Four-Power Pact with France, England and Italy, without having taken a step forward towards the revision of the Versailles system. The catastrophic conditions of Germany's economic system are being aggravated at a rapid pace. The petty bourgeoisie and the small peasants hope in vain that the Hitler government will redeem something of their demagogic promises. Only murder and rising prices grow apace. The exploitation of the exploited and downtrodden is continually being pushed to further extremes. German finance-capital is drifting systematically towards inflation. With brutal clarity the only meaning of the Hitler "National Revolution" is revealed: the concentration of all the instruments of power and violence of the bourgeois State against the German revolutionary working class. The methods of violence of the State will be ever more brutally applied in proportion as German capitalist economy is nearing the brink of catastrophe, and the preparations, already begun, for a war against France and her allies and for the intervention against the Soviet Union near completion.

Fascism is, however, on the forward march not only in Germany. The master of all fascist executioners, the Italian dictator *Mussolini*, declared not long ago:

"The phrase that fascism is not an article of export is not mine; it is too banal. . . . In any case, it needs correcting. To-day I maintain that fascism, in its idea, in its teaching, as in its carrying-out, is universal. . . . One can foresee a fascist Europe, a Europe taking as a basis the institutions, the teachings and the practice of fascism—that is, a Europe that solves in the fascist sense the problem of the modern State."

One has, of course, to subtract from *Mussolini's* vapourings as much on the one hand as can be ascribed to the usual phrasemongering of fascist ideology—one must not forget that in a succession of countries fascism is already on the decline (Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, etc.). On the other hand it is quite certain that the countries of the "big and little democracies" are showing more and more signs of fascistisation. In the United States American democracy has placed full dictatorial powers in the hands of President Roosevelt. In Belgium there exists already an Enabling Act after the German pattern, which secures for the government unlimited power. In Austria there is already in existence, tolerated by Austrian social-democracy, the "lesser evil" of so-called "clerical-fascism." In France the bourgeoisie has no need to arrange a "fascist putsch" or a "march on Paris" after the Italian pattern if it wishes to set up a fascist regime in order to save capitalism from the revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat. It would suffice to bring into application the already adopted war-time legislation in order to bring about a fascist-like or fascist dictatorship. In Czechoslovakia all the measures have been taken for the setting up of a Czechist-fascist dictatorship.

In spite of this the "German destiny" is not unavoidable in other countries. The development towards fascism is by no means inevitable, as is proclaimed in a more or less disguised form by Otto Bauer and other social democrats. The "German destiny" is the destiny that was prepared by social democracy. Fascism has and can only succeed where social democracy has prepared the way for it.

The German Week which is being inaugurated by the International Red Aid is not merely an ordinary relief week, in which the proletariat and the toilers of all countries manifest their active solidarity with the victims of the Hitler dictatorship in Germany and abroad. *The German Week is an international week for the organisation of an intensified struggle against the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, for the united front of the working class in the struggle against fascism, reaction, imperialist war and the offensives of capital.*

Those who have split the international workers' movement, the social-democratic parties, also wanted to weaken the capacity of the international proletariat to convey help to their German class-brothers. They wished to create the impression that the Mateotti Fund might be a source of relief for the victims of fascism and did not serve to finance those who aided the work of wrecking and espionage in the Soviet Union, the Mensheviks. It is the duty of every revolutionary worker to exploit with all his energy the German Week for the strengthening of united relief action in the interest of the struggling and suffering proletariat. United struggle against German, against our own, fascism, against the agents of finance-capital, German as well as international, the drawing in of the broadest masses for this struggle in the workshops as well as amongst the unemployed, of the peasants as well as the petty-bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, of the scientists—of all and everyone who are disposed to place their powers at the service of the liberation of the oppressed, of relief action for the victims of the fascist terror in Germany!

Even the collection of the smallest amount of money is an act of struggle. In Germany and abroad there are scattered tens and more than tens of thousands of victims of the fascist terror, and as well as these tens of thousands are languishing in the prisons, in the murder-hells of the S.A. and the S.S. detachments. The bourgeoisie of the countries of the capitalist world snap their fingers at the right of asylum, that tradition of the bourgeoisie which dates from the time when the bourgeoisie was still a progressive class. German refugees are already being delivered to Hitler's Germany from Czechoslovakia and Austria. The struggle for the right of asylum for the German political refugees is also the task for this German Week of the International Red Aid.

The English proletarians have given some brilliant examples of how the agents of Hitler should be treated by the workers abroad. The struggle for the throwing out of Hitler's agents and fascist spies abroad must set in along the whole line during the German Week of the International Red Aid.

Fight for the rescue of Comrades Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, for the liberation of all the victims of the fascist dictatorship as a sign of courageous proletarian internationalism.

He who in every country places his whole energies at the disposal of the German proletarians, for the heroic and self-sacrificing anti-fascist fighters in Germany, fights for himself.

My Appeal to the Proletarians of the World

DEAR COMRADES:

The capitalist world is in the grip of the most far-reaching crisis in its history. The masses are cursed with unemployment and suffer desperately from misery and starvation. In order to get out of the crisis capitalism has been pursuing a policy of unheard-of violence and oppression, of which the fascist dictatorship of the Hitler Nazis' murder gang in Germany is symbolic: pogroms against the Jews; the arrest, imprisonment, torture and murder of Communists and other militant toilers; the attack against the intellectuals who refuse to prostitute their talents to the glory of the monstrous fascist regime; the attempted destruction of centuries of cultured progress—this is the service which Hitler and his murderous cohorts render to moribund capitalism.

In the Far Eastern countries terror is also the weapon of imperialist domination. British imperialism in India, French imperialism in Indo-China, Dutch imperialism in Indonesia, hold the workers and peasants in subjection by the brutal application

of terror. The Japanese workers and peasants who resist the cruel exploitation of the bloody Mikado regime are arrested, tortured and condemned to long prison terms or death. To-day more than 3,000 Communists and revolutionary workers are facing sentences of imprisonment for life, or execution. In recent years nearly 70 Communists and other revolutionary workers have been murdered by the police.

International Red Aid, which was called into being for the express purpose of organising the fight against the white terror and to bring moral, material and legal aid to the victims of terror, has proclaimed an **International Solidarity Week** in support of the victims of the German fascist terror. For the Far East this Solidarity Week is set for July 15 to 23 inclusive. During this week the I.R.A. will engage to mobilise the toiling masses and the intellectuals who sympathise with their aims in the great work of collecting the maximum amount of material relief—money, food, clothing, medicines, etc.—for the victims of the fascist terror. I appeal to the world proletariat and sympathising intellectuals to unite with the I.R.A. in making International Solidarity Week a success, both from the point of view of material aid to the victims of the terror and to encourage the heroic comrades who are conducting the mighty struggle against fascism.

Comrades of the world, support the victims of fascist terror! Support the Solidarity Week Actions! Support the fighters in the revolutionary struggle! Long live the International Red Aid.

Sen Katayama.

Clara Zetkin Issues Call for International Relief Week

To all who work with hand or brain!

To all who are honestly striving to promote the onward march of humanity!

Look at Germany, where capitalism, which is dying and feels itself threatened, expects salvation from fascism. Fascism has set up a regime of physical and mental annihilation, whose cruel deeds far surpass those of the Middle Ages. Through the whole world are heard the cries of indignation on account of the cruelties practised by the brown terror against its victims. Countless numbers have been murdered. Thousands are in the prisons and concentration camps. Fascism has maimed and crippled countless people, driven them as refugees over the frontiers, deprived their children of bread and shelter. But in spite of everything the workers are fighting undauntedly, heroically against fascism. Solidarity with the fighters and aid—material aid to secure the bare lives of the victims of murderous fascism—is the urgent demand of the hour for all whose thoughts and feelings are in revolt against the monstrous deeds of the fascist terror, which is dripping with blood.

The **International Red Aid**, which has fought for ten years against white terror and fascism in the whole world, in the name of its 14 million members in all countries, summons to the **International Relief Week** for the victims of fascist terror in Germany. In the first place it is a question of rendering material aid—money, clothes, food, shelter, care of children, provision of work, care of the sick, etc. Help is required by the political prisoners and their dependents, who are in dire need. Aid is required by the political refugees who have fled abroad and are without food and shelter. True to its great historical mission, the I.R.A. begs not for alms, but appeals for understanding. It does not call for pity, but summons to the struggle. Our relief action goes hand in hand with the great fight against the originator of this suffering, against the fascist regime.

Friends, sympathisers, you who are willing to render help and to fight! I urgently request you to support the action of the I.R.A. to the utmost of your power and devotion; to regard the cause of the fighting and suffering as your own cause.

Social-democratic working men and women, members of the free trade unions, endeavour by unreservedly taking your place in the Red Front to atone for the crimes of your leaders, who by their policy smoothed the way for fascism, and now cowardly go down on their knees to it.

Women with occupations! remember that fascism deprives you of the rights acquired in fierce struggle, and denies you independence and work. Remember that the "Third Empire" wishes to degrade you to the position of "serving maid of the

man" and a child-bearing machine. Do not forget the brave women fighters whom fascism has tortured to death, whom it has placed behind prison walls.

Scholars, Artists, Teachers, Writers, Members of the free professions! Do not forget the bonfires on which fascism burns the cultural products you have created and carefully preserved, the destruction of which deprives humanity of a source of spiritual development. Our material aid for the victims of the Swastika terror is a sacrifice for that internationality for which the enlightened minds of all peoples have striven. Fie on the shame of the fascist incitement against people of other races, especially on the indescribable shame of the anti-Jewish pogroms. Working people of all races and nations! Reply to the anti-Jewish pogroms in Germany by fighting against fascism and actively supporting its victims.

Opponents of fascism in all countries! I call upon you to fulfil the full duty of international solidarity with the International Red Aid. The sacrifice which the International Red Aid demands of you is trifling in comparison with the sacrifices in blood and treasure which the revolutionary workers are making every day in their heroic fight against fascism. None of us must rest until fascism, which brings bloody oppression, terror, hunger and war in its train, lie shattered.

With Red Aid greetings,

(Signed) **Clara Zetkin,**

**Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the International Red Aid.**

Solidarity Action of the British Workers

By **William Rust** (London)

The British workers who have always wholeheartedly responded to every call for class solidarity have a great duty to perform to their German brothers. The hand of comradeship must be stretched out to the victims of the Hitler Brown Terror, we must extend a real material help to those men and women who have been beaten, tortured and deprived of their livelihood, we must fight with all our power to save from the gallows the revolutionary leaders whose only crime is their resolute struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

During the **International Week for the victims of German Fascism** the solidarity campaign in Britain should be raised to new heights and with such intensity and enthusiastic determination that every factory and union branch will echo with anti-fascist slogans and the victims of fascism will take new inspiration from the solidarity action of their British comrades.

Hitler fascism is wreaking a foul revenge on the working class. Hundreds of our comrades have already made the supreme sacrifice, tens upon tens of thousands have been savagely beaten or are at the mercy of their deprived captors in the concentration camps, erected for those who dare to oppose Hitler.

Now the bestial leaders of fascism intend to continue the provocative burning of the Reichstag by staging a new provocation—this time the scene will be set in the courts where **Comrade Torgler** and the three Bulgarian Communists, **Comrades Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev** will be charged, along with the miserable blackguard Van der Lubbe, with being responsible for the burning.

The Hitler fascists, drunk with the blood of the working class and sunk in their own depravity, are yet fearful that the fascist torches which set light to the Reichstag building under the direction of the drug fiend Göring, have begun a blaze which ultimately will engulf the fascist regime itself.

The flames of the Reichstag were the signal for the bloody assault on the working class, the crashing timbers were the excuse for the suppression of the Communist Party and the hounding of its members. But to-day the burnt-out parliament buildings stand as a monument to the rottenness and venality of all things fascist. No thinking person in the wide world believes that the Communists, in defiance of all their principles, committed this act which Hitler appraised at the time as a heavenly gift.

Throughout the world the working class has unhesitatingly branded the burning of the Reichstag as a provocative outrage of fascism. And even in Germany itself the heavy prison sentences

for any spoken expression of doubt regarding the authorship of the crime has not destroyed the strong conviction that the fascists and only the fascists are responsible for this deed.

Therefore comes the trial of our comrades in order to prove the unprovable, to save the face of Hitler, Goering and Co., to justify the Brown Terror which has now been raging for three months. But whatever hopes the Hitlerites set on the trial will never be realised, the facts of the burning are so well known to the world at large that not even a dozen trials will wipe out the responsibility of the fascists.

But whatever the effects of the trial may be the terrible danger exists that the fascists may murder our comrades whom they place on trial.

The German and Bulgarian Communists can only be saved from the hangman by the solidarity action of the international working class. The comrades who are now facing trial and hundreds of other fearless workers in Germany can be snatched from the jaws of death only with the assistance of their comrades abroad.

The British workers have already responded to the call of their German brothers but there remains very much more to be done. The mass demonstrations organised under the united front of the Communist Party and Independent Labour Party, the stormy reception given to Rosenberg when he made his London visit, the sending of 60 delegates to the Anti-fascist congress, the setting up of the German Relief Committee, etc., all of these are valuable and praiseworthy activities which must be intensified tenfold.

In so doing the workers of Britain will be defending themselves against the attacks of their own ruling class as well as helping the German masses, they will be forging the bonds of international solidarity which are of such vital urgency in these days when the world is threatened by a new imperialist war.

The British bourgeoisie fear the unbridled nationalism and militarism of fascist Germany, but they fear the revolutionary power of the working class far more. Capitalist politicians, especially Sir Austen Chamberlain, have not hesitated to denounce Hitler in measured terms and several of the most imperialistic newspapers have expressed a sudden and most touching interest in the fate of Germany's democratic constitution. But fear of Germany and holy indignation with Hitler atrocities has not prevented the British bourgeoisie from attempting to bridge over its antagonisms with Germany, and the antagonisms between other imperialist Powers, by the building of a **Four-Power Pact** directed against the Soviet Union.

The indignation of the British statesmen will vanish like snow before the midday sun if they succeed in this aim which would mean a marked step towards armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

International solidarity with the German workers is a necessary part of the fight against the war plans of the British imperialists who, like their German prototypes, will not hesitate to employ in Britain the same bloody methods of class oppression.

There is not the least doubt that the British ruling class is quite as brutal and degenerate as the German, and, in fact, has even had much more experience in the art of bloody suppression. The British "gentlemen" who have been reared on colonial slaughter and who have imprisoned far more people in India than Hitler has done in Germany, will readily fling away the mask of democracy in Britain when they think that the time is ripe.

Britain will follow the German road unless the working class, by its united struggle and international solidarity action, succeed in defeating the development towards fascism. The ingredients for fascism are already at hand in Britain. The ruling class is strengthening the repressive powers of the state and would be able to establish a fascist dictatorship, possibly through the monarchical institution, in the approved constitutional manner: the Labour Party plays a role similar to the German social democracy, offering endless concessions to the bourgeoisie and holding back the workers from mass action and entreating them to place their trust in parliament and democracy: finally, there is not lacking the avowed fascist movement of Sir Oswald Mosley and the Empire Crusader, Lord Beaverbrook, who hopes to don the mantle of a dictator with the help of his newspapers.

International solidarity with the victims of German fascism will strengthen the forces of the British workers in the fight against their own capitalist class and hasten the downfall of reaction and fascism everywhere.

Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev, Popov Threatened by the Fascist Hangmen

By Kolarov.

In secret alliance with the Bulgarian Government the national-fascists of Germany are preparing to commit the basest and vilest crime the world has ever witnessed.

The machinery of fascist justice has been set in motion for the purpose of whitewashing at any price the people actually responsible for the burning of the Reichstag and to throw the whole blame for this black deed of fascist hands—a crime which greatly facilitated Hitler's seizure of power—on to the shoulders of entirely blameless and innocent men who had nothing whatever to do with the matter.

It will already be perfectly clear to every honest person not blinded by an unbridled hatred of Communists that neither the German nor the Bulgarian Communists had anything to do and could not have had anything to do with the burning of the Reichstag, that they could not possibly have had any connections whatsoever with the very worst bloodhounds of the fascist dictatorship, with agent-provocateurs, police spies and stool-pigeons like Van der Lütte, Bell, Drushelovsky, and others like them, nor ever could have had any such connections.

By declining to maintain the charge against the other leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, Göring and Göbbels have themselves upset the legal grounds for the charges preferred against the four Communists brought before the courts.

The National-Fascist Government admits itself that the Reichstag fire was not the work of the C.P.G.

Who is going to believe, then, that—contrary to this official statement—members of the C.C. of the C.P.G.: Torgler, Chairman of the Communist Fraction in the Reichstag; Dimitrov, member of the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria and for many years Secretary of the General T.U. Federation of that country; as well as the Communist workers, Tanev and Popov, arrested together with them, were the originators of this deed of arson and actually set the building on fire?

Yet the Nazi leaders, who were caught in the act, are so placed that they are bound to make every attempt to save the national-fascist "revolution" with all the means in their power.

They are therefore making the wildest assertions and will balk at no methods at all to achieve their ends, no matter how dishonest and criminal these methods may be.

The tricks and wiles of the Nazi inquisitors who have been engaged for the past three months in gathering the "incriminating material" necessary for the executioners to proceed to action against our comrades are still shrouded in the profoundest darkness. As it happens, however, international public opinion is already instructed to some extent on what manner of "incriminating material" the Berlin chief-of-police has been accumulating in his office safes locked fast against the non-fascist world.

As examining judge in the case, Herr Vogt has already informed the Press that Comrade Dimitrov was, as he makes out, the "organiser of the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral." Assuming that that be so, it becomes small matter for surprise that he has also had "a hand in the matter of the Reichstag fire." That being so, it is also highly "probable" that Van der Lütte (who is supposed to possess a membership card of the C.P. of Holland) was in contact with Dimitrov and other Communists. All that remains is to "prove" this contact. Now is there likely to be any difficulty in these days, when people "disappear without a trace" or when they "commit suicide" so frequently, to find one or even a couple of lads prepared to give testimony to the court—all for the good of the "National-Socialist Revolution"—to having "seen" Dimitrov in Van der Lütte's company in some Berlin cafe?

Here you have the whole essence of the "case" for the prosecution built up by the Nazi leaders: The professional "assassin" Dimitrov and the Bulgarian "terrorists" are the "connecting link" between Van der Lütte and the Comintern, and in this way all doubts and any suspicion whatever against the national-fascists are "dispelled."

Signs are not wanting to show that the secret police of Sofia and the Bulgarian government have been taking a prominent part in the staging of the Berlin trial of the Bulgarian Communists. There is the case of the Berlin police agent who made the journey

specially to Sofia in order to dip into the "archives" of the secret police there. Then Bulgaria's diplomatic representative in Berlin has been "informing" the German authorities as to Dimitrov and his fellow-prisoners.

The most important and "annihilating" "document" dug out from the archives of the Bulgarian secret police is the one which gave Zankoff a free hand, actually helped him to murder several thousands of workers and peasants, both with and without the sham of court proceedings, who had fought against the fascist regime—the notorious forged "order" of the E.C.C.I. of March 12th, 1925, calling for the launching of an armed uprising in Bulgaria and the carrying out of terroristic acts.

Not only the C.P. of Bulgaria and the Comintern flatly denied the supposed "order" in question, but even in the columns of such influential bourgeois papers as the "Berliner Tageblatt," the "Manchester Guardian," and others it was most plainly shown that this so-called "document" was nothing else but a stupid and clumsy forgery fabricated on the order of Zankoff's agents by those manufacturers of false anti-Soviet and anti-Communist documents, Drushelovsky, Gumanski, Bell, etc., who have achieved "world fame." Actually, after these astounding revelations Zankoff had to go.

Nor is that all. In spite of the Bulgarian Government having such a "document" in their possession, having brought thousands of Communists before the courts and also made every possible effort to frame up a number of trials against Comrade Dimitrov, the fact remains that it did not dare to charge him with complicity in the crime of the Sofia Cathedral explosion. As organiser and leader of the Bulgarian workers both at home and abroad, Dimitrov was so well known and so beloved that neither Zankoff nor Liapcheff were prepared to undertake such a foolhardy enterprise which could only have compromised them most shamefully.

The same thing applies also to the other Bulgarian Communists who have been similarly charged. Tanev and Popov were living legally in Bulgaria and were subject to arrest and persecution again and again owing to their participation in the revolutionary mass movement, but they had never been accused of having any connection with the Sofia Cathedral explosion or with other like acts of terrorism or made to face the courts on such charges.

No, despite all the underhand trickery of the fascists, in spite of all the false testimony they may get perjured witnesses to submit, the fascists of both Berlin and Sofia will never succeed in making Comrade Dimitrov out to be an assassin and the fellow-plotter of agent-provocateurs and police spies like Van der Lütte, Drushelovsky, Bell and others like them.

No one will ever succeed in so shamelessly and dishonourably stigmatising this old labour leader and tried and tested revolutionary who has faced death more than once and has been fighting all his life against the spies and agents of the police.

Dimitrov's comrades in the struggle, who fought at his side, were always tried leaders of the workers and true revolutionaries as well as the foremost and best representatives of the intellectuals of all countries, men like Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Einstein, etc., whom Dimitrov had the satisfaction of winning over for the struggle against Zankoff and the fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria. In alliance with the Berlin fascists the hangmen of Sofia are now taking their revenge on Comrade Dimitrov for his activities and for having revealed them to the world for the foul creatures they are.

This monstrous trial which is being engineered by Göring and Göbbels is only a step in the direction of letting loose a fresh wave of terror in Germany and Bulgaria. The international reaction and counter-revolution is already setting to work in order to strengthen the capitalist offensive and the drive of the fascists against the working class and the toiling masses, against the Communist Parties and the revolutionary mass organisations of the toilers. This fresh wave of terror will just as certainly be a new impetus to the preparation of war and intervention.

The struggle to expose this new and monstrous piece of provocation constitutes one of the most important and urgent demands of the hour. The international proletariat must raise its powerful voice to rally the public opinion of all lands not yet corrupted by capitalism and fascism and to make every effort to rescue our infamously maligned comrades from the clutches of the fascist hangmen.

Fight Against Fascism

A Congress of the United Anti-Fascist Front

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The Anti-Fascist Congress that took place in Paris on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of June was a *magnificent demonstration*: in the first place a demonstration of the toiling masses of the whole world against the bloody excesses of the Hitler Terror, for they can perceive perfectly well that the events in Germany at the present moment dominate the whole international situation. But still more a demonstration of their united will for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, whether the form in which it governs be open dictatorship or hypocritical democracy, which grows ever more fascist, the more the world chaos grows.

The Paris Congress was a mighty congress owing to the number of the representatives who came from all the countries of Europe, among them from those in which the most brutal fascism is raging, in spite of the dangers that faced them, and in spite of the traps set for them by the international police. Three thousand delegates, representing more than three million exploited and oppressed workers, met in the enormous Salle Pleyel, which was too small to accommodate the numerous Parisian workers who wished to testify to their foreign comrades their complete solidarity with them and to give them the assurance that the descendants of the 30,000 communards who were shot down by the white terror are on the watch.

The Congress was a mighty Congress owing to the *indescribable enthusiasm* that reigned during the sittings and which was expressed particularly on the occasion of the rousing marching in of the strong delegation from Germany.

The passionate enthusiasm with which the participants in the Congress greeted the speakers and sang revolutionary songs was the result of a feeling of imperturbable faith in the victory of the forces of the future against the dark powers of regression to a mediæval past, and of a burning determination to unite the anti-fascist class struggle on an international basis.

Above all, the Congress was a mighty Congress because it was a *demonstration of a broad united front*. It was this fundamental characteristic of the Congress of being an important addition to the assembly of broad anti-fascist strata which the Paris Police Prefecture endeavoured to misrepresent in the name of the French Government in the communiqués issued by it and published in the bourgeois press, and above all the socialist "Populaire."

The Presidium, which united workers, peasants, intellectuals, socialists, Communists, and members of the reformist and autonomous trade unions, etc., was a living reflection of the social composition of the meeting, the basis of which was in character proletarian.

There certainly remains an enormous amount to be done in this respect. Our French comrades will, for example, certainly not remain content with the fact that of 2,000 delegates there were only a few dozen members of the reformist trade unions or the Socialist Party, and must exploit the campaign for reporting on the Congress to extend perceptibly the movement for the support of this Congress.

The fact must be emphasised that 200 members of the Second International were present despite the prohibition of the executive to attend the Congress.

A joint declaration was read out on their behalf which confirmed the necessity for the revolutionary united front. The members of the German Social-Democratic Party violently condemned the policy of splitting the forces of the workers and the policy of class collaboration as well as the policy of the entire Second International. All the socialist comrades stressed the absolute necessity for always carefully differentiating between the leaders and the rank and file of social democracy. Some of them believe that it is still possible to revive the Second International, but unanimously condemn its policy and are unanimous in their will to draw in the socialist workers for united action against fascism.

The report on the experiences of our comrades in Germany and a polemic with the radical deputy *Bergery* of the French

Amsterdam anti-war committee introduced extremely lively debates with regard to the best methods for the practical struggle against fascism. With the assurance that his sole concern was the rapid creation of a broad united front which should include the reformist masses and the middle class, *Bergery* maintained that the proletariat and above all its Communist shock troop could not be the centre and driving force of this united front. He represented a tendency that is permeated by the democratic spirit, whether by its will or not, and which sees the fascist danger only in those countries already subjected to a dictatorship.

The Congress recorded the opinion that the anti-fascist struggle can only be a *class struggle* against capitalism in its entirety, even when capitalism gives itself a democratic name. The defence of bourgeois democracy or even a benevolent acceptance of it could not be regarded as a means towards the struggle against fascism, but on the contrary only an approach to the latter. The slogan of co-operation with the democracy of a country such as France against fascism in another country is a method that is employed by the bourgeoisie to place *the basic anti-fascism of the toiling masses at the service of chauvinism and the imperialist war*.

There was unanimity of opinion with regard to the necessity for the greatest possible extension of the united front, on the firm basis, however, of the international revolutionary struggle against the present regime. The lever of the movement must be in the hands of the proletariat. It will be the driving force of the proletariat that will draw into action the masses exploited by capital. The best means of forging closer bonds amongst these masses consists in organising the defence of their day-to-day demands against every attack on the part of the bourgeoisie.

The words of *Liebknecht* were mentioned with emphasis ten, twenty times: *The enemy is in our own country*. The delegate of the Communist Party of Germany was greeted by storms of applause when he declared that the struggle against fascism in foreign countries only practically meant the rallying to nationalism, to which only one force was opposed: that of *proletarian internationalism*.

The Congress has shown that the question of war must be closely bound up with the question of fascism. Hitler Fascism has reached power on the basis of chauvinist agitation, and his policy strengthens the danger of war. The capitalists of the other countries, above all of the allegedly "democratic" countries, know how to exploit cleverly this policy to stir up the flames of chauvinism and in this way to prepare more intensively for the massacre of the peoples.

The majority of those taking part in the Congress were also of the opinion that a connection could easily be made between the Amsterdam movement and the anti-fascist movement. Besides at the very first sitting *Barbusse* promised to the Congress the complete support of the World Anti-War Committee.

As regards organisation the resolution adopted by the Paris meeting proposes the setting up of *anti-fascist workshop or local committees* and closely bound organisations for the self-defence of the masses. Thus the socialist *Poupy* was able to declare in the name of the resolution committee:

"We can all leave this Congress armed for the struggle and animated by the determination to organise ourselves for the annihilation of fascism."

Ideologically armed by the rejection of all democratic sophisms, by the unanimous rallying to the principle *that the destruction of fascism means the destruction of capitalism*;

Armed with regard to the means as to how to extend as widely as possible the red front, which welcomes all those who are willing to fight honestly against more or less fascist capitalism—a front the best promoters of which will be the Communists, who will, however, at the same time avoid every kind of fruitless sectarianism, but will take care that the front maintains an unimpeachable class basis, which will alone permit us to win over and lead to victory the social strata to which we shall appeal.

Manifesto of the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress

Fifty thousand workers, men, women, and even children of all ages, salaried people, small peasants and intellectuals, are being tortured in the dens of the fascist bandits; in the concentration camps; in prisons; in the barracks of the Nazis and the cells of the Hitler police. Unarmed and defenceless men and women are assassinated by Hitler's executioners on the pretext of "an attempt to flee" or "in self defence."

The criminal fascist burning of the Reichstag, the **most monstrous provocation** of modern times, heralded a period of the intensest barbarous fascist terrorism.

The revolutionary vanguard of the working class which leads a heroic struggle in the interests of the whole of the labouring masses against fascism, imperialist war and capitalist exploitation, was declared illegal. Hundreds of proletarian newspapers were destroyed. The workers' unions which had been built up during half a century by the effort, struggle and sacrifice of tens of thousands of proletarians, were torn from their hands to be transformed into strike-breaking organisations at the service of the fascist State. The funds of the workers' organisations were stolen. The workers' right to strike was abolished and strikes are forbidden. The latest decree of the fascist dictators makes work in Germany virtually forced labour.

The most savage terror is raging throughout Germany, the brown plague is making an onslaught against everyone and everything which according to the opinion of the fascists, agents of the German financial oligarchy and of the Prussian landlords, may prove dangerous to the domination of the decaying capitalist system.

The effects of centuries of research, the finest accomplishments of science, literature and art, are publicly burned amid the cheers of the savages who form the barbarous camp of the Nazis. Germany's greatest scientists who are honoured by the whole world, are deprived of their offices, their laboratories, and their professional seats. The most renowned writers and artists are put under ban. The infamous actions of the anti-Jewish movement throw German history back several centuries.

Hundreds of thousands are the bloody victims of fascist terrorism; workers, small peasants and intellectuals have been assassinated, tortured, and driven from hearth and home by the fascists. Even those who, in the bounds of fascist "legality," are willing to defend the victims of fascism, become the prey of the national-socialist terror. Dying capitalism can only maintain its parasitic existence by the use of unbridled violence.

Hitler fascism is leading Germany to catastrophe. The first quarter of his activity means: increase of unemployment instead of the promised direct or indirect means of employment, speculation on the means of existence instead of the promised increase in wages; free rein to the stock-jobbers instead of the promised abolition of interest-slavery; more millions for the Prussian landlords instead of the promised help for the poor peasants.

If Mussolini, Pilsudski and Horthy had not succeeded in solving the capitalist crisis and in crushing the working class movement, the leader of the national-socialist band in Germany will still less be able to succeed in the task, in this period of intensive aggravation of the crisis of the capitalist system. The heroic struggle of the working class, the peasant revolts that continuously flare up, are signs of the bankruptcy of all fascist attempts to destroy the struggle between the classes.

The break-out of political and economic strikes, the illegal demonstrations (May 1st), the numberless anti-fascist factory papers, leaflets, pamphlets, the anti-fascist newspapers, the armed resistance against the fascists, the actions in the forced labour camps—all this proves that the anti-fascist front exists and develops continuously in Germany.

Even in countries where the bourgeoisie still maintains the false appearance of democracy, imperialist reaction is raging. The bourgeoisie in the democratic states of France, England, and Czechoslovakia, still try to realise their reactionary and anti-working class policy, their readiness for imperialist war under the mask of democracy and pacifism. Under the false slogan of the "defence of democracy," reactionary and fascist measures are taken against the toiling masses. Step by step the bourgeois state becomes increasingly fascist, as happened in Germany, with the most active co-operation of Braun, Severing, Grezsinski. This is, in actual fact, the same policy that is at present being carried out by

Renaudel, Blum, Meissner, Vandervelde and Co., who under the mask of the "struggle against fascism," help the bourgeoisie to drive down the working class.

At the same time, French imperialism in Indo-China and other colonies is bathed in the blood of the natives, whose suppression is guaranteed by the guillotine.

The international advance of fascism precedes the coming of imperialist war. The pitiless oppression of the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants, the reduction of salaries and social insurance, the raising of taxes and Custom duties, all this combines in preparing the next imperialist world war.

While one group of imperialist Powers—Germany, Italy and Hungary—are hastily arming for an eventual revision by force of the Versailles Treaty, on the other hand another group—Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania, under the leadership of democratic France—is attempting to maintain the Versailles yoke in the name of a future war of democracy against fascism.

With the aggravation of the conflicts between the imperialist countries, imperialism strives hard to build the anti-Bolshevik united front, to realise the joint war against the country of socialism, against the one unshaken fortress of the workers of all countries and of all the oppressed nations, against the solid bulwark erected by socialism, in face of fascism and imperialist reaction. Imperialist Japan, that by arms and blood tries to impose a yoke upon four hundred million Chinese, is ready in the Far East to attack the Soviets. In England the Die-hards actually in power have proclaimed economic war upon the Soviet State, though encountering the energetic resistance of the workers, who are rallying to the united front day by day in ever-growing numbers and increasing authority. British imperialism intends to win the leadership of the anti-Bolshevik front of intervention by the Four-Power Pact.

It is only in fighting against your own bourgeoisie, against your own capitalism, against all forms of fascist tendencies and measures, that the development of fascism to a real mass power, even in the so-called democratic countries, can be checked. It is only by a united front of all workers of all countries, allied to the workers and peasants of the socialist state, the land of the Soviets, against imperialism, that a stop can be put to the international advance of fascism, as well as to the next imperialist war.

The financial oligarchy of Germany and the great landowners of Prussia have been able to carry Hitler's bandits to power; but only because the German social democracy refused to break its united front with the bourgeoisie and deserted the anti-fascist fight of the German workers.

The German proletariat could have prevented Hitler's ascension to power, had the social democrats proclaimed a general political mass strike, which the revolutionary workers are striving for: if the leaders of the German social democracy and of the reformist trade unions had not exploited their influence over the workers in strangling the strikes and in breaking the anti-fascist fighting front. There is no greater dishonour in the history of the working class movement than the participation of the social-democratic Reichstag fraction in the opening session of the fascist Reichstag, without protesting against the infamous actions of the Hitler government committed against the social democratic, communist, and non-party workers, no greater dishonour than the agreement of the social-democratic fraction on May 12th to Hitler's political declaration in the Reichstag.

The leaders of the Second International are not willing to give up their co-operation with the capitalists: such is the real motive behind the decision of the Second International to boycott the International Anti-Fascist Congress.

We say this: One cannot really fight against fascism without giving up all collaboration with the bourgeoisie and without taking the path of the implacable revolutionary class struggle.

The European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress, composed of representatives of all sections of the working class, appeals to you to uphold the valiant fight against fascism and imperialist reaction in your own country.

The European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress decides to elect a permanent **International Committee** to direct the anti-fascist struggle.

This committee has to unite anti-fascists with all organisations which are struggling against imperialist war and against military intervention against the Soviet Union, with all adversaries of imperialist war, for the defence of all workers and oppressed people, against imperialist murder.

Organise in all countries, in all factories and in all trade unions, in all meeting places of unemployed people, in towns and villages, in all scientific and cultural institutions:

"Anti-Fascist Committees of Action."

"Fighting Committees" for Anti-Fascist action.

Build an impregnable dam against the flood tide of fascism in your country! With unity in the struggle, forward towards victory over fascism! **The European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress.**

Resolution of the Anti-fascist Congress against Hitler-Fascism.

"The delegates of the Anti-Fascist Congress emphatically protest against the proceedings taken by the Hitler government with a view to carrying out the legal assassination of our comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev. These working-class leaders, known and respected by the proletariat of the entire world, are to be taken before the bloody Nazi Tribunal at Leipzig and an attempt is to be made to implicate them in the burning of the Reichstag, with the provocateur Van der Lubbe.

"There is no one in the world who to-day ignores that the fire of the Reichstag was carried out by the Nazi leaders on the orders of Goering and Hitler. The leader of the Communist fraction of the Reichstag, Torgler, was no more responsible for this arson than the leaders of the workers' movement in Bulgaria, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev. This has been proved clearly, openly, and irrefutably. The weakness of the fascist government comes out clearly in the weakness of the accusation against our comrades itself. This is nothing else but an attempt to prepare the murder in cold blood.

"The European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress calls upon all workers and upon all anti-fascists of every land to organise immediate action to save the lives of the intended victims of the Tribunal of the fascist butchers. In every town of Europe, on June 18th, organise demonstrations against the Leipzig frame-up and for the liberation of the imprisoned proletarian leaders!"

Against Colonial Oppression

The Brutal Sentences in Saigon and the Situation in Indo-China

On May 8, the French Section of the International Red Aid received an alarming telegraphic report from its lawyer in Saigon, **Cancellieri**. The Penal Court of Saigon, before which 121 Annamites had been brought to trial, had pronounced the following savage sentences:—**8 death sentences, 19 sentences to imprisonment for life, and sentences aggregating 970 years' imprisonment for 79 of the other accused**, among them being an old man of 89 years, who was sentenced to 10 years' hard labour, and five women who received sentences from 5 to 15 years' hard labour.

These victims of class justice, most of them young class fighters, and all of them honest toilers, have committed the crime of being devoted workers in the Communist Party, the trade unions and the International Red Aid. They were arrested in the course of peasants' demonstrations which took place in the province of Cochinchina in the years 1930 and 1931 under the slogan of non-payment of the oppressive taxes, and sometimes even under the slogan of the distribution of the land. **They had been held in prison for two to three years without being brought before the court, and nobody knows how many others have died in prison as a result of the abominable tortures.**

The accused were also charged with having murdered four notables in July and September, 1930. Such murders, which frequently occur in Indo-China, are not the work of the Communists but of the notables themselves. In fact there exist fierce rivalries between these village headmen, who are agents of French imperialism. They savagely fight each other for the title of chief of the notables, for the latter collects the taxes, of which he pockets a considerable portion, and has many other advantages and benefits. Hence the fierce jealousy among them, which drives them to criminal acts.

The indictment is based on the "confessions" of the accused. One can judge the value of these confessions when one learns that they were extorted from the prisoners by the most horrible tortures. Many of the accused appeared in court with broken spines, broken arms and other symptoms of the horrible tortures, in which electrical current is one of the means used.

The oppressed proletariat of Indo-China is not only suffering

under the most savage terror, but also from **misery and starvation.**

The "**Tribune Indochinoise**" of January, 1932, published the following official report on the wages of the factory workers:—In the cotton factories the wages for a 12-hour working day are 1.50 Francs for men, 1 Franc for women, and 0.75 Francs for children of 8 to 10 years. On the rubber plantations where inhuman working conditions prevail, the workers receive 1.20 Francs to 2 Francs for a 15-16 hours working day. In the pits of the mining company of Tonking the working men and women receive for a 12-hour day of the most strenuous work without the most elementary safety devices, 1.50 Francs; boys of twelve are working 12 hours for which they are paid 75 centimes.

In addition, the workers are subjected to corporal punishment, fines are deducted from their miserable wages, and out of what is left over they have to pay seven kinds of taxes, the non-payment of which is punished with imprisonment.

But the crisis which set in in January, 1932, and the resulting increased unemployment have worsened the position of the Indo-Chinese toilers still further.

The situation of the peasant masses is even worse. Even the official press is compelled to describe the misery in the village in the gloomiest colours. It is true, the French imperialists have granted a credit of 10,000 million Piasters (equal to 100 million French francs) in order to alleviate the misery of the rice peasants. But this money has been paid into the big credit banks, and instead of the misery being reduced it will only increase.

The savage sentences passed in Saigon are only the continuation of the cruel reaction raging in Indo-China for the last three years. 81 Annamites have already been executed, and more than 10,000 Indo-Chinese are being slowly done to death in the prisons of Indo-China, whilst 1,800 have been deported to the hard labour prisons in Guiana.

After the revolt in Yen-Bay and the movements which followed it in Tonking, Cochinchina and North Annam, reprisals were carried out in the most savage manner. Whole villages were bombarded by French aeroplanes; mass executions without trial took place and many people, who were neither Communists nor revolutionaries, were killed in this manner. The bourgeois press of Indo-China publishes numerous reports of such bombardments, summary executions and other cruelties, which are all the more abominable as the demonstrations against which they were directed were of a perfectly peaceful character. With the exception of the nationalist revolt in Yen-Bay, the participants in the demonstrations were unarmed. But the troops opened fire on all these demonstrations without previous warning, each time killing numerous demonstrators.

Sarraut, the Minister for the Colonies, condones and approves of all these crimes committed on the order of Governor Pasquier. The government enjoys in this respect the support of the socialists, who raised a timid protest against the savage sentences, but voted for the colonial budget. The whole hypocrisy of their policy is revealed in the following words of **Leon Blum**:—

"If I were convinced that we could maintain our rule in Indo-China only by means of terror, I would advocate its immediate evacuation."

The French Section of the International Red Aid, immediately on hearing of the brutal sentences pronounced in Saigon, mobilised the French proletariat against them. Numerous intellectuals, among them being **Romain Rolland**, **Henri Barbusse**, Professor **Langevin**, and **Victor Margueritte**, joined the protest movement.

The protest movement of the toilers of France was reinforced by the protest movement of the oppressed masses in the other French colonies: In Algeria numerous Arab peasants signed a petition demanding that the lives of their brothers in Indo-China be spared.

But the assistance of the international proletariat is needed to support the campaign launched by the French section of the International Red Aid. To this end it is necessary to send protest telegrams and letters of protest to President **Lebrun** (Elysée, Paris) and to the Colonial Minister, **Sarraut** (27, Rue Oudinot, Paris), to arrange mass meetings and mass demonstrations throughout the whole world. This must be linked up with a campaign on behalf of **Nguyen au Quac**, the founder of the Communist Party of Indo-China, whose death was reported last year, but who, it now transpires, had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment by the military court in Hong-Kong and has now been released. His life, however, is again in danger, as the British imperialists threatened to deliver him over to the French imperialists.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

I.—From the Narrow-Minded Muzhik to the Class-Conscious Fighter

By our Special Correspondent, L. F. BOROSS.

Central Volga District, Middle of May, 1933.

We are in one of the granaries of the Soviet Union, in the central Volga district. About 36 hours' railway journey from Moscow and one hour's railway journey from the capital of Samara, lies the village of **Besentchuk**. Here is situated a machine and tractor station which serves 20 collective farms and an agricultural commune. Here there is also situated an experimental Soviet farm, known as the "agricultural combine."

Arrived at the railway station, I am immediately surrounded by a group of curious spectators as I take out my pencil and notebook and note down the inscription on a small black-board. It reads:

"The Besentchuk Agricultural Combine **requires workers** for field and building work. Apply to the Labour Council at Comrade Mineva."

"What is there remarkable in that?" asks the station master **Samarzev**, a former railway worker.

"The remarkable thing is that you do not find anything remarkable about it; and that here your only acquaintance with unemployment is perhaps derived only from history books. We in the capitalist countries have not seen such notices for many years."

The station master listens earnestly, then murmurs something which one could translate somewhat as follows:—

"What is one man's food is another man's poison."

"Yes," he adds, "you are right, we have put an end to unemployment long ago. In its place we have other worries. Do you see that red house there?" He points to a half-completed brick building, towering high above the other houses of the village. And then continues:

"We cannot finish this building so quickly as we first intended, as we are short of workers."

"What is this building going to be?"

"The new club premises of the workers employed in the agricultural combine, and the collective farm peasants; with a big cinema equipped for sound production films."

"Forty million unemployed will agree with me when I tell you that we envy you, not only your victories and achievements, but also your worries."

This concluded our conversation.

Of the 21 farms which the Besentchuk Machine and Tractor Station serves, let us take two collective farms, **Neubach**, named after the former leader of the District Executive Committee, and **Gigant No. 2**, as well as the Commune called the **O.G.P.U.** Three farms which, as we shall see, are at quite different stages of development on the way to Socialism. I found all three, however, full of fighting enthusiasm. These are the last days of the spring sowing of cereals. It is the time of greatest exertions. The tractors, all of which are already driven by members of the collective farms in question, are working three shifts day and night. And in addition, horse-drawn ploughs are working from sunrise until dark. During the day the village is practically deserted. The whole of the population are working in the fields. The village authorities, agronomists, tractor engineers, are in the fields day and night; they sleep out of doors in order to save time and energy going backwards and forwards. One notices that everyone feels that this year's spring sowing is a sort of test of the maturity of the collective farms. The collective farms form special groups (brigades) for every work district, with a collective peasant as brigadier at the head.

The brigadier and his assistants go about with a measuring

rod and measure the area ploughed and sown by every single member of the collective farm, test whether the furrow is sufficiently deep, the seed corn properly scattered, or, as they put it, they ascertain "the quantitative and qualitative index of the work performed." Then they enter everything in a note-book, and the list of achievements is published periodically in the wall newspapers of the brigades. These records form the basis for remunerating the working day, for the principle: each is paid according to work performed, prevails here, just as in the socialist town. This is indeed a strong incentive, but not the only one explaining the "miracle" that has been accomplished: the Russian peasants, formerly famous for their slothfulness, are working with such a determination and zeal that one is inclined to throw all former books on the "muzhik" on the rubbish heap.

Of course, the collective peasants were not converted all at once into one hundred per cent. Bolsheviki, into class-conscious fighters by collectivisation. We are not speaking at all of the hostile elements which found their way into the collective farms, of the saboteurs and slackers who are still to be found in the ranks of the collective peasants. But the consciousness of many of these collective peasants is still a mixture of the new collective spirit and the traditions of the small proprietor. With many of them collective, organised, punctual field work still goes very much against the grain. In almost every brigade there are, alongside of real shockbrigaders and heroes of labour, also idlers, people who perform their work perfunctorily, who do not bother about the work of their comrades. These are being gradually converted into new men in the process of the socialist transformation of agriculture.

We watch the work of a brigade of the "Neubach" collective farm. One of the ploughers suddenly slows down his work. The "brigadier" urges him on. The ploughman answers roughly: "What has it got to do with you? You look after your book! If I work less, I get less. That is my affair."

The man is surrounded by a whole crowd of indignant workmates. "Do you know," says a sturdy old man to him, "that the night brigade has already sown six per cent. more than we? Do you wish to bring us to shame?"

These words work wonders. The "slacker" still wishes to avoid the appearance of capitulation; he still grunts out a proud "Devil take you!" but he presses his plough into the earth and urges on his horse. And now we see a splendid picture. The "slacker" pushes forward; the distance between him and his warners becomes less. They observe this and increase their tempo. It is an exciting "race," the more so as here "racing" is a question of their own bread and the bread of the town workers, but before all however of the honour of the collective farm. And in the evening the table of the work performed shows that the "slacker" has on this day performed 28 per cent. more than on a normal day's work. That is the result of socialist incentive, of socialist competition.

Socialist competition has seized the Soviet village! Socialist competition between individual collective farm brigades, whole farms and whole districts. The shock brigade worker, who in spite of every difficulty more than fulfils his task, who feels responsible not only for his own work but also for the work of the whole collective farm, has already become a **mass phenomenon** in the Soviet village. The idlers and parasites have become the most hated persons in the village. Large masses of the collective peasants are already filled with the socialist spirit of work and the Bolshevik fighting spirit. The collective peasants feel themselves masters of the collective farms. And not only that: they are more

and more coming to feel that they are co-workers in the great work of socialist construction.

Socialist competition is not capitalist competition. Its aim is not the victory of one and the defeat of the other, but the accelerated advance of all. This is how the active members of the collective farms also regard socialist competition. The brigades or collective peasants who have fulfilled their plan, help forward the others who have been defeated in the competition. They plough the fields of their backward neighbours. They render "socialist aid." The "Neubach" collective farm has, on the initiative of individual members at public meetings, repeatedly decided to help one or other of the neighbouring collective farms, which had too little seed corn owing to the previous year's draught, by supplying them with wheat, another with oats, etc. The collective farm last year distributed **700 cents of seed corn** as "socialist aid."

The development of collective farm peasants into real socialist men and women is commencing, and this on a mass scale. Everything is still in a state of flux. In the Soviet village the old and the new is mixed almost like a mosaic. But one thing is unmistakable: the idea of "our collective farm" has irrevocably ousted from the soul of the peasants the idea of the miserable, individual small holding. The hope of those class enemies who reckoned on the unchangeableness of the peasant soul is thus destroyed. That is the first profound impression one gains after spending a few days in the Soviet village.

(To be continued.)

The Spring of Socialist Farming

By N. Buchwald

(Impressions of the Spring Sowing Campaign in the Soviet Union)

I. MOSCOW-EVPATORIA

March snow was still clinging to the edges of the fields in the central region of U.S.S.R., making its last desperate stand against the early spring. But in Crimea, I knew by the papers, that spring sowing campaign was in full swing. I, therefore, decided to go straight to *Crimea* without stopping anywhere and to work my way back through the Ukraine by easy stages as the spring sowing got under way in that section.

The countryside traversed by the Moscow-Sebastopole express is rather monotonous in appearance, especially in early spring when the fields are still bare and the variety of crops has not yet painted its checkered designs upon the vast stretches of flat land. The absence of forests and of large bodies of water makes the landscape still less attractive. Here and there patches of timid greenish down relieve the prevailing brown of the soil. These green patches, which look like delicate pastel daubs against a background of muddy brown, are the first visible results of the winter sowing. As the train proceeds farther south, the greenish patches occur more frequently. Apparently much of the area in these parts was sown with winter wheat and rye, and the plentiful snow has obviously served as a warm blanket for the seeds, making it cozy for them to undergo the first changes in the cycle of their life. Villages with their straw-roofed houses streak the landscape at frequent intervals. In contrast to the American farms, the population of Russian rural communities lives in the villages, with the fields a considerable distance away from the settlement. Except for artificial hedges or other boundary marks there was nothing to indicate the individual holdings of the peasants—when individual holdings were still the rule. The land of the entire community was generally one unbroken area, and this circumstance no doubt facilitated the transition to collective large-scale farming. The relation of the settlement to its land remains the same, only the inner boundary lines of the *massive* of land have been erased. It is this scheme of farming that adds to the bareness and the sense of endlessness of the Russian countryside. Between one village and another there is nothing but land.

In the train I made the acquaintance of a young worker from Western Siberia. He had been six days making his way to Evpatoria, a seashore and health resort on the Crimean coast. In recognition of his good work he was given a six weeks' vacation with pay. His fare to Evpatoria was also paid by the

factory, and at Evpatoria there was a place reserved for him in one of the best rest homes, also free of charge. We both got off at Simferopole, the capital of the Crimean Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic. From there to Evpatoria was only three hours' ride, but it involved a change of trains and a stay of several hours. We arrived at *Simferopole* at five o'clock in the morning. The weather had suddenly turned cold, and a mixture of snow and rain made this dawn in a strange city not exactly pleasant. All restaurants were closed, with the exception of one which looked bright and cozy and contained tempting breakfast items. My friend from Western Siberia was made welcome at this restaurant and was served breakfast, while I had to be content with a mere welcome without breakfast. It was explained to me that the restaurant was really not a restaurant but a rest station for vacationists and convalescents on their way to the health resorts of Crimea. Obviously, outsiders could not be served. The commercial restaurants, I was informed, would open about nine o'clock, which gave me ample time to inspect the city. The rain had ceased, affording a chance to walk the streets in comfort. Simferopole is a most charming city. Not being an industrial centre, it is relatively little touched by the building boom of the Five Year Plan. Its houses of old style architecture with ornate balconies and balustrades edging the roofs are uninterrupted by the bold modernistic structures which one sees in other sections of the country. An arcade facing the main street of the town attracted my curiosity. I found it to be a waiting station and a ticket office for rail and bus lines. The people at the waiting station presented a section of the Crimean population. Not one nationality in Crimea forms a majority of the population, though Tartars form a plurality. In the buzz of languages at the waiting station I could discern Russian, Ukrainian, Yiddish, German and an unfamiliar tongue which must have been Tartar, judging by the facial features of the people who spoke it. Barring the difference in language and racial features there was little to differentiate these people. Apparently most of them were farmers, for the conversations generally revolved about village affairs. They were a sturdy lot, with nothing in their external appearance to support the weird inventions of bourgeois anti-Soviet propagandists about starvation in South Russia. Throughout my travels and visits in the Crimean countryside I have not noticed a single instance of race prejudice or antagonism. Jewish *kolhozes* (collective farms) work amicably alongside of Russian ones, Tartars vie with Germans as to the best showing in the spring sowing, and, despite the difference in language and racial background, all of them speak the same tongue of collectivism and think alike in terms of Soviet socialist economy.

The different nationalities in Crimea (as everywhere in the Soviet Union) are given the fullest opportunity to develop their own culture in their own language ("National in form, socialist in content"—Stalin). It is this sense of freedom and equality that went a long way in stamping out racial animosities and prejudices. There are no "superior" and "inferior" races in the Soviet Union and certainly no incitement of race hatred. On the contrary, race chauvinism in any form is regarded as a most disgraceful thing and is combated with the utmost severity by all the agencies of proletarian public opinion.

So that's how the "race problem" stands in Crimea. In fact, there is no race problem at all. The development of national cultures takes its own course, with every facility afforded by the Soviet State for the promotion of these cultures. In the *Evpatoria* district there is a rural Soviet, comprising three Jewish *kolhozes*, which conducts its affairs in Yiddish as the official language. The school of this rural Soviet also uses Yiddish as the main language, with Russian as the secondary one. Yet, both adults and children in this Jewish community seem to prefer speaking Russian among themselves, and at the meetings called by the *kolhoz* or the village Soviet or the Party nucleus Russian is more in vogue than the official language—Yiddish. The same condition may be observed in the older Tartar and German communities in Crimea.

This, then, is the "racial" and the "national" background of Crimea, and it is against this background that I shall attempt in following articles to sketch the collective farms of that section, with particular emphasis upon the sowing campaign of the first spring of the second Five Year Plan.

(To be continued.)

In the International

The Party Cleansing

Speech Delivered by Comrade L. M. Kaganovitch at the Meeting of Party Functionaries in Moscow, on May 22, 1933

I. The Importance of Party Cleansing.

Of the 3,200,000 members and candidates of the Party, almost half (approximately 1,500,000, namely, 250,000 Party members and 1,250,000 candidates) have never experienced a Party cleansing. This alone proves the enormous importance attaching to the cleansing in regard to raising the members and candidates of the Party to a higher ideological-political level; 3,200,000 persons will individually mount a platform and give an account of themselves to the Party and dozens of millions of non-Party people, and show whether they merit the right to be members of the great Party; they will tell of their work and their readiness to continue their struggle for the cause of the Party, for the cause of the working class.

The history of political parties knows no example of such a force and power as is demonstrated by our Party in connection with the cleansing campaign. And this is no mere chance. This lies in the nature of our Party, and is the characteristic feature distinguishing it from all political parties which have existed or are still existing. The construction of our Party, the methods of its work, the position and the duties of every individual Party member are entirely the result of those great aims which the Party has set itself and is realising.

"The Party is a voluntary alliance, which would inevitably disintegrate, at first ideologically, and then also materially, if it did not purge itself from members who preach anti-Party views. The Party programme, the tactical resolutions of the Party and its statutes serve to define the boundaries between views that are in accordance with the Party line and those that are hostile to the Party. . . ."—(Lenin: Party Organisation and Party Literature. Vol. 8, page 389, Russian edition.)

The cleansing of the ranks of the Party is a necessary process, just like a process of cleansing a sound organism from unhealthy elements.

Before the Revolution the process of cleansing the ranks of the Party was carried out in a more or less elementary manner, so to speak. The circumstances, the conditions of the existence of the Party themselves promoted the natural cleansing of our ranks. In fact, the struggle under the conditions of Tsardom, the arrests, persecutions and privations made people think before they entered the Party. Young people, boys or girls of 17 or 18, when they embarked on the revolutionary path of struggle, had to decide to subordinate their personal interests to the common interests of the revolutionary movement, to the interests of the proletarian revolution, to the interests of Communism. These people were prepared to go to prison, to Siberia. They were living under the most difficult conditions of illegal work.

After the October Revolution, after the seizure of power, a number of hostile elements pushed their way into our Party. The Party energetically combated the careerists and egotists who clung to power. Afterwards, the fronts of civil war established themselves. A life and death struggle was waged against Kaledin, against the Czechoslovaks, against Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, the Poles, Wrangel. In these difficult days of struggles at the front, the egotists and careerists were prevented from clinging to the Party. In those days when Denikin advanced towards Tula, the Party organised Party weeks and admitted into the Party tens of thousands of workers who voluntarily entered in order to fight against the enemies of the Soviet Power. But also in those days the Party did not for a moment relax its fight against the hostile elements in our ranks who undermined the fighting capacity of the Party and of the State, violated the discipline and placed their own personal interests before those of the defence of the proletarian country, before the interests of the revolution.

After the termination of the civil war the situation changed. The Party announced the N.E.P. In these circumstances it was necessary for the Party energetically to repel the egotistic and careerist elements which had crept into the Party. An enhanced struggle had to be carried on for the consolidation of the Party ranks, against the petty-bourgeois tendencies to weaken the proletarian dictatorship. All oppositional tendencies of that time, beginning with the Trotzkyists, the democratic centralists, the so-called "workers' opposition," and ending with the open counter-revolutionary deviations (adherents of Mjasnikov), were all an expression of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois attacks upon the Party, upon the dictatorship of the proletariat. They all led to the restoration of capitalism. The Party not only repelled all these deviations, not only shattered all these forces of the past, but also at that time proclaimed a general cleansing of its ranks from the hostile elements which had crept into it.

At the beginning of the Party cleansing in the year 1921 the Party numbered 660,000 members and candidates. As a result of the cleansing 175,000 were expelled or voluntarily left the Party, i.e., about 26 per cent. of the total number. Although the Party decreased its membership by a quarter, it became considerably stronger.

The second, this time a partial cleansing, was carried out in 1924—a cleansing of the nuclei of the Soviet institutions and of the universities and technical schools, and in the year 1925 a cleansing of the village nuclei. This was the period of the full blossoming of the N.E.P., the period of the revival of the petty-bourgeois elements both in the towns and in the rural districts, a period in which these petty-bourgeois elements began to rally under a "Left" flag. It was the period of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois attacks upon the strongholds of the dictatorship, the attacks masked by "Left" phrases about democracy.

At every historical stage in which the Party raises its work to a higher level, these vacillating petty-bourgeois elements begin to hamper its advance. The periodical cleansing of the Party from the hostile, vacillating, petty-bourgeois elements is always an indispensable precondition for the successful fulfilment of the fighting tasks of the Party.

This was also the case in the year 1929, when the Party went over to the socialist attack along the whole front, when the reactionary elements within the Party who had crystallised into a Right Wing, offered resistance to this enhanced socialist attack. When, following the example of the Trotzkyists, they began to violate the iron discipline of the Party, when they proceeded to oppose the policy conducted by the Party, when they endeavoured to undermine the enthusiasm of the working masses for socialist competition and the shock-brigade movement as was done by the Right Wing trade unionists, the Party not only offered resistance to them, but in reply to the fresh hostile attacks organised a cleansing of the Party ranks in order to proceed successfully to the counter-attack against the capitalist elements along the whole front.

At the April Plenum of the C.C. in the year 1929, Comrade Stalin declared in regard to Party cleansing:

"Finally, regarding the slogan of the Party cleansing. It would be ridiculous to believe that it is possible to consolidate our Soviet, economic, trade union and co-operative organisations, that it is possible to purge it from the pest of bureaucratism, without cleansing the Party. There can be no doubt that the bureaucratic elements are not only rampant in the economic, the co-operative, the trade union and Soviet organisations, but also in the organisations of the Party themselves. If the Party is the leading force of

all these organisations, then it is clear that the cleansing of the Party constitutes that necessary precondition without which the revival and the improvement of all other organisations of the working class cannot be fully accomplished. Hence the slogan of the cleansing of the Party."

The leadership of the Party, the leadership of the Central Committee has acquired strength, gained the trust of the masses and is leading the masses behind it, because this leadership has, in all the years of the dictatorship of the proletariat, remained faithful to those basic principles laid down by Lenin at the inception of our Party and developed in its further course, because after Lenin our Party came under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the great Marxist-Leninist, who was able, as inexorably as Lenin, to combat the opportunists of all kinds and to secure to the Party the greatest historical victories of the first Five Year Plan. (Stormy applause.)

II. The Peculiarities and the Tasks of the Party Cleansing in 1933.

The history of humanity knows no such rapid and radical changes in the economy of a country as we have effected in the last five years.

The tremendous victories on the front of socialist construction of the country determine the whole economic and political situation. It is only natural that such a powerful and tempestuous revolutionary growth should inevitably call forth certain difficulties. Even our enemies are compelled to recognise our undeniable and obvious victories. Our enemies are trying to console themselves with the fact of the existence of our difficulties, and at the same time exaggerate them in every way, eagerly hiding the fundamental fact that our difficulties arise from our growth, that they differ fundamentally from that—I should not like to say difficult, but agony, through which the capitalist world is now passing. There are also in our ranks people who do not always correctly appraise our difficulties. Marx, Lenin and Stalin taught us, and still teach us, to see the contradictions inherent in life itself. We must clearly realise that our victories in the sphere of socialist construction do not exclude but presuppose certain difficulties and shortcomings. The whole question consists only in realising the nature of these shortcomings as difficulties of growth.

We take into consideration that the tremendous growth of our Party and the new complicated tasks confronting us in a new stage of the fight under the conditions of the carrying through of the second Five-Year Plan, require a fresh inspection of our ranks and a cleansing of the Party from those alien elements who have unavoidably found their way into our Party, which is at the head of the greatest State in the world.

The great advance of socialist economy, the numerical growth of the working class and of the collective farmers, have led to an unheard-of augmentation of the ranks of our Party. The Party has increased its membership by 1,400,000 in the course of two and a half years. This is a proof of the great confidence, the appreciation and the support accorded the Party by the broad masses of workers and collective farmers. The Party knows this, and is proud of it. But our Party has always differed from other Parties in that it has never suffered from petty-bourgeois overelation on account of its own successes; it has always been able, and is still able, to analyse the facts in a Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist manner, to view its achievements and its growth quite soberly and to appreciate correctly the difficulties and shortcomings.

Proceeding from this sober analysis, the Party also takes into account that in spite of our achievements, in spite of the fact that we have shattered the kulak and fundamentally liquidated him as a class in the most important grain districts, in spite of the extermination of the roots of capitalism, these roots still exist, the class struggle still continues and will be continued in intensified forms.

The Party is conducting, and will continue to conduct with unabated energy and firmness, the irreconcilable fight against all opportunist deviations and degenerate elements which are endeavouring to drag us backwards. The Party perceives all the manoeuvres of the class enemy, of its agents who have penetrated into the Party and their ability to adapt themselves.

The kulak is changing his tactics. He realises that the

collective farms are advancing, that he cannot combat them. The kulak perceives that the last days of his existence have arrived, and he is of course prepared to use every means of struggle, including the tactic of joining the collective farms and carrying on wrecking activity there. By means of the same tactics the elements hostile to our class creep into the Party in order the better to secure themselves. But here also they will fail. The Party cleansing will expose them.

Therefore, the first passage of the decision of the C.C. and of the C.C.C. states that the Party must be cleansed from all "alien elements hostile to our class which have crept into the Party by deceit and remain there in order to disintegrate the Party."

The cleansing of the rural Party organisations of North Caucasus and the Ukraine in the winter of 1932 has proved that there exist such elements in our Party in spite of the preceding cleansings, that they have remained there, and a part of them wormed themselves in in the years 1930 to 1933, after the cleansing of 1929.

One cannot say that there are a great number of such people. But they are the sworn enemies of the proletarian dictatorship who have crept into the Party in order to conceal their organised struggle against the Soviet Power. These people know how to penetrate into the factories, to put on a dirty overall, to obtain a membership book of the Party, and to deceive the working class and its Party. The exposure of these class enemies must be supported by all workers, by all honest toilers.

The scope of the Party cleansing would be extremely limited if the cleansing were confined only to these open class enemies, who have crept into the Party by deceit, and did not also expose all those elements, who do not belong by origin to the hostile classes, but who, by reason of their whole disposition and their attitude, are the agents of hostile classes within the Party.

The Party, in the course of its whole history, has fought indefatigably against these elements, and has always been able to expose to the light of day not only those elements which openly and directly opposed the Party, but also those opportunists who knew how to adapt themselves in a Menshevik manner to the situation, to the "demands of the time," by masking their opportunist nature with empty, deceitful phrases.

The present situation of the generally recognised victory of the general line of our Party, the indisputable victory of industrialisation and the collective farm movement, has placed the Trotzkyists, the Right deviators and the other opportunists, as well as the elements conciliatory towards them, in a position in which it is impossible for them openly to attack the Party and its C.C. They therefore employ new forms of struggle. They declare in words their agreement with the Party line; in actual fact, however, they sabotage and undermine it. They thereby employ not only the new tactic of their masters and inspirers, of the kulaks and the other capitalist elements, which, as already mentioned, have changed their tactics and have gone over from the open attack to "quiet undermining." They are double-tongued people.

Double-tonguedness is nothing else but carrying an old, bourgeois, kulak-like "virtue" into the ranks of the Party, into the ranks of the proletariat. For deceit, hypocrisy, double tonguedness were regarded by the bourgeoisie, by the traders and kulaks as virtues. He who is capable of being double-tongued, who is capable of concealing his actual views in a deceitful manner from the Party, is treading the path of betrayal of the Party.

Therefore it is clearly stated in the second point of the decision of the C.C. and C.C.C. that

"the double-tongued who live by deceiving the Party, who conceal their real intentions from it and, under the cloak of a false 'pledge of allegiance' to the Party, are in reality endeavouring to shatter the policy of the Party," are to be expelled from the Party.

The questions of Party and State discipline must be accorded particular attention in the present Party cleansing. Discipline was always one of the corner pillars of the structure of our Party.

"Whoever in any way weakens the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (particularly during the period of its dictatorship) is in fact assisting the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."—(Lenin, Vol. xxv., page 191, Russian edition.)

Proceeding from this principle, the Party has always com-

bated fractions and groups and fought for strict maintenance of discipline, for the complete and unconditional carrying out of the decisions of the Party. And as the Party is at the head of the Soviet State, the Party has always demanded of its members an exemplary carrying out of the decisions of the State organs. The Party, for instance, is particularly on the alert with regard to discipline in the Red Army. As the decisions of the Party now find expression in the concrete plans of socialist economy, the Party demands of its members not mere approval of its decisions, but the practical realisation of the decisions of the Party and of the government, as well as of the plans laid down by the Party and the government, the active fight against the non-fulfilment of these decisions and plans.

Just as devotion, the readiness to sacrifice, discipline on the war front was not tested by simple approval of this or that direction of the Party or of this or that strategic plan, but by the real fight to capture this or that piece of ground, to drive the enemy from the positions occupied by him, so now, the self-sacrifice, the devotion, the discipline of a member of the Party is not tested by his general approval in principle of the general line of the Party, but by his concrete fight for the material content of the general line, for the realisation of the plans of socialist construction.

Nevertheless, there are Party members who are not only incapable of carrying out the plans laid down by the Party and the government, but consider it perfectly "lawful" and admissible to discuss the question of the feasibility of the plans, to doubt the realisability of these plans, and instead of mobilising the masses led by them, disorganise them by talk on the unrealisability of the plans. That is what happened, for instance, in a number of districts in regard to the plan for the provision of grain. That is what happened in the sphere of industry, in the workshops, in the pits, in transport.

Therefore, the C.C. and the C.C.C. laid down in the third point of the decision that those members should be expelled who "openly or secretly violate the iron discipline of the Party and of the State, who do not carry out the decisions of the Party and of the government, who doubt and discredit the decisions and the plans laid down by the Party by their talk about the 'unreality' and 'unrealisability' of the plans."

The Party has the whole time unweariedly purged its ranks from degenerate people who had merged with bourgeois elements, from careerists and egotists, from morally disintegrated people. It would, however, be wrong to believe that such elements no longer exist in our Party. To-day the dust is swept away, and to-morrow it has settled again. It must be systematically removed. In the decision of the C.C. and of the C.C.C. an appropriate place is allotted this harmful "dust," to these elements. The following are to be excluded from the Party:

"Degenerate elements which have linked themselves with bourgeois and kulak elements, which do not wish really to fight against the class enemy, against the kulak elements, against good-for-nothings, thieves and plunderers of communal property;

"Careerists, egotists and bureaucratic elements who make use of their Party membership and their service in government institutions for their personal, egotistic aims, who have isolated themselves from the masses and ignore the needs and requirements of the workers and peasants;

Morally degenerate elements which by their improper behaviour lower the prestige of the Party and soil the flag of the Party."

The Cleansing Commissions must proceed to the work of cleansing with all the seriousness, carefulness and tact which are characteristic of the Bolsheviks. It is necessary from the outset to eschew any stereotyped, any mechanical procedure. Each member of a Cleansing Commission must approach every comrade undergoing the cleansing test with particular care and attention. The cleansing must weed out all the incorrigibles who do not justify the high rank of a Party member, and must re-educate all those who are capable of improvement, who are capable of making good their mistakes and shortcomings, and bring them up to the mark.

The work of a Cleansing Commission is an extremely responsible work; there is hardly a more responsible and difficult task, for here it is a question of living human beings. Here it is necessary to display the greatest firmness of character and at the same time the greatest tact, toleration, the capacity not to ap-

proach people in a formal manner, but to judge the character; not to lose oneself in petty details, but to be able to define that which is most important and characteristic of the Party member in question.

Broad workers' and peasant masses must be drawn into the cleansing campaign. Every Party member must realise that the cleansing is not only a matter of the Commissions, but he himself must take active part in the cleansing campaign.

Our Party is being purged in order to become more capable of fighting, in order to be able to forge better the Party hammer, in order that our Party apparatus shall work better, in order that our economy shall develop better, in order that red tape and bureaucratism shall be more rapidly overcome, in order that the working and peasant masses shall live better. This is the reason why we are carrying out the cleansing. (Applause.)

III. The Cleansing and the Raising of the Ideological Level of the Party Members.

In this cleansing we are applying a measure which was not applied at former cleansings: the transference of members to the position of candidates and sympathisers.

During the last few years a great number of new members joined our Party, filled with enthusiasm for our construction and trying honestly and sincerely to assist our Party in its difficult work of vast transformation of the country. But a part of those new Party members who have recently joined the Party do not fulfil the minimum demands which we put to every member or candidate of the Bolshevik Party.

There are people among the candidates who not only have not acquired the fundamental political knowledge, but who do not possess that degree of firmness, steadfastness and Party discipline which is demanded of a member or a candidate of the Communist Party. As such people cannot be regarded as meriting expulsion, as they have not committed any anti-Party act, and are working honestly and self-sacrificingly in production or on the collective farm, but need a supplementary preparation in order to justify the high dignity of being a member or candidate of the Party, it is necessary to transfer such comrades temporarily to the ranks of sympathisers.

Those who are transferred to the ranks of the sympathisers are gathered in groups of sympathisers round the Party nuclei. The doors of the Party are not shut to them; firstly, the group of the sympathisers is a sort of ante-room to the Party, and those who have been transferred to this group can after a year raise the question of their reinstatement in the ranks of the Party members or candidates.

A similar treatment must be accorded those members of the Party who are devoted to its cause but do not possess the most elementary political knowledge of the aims and the programme of the Party, its policy and its most important decisions. They must be removed for a time to the ranks of the candidates in order to be better prepared there. They also receive the possibility, after a year, of being reinstated as members of the Party, if they succeed during this time in extending their political knowledge.

It is of course clear that the Cleansing Commissions must not approach the Party members like school inspectors. We must not adopt an overbearing manner or demand from the Party member, in particular from the simple worker and member of the collective farm, a knowledge complete in every detail.

At the same time, however, we must not permit a situation in which the member or the candidate of the Party has not the slightest idea of the aims and tasks of our Party, and against whom the Party is conducting a fight inside and outside of the Party. If a member or a candidate of the Party does not know these elementary facts, then the Party must have the right to say to him, no matter how unpleasant it may be: Prepare yourself first, and then you will become a full-fledged member of the advanced Party.

The transference of Party members to the ranks of candidates or of candidates to the ranks of sympathisers on account of ignorance regarding the most elementary political questions does not mean that we place extraordinary demands on the members or the candidates of the Party, which may be called forth by extraordinary circumstances, but that we submit quite normal demands to a member of a leading Party, who when joining the

Party must distinguish himself from the non-party people by a higher degree of political consciousness and advanced ideas. The non-party worker will rightly put to any member or candidate of the Party the question: "Very well, you have joined the Party, you are therefore more enlightened than I am. Now, then, explain to me if you please the aims which the Bolshevik Party sets itself. Explain to me this or that Party decision." What sort of a member or candidate of the Party is he who is not even capable of replying to the most simple questions put by a non-party worker? It is perfectly clear that such a person must first prepare himself and then join the Party; or, if he has already joined the Party, he must endeavour by all means and as speedily as possible, as is the duty of a Bolshevik, to acquire that minimum of knowledge regarding the nature of our Party without which a member or candidate of the Party cannot be an advanced fighter in the full sense of the word.

In the last few years the Party achieved a great work in raising the ideological level of the Party members, in spreading knowledge, in setting up Party schools. The Party has improved the staff of teachers, increased their number, and raised their ideological level. The cleansing campaign will improve this work still further, and I believe that, in the matter of acquiring a knowledge of the programme, the statutes and the most important decisions of the Party, we shall achieve such results in the six months of the Party cleansing process as we should only have achieved in a number of years with our normal propagandist work.

In order to be properly armed for the exposure of the bourgeois-Trotskyist denial of the possibility of socialist construction in a single country, one must know at least in principle that the denial of the theoretical fundamental thesis of the possibility of a victory of socialism in a single country means a complete slipping down to the bourgeois-Menshevik positions of the Second International, the abandonment of the achievements of the October Revolution and the return to capitalism. Comrade Stalin's extraordinary theoretical insight and tenacity was needed in order to defend Lenin's teachings.

In order that the Party members shall be firm (to be firm means not to fail in face of difficulties, to be able to swim against the stream, to draw the backward people along with one) it is not sufficient simply to wish to be firm, but it must be realised that we are waging the fight not only for minor, every-day interests, but that we, as the Party of the Bolsheviks, are distinguished from other parties that call themselves workers' parties but in fact are petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties, precisely by our having been able, in the course of our whole history, to link up the fight for the interests of the present day with the fight for the great aims, for Socialism; that we are able, if necessary, to subordinate the interests of the day to the interests of the final victory, be it at the cost of surmounting temporary difficulties and deprivations.

If the Party was able to shatter the anti-Leninist theories and the policy of the Trotskyists and of the Right deviators, which lead to the restoration of capitalism, if the Party was able to lead the country on to the broad path of socialist construction and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to consolidate the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, we owe this to the profound and correct theoretical knowledge of the nature and the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party achieved this by exerting the whole power of the proletarian dictatorship for suppressing the class enemy, by the skilful application of the whole organising force of the proletarian State to the work of socialist transformation of the country and for the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry upon the basis of collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture.

To be a faithful member of the Party, not to deviate from its policy, to fight against deviations does not simply mean to wish to be such, but it means to grasp the fundamental questions in regard to the aims, tasks and policy of the Party.

Our Party is irreconcilably opposed to those who deviate from the theoretical basis and the policy of the Party.

Why does the Party refuse to tolerate any fraction-mongering in its ranks? The opportunists, right from the Mensheviks to the inner-Party opposition, have always advocated the slogan: "Live and let live!" in other words, permit the existence of various centres in the Party. They have even justified this

point of view as being to the advantage of the Party, as "truth is the outcome of different opinions."

The Party member must know *the nature of our Party* in order to be able to oppose such arguments in a firm and determined manner.

The Party member must know that whilst disunity, lack of discipline, fraction-mongering are permitted in the petty-bourgeois parties, whose main ideal is to obtain as many seats in Parliament as possible, to be appendages, "loyal opposition" of the bourgeois dictatorship, our Party, which is organising the great revolutionary army, leading them into the decisive fight for Socialism, for Communism, the Party of the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot permit in its midst any fractions and groupings. Our Party organises its forces on the basis of absolute unity.

The Party, in its decisions and through the mouth of Comrade Stalin, has emphasised more than once the necessity of an all-round development of self-criticism, of the development of inner-Party democracy, of the development of self-activity and the initiative of the Party members. The cleansing itself is an expression of self-criticism.

In the last few years self-criticism in the Party, as well as in the working class, has developed as never before on the basis of the growth of self-activity and initiative of the Party members, the development of socialist competition, the activity of the youth. The Party has drawn fresh masses of toilers into active participation in the great work of socialist construction. Our self-criticism, our inner-Party democracy is directed against the revisionists, against the opportunists; it is directed towards consolidating the Party discipline, consolidating the Party ranks, the mobilisation of all forces for the successful advance, for the successful fight for the complete victory of Socialism in our country and in the whole world. (Applause.)

The oppositionals of various kinds have sought to frighten us with the bogey of a split in the Party. There would have been not only a split in but a complete decay of the Party if the Party had given way to the moods of these miserable deserters and traitors. Precisely because we have ruthlessly driven the opportunists and the fraction-mongers out of our ranks, *the Bolshevik Party is now—in the year 1933—more powerful and united than ever before.* (Stormy applause.)

Our Party is now better equipped for the firm and uninterrupted advance. Thanks to the achievements of the first Five-Year Plan, we possess all the prerequisites in order to raise our country in the shortest possible time to the required level. This applies in particular to the sphere of agriculture, in which we can record a great advance in recent times, thanks to the extraordinary attention devoted to it by the Party and the practical organising of the matter by it. There still exist considerable difficulties in this sphere, but thanks to the systematic increase in technical equipment and the improvement of the organisation of the works, thanks to the sending of thousands of fresh organisers to the village we now perceive that the spring sowing is being carried on better and with a better organisation than last year. We already have all the possibilities in order to carry out the field work, the harvest and grain-producing campaign better than in the last few years. Everything depends upon ourselves, upon our work, upon our abilities, and we are convinced that the Party and the masses following it, will raise our agriculture to a still higher level. (Applause.)

It is therefore important to improve still more the work of the Party and to cleanse its ranks from unsuitable elements. The cleansing must not only raise the level of each individual member, but improve the work of all Party organisations and remove the shortcomings still obtaining.

Our Moscow organisation has to record considerable achievements in the last few years. Nevertheless, also with us in Moscow there are shortcomings which obtain in the work of the Party organisations of the whole of the Soviet Union. It is our task, as a result of the cleansing, to raise the work of our Party organisation in the capital to a still higher level.

I am convinced that the Moscow organisation of the Bolsheviks, that all members of the Moscow district, as well as our whole Party, will set an example and show that they know how to purge themselves and at the same time to improve the quality of their work. (Applause.)

The cleansing of the Party must consolidate still more our glorious Party numbering many millions; it must raise it to a

higher level, weld it still more closely together with the millions of toilers round our Leninist Central Committee, round the leader of the Party and of the working class, Comrade Stalin, who has secured our victories. (Stormy applause.)

The cleansing of our Party will once again show, both to our friends and our foes, that our Party fears no boundaries in the advance of the working class towards the proletarian world revolution, towards the complete victory of Socialism. (Tempestuous applause which develops into an ovation.)

Ireland Launches its Communist Party

By Aodh Mac Manus (Dublin)

Ireland, which in its centuries' old struggle against England has never hauled down its flag, which has given many great figures to the world liberation movement and which in turn has always received inspiration and assistance from other insurrectionary struggles, has taken its place in the international movement of the revolutionary working class. On June 3 and 4 the inaugural congress was held in Dublin to launch the *Communist Party of Ireland*.

Forty-five delegates, representing Belfast, Donegal, Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Leitrim, Longford, and Dublin city and county, were present. The social composition was as follows: Railwaymen 2, building trades 9, engineers 4, textile mill workers 2, printing trades 2, farmers and rural labourers 2, unemployed 5, and miscellaneous 15.

The date and place of the congress were not announced publicly in order to prevent victimisation of the provincial delegates. But it was in no way an illegal meeting; the campaign was conducted as widely as possible and scores of Dublin workers—Party and non-Party—assisted in the technical preparations.

Jim Larkin, jun., who presided at the first session, welcomed the delegates in the name of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Workers' Groups.

"We meet," he said, "to bring into being the General Staff of the whole struggle of the Irish workers and working farmers. The Congress is of significance not only to the Irish working class but to the workers and peasants throughout the Empire who are struggling against British imperialism. We have in Ireland great traditions of revolutionary struggle, but until now the Irish working class has not had the necessary revolutionary leadership which only the Communist International and the Communist Party of Ireland can give. We meet to-day to build that leadership. Our Party has the historic duty of leading the working class of Ireland in the development of the struggle for national emancipation and the socialist revolution. In all the revolutionary national battles the working class has played a foremost part, but in all these the working class was unable to separate itself from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leadership of the national movement. The historic background for our inaugural congress is the age-long struggle of the Irish people, which is pregnant with lessons for the working class and Communists of Ireland. The utmost need in the struggles to-day is for a resolute rank-and-file leadership of the struggles and the creation of a mass Communist Party. The absence of the Party in the railway strike, in the Belfast unemployed struggles, in effect lead to the inability of the revolutionary movement to organise these struggles and to connect the many isolated struggles taking place all over the country. The Castlecomer miners' victory was a magnificent example of the fight which the workers can develop against capitalism. Despite the efforts of the whole forces of the church and the reformist union officials on behalf of the mineowner, the miners secured their demands. The railway strike on the surface afforded greater possibilities of success. Here a strong trade union and a strong section of the Irish working class were defeated and wage cuts and dismissals carried through. The difference lay in the fact that the conduct of the latter strike was in the hands of the reformist officials, who led the strike to defeat. Leadership is a vital need in Ireland. Our Party is being formed at a crucial time. The capitalist system the world over is breaking down. The bourgeoisie are resorting to fascism and war. Social democracy is being exposed before the masses; in Germany its once great Party lies prostrate before Hitler. The Irish Communist Party is born

in a period of wars and revolutions. Marxism-Leninism alone can lead the Irish masses out of national and social bondage to the socialist society for which *James Connolly* fought."

Resolutions of greeting were sent to the Communist International, the Communist Parties of America, Britain, and Germany and to Tom Mooney. A further resolution demanded the unconditional release of all political prisoners in Ireland.

The principal item of discussion was a *manifesto* to be issued from the Congress to all working men and women in Ireland and to all fighters for national liberation. *Sean Murray*, who was given an ovation by the delegates, in introducing this, said:

"The Congress was a living proof that a Society of United Irishmen could be formed to-day; the workers present from the four corners of Ireland had broken through all sectarian bigotry and racial animosity and in the Communist Party of Ireland were launching the United Irishmen of the 20th century.

"The aim of the Irish Communist Party was an independent Irish Republic under the rule of the Irish working class and working farmers. To achieve this the political and economic power of the Irish capitalists must be broken through the class struggle of the Irish workers and working farmers.

"The Irish Communist Party would follow in the footsteps of *James Connolly* and his teacher, *Karl Marx*, described in 'Labour in Irish History,' Connolly's monumental work, as 'the greatest of modern thinkers and first of scientific socialists.' The goal of Connolly—The Workers' Republic—was already achieved in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

"The *Fianna Fail* Government's claim to have an alternative to imperialism on the one side and Communism on the other was being shattered by the economic crisis. The railwaymen, teachers, civil servants, and unemployed now know on what basis the new social order of *Fianna Fail* is to be reared. The *Fianna Fail* Government can solve neither the national or the economic problems facing the Irish people."

Delegates from other parts of the country—engineers from Cork, Dublin factory workers, working farmers with a patch of land in Connaught, shipyard workers and mill girls from Ulster, men with years of heroic service in the Irish Republican Army—followed in the *discussion*, hammering out the problems with which they were faced in building the mass party of the Irish workers. After extensive discussion the *manifesto* was adopted unanimously.

"The hour of Ireland's final liberation draws near," it states.

"At the present time, when the world economic crisis is ruining hundreds of millions of workers and peasant farmers and reducing them to paupers, when unprecedented revolutionary forces are maturing in all countries, when the whole world is entering into a new period of wars and revolutions—this is the very time when Ireland obtains mighty international allies such as it never had before in all its history.

"The 1921 betrayal was no accident of individual leaders being bought or bribed by the British. It was the inevitable outcome of a struggle in which the leadership was in the hands of a class who feared that the triumph of the national independence movement would not halt at national separation, but would develop into a social revolution, resulting in the overthrow of the Irish capitalist class and the establishment of an Irish Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Republic.

"The *Fianna Fail* Government is utilising the revolutionary upsurge of the Irish masses for the purpose of securing economic and fiscal advantages for the capitalists, and, politically, to remove the more nakedly imperialist features of the Treaty of surrender, such as the Oath of Allegiance.

"The national struggle against Britain is being directed by the *Fianna Fail* Party along the lines of compromise, capitulation and betrayal.

"The rich revolutionary experience of the Irish people's fight for liberation from the English yoke gives the lesson that Irish capitalism always betrayed the independence movement for its own selfish class interests. The entire history of the national struggle under the leadership of the Irish capitalists is one of bargains with the English, obtaining concessions at the expense of the people's movement for national freedom. Only an alliance

of the proletariat and the peasants can produce sufficient power for the victory of the revolution.

"The class interests of the proletariat drive it further than the national independence of Ireland to the social emancipation of the toiling masses, to socialism. For the proletariat the national liberation of Ireland is an inevitable task which it will carry out on the way to socialism.

"Between the national and social liberation of the toiling masses of Ireland there is no contradiction, as is usually claimed by bourgeois politicians. On the contrary, it is just because the chief task of the proletariat is socialism that it is capable of carrying the national fight with England to a finish.

"The Irish working class will carry the national independence struggle to the end, attaching to itself the masses of peasant farmers so as to crush the power of the British imperialists and paralyse the unreliability of the Irish capitalist class. The Irish proletariat will bring about a socialist revolution, attaching to itself the masses of semi-proletarian elements in the population, so as to break the power of resistance of the capitalists and overcome the unreliability of the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie.

"At the head of the peasants for an independent Ireland, at the head of all the toilers and exploited for a Workers' Republic, for the dictatorship of the proletariat—such is the historic task given to the Irish working class by the whole of the present alignment of class forces in Ireland and the position of the Irish national independence movement as an integral part of the international revolution.

"The Irish proletariat can carry out these historic tasks only by standing out as a political force, creating a revolutionary workers' party—the *Irish Communist Party*—independent of the political parties of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

"No other class but the proletariat and no other party but the Communist Party can bring about the national and social liberation of the Irish People."

The resolution on the political situation outlined the tasks of the Party as follows:

"(a) To organise the mass struggle against British imperialism and for the unity and independence of the country.

"(b) To organise the struggle of the workers and working farmers against wage cuts and dismissals, for work or full maintenance, for social insurance and the extension of relief and against the Craigavon imperialists and the national-reformist Fianna Fail government.

"(c) To fight for free speech and the freedom of the streets, press and organisation of the Communist Party of Ireland and all national and working-class organisations.

"(d) To establish fraternal relations between the Irish workers and the British workers and the peoples of the Empire in common struggle against British imperialism. To establish fraternal relations with the workers in the Soviet Union and to spread the truth about the Workers' Republic of the U.S.S.R. To mobilise the workers in the fight against fascism and against participation in new wars of imperialist plundering."

The motion to apply for affiliation to the Communist International as a separate section was greeted with applause and carried unanimously.

The Congress decided to send a special message to the I.R.A., hailing their struggle for national freedom, and urging Volunteers to become members of the Communist Party also.

"To the masses for the building of a powerful Communist Party of Ireland!" This is the slogan which the delegates have taken back to their areas.

In The R.I.L.U.

The Split in the Amsterdam I.F.T.U.

Resolution of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.

In view of the capitulation of the German trade union bureaucrats to fascism, the enhanced danger of war and the actual secession of the German trade unions from the Amsterdam International, the Sections of the R.I.L.U. must launch a large-scale enlightenment campaign among the masses, in particular among the members of the reformist unions. This campaign should proceed from the following point of view:

1. The capitulation of the German trade union bureaucracy to fascism is the result of the whole policy of class collaboration

conducted by the Amsterdam International and the reformist trade union federations, the result of their reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

2. The incorporation of the German trade union bureaucracy in the national fascist front and the actual withdrawal of the German trade unions from the Amsterdam International have intensified all national-imperialist antagonisms within the Amsterdam International, which has been shattered from within and in reality has ceased to exist as an international organisation. The reformist trade unions in the various countries, however, still represent great mass organisations, and therefore the fight for the rank and file of the trade unions must be conducted with redoubled energy.

3. The Entente portion of the Amsterdam International, which had removed its headquarters from Berlin to Paris and which attempts to play the role of a unity executive of the international trade union movement, has the task of cloaking over the bankruptcy of the policy conducted by the national constituent parts of the Amsterdam International, as well as utilising the former name of the Amsterdam International by the trade union bureaucrats of France, Belgium, England, etc., for increasingly splitting the working class, inciting against the revolutionary trade union movement and supporting the imperialist bloc directed against Germany. Hence the fight against the Paris edition of the Amsterdam International and all its manoeuvres must be conducted with undiminished energy right up to the complete emancipation of all workers from the influence of the social-fascist leaders.

4. The increased fight between the leaders of the Amsterdam International is the expression, on the one hand, of the open imperialist-fascist attitude of the German trade union bureaucracy, which supports Hitler's dictatorship, which is plunging Germany into a war adventure, and, on the other hand, of the pro-Versailles policy of the trade union bureaucracy of the victor countries in the world war, which cloaks this imperialist policy with anti-fascist phrases. The manifestoes of the French, English, Czechoslovakian and Polish reformists against the policy of the leaders of the German General Trade Union Federation are the outcome of the fact that the bourgeoisie of these countries are preparing for a war against German imperialism and against the German-Italian-Hungarian bloc which is being formed.

5. The Sections of the R.I.L.U. of France, England, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Belgium must pay particular attention to the manoeuvres of the trade union bureaucrats of their countries, carried out in view of the bankruptcy of the German trade union bureaucrats. The attempts of the reformists of these countries to represent the matter as if there exist bad social democrats (in Germany) and good ones (in France, Czechoslovakia, etc.) must be thoroughly exposed.

6. In view of the split in the Amsterdam International and of the fact that the Amsterdam International, even before the split, was only formally an international workers' organisation, the role of the Red International of Labour Unions as the only international trade union organisation representing both on an international scale as well as in the individual countries the class unity of the proletariat, must be particularly emphasised in this enlightenment campaign.

7. The whole activity of the Sections of the R.I.L.U. must be based on the united front of the members of the revolutionary and of the reformist trade unions in the fight against the offensive of capital and fascist reaction.

Stormy Demonstrations against Special Powers Act in Czechoslovakia.

Prague, June 11.

In all the parts of the Republic a storm of protest has arisen against the Special Powers Act.

In Prague it came to stormy demonstrations in connection with the prohibited meetings. Although a large body of police was mobilised, large groups of workers, unemployed and youths demonstrated on the Wenzel Square and in the surrounding streets. The Communist M.P., Kosnar, when trying to speak to the masses, was arrested. The demonstrators accompanied the arrested M.P. in a procession to the police station. A number of other workers were also arrested during these collisions.

Proletarian Youth Movement

The Tasks of the Congress of the Y.C.L. of Great Britain

By Harry Pollitt (London)

The coming Congress of the *Young Communist League* of Great Britain is not to be looked upon as simply the gathering of delegates from the branches of the Y.C.L. who are only concerned to have some discussions on topics affecting only young Communists. On the contrary, the whole character of this important congress of the revolutionary youth must take on a mass character, and its discussions, speeches and resolutions be framed in such a way as to attract the attention of large masses of the working-class youth and win them for Communism.

Never were conditions so bad for the young workers as they are to-day. What with low wages; brutal and callous speeding-up; taking cunning advantage of the unorganised character of large sections of the youth; long hours; bad workshop conditions; lack of effective safety precautions, especially in mines and ship-yards; thousands of young lads serving their time to a trade, with the dreadful knowledge before them that already thousands of others have served five and seven years, been sacked at the end of their apprenticeship, and never done a hand's turn since. They now wonder what will happen to them as they become 21 years of age.

Thousands suffering through the application of the Means Test, and, above all, the whole of the working-class male young workers menaced by the shadow of new wars, in which they will form the cannon-fodder required by the capitalists who attempt to solve the crisis of capitalism by new wars.

That this is so is proved by the many and varied efforts made by a thousand and one capitalist youth organisations to divert the attention of the young workers from the real situation, its meaning and solution, by turning their attention in all sorts of directions, and by perverted educational and sports methods, the sum total of which aim at distracting the young workers and preparing them for the use of the capitalists in future wars.

We see this being done on a scale never witnessed before in England. The types of lectures in training centres; the glorification of war; the daily persistent recruiting for the armed forces—all done to try and damp down the fighting spirit of the young workers, employed and unemployed alike, against the system which ever-growing numbers now understand is their real enemy.

This growing fighting spirit of the young workers and their active participation in all working-class struggles is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. Changes are also taking place amongst the young workers who are organised in the reformist youth organisations, of the Labour Party, League of Youth, and the I.L.P. Guild of Youth. Here, too, the crisis and the policy of the reformist leaders is bringing disillusionment and a searching after some other way forward on the part of growing sections of the reformist youth. No one can read the discussions of the Conference of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth, held at Whitsuntide, without realising that here is a very important movement in the direction of Communism and co-operation with the Young Communist International as a practical step in this direction.

This is the situation in which the Congress of the Young Communist League takes place. Never were the conditions for winning the working-class youth so favourable or the necessity of speedily doing this so urgent. If the Congress sets itself this aim and addresses itself to the finding of the ways and means to do it, then its whole discussions will be of such a character as will immediately attract thousands of young workers to the ranks of the Y.C.L.

This means that the Y.C.L. should take the foremost part in all the daily struggles of the young workers and in all their

activities that take place in their leisure time; at the same time, attention must be paid to educational and cultural work. By daily attention to what is going on in the factories, and at the Labour Exchanges and in the streets, the Y.C.L. can easily become recognised at the best defender of the interests of the young workers.

In the *trade unions*, to which every member of the Young Communist League should belong, there are many special opportunities for the Y.C.L. to take up the grievances of the young workers, to demand full rights within the trade union branches, and to win the branches for actively supporting the fight of the young members of the branch and in this way proving that trade union organisation can be made into a powerful weapon exercised by the workers in their struggle against capitalism.

Never let us forget the words of *Comrade Lenin* in a speech he delivered to the Youth at the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1920, where he said:

"The Young Communist League will justify its title, will prove that it is really a League of the Young Communist generation if it will connect every step of its studies, its training and its education with participation in the general struggle of all toilers against the exploiters."

And running like a red stream through all this daily work of the Young Communist League must be the ceaseless personal recruiting of new members to the League. Let the present numerical membership of the League fill every member with shame and a burning desire at once to bring about a great change, a desire that will reflect itself in every phase of our activity and bring thousands of new recruits into the League, so that in very truth our Young Communist League will become the reserve army of Communism.

Special attention will of course be given to the question of the building up of the *united front* against the capitalist attack on the conditions of the employed and unemployed young workers, against fascism and imperialist war.

Let us at this Congress pay attention to the methods of our propaganda and agitation, frankly to discuss what is wrong and harmful amongst some of our present methods. Ours is a great task and a great ideal. Cannot we try and carry it out with that spirit, boldness and imagination that characterises the daring revolutionary spirit of growth; that attracts and holds, that breeds the spirit of emulation and calls forward new forces and leaders and members.

Let us get colour, brightness, and daring into the work of our Young Communist League. I wish all our comrades in England could see the splendid uniforms and bands that our comrades have built up in Glasgow, how they give an entirely new tone and character to working-class demonstrations and encourage workers to participate who otherwise might never be attracted.

The Young Communist League is not a dry-as-dust organisation, but the only revolutionary organisation of working-class youth, whose message and principles alone show the way forward to a new social order, in which unemployment has been abolished, in which craftsmanship once more has a place, in which aimless hanging about the street corners has gone, in which sport is free, clean, and open to all to take part, developing clean, healthy bodies and physical fitness, in which the terror of the future has been removed, and in which peace reigns and the horrors of war have for ever been removed from the order of the day. Then let this Congress mark a decisive turning point. Let it be inspired in its work and by its approach to the fulfilment of its tasks by the examples of the young Communists of the Soviet Union, whose immortal deeds of industrial heroism, whose conquests in backward villages, mark such a proud age in the building up of Socialism.

The Communist Party from top to bottom must help in this work, must give practical co-operation and guidance, give its best members and its advice to our young Communists, so that we can really have a mass Young Communist League established in Great Britain.

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