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## CORRESPONDENCE

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## We Must Rescue—Thaelmann!

By Willy Trostel (Zürich)

The German national socialist weekly, the "Deutsche Wochenschau," published on May 12 under big headlines an article entitled: "Thaelmann Proved Guilty of Murder." The leading article announces that the trial of Comrade Thaelmann will commence shortly, and categorically demands the death sentence for him, giving as a reason that the chief leaders of the Communist Party and Thaelmann himself instigated terror. As is known, the court, at the recent trial in Hamburg, gave as the reason for imposing death sentences that the accused, although not actually, were "morally responsible for the collisions." The article is going the round of the Nazi press.

Hitler fascism is actually achieving a miracle, namely, the miracle of breaking its own record in cruelties. It has set up a monstrous regime of terror in the service of finance-capital for enslaving the working class and holding down the working population. The notorious concentration camps, the torture chambers in the S.A. barracks, the "suicides" in the prisons, the "shootings while attempting to escape," i.e., the murder of fettered political prisoners in the open field, the chopping off of the heads of young workers, who have not been sentenced by ordinary judges, but have been handed over to the executioner by Nazi judges—this is the horrible reality in the heart of Europe, which hardly any imagination, no matter how bloodthirsty, could conceive. And now even these horrors are to be surpassed! A new hangmen's court, the name of which alone, "People's Court," is a monstrous insult to the working people, is in future to try all political cases. This court will not be bound by the existing rules of procedure at trials. Proof of

guilt, proof of innocence will not play any role in this court. Any real defence is to be made impossible. The hangmen's court will deal summarily with all cases, and is competent to pronounce death sentence—against which there is no appeal—for the distribution of leaflets. The judges are to consist of national socialists who have had "special experience in combating subversive activities," and in addition there are to be two jurists who have distinguished themselves in cases where death sentences have been pronounced.

If a regime which squanders millions of marks for purposes of propaganda, a regime which celebrates the First of May as a demonstration of the alleged complete acceptance by the people of national socialism now openly sets up this hangmen's court after it has been in power for nearly eighteen months, it only thereby proves that it is in a bad way. Whilst recognising this fact, we must not blind ourselves for a moment to the enormous dangers which this hangmen's court represents for our best comrades, before all for our comrade Thaelmann. The fact that distributors of leaflets can be tried and sentenced to death by this court proves how afraid this "strong" government is of Communist propaganda, how it trembles at the sight of an anti-fascist leaflet. Nevertheless, the shrewd observers of the foreign imperialist Powers in Germany, namely the Berlin correspondents of the foreign bourgeois papers, are right when they declare that the hangmen's court is intended before all to be used against Comrade Thaelmann. The increased campaign for Thaelmann's release renders it impossible for the national socialist rulers to keep our comrade pining indefinitely in prison or to cause him to disappear there. He must finally be brought before a court. But they are frightened by the example

of the Reichstag fire trial. The fascist regime could not, in view of the increasing discontent, stand such a defeat as it sustained in the Reichstag fire trial. The hangmen's court has therefore been set up.

It is now, therefore, a question of the life of Comrade Thaelmann! It still lies in our power to save him. If the campaign conducted hitherto has compelled the German government to make concessions to reply to questions regarding the fate of Comrade Thaelmann, it is impossible for a simple decree transferring the matter from the Reichs Court to the hangmen's court to seal the fate of Comrade Thaelmann. Comrade Dimitrov was rescued not because he was tried by the Reichs Court; the Reichs Court had first to be compelled by an international campaign to acquit Comrade Dimitrov and the three other accused comrades. This court would have pronounced death sentences and had them carried out, as in the case of Van der Lubbe, if international public opinion had not stayed the arm of the executioner. It was not the Reichs Court, but the world-embracing action of the international proletariat that rescued Comrade Dimitrov and his friends. An unprecedented campaign, raised to boiling point on behalf of Thaelmann, the Hitler government will be unable to resist. And the setting up of the hangmen's court must itself serve to increase our campaign enormously. If Goering's threats aroused the sympathy of broad circles of the international bourgeoisie for our comrade Dimitrov, why should it not be possible to mobilise the masses and broad circles of intellectuals against the "court" in which the most bloodthirsty Nazis will be the judges?

The campaign to save Comrade Thaelmann must be enormously intensified. The conditions for doing so are more favourable than ever. Whilst last summer there may still have been certain sections of workers who were susceptible to national socialist agitation with regard to the setting up of a so-called "community of the people" under authoritative leadership, the situation to-day is quite different. The national socialist leaders have exposed themselves as the worst slave-drivers of finance-capital, as the worst job-hunters, as corrupt public officials, the like of which formerly existed only under oriental despotisms. Their influence even over the petty bourgeoisie has for the greater part been destroyed. It is true, they still enjoy the favour and support of the financial and trust capitalists; certain bankrupt sections of the middle classes are still deceived by them; they still have a great attraction for certain adventurous sections of the intellectuals who are prepared to sell themselves to the capitalists. All these, however, form only a very small part of the population. On the other hand, there stand the millions of toilers and the intellectuals connected with them. That is a vast field where our campaign can be and must be developed. These millions must fight for Thaelmann, who has fought and is now suffering for a cause which is their cause, namely, for the emancipation of humanity from exploitation and oppression, from the scourge of unemployment and war. To fight for Thaelmann means to fight for the cause of the whole of humanity! The Thaelmann campaign, however, is not only a Thaelmann campaign, but is at the same time a campaign for all those who are pining in the prisons of Germany, in the prisons of Austria, in the prisons of all capitalist countries. The fight for the release of Thaelmann is also a fight for the release of Rakosi. There is no doubt that the bestial orgies of German fascism have encouraged the fascism of Horthy and Gömbös to keep a Communist in prison and to bring a fresh charge against him, after he has already served a sentence of eight and a half years' hard labour. A blow against the hangmen's court in Hitler Germany will also be a blow against the bloody court in Horthy Hungary.

We must now mobilise all our forces for the release of Comrade Thaelmann and, what is most important, mobilise them as rapidly as possible, before the Nazis have time to carry out their criminal intentions.

We must penetrate with our agitation into broad sections of the toilers and beyond them deep into the bourgeoisie. There must be no town, no village, no workshop, without its Thaelmann committee; there must be no block of houses in which leaflets are not distributed. Great demonstrations and sympathetic strikes must be organised for the release of Thaelmann. All foreign employers who have connections with Germany must be subjected to the strongest pressure. Before all, however, all embassies, all consulates of the "Third Reich" must be besieged by protest delegations, must be inundated with protest telegrams.

The campaign for the release of Thaelmann must become an irresistible mass force. We must rescue Thaelmann!

## Politics

### The Radicals Remain in the National Front

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The one important decision of the congress of the Radical Party which has just taken place in Clermont-Ferrand is that the party will continue to remain in the national united front and that it will continue to place its confidence in the pre-fascist government of Doumergue-Tardieu. One observes how the traditional and misleading distinctions between the right and left-wing bourgeois parties are beginning to disappear more and more rapidly.

The congress which has just been held in Clermont-Ferrand was an extraordinary one. The February events, the capitulation of the Daladier Ministry at the first fascist offensive, the entry of Herriot and five other deputies of the Radical Party into the government of "civil peace," which is under the influence of the radicals, caused considerable anxiety and unrest amongst the petty-bourgeois, peasant and even working-class masses.

Deeply disappointed by the policy of the government of the "left" since May, 1932, which abandoned its election promises one after the other, and under the influence of anti-fascist agitation, these masses have often expressed their discontent in the local organisations of the Radical Party and finally they demanded the calling of an extraordinary congress to discuss the policy of the party. Under the pressure of the masses the leaders of the Radical Party agreed to this demand and the extraordinary congress in Clermont-Ferrand was the result, because the leaders preferred internal discussion to external decay, as they put it.

The congress in Clermont-Ferrand had two main objects: first of all to provide a safety valve for the opposition being made by the masses, that is to say, the discontent and anger of these masses was to be allowed to blow off steam and thus create the impression that the Radical Party was remaining true to its principles and would recover itself; and secondly to further the process of concentration of the bourgeois forces of all shades, a concentration which is of absolute necessity to French capitalism which is shaken by the economic crisis and threatened by the revolutionary advance of the working masses, and which further fears to be isolated by the other imperialist powers.

The attacks of the opposition at the congress, mostly conducted by the younger elements, were very mild. They expressed regret that the party should have entered the national united front because they feared that it would damage the reputation of the party, but their attacks did not go so far as to demand that the party should break with the government. The opposition was very willing to let itself be convinced of the necessity of the national united front. The party leaders, and in particular Herriot and Daladier, jumped at the chance which was offered them. They refrained from demanding enthusiasm for the entry of the party into the national united front, and declared that the entry was necessary and unavoidable on account of the deep social cleavages which would result if the national united front were broken up.

In such a case the normal functioning of political life would be destroyed and brushed to one side by the masses. The radical leaders even conveyed the impression that they were prepared to put forward certain demands as a condition for their participation in the national united front, for instance, that the attacks of the right-wing associations on the party should cease, and even that the treasonable organisations should be disarmed, although it is clear that such measures would be adopted against the Communists, but never against the fascist associations. They presented the national united front to the masses of the party as a regrettable, but necessary fact, whilst in reality they are doing their utmost to strengthen the alliance of the radicals with the right-wingers.

The same demagogic attitude was taken up with regard to the purging of the party. The congress appointed "courts of honour" and half a dozen deputies who had compromised themselves rather too deeply in the Stavisky affair were expelled from the party. One may now assume that what has been left is thoroughly honest and that the party is pure now that one or two people have been turned out on account of individual peccadillos.

But all that is nothing but showmanship, the decisive fact is that the Radical Party is determined to co-operate in the development of the bourgeois dictatorship into fascism. It is deliberately

spreading the illusion that under the leadership of a strong State it would be possible to organise the capitalist economic system in the interests of a "national commonwealth."

Under the pretext of defending political democracy and working for economic democracy the Radical Party has placed itself in the front ranks of the forces of finance capital which is working to lower the standards of living of the masses and to increase political oppression. By putting forward the slogans of "State reform" and "Corporative organisations," etc., the Radical Party wants to prove that it is the best available instrument for the realisation of fascism because it still possesses considerable influence over those masses which represent the reserves of capitalism, and is in a better position to guide them along the path to fascism which the bourgeoisie of France must take than any other party or organisation.

This policy is so obvious that certain elements in the Radical Party fear that it will rapidly destroy the reputation and the prestige of the party and drive the workers who still support the party into the arms of the Communists who are the only leaders of the anti-fascist struggle. In order to stem the tide of this development these groups have left the party and founded an organisation of their own. With this new organisation they wish to continue the old policy of radicalism, i.e., the policy of the petty bourgeoisie defending itself against the hegemony of finance capital. For the moment, however, this move can hardly be termed a split in the party, for no more than a few individuals have left the party.

A number of incidents which took place at the sessions of the congress indicated that there is very considerable unrest amongst the party members, and in particular amongst the petty-bourgeois members, but this unrest and dissatisfaction was not permitted to express itself clearly at the congress. It is the task of the Communist Party to take advantage of this unrest and dissatisfaction. In some districts individual members of the Radical Party have joined the local anti-fascist committees and much more can be gained in this direction if the Communist Party works systematically to guide this feeling of discontent, which up to the present is somewhat shapeless and vague, into the channels of a systematic struggle against finance capital under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party.

## Before the "Re-Election" of Masaryk

By Julius Schmidt (Prague)

On May 24th there will take place the election of the President of the Czechoslovakian Republic. In accordance with the Constitution, the President is elected not by the vote of the population but by the members of both Parliaments at a solemn joint session. It has already been definitely decided that Masaryk will be again "elected" President of the Republic.

Wherein lies the extraordinary political importance of this act? It is embodied in the political, historical role of Masaryk in the development of the Czech bourgeoisie, it consists above all in the role which Masaryk plays to-day at a time of rapidly growing revolutionary crisis. Masaryk is called upon to complete his life's work: to rescue the Czech bourgeoisie once again from being swept away by the revolution of the working people.

Masaryk has always been the cleverest, most far-seeing man of the Czech bourgeoisie. One can call to mind his attitude during the world war, which constituted a logical continuation of his pre-war policy. At that time, right at the commencement of the world slaughter, Masaryk perceived the relations of power of the belligerent countries and threw in his lot with that of the Entente: unlike Kramarsh, who sided with Austria-Hungary, he realised that the further development of Czech capitalism would be rendered possible only by the shattering of the monarchy and the setting up of an independent Czechoslovakian State under the patronage of the Entente. He created a special ideology of the "united Czechoslovakian people," which later formed the theoretical justification for the occupation of Slovakia and other districts by the Czech bourgeoisie. Masaryk furnished the socialist parties with the necessary ideological equipment, with the help of which the toiling masses were won for this State.

Under Masaryk's leadership, the Czech bourgeoisie constituted itself as an independent State, and succeeded with the aid of the social chauvinists in maintaining this State in face of the revolutionary wave in the years following the war, consolidating its positions, organising the exploitation and plundering of the occupied districts and going over to an aggressive foreign policy.

When Masaryk celebrated his 80th birthday, a special government decree was issued recognising his services to the State. And in fact Masaryk has done more for the Czech bourgeoisie and its bourgeois State than any other man. To-day a critical moment is again approaching for the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie. Its State structure, its whole rule is seriously threatened. And Masaryk is again called upon to save it.

In his speech at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Knorin quoted the letter which the Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. addressed to the C.C. of the C.P.Cz. already in April, 1933. In this letter it is stated:—

"The process of the fascisation of Czechoslovakia is proceeding in its own special way. . . . The main thing for the Czech Communists at the present time is to grasp the fact that the 'Burg' (Masaryk) group represent the leadership of the Czech bourgeoisie, which is striving to carry out the national concentration and fascisation of Czechoslovakia under the banner of the defence of 'democracy' and of a military so-called 'defence' of the Versailles system in alliance with fascist Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania, under the leadership of France, both against the proletarian revolution and also against the fascist revisionist plans of Germany. The wave of nationalism in Germany was directed against the Weimar Republic as the expression of Germany's enslavement to the victorious countries. The symbol of victory of Czech nationalism is the 'Burg'; it represents the main channel uniting nationalist tendencies which are arising in the Czech people, and under conditions of a growing menace to Czechoslovakia it will play this role to a still greater extent than hitherto."

It is not necessary to add a word to this excellent analysis of the special features of the process of fascisation in Czechoslovakia. The "Burg" is coming more and more to the forefront as the only factor which is capable not only of carrying out the fascisation of the State, but of setting up the open fascist dictatorship. Who and what is behind this designation "Burg"? The answer is that leading and powerful wing of Czech finance-capital with its political representatives Masaryk and Benes at the head. Masaryk, with the ideology, with his political conceptions, constitutes the embodiment of victory, of "emancipation," of the independent "national" State; he is also the symbol of the "united Czechoslovakian people."

This is the reason why his re-election as President of the Republic will take place with particular pomp and ceremony in the renovated historical hall in which the kings of Bohemia were formerly crowned. This occasion is also to be used in order to revive the illusions concerning Masaryk, to whip up chauvinist feelings in order that fascism may be able to extend its mass basis.

Needless to say, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia will not give its vote for Masaryk in the National Assembly, but on the contrary will make use of this election in order to expose the role of Masaryk and the social fascists, who are the main supports of the Masaryk wing, as also the fascist endeavours of the "Burg."

## Accelerated Fascisation of the Rumanian Bourgeoisie

By Zitna (Bucharest)

Although the Tartarescu Ministry is undermined by inner antagonisms which have led to a double rule in Rumania—on the one side the Prime Minister Tartarescu, confidant of the king, and on the other side D. Bratianu, leader of the old liberals who have remained outside the government—the government has carried through outspokenly fascist measures which have called forth from the bourgeois opposition parties and the social democrats only a purely outward resistance.

The notorious law for the conversion of debts in town and country is being carried out in such a manner that the big landowners and rich peasants have to pay only one half or only one quarter of their debts, while the rest is borne by the State; the poor peasants, on the other hand, derive no benefit from this law, but are having their land taken from them for non-payment of debts. The direct taxes have been so altered that the whole of the income-tax, which is paid chiefly by the rich, has been reduced. On the other hand, the indirect taxes, the taxes on articles of mass consumption (sugar, etc.), which affect the working population in the first place, have been increased.

The system of important quotas has again been altered, so that it promotes those native industries which are in the hands

of that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with the liberal party. Heavy import duties are placed on commodities which are also produced in the country, in order to render impossible their importation from abroad.

The liberal government has passed a law doing away with the autonomous administration of the railways, post office, forests, waterways and other undertakings run by the State. The new law concentrates all these autonomous administrations in the hands of one central controlling body. This represents an important concentration process of finance capital. The law regulating the founding and functioning of the banks provides that the capital of a bank must not be less than 20 million lei in Bucharest, not less than 10 million lei in the other big towns, not less than 5 million lei in the other districts, and not less than 2 million in the rural districts. The capital of the joint stock banks must be twice as high. A great number of banking institutions are therefore to be liquidated and the whole of the banking activity is to be concentrated in the hands of a handful of financiers.

At the same time the government has brought in a Bill amending the law regarding co-operatives; it provides for a rapid concentration of all co-operative institutions.

This transformation of economy, which the liberal party is carrying out at the behest of finance capital, is accompanied by the introduction of further measures affecting the standard of living of the masses of workers and peasants and the broad strata of the national minorities. One of the first of the intended measures is the dismissal of a considerable number of officials. A Bill drawn up by the Ministry for Finance provides for a revision of all the appointments of officials made in the last few years. This measure is already to be embodied in the Budget for 1933-34, which will be passed by Parliament in June.

At the same time the government and the press are conducting a big campaign for the so-called protection of native labour, which is immediately directed against the national minorities. Although the Bill makes no distinction between Rumanian citizens, it affects thousands of workers in the provinces which were annexed after 1918 who have not received rights of citizenship. In all financial, industrial and commercial undertakings 80 per cent. of the staffs are to be Rumanian citizens. The total of the wages paid to foreign workers must not exceed 30 per cent. of the wages paid to the Rumanian citizens. Finally, the Bill envisages strict special measures for those branches of industry connected with national defence.

A Bill is to be introduced in the next session of Parliament in accordance with which all citizens in the provinces annexed after 1918 must change their names into the Rumanian rendering. Exceptions can only be allowed in the case of those who can prove that their present names have existed in their families for at least 90 years. In the case of refusal, the Bill provides for fines of 500 to 10,000 lei and one to six months' imprisonment.

The state of siege proclaimed in the industrial centres after the murder of the Prime Minister Duca by the fascist Iron Guard has been prolonged for a year. At the same time there exists the strictest censorship.

Parliament has passed the Law for the Protection of the State, which strengthens the provisions of the notorious police law passed by the Mironescu-Martescu government, and empowers the government to dissolve political, educational and sport organisations, confiscate their property, deprive representatives of these organisations of their seats on public bodies (Parliament, municipal councils, etc.). Behind the mask of fighting against the fascist movement, this law prepares for a large-scale campaign of oppression of the revolutionary movement.

Numerous charges of "Communist conspiracy" and "espionage" are being trumped up against revolutionary workers. In Yassy, 60 students, most of them Bessarabians, were arrested and tortured as a result of a palpable provocation. In Czernovitz, 40 intellectuals have been accused of espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union. Numerous arrests were carried out in Bucharest, Yassy, Klausenburg and other places immediately before the first of May. The central organ of the anti-fascist movement, "Buletinul," and the district organs, "Altezi" (in Klausenburg) and "Gegen den Strom" (Czernovitz), were prohibited by the censor. The secretary of the national committee, a member of the national peasant party, was arrested on the day on which he was to have defended the workers charged with conspiring against

the security of the State. Workers and intellectuals, members of the anti-fascist committees, were arrested in Kishinev, Yassy, Constantza, Klausenburg, Tigina, Grosswardein and other places.

The 1933-34 Budgets of all the Ministries, with the exception of the War Budget, have been reduced by 15 per cent. The War Minister, General Angelescu, has just concluded an agreement with Schneider in Paris for the setting up of a native armament industry in Reshitza, and has obtained a loan of 200 million French francs solely for armament purposes, which loan is to be paid back in kind by pledging the oil products of Rumania. The government, which is drastically reducing expenditure on education, is nevertheless able to find the means for the introduction of compulsory pre-military training of the youth for two years (from the age of 18 to 20 years) under army officers. By a government order the general staff will also take part in the control of the national education of youth and girls under 18 years. The youth, especially students, are compelled to enter military organisations, such as the "A.R.P.A." (Aviation Union), Boy Scouts, Rumanian Youth, etc.

The accelerated fascisation of the Rumanian bourgeoisie is an immediate result of the revolutionary wave of 1933. In spite of the sabotage of the reformist leaders, the C.P. of Rumania was able to launch a mass movement in support of the railway workers of Bucharest. The campaign for the release of the railway workers is one of the most important immediate tasks of the revolutionary movement of Rumania. If this campaign succeeds it will mean the breaking of the offensive of the Tartarescu government.

## Germany

### Fascist Economic Mismanagement

As was to be expected, Dr. Schacht took up the attitude at the transfer conference that Germany was not in a position to pay interest of any sort to foreign countries. In a speech which was broadcasted by the wireless in Germany, he declared:—

"It was not necessary to trouble an international conference in order to discover the complete inability of Germany to make any transfer payments. The facts are clear enough for anyone to see."

If Dr. Schacht, the representative of German finance-capital, gets his way, then not only the payment of private debts and interest, but also the interest payments on the Dawes and Young loans which Germany has been paying up to the moment will be stopped. Naturally, as loyal supporters of the idea of private property the German capitalists do not repudiate their debts, but they declare that at the moment they are and will be for an indefinite time unable to pay and they hope to console their creditors with the thought of a vague future when, presumably, economic prosperity will have returned.

The treatment of the debt question by the national socialist government is an excellent example of how the representatives of German capitalism deceive and betray both the German people and their foreign partners.

The national socialists recruited their supporters by launching thunderous attacks on the international "interest slavery," on the Dawes and the Young Plan loans. They declared without more ado that all Germany's foreign debts were political debts and promised the German people that not a single penny of German money would be sent abroad for the payment of international capital once they came into power. Whilst they were promising the masses in this way not to pay a penny they were at the same time conducting confidential negotiations with foreign capitalists and promising them to pay punctually, indeed, they went even further and assured the foreign creditors of Germany that they, the national socialists, were the only force in Germany which could save foreign capital invested in Germany from the clutching hand of Bolshevism.

In his famous interview with the American journalist, Knickerbocker, in 1932, Adolf Hitler declared:—

"Under a national socialist government American capital investments will be safer than under any other government for four reasons: first of all, because under a national socialist government Germany will be freed from the weight of political debt which makes it impossible for Germany to-day to meet its private obligations; secondly, because under a national socialist government it will be possible to come to some stable arrangement with France; thirdly, because under a national socialist



government Germany will refuse to undertake any obligations which it cannot fulfil; and fourthly, because only under a national socialist government will Germany be able to avoid the danger of Communism."

What wonderful prophetic qualities "the leader" displayed in this interview! And he continued:—

"We are under no circumstances prepared to accept the Bolshevik principle of a repudiation of private property, and therefore we must logically recognise and we are determined to recognise and repay our private debts."

Thus Hitler promised on the one hand that the debts to world capitalism would be paid when he came to power, and on the other hand he promised the German people emancipation from the burden of interest slavery to international capital.

After the October Revolution the Soviet Power faced world capital as the proletarian revolutionary Power, and with a stroke of the pen it annulled all the loans which foreign capitalists had given to Czarism to assist it to maintain its oppressive regime and to finance the imperialist war conducted by Czarist and imperialist Russia.

For over a year the heroes of the "German Revolution" have played the role of the honest businessmen and paid foreign interest at the cost of the working people of Germany, but now they present themselves to their foreign friends as frivolous bankrupts in order to secure a reduction of interest payments, and their excuse is the excuse of all bankrupt speculators: if their creditors would only consent to forego their claims for a while the position of the firm would improve, perhaps.

Since the beginning of the current year the gold and foreign currency reserves of the German Reichsbank have decreased from 400 million marks to 200 million marks. If this process goes on in the same tempo, then by August Germany will not be in possession of a single penny of foreign means of payment. It is true, that many foreign observers are of the opinion that it would be as easy for the German government to falsify the accounts of the Reichsbank in Germany's favour as it was for them to falsify the unemployment statistics in favour of the national socialist regime. However, it is a fact that a country without any large foreign investments will sooner or later be unable to meet its foreign obligations when its export trade continually decreases whilst at the same time its imports increase. According to the arrangements at present in force Germany will have to pay no less than 800 million marks to her foreign creditors before the end of the year.

The representatives of the British and French governments have declared that they are not prepared to forego the interest payments on the Dawes and Young Plan loans. The representatives of the Swiss government which would get into very serious difficulties if the milliard marks of Swiss money which are invested in Germany were lost, threaten to compensate themselves by confiscating a similar amount of the export surplus payments due to Germany on the balance on trade between the two countries. The Americans, who are Germany's biggest creditors, having about three milliard marks invested in Germany, will certainly never agree to waive their own claims in the interests of the smaller creditors. Thus any "solution" will intensify the imperialist contradictions and at the same time increase the pressure of capitalism on the toiling masses of Germany.

The daily press in Germany, intended for the consumption of the gullible, continues to publish rosy-hued reports on the economic situation and gives fantastic figures concerning the alleged improvement in the volume of employment and the reduction of unemployment, although no reasonable person can be found to believe these stories. On the other hand, however, the serious organs, intended for the use of the German economic institutions, etc., are already beginning to publish information which gives one a glimpse at the real economic situation. The "Deutsche Volkswirt" ("The German Economist") writes on April 27 that there can be no doubt about the seriousness of the German economic situation. The devaluation (that is to say, the depreciation) of the mark was not a practical solution because in a struggle of that sort Germany had less reserves than any other country to throw into the scale. The idea of autarchy (economic self-sufficiency) was now being abandoned even by those who had written books in its favour now that its first effects were beginning to make themselves felt. There was little hope that in the near future the surplus imports could be balanced by a corresponding export, and the further decrease of exports must lead to mass dismissals, etc., and

to a dangerous reverse in the campaign against unemployment. Certain foreign circles would undoubtedly attempt to exploit Germany's situation in order to make political demands, for instance in the racial question or the disarmament question. However, it was unlikely that serious economic and political circles abroad would agree to such an imposition upon a Germany which they know would not agree for one moment to alter its State political ideas.

How humble and whining the national socialists can be when they urgently want to obtain foreign loans! At a moment when French imperialism is adopting the offensive and feverishly consolidating its imperialist system of alliances in the East in preparation for the coming struggle, German imperialism finds itself extremely weakened by the crisis and by the economic mismanagement of the fascists and compelled to go cap in hand to its imperialist competitors. The fascist government of Germany, which has brought the German people into this catastrophic situation as a result of its reckless adventurist policy and which trembles at the idea of the approaching settlement of accounts with the masses of the deceived and misled people, will seek to find a way out of its difficulties by a still more adventurous policy both at home and abroad.

## The Crime of Buggingen

The mining catastrophe in the potash mine at Buggingen as a result of which 86 miners met their deaths in the burning pit, once again draws attention to the situation in the mining industry Buggingen is the third mass mining catastrophe which has taken place in Central Europe this year. On January 3 the great catastrophe took place in the Nelson pit in Bohemia. One hundred and forty-two miners were killed in the pit and only 14 bodies were recovered. The remaining bodies were bricked up in the burning mine. A serious mining disaster then occurred in the Karsten-Zentrum pit in Upper Silesia in which 11 miners lost their lives. Shortly afterwards an explosion took place in the Plank Lane pit in Lancashire and five miners were killed and 18 seriously injured. These two mining accidents were quickly overshadowed by the terrible disaster at the Senitze mine in Serayevo, as a result of which 136 miners lost their lives. Fifty dead bodies were recovered and the remainder were bricked up in the burning mine.

All these catastrophes occurred in coal mines. Fires in coal mines are a fearful danger because gases develop from the burning coal and explosions result causing still greater loss of life. The speed-up methods in the pit have been developed to the utmost extent and the normal safety measures are ignored so that the most insignificant fire can lead to such disasters as took place at the Nelson pit and in Senitza. The situation is quite different in the potash mines.

As is known, potash is not inflammable like coal. Fires in the potash pits like those in the coal mines cannot occur. The history of the Central German potash pits records no fires in the pits at all. In addition the potash pits in Central Germany are of such a nature that very little timber is required for propping purposes, etc. In the Alsace potash pits and in the new potash pits which are being developed in Baden the nature of the deposits and their position demand the use of a greater amount of timber. In these pits there is a danger that very considerable fires might occur. However, even then, such fires would not spread rapidly because the timber used is thick and heavy and it would be a fairly easy task to put them out. Further, the workers observing smoke in the ventilation shafts could leave their places and go to the pit-head because the mining regulations demand that each working place should have two ways leading to it from the pit-head. Thus if a fire breaks out in one tunnel the workers can escape by the other.

In Buggingen 86 miners were unable to reach the pit-head when the fire broke out although the site of the fire was over a thousand metres away from the pit-head, because, as the foreman declared, they were caught like rats in a trap. They had been working in a section which, in defiance of the regulations, had only one way of approach, and it was in that tunnel that the fire occurred.

This fact is also confirmed by the statement of the mine management in answer to a question as to the number of exits. The management declared that there were several exits and that the men could have saved themselves, but for the fact that all the tunnels leading to their place of work were full of smoke. This is an idiotic excuse and could have been made only on the spur of the moment and without consideration, because smoke when it is

generated can go the way of the ventilating shaft only and not against the current of air. The miners could have saved themselves by going against the stream of ventilation if they had had a chance. Innumerable cases are known where miners have been able to hide themselves from clouds of smoke for hours and even to run through long tunnels full of smoke and escape. The miners in Buggingen did not do this because they had only one way out from their place of work and that was the tunnel which had been turned into an inferno by the fire.

Further, if the pit props had been of good, hard wood and not old and rotten the fire could never have spread so rapidly and the props would not have collapsed so quickly. Further, had a good supply of water been available it would have been possible to put out the fire easily. All these facts show that the catastrophe in Buggingen was the result of a fearful crime on the part of the mine management.

The fascist authorities are doing their utmost to suppress the truth about the disaster and whitewash the management. Why were the mining authorities so anxious to brick up the scene of the disaster? They declare that there were several tunnels leading to the place where the men were working, but that they were full of smoke. Why were not rescue detachments equipped with smoke-helmets sent through these tunnels? Apparently the Buggingen pit had no rescue detachment, or at least no highly experienced one, for the pit has not been in existence very long, but the well-trained and well-equipped rescue detachments from the Alsace potash mines immediately placed themselves at the disposal of the mine management and asked permission to descend to see if anyone could still be saved. The fascist mine management and the fascist authorities refused the offer of assistance from the Alsace rescue detachments. Why was the offer of expert assistance in the rescue work refused? Why was the scene of the disaster hurriedly bricked up, perhaps burying living men?

Was it fascist national pride which would sooner see 86 miners burnt and choked to death rather than let them be saved by the "hereditary enemy," or did the fascist mine management fear that the Alsatian rescue detachments would have discovered and made known to the world the real truth about the cause of the disaster? In our opinion both considerations led to the refusal to accept French assistance and with that refusal the responsibility of the fascists for the murder of 86 German miners becomes still greater.

## 86 Miners Murdered by the German Capitalists

**Only the Soviet Power Protects the Lives and Health of the Workers!**

(Appeal of the C.P. of Germany and the German Red Trade Union Opposition)

Proletarians in mines and factories! Young workers and women!

Capitalism's greed for profits demands terrible sacrifices. Eighty-six of your fellow workers lie dead in the Potash Mining Works in Buggingen 800 metres below the earth, their lungs eaten away by carbon-monoxide gas. Bowed, grief-stricken mothers and children, and with them the whole of the German working people, raise a burning accusation against the mining capitalists, who have no regard whatever for human life. The unbounded avariciousness of the mining barons, the hunt for profit and the armaments fever of the warmongers of the fascist mine managements have sent eighty-six of your fellow workers to a horrible death.

Sacrifices! Sacrifices! That is the permanent battle-cry of Hitler and Goebbels to the German working class. You are to make sacrifices in order that the cliques of Nazi bureaucrats may wallow in luxury. That is "German socialism" according to the idea of the criminal fascist tyrants who rule Germany to-day. The State mining works in Buggingen was compelled to make particularly big profits because the State treasury needed enormous sums for subventions to the big capitalists and huge budget items for big salaries to corrupt job holders, for armaments and militarisation.

After the great mining disasters in the last few years, after the terrible holocaust of miners in "Minister Stein," Anna, and Maibach mines, after the disaster in the Stinnes colliery in the Ruhr last year, the national socialists demagogically feigned sympathy with the widows, orphans and mourning mothers of the miners who had been killed. When, however, they came into power they made the profit-sharks the murderers of our brothers, "leaders" of the workers, and made the toilers in the pits and factories humiliated and degraded slaves. When they came into power

they reduced the pensions paid to incapacitated miners, cut down the support granted to mothers and children of the murdered coal miners, and made presents of millions of marks to the mine owners.

You mothers, widows and orphans of Buggingen! The capitalists and the fascists, who again express nauseating hypocritical sympathy, promise help and shed crocodile tears to-day in order to-morrow to defraud you of the miserable pensions and hand you over to the greatest misery, are the murderers of your fathers, sons and husbands. The Weimar and the fascist capitalist dictatorships were and are the sworn enemies of the working masses. The sole concern of each was and is to fill the coffers of the possessing class.

In this hour, when we make our burning indictment, we express our deepest revolutionary sympathy for the grief-stricken families of the murdered miners. But our red fighting flags do not remain long at half-mast. For us revolutionaries, who are marching forward to victory, sacrifices have always been a stimulus to increased revolutionary activity. At the biers of our fellow revolutionary workers, we Communists and revolutionary trade unionists call to the masses of the whole of Germany:

Only when the masses of proletarians in our enslaved country do away with the fascist money-bag patriots, the profit-hunting factory owners, mining barons and bankers, only when the workers, in alliance with the toiling peasants and under the leadership of the Communists overthrow the dictatorship-regime of the slaveholders and set up the Soviet power, only then will the lives of workers be of more account than potash and coal. Then the life of our class will be the only thing that matters, for in the land of the Soviets there are neither dividends nor profits, for Soviet power means that the workers are the masters of the factories and pits, the poor peasants and land workers the masters of the soil. Under the Soviet power, any criminal playing with the lives of workers is punishable with death.

Miners, land workers and small peasants of Buggingen, proletarians of the whole of Germany! Raise your voices in passionate accusation, in fierce challenge against the fascist criminals and vile murderers in Buggingen and Berlin! Let your demand be heard throughout the country: to prison with the murderous fascist management! Adopt everywhere mass protest decisions against the fascist mining capitalists and their national socialist protectors! Workers of Germany, send your protest from all parts of the country against the murder of our 86 fellow workers in Buggingen.

You miners of Buggingen, enforce the setting up of a Commission of Enquiry consisting of miners from your pit. Pillory those who are guilty, brand the murderers, do not rest until the assassins are behind bolts and bars!

You miners of the whole of Germany! The fate which befell your class comrades in Buggingen can befall you any day. Fight, therefore, by the creation of pit and colliery groups of independent class trade unions for improvement of the law regarding protection against accidents, against speeding-up, for higher wages. Form throughout the whole of Germany the iron phalanx of the exploited for the fight against the slavish labour law, which makes you absolute slaves of the murderous factory and mine owners.

Social-democratic and christian class comrades! The death of your 86 brothers is a warning signal for our class. The life of the working people is constantly in danger under the knout of capitalism and fascism. Let us unite all our forces in the revolutionary brotherly bond of the fighting united front. Let us prepare ourselves by common daily fight for the general attack against the fascist regime of terror and exploitation, for the grand attack for the achievement of the Soviet power, which alone brings freedom, happiness, well-being and socialism to all who work either by brain or hand.

**Central Committee of the C.P.G.  
Reich Committee of the Red Trade Union Opposition.**

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### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Readers will please note the new address of the International Press Correspondence, to which from now on all subscriptions and communications should be sent: William Massey, 249, King Street, Hammersmith, London, W.6.

## Eight Hamburg Anti-Fascists Threatened With Execution

Appeal of the Central Committee of the C.P.G.

Eight Hamburg anti-fascists are threatened with the scaffold. Wrest them from the hands of the brown murderers! Only mass action can save our brothers from being slaughtered!

Workers, peasants, mothers, working youth!

A forest of scaffolds and gallows overshadows Germany. The hands of the fascist grand inquisitors are dripping with the blood of our brothers who have been brutally slaughtered! The brown judges have caused forty true sons of our revolutionary class to be beheaded by drunken executioners. The desecrated corpses of John Scheer and the anti-fascists executed in Cologne, Dessau and Duesseldorf have scarcely been buried, when fresh terrible and alarming news from Hamburg reaches the ears of the German proletarian class!

Eight Hamburg anti-fascists are daily, hourly, awaiting their execution by the headsmen of Hitler, Krupp and Goering! German workers, mothers, young fellow-countrymen! The brown beasts are dragging your brothers, your sons, our faithful comrades, to the scaffold! Their lives are our lives, their spirit is our spirit, they are flesh of our flesh! Their aim was our aim: the setting up of a socialist society. For this reason they are to die, for this reason their heads are to be hacked off by the cold steel of the executioner's axe. For this reason their lives are to be destroyed.

Since they came into power the national socialists have slaughtered, stabbed, strangled, shot or torn to pieces more than 3,000 anti-fascist fighters. That is the "cultural mission of the Germanic race." The scaffolds are becoming more and more numerous, the bread rations ever smaller, the wages less, but the dividends of the bankers and armament millionaires ever greater. The lives of our brothers are to be destroyed because they fought against this "German socialism" of Siemens and Thyssen.

Only honest sons of the proletariat, fighters for freedom, fall victims to the axe of the executioners. The speculators, profiteers, and exploiters whom the Nazis, before they came into power, promised to bring to the scaffold, rule over Germany as factory despots, as leaders. In order to secure their profits and the high salaries of the Nazi high officials who benefit by the so-called national revolution, our friends and comrades are bestially slaughtered; new criminal special courts are set up in order to satisfy the thirst for blood and profits of the big capitalists. Under the sign of the swastika the shadow of the blackest mediæval barbarism is sweeping over Germany. Our eight Hamburg brothers in their death cells, 39 other anti-fascists who are threatened with death, and also our beloved leader, **Ernst Thaelmann**, who is bound hand and foot and continually tortured by the Secret State Police, look to you, their friends in the factories, in the mines, in the offices, in the villages, and at the labour exchange! The fate of our brothers, friends, and comrades who are threatened with the executioner's axe lies in your hands, you masses numbering millions! You exploited social-democratic and oppositional Nazi proletarians who have been deceived by your leaders, help to save our brothers, who are also your comrades!

Sound the alarm throughout the whole country! Your strength, which wrested our comrade **Georgi Dimitrov** from the brown murderers, must also rescue the Hamburg anti-fascists from the scaffold. Stigmatise everywhere the brown Huns. Send protest declarations to the State Secret Police, to the Hamburg prison administration and the government. Vehemently demand in the factories and the residential areas the release of the Hamburg anti-fascists who are threatened with death! The news of the fresh murder planned must spread like wild-fire through all the factories, pits and workers' dwellings. Working-class mothers, women, proletarian maidens! Demand by means of petitions, collection of signatures, collection of protests the cancellation of the death sentences and complete freedom for the condemned anti-fascists!

Toilers, women, young people in the villages and in the towns! Fight under the flags of Communism, for the overthrow of the fascist hangmen's dictatorship! For the Soviet power, which alone will put an end to the nefarious doings of the exploiters and man-slaughters and bring you freedom and happiness!

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.**

## Communism—The Only Way Out!

The Social and National Emancipation Programme of the Toiling Masses of Germany

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany

Working men and women, toilers in town and country!

Unswervingly faithful to its programme and its task of leading you, the toiling masses of Germany, to socialism, to prosperous lives for all workers, the Communist Party of Germany stands by your side in these days of bitterest distress, of utmost misery and starvation, brought about by the capitalist system, which is shaken to its foundations, and by the fascist dictatorship.

Everywhere where you are working and fighting, our Party is working and fighting with you. It alone organises and leads your struggles, mobilises the masses against fascism and war, fights through you and through every one of its organs and members, through every single one of its functionaries, for our great cause, for the cause of the victory of the proletarian revolution. Innumerable comrades from our ranks have paid with their lives for their faithfulness to the Communist programme, their faithfulness to you and your interests. Fighting to their last breath for the victory of the German proletarian revolution, our comrades, **John Scheer**, the organiser of the greatest illegal mass Party of the proletariat, **August Lüttgens**, the Hamburg fighter, and many hundreds of others—close on three thousand—have died at the hands of the bandits of the fascist dictatorship.

Our **Dimitrov** stood before the bloodthirsty judges of the fascist dictatorship, his every word an appeal to the proletariat of the whole world for the sacred cause of the struggle against capitalism. With every breath he accused the bloodstained bourgeoisie of its crime against the international proletarian class, and fired the beacon of the inevitable final victory of the German working class over its oppressors and tormentors. The leader of our Party, **Ernst Thaelmann**, standing shoulder to shoulder with you till the last moment, courageously and resolutely, rejecting any thought of flight from fascism, has been thrown into the hell of the fascist prisons, and with him many tens of thousands of fighting workers.

A Party which has brought forth from your midst tens of thousands of such heroes, and which unites such an amount of revolutionary fidelity and heroism with the fighting determination and readiness for self-sacrifice of its own class, a Party which has proved capable, under conditions of terror such as the world has never before witnessed, and in face of ceaseless arrests, torture, and murder, of creating its present mighty mass organisation with its ramifications all over the country, with its firm foothold in every stratum of the working people, of the toiling masses, unanimous under a firm Bolshevik leadership—this Party is invincible. Its heroes, its organisational experience, its programme, its revolutionary past, form the surest pledge of our coming joint victory.

German proletarians! Working people of Germany!

Who is Hitler, what is his party?

Four years ago, during the rule of the Brüning dictatorship, the Communist Party declared to you in its programme of social and national emancipation: "The fascists (national socialists) maintain that they are a 'national,' a 'socialist,' and a 'workers' party. We reply that they are an anti-people, anti-labour, anti-socialist party, a party of the extremest reaction, of exploitation and enslavement of the toiling masses. . . ."

Since then you have learned by bitter experience the truth of every one of these words. Hitler signifies the rule of the rich and powerful in the country at the expense of the workers. Hitler signifies the party of financial-capital, Hitler signifies the party of **Krupp**, **Thyssen**, **Duisberg**, **Röchling**, **Schacht**. Hitler signifies the brutal dictatorship of a small minority of exploiters over an enormous majority of exploited.

German working men and women, German toilers!

Can fascism, can Hitler lead you from want and poverty to emancipation?

Where capitalism rules the rich will always exploit and oppress the poor. . . . Under the Weimar "democracy" you were blinded to this fact by the deceitful methods of parliamentarism. In the "Third Reich" you are to be blinded by the fraud of the "community of the people," of rich and poor. But what can you have in common with **Krupp**, **Thyssen**, and **Duisberg**? What "community of the people" can exist with those exploiters who, sole possessors of the means of production and of power, permit

millions of German workers, fellow countrymen, to die of starvation in order to secure and increase their profits? Such a "community of the people" as this is a deception of the people. Hitler's "national socialism" is making the rich still richer and the poor still poorer.

Hitler promised you workers and unemployed bread and work.

But what he has really brought you is bloody civil war against the working class, the war of the rich against the poor, against you, the whole toiling people. In the course of a year of fascist rule not even the unemployed Storm Troopers have been given productive work. Your wages and salaries are being constantly reduced. The wage rate agreements for which you have fought have been destroyed. You are robbed of all the political rights which you and your fathers had gained, the right of combination, of strike. Your organisations have been shattered and your funds stolen. On the drill grounds and in the labour service camps the working youth of Germany are being drilled as cannon fodder for a new imperialist war, as tools for use in the civil war against their own class. In the works and factories, which should belong to the working people alone as workers, the capitalist reigns supreme over bread and work. He decides the amount of your wages, he determines the number of your working hours, he appoints your "confidence councils," he alone decides if you are to be unemployed and your families are to starve. He rules . . . and those who do not obey are doomed to concentration camp and jail.

Hitler promised the working smallholders and middle peasants, the tenant farmers and settlers, that the distress in the rural districts would be abolished.

But the land which he has given to the owners of the entailed farms, a small favoured stratum, he has taken from the toiling masses. The sons and daughters born later are robbed of their share in the inheritance. . . . Unchallenged, the rich farmers and big landowners hold their large estates, and there is no one in the whole country, apart from us Communists, who will help the smallholders, the tenant farmers and cottagers, to gain their share of the land of the rich landlords, or will liberate them from the burden of taxes, levies and interest to the State and the banks. The protective duties introduced at the expense of the toiling masses have brought advantages solely to the same reactionary parasitic protégés of the State.

Hitler promised to the small men, to the handicraftsmen and tradesmen, that he would remedy their grievances, abolish interest slavery.

But what he has created in reality is only a new and reactionary medieval redivision into castes, which cannot ameliorate your material distress.

And Hitler promised you all when taking over power that he would overcome the economic crisis. But after a year of fascist rule the works and factories still lie idle, and the chimneys smoke only where preparations are being made for the war which you are to wage in the interests of the rich. . . . But the scales of social insurance benefit have been reduced and millions of the poor have no longer any recognised right to live.

Hitler promised to the workers, to the toiling masses, the annulment of the Versailles Treaty, the national emancipation of the German people. Hitler, who has trodden underfoot the right of self-determination of the overwhelming majority of his own people, lyingly declared that he would fight for liberation from national bondage, and for the right of self-determination of the separated minorities. As early as 1930 we Communists, in our programme of social and national emancipation, told the workers that "Hitler and his party will sell the national interests of the toiling masses of Germany to the victorious Powers of Versailles in precisely the same manner as German social democracy has done this for 12 years." We told you, workers and exploited in town and country, that **there can be no real national emancipation of the German people without social emancipation.**

So long as the works and factories, the mines, the banks, and the large estates belong to the capitalist exploiters, so long the ruling class will doubly plunder and oppress the German workers in the service of international financial-capital. Those who, like Hitler, increase the social oppression and enslavement of the German toilers, cannot fight for the national emancipation and unification of the whole of the toiling masses of Germany, cannot carry out the abolition of the predatory imperialist treaties.

Bourgeois nationalism is the cry of the big bourgeoisie, and of the petty bourgeoisie dependent on it, for greater profits.

The nationalism of the bourgeoisie is the cry for intensified exploitation of the toiling masses in their own country, is the endeavour to bring the workers of foreign countries under the supreme rule of the German exploiters.

Hitler has been unable to abolish the Versailles Treaty, but he has made Germany an ally of the military clique of Japan and of the fascist executioners of Italy, the most reactionary Powers in the whole world. Hitler's "fight against Versailles" has never been anything but a fight for higher profits for Krupp, Thyssen, Röchling, etc. Hitler has converted Germany into a danger spot of imperialist war. The burdens imposed on the toiling masses of Germany by the war armaments of the fascist dictatorship are greater to-day than the burdens of the reparations payments have ever been. Hitler has transformed Germany into a hell for the working people and into a centre of war danger, and has thereby at the same time barred the way of the working Germans in Austria, South Tyrol, Upper Silesia, Danzig, and the Saar to reunion with Germany.

We are internationalists because our class, the proletariat, is internationally enslaved. Because our enemy, capital, is internationally united. Because it is solely by combining in a joint struggle with the international proletariat that we can attain real national freedom. It is only we internationalists who can establish the unification of the whole German people, for we alone can give the whole of the toiling masses of Germany real self-determination, real democratic liberty, social freedom. The proletarian revolution, the revolutionary working class under our leadership: this is the sole and single force which can shatter the Versailles Treaty, remove all the tribute burdens and open the gates of the Reich for the free union of all toiling Germany.

It is with deep feelings of national pride that we look upon our revolutionary class in Germany, upon our German workers, the first in the whole world to form a gigantic political workers' organisation, to found mighty trade unions and the greatest Communist Party of all the capitalist countries; who gave to the international proletariat such thinkers and heroes as Marx, Engels, Bebel, Luxemburg, Liebknecht. We love our mother tongue, our native country, and precisely for this reason we devote our efforts to leading our German people, our German working class, to lives of prosperity, to socialism. The powerful examples set by the German proletariat in the struggle for freedom and socialism make us proud that we can call ourselves German workers, German proletarians. Our pride has nothing in common with bourgeois nationalism, with the striving for bigger profits and the suppression of all freedom among the toiling masses. Our honour, the honour of the German worker, has nothing in common with what Krupp and Thyssen call "honour." Our honour is the honour of the revolutionary fighter for the freedom of the toiling people. But their "honour" is the honour of exploiters and slave-owners.

It is precisely because we love our native country and our working people that it particularly pains us to see how a horde of profit-greedy capitalists have established their bloody dictatorship over the toiling masses of Germany, and we are ashamed to have to admit to the workers of the world that this Germany has become a land of barbarity, of the worst social and cultural reaction in the whole world, of civil war against its own workers.

Workers! Toilers! Hitler is leading you into barbarism, and will follow up civil war at home with the slaughter of a new imperialist war.

If we want to join together to defeat fascism, we must create clarity in our own class, clarity in the masses of the toilers, on the question of who has been guilty in the past of preventing us from carrying out the will of the majority of the workers, directed towards overthrowing the robbers and building up socialism.

If we want to be victorious, we must show clearly that the way to progress, the way to freedom and self-determination for the working people, is not the way back to the Weimar Republic, not the way back to the Hohenzollern monarchy.

For fourteen years the majority of you placed power in Prussia and the greater part of the country in the hands of social democracy.

For fourteen years you hoped, in the face of continual disappointments, that social democracy would secure your interests and lead you to socialism. Remember, German workers, the robbery of the eight-hour day, the cutting down of unemployment benefit, of the allowances of incapacitated workers and pensioners. Remember, German workers, the continual reductions of wages and



salaries; remember the curtailment of your rights and of the rights of your functionaries in the works and factories; remember the prohibitions of our press and the dissolving of our meetings. These were actions carried out by **social-democratic** governments and social-democratic chiefs of police. These were milestones on the road to Hitler's bloodstained dictatorship.

Again and again—and especially in our emancipation programme—we Communists told you: "The successes of national socialist agitation are the result of the treacherous policy of social democracy, whose suppression of the revolutionary movement, whose participation in capitalist rationalisation and complete capitulation to the imperialists (France and Poland), prepare the ground for national socialist demagoguery." We Communists wrestled for every individual worker, we appealed to you in the works and factories, in the streets, in our meetings, to join us in the struggle. Always the undisputed leaders of the determined struggle against fascism, we did our utmost to win you over, the majority of the toiling masses of Germany, **for our path, the path of the fighting united front of the German proletariat.**

Every one of you knows that the leaders of social democracy and of the reformist trade unions continued their treacherous policy unceasingly, and did their utmost to maintain by fraud and manoeuvre the split in the German working class. This split in the German working class, which we Communists alone endeavoured to heal, was the great weakness of the German working class, the cause of its inability to prevent fascism from seizing power. Even when fascism was taking its first definite steps towards seizure of power, the social-democratic leaders still held you back from forming the united fighting front of the German working class, and prevented you from resorting to the weapon of the general strike. Remember, German workers, how Leipart, Grassmann, and the rest paved the way for the taking over of the trade unions by the fascists, and voluntarily handed over their funds.

Social democracy, which was a revolutionary party under the leadership of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, was transformed by Ebert, Wels, Severing, and their like, into a reformist, a counter-revolutionary party. Social democracy, as a bourgeois party, as an agency of financial-capital in the working class, sold you for less than thirty pieces of silver, in order to save the positions of its leaders and its organisational apparatus. It held the stirrup for Hitler as he sprang on to your bent back.

The leaders of social democracy hate the proletarian revolution like the plague, they did everything to secure the rule of the bourgeoisie and to prevent the taking over of power by the working people.

**Fourteen years of social democracy ended in the morass of fascism.**

Its leaders, Loebe and Severing, have not only now become agitators for Hitler; they have always smoothed the path for fascism.

To-day, now that you fully realise the harmful counter-revolutionary game which social democracy has played with you and your interests, these same betrayers and seducers of the people venture to come forward again with fresh lies, and endeavour to persuade you that they are anxious to "overcome lawlessness by the socialist order." Their "socialist order" is, however, nothing more nor less than the maintenance of the bourgeois apparatus of the law courts, police, and army. Their "socialist order" does not signify the transference of all power, of all means of production and all land to the workers and peasants. All it means is a pseudo struggle, in order that a renewed bourgeois parliamentary swindle may aid the bourgeoisie after a defeat to come into power again. Remember 1918, when you went into the streets to fight and social democracy attacked you criminally from the rear. The "new revolutionary" programme, too, has no wish whatever for the rule of the working class; what it wants is the maintenance of the split, the securing of the bourgeoisie from a revolutionary upsurge, from the proletarian revolution. To stand for the programme of social democracy means the final abandonment of socialism, means to nip the proletarian revolution in the bud.

Your experience of social democracy, your struggle against fascism, taught our German class brothers in Austria to oppose an ever-increasing resistance to the leaders of Austrian social democracy on their road to capitulation to fascism. But what the Austrian working class had not yet grasped, the factor forming the sole decisive cause of its defeat, is the following: If we, the prole-

tarian class, want to defeat fascism and arrive at socialism, an end must be put to social democracy.

. . . The revolutionary uprising of the working class, its organisation and leadership, is an art, like the art of war and other arts, which the working class can never learn in a social-democratic organisation, as a bourgeois parliamentary party with an organisation adapted to parliamentary elections.

Glory and honour to the Austrian proletariat!

Its defeat in the armed struggle is a lesson for us German workers, a warning to overcome and exterminate the still existing influence of social democracy and of the "Left" factional groups with their radical posings, not only in the preparations for the armed uprising, but in all struggles, even the smallest day to day struggles. If we want to advance together to liberty, to victory over Hitler, then we must keep indelibly in mind one lesson taught by the defeat of our Austrian class brothers: Social democracy can only organise defeats for the working class. Social democracy will always remain a tool of counter-revolution, of the bourgeoisie, of capitalism, even in the period of proletarian revolution.

Therefore: Never again bourgeois democracy, never again social democracy!

**German proletarians! Toiling masses of Germany!**

Our daily revolutionary work against the fascist dictatorship shows our determination to lead you, the poor and exploited, to power, to socialism, to lives of prosperity. . . . That the keys of the victory of the working class are only in our hands is demonstrated by the victorious proletarian revolutions under the leadership of our Communist World Party in Russia and China, is demonstrated by the building up of socialism on one-sixth of the earth, and by the taking over of power by the Chinese Soviets over a territory larger than Germany and France. We Communists say to you, and to the whole working people of Germany:—

The capitalist state of society and its fascist dictatorships will never retire voluntarily or decay of themselves!

If you are determined to come into power, to achieve socialism, then you must go with us on the path of the real people's revolution against Hitler, the path of the armed uprising against fascist dictatorship, against the rule of the bourgeoisie. If you want to take over power, to reach real socialism, then you must shatter the power of the bourgeoisie by force, then you must destroy to its very foundations the capitalist state with its lords and capitalists, then you must set up in its place the forms of rule of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This alone, with its Soviets, elected freely by all workers, guarantees the transition to socialism.

The armed rising can be victorious only if it is supported not only by us, the vanguard of the working class. Like a wind in March it must sweep through the hearts and minds of the toiling masses, rising to the mightiest storm which has ever shaken Germany, the heart of Europe.

**A great revolutionary upsurge has already seized the country.**

The hatred against the fascist rulers is growing from day to day. The antagonisms in the fascist camp and within the bourgeoisie are increasing. We state plainly and emphatically to those who are still serving the bourgeoisie as executioners to-day, who are still endeavouring to repulse the struggle for emancipation of our tortured people, that they will not escape our hatred, and their own extermination and destruction. We state plainly to all those who are still uncertain and vacillating, that our victory is certain, and that their place can only be in the ranks of the fighting working class.

Workers, toilers of Germany!

**You stand on the threshold of the German proletarian revolution!**

Only the proletarian revolution as a real revolution of the people, only the taking over of power by the workers and peasants, creates the prerequisites for abolishing starvation, want and misery. . . . The victorious proletarian revolution is not one single spontaneous action, but a process, beginning with a victorious struggle for your elementary day-to-day demands, and ending with the extermination of the bourgeoisie. The victorious proletarian revolution is not a process seizing the majority of the toiling masses in a day; it is a process in which the masses must be brought step by step, in the struggle for a piece of bread, for the workers' rights in the works and factories, for their press, for the right of free assembly and independent control of their own organisations, forward to the decisive struggle for power. Do not let yourselves be discouraged by the difficulty of the task, realise

that a few more years under the yoke of fascism will cost the German working class more sacrifices than the victorious proletarian revolution will cost.

We Communists call upon you, working men and women, hand and brain workers, to join the fighting front of the German proletarian revolution!

Join us in organising the struggle in the works and factories. Struggle for the day-to-day demands of the workers. Help in the formation of independent class trade unions, in the organisation of revolutionary functionaries' councils in the works and factories, in the setting up of the revolutionary united front of the working class. Join in the struggles carried on with the weapon of the strike, against all worsening of working conditions, for higher wages, for works' councils elected by the workers, against the transport of war materials, for the liberty of the workers' organisations and their press. Go into the streets with our demonstrations, organise with us the political mass strike, the general strike for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. Join in the struggles for the release of all anti-fascist fighters from the prisons of the fascist dictatorship. March shoulder to shoulder with the Communists.

We Communists call upon you, German unemployed, proletarian youth, German working women, to join in the fight for the emancipation of the working class!

Go in your masses and take what you need from the coal heaps and store-houses of financial capital and the rich entrepreneurs, organise hunger demonstrations in front of the town halls and welfare service offices. Demand adequate support for yourselves and your families. Refuse to be sent into the rural districts as slaves to the large landowners and farmers. Refuse to take up work at starvation wages. Organise movements and strikes in the labour service camps until these are dissolved. Organise in revolutionary unemployed committees, in the independent class trade unions.

We Communists call upon you, German smallholders, tenant farmers, and settlers, to join in the struggle for the freedom of the whole of the toiling people.

Refuse to pay a penny in levies, taxes and interest. March in your masses to the city halls and tax collectors' offices. Prevent by mass protest all evictions and distraints. . . . Organise in revolutionary peasants' committees, fight for the seizure of the land from the landlords and big estate owners. Help yourself to fertilisers, fodder and seed corn from the large estates. Drive your cattle to graze in the meadows of the big agrarians.

Members of the middle classes, tradesmen, handicraftsmen, intellectuals!

Give every support to the struggle of the workers. Refuse to pay taxes, rent and charges for electric current. Refuse to give a halfpenny to the fascist cadgers. Organise in the fighting committees of the toiling masses! Take your sons out of the Storm Troops!

Workers, peasants, handicraftsmen! Drive away the fascist hordes, strike against the fascist murders and imprisonments, break the fascist prohibitions against demonstrations. Disarm the fascist terror bands! The arms must be in the hands of the workers, the poor peasants, the artisans!

This is the path which was taken by the proletariat of the one-time tsarist Russia, in alliance with the exploited working peasantry and under the leadership of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. This path has led to socialism, to the national emancipation of hundreds of nations, to the economic and political independence of the mighty Soviet State in the struggle against international imperialism. . . .

Proletarians, toilers of Germany! The hour of vengeance for all the crimes of the German bourgeoisie is approaching. "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to win!"

Forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the workers' and peasants' Soviets, to the overthrow of capitalism. Forward to socialism.

After the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of the rule of the workers and peasants in the workers' and peasants' Soviets which they have freely elected, the Communists will do everything to secure the rule of the enormous majority of the German people, and to carry out the speedy transition to socialism in a German Soviet Republic. We Communists

will demand your support in the Soviets in town and country, in order to secure the immediate execution of the **following fundamental measures for the national and social emancipation of the toiling masses of Germany**, in order to secure the power of the working class in the interests of the freedom and prosperity of the whole of the toiling people.

The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will ruthlessly put a stop to the machinations of the banking magnates and exploiters; it will at once expropriate without compensation all the banks, large-scale industrial undertakings, railways, department stores of the great capitalists, and convert these into socialised property. It will nationalise wholesale trade, free the workers from the predatory profit-makers, and crush all speculation with an iron hand.

The German Soviet Power, under the leadership of the Communists, will expropriate without compensation the whole of the land of the estate owners, of the churches, the convents and monasteries, of the Hohenzollern and other princes, and of all other large landowners, and will distribute this land with all appurtenances gratis among the peasants and agricultural workers.

The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will annul the whole of the debts owned by the workers, peasants, and small citizens to the banks and large capitalists, and will abolish all the existing mass taxes imposed by the Weimar Republic and the Hitler government.

The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will sweep away every vestige of the bourgeois state apparatus, and will organise—on the basis of proletarian democracy and by means of the Soviets—the participation of all workers in the State government, and in the leadership and administration of the banks, the industries, the railways, the great department stores, and all socialised properties.

The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will confiscate all the houses and villas of the rich, evict the parasites from them, and give them, with all their fittings and furniture, to the unemployed and to the workers now so wretchedly housed. For all workers it will reduce to a minimum the rents, the rates for water, gas, electricity, and fares.

The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will expropriate all the great capitalist storehouses and reserves of foodstuffs and other necessities of life, and place these goods at the disposal of the unemployed and all needy persons. It will unconditionally secure social insurance of every description, including provision for aged and needy workers.

The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will guarantee complete liberty of organisation, assembly, and press to every member of the toiling masses. It will throw open the universities and high schools to the sons and daughters of the working class, and place at the service of the working people and the building up of socialism all cultural institutions, the theatres, cinemas, wireless, etc.

The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will conclude a fraternal alliance with the U.S.S.R., will arm all toilers, and create a mighty revolutionary Red Army. In alliance with the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, England, etc., it will secure to those German territories which express a wish for union with Soviet Germany the fulfilment of this wish, and will declare null and void all the imperialist treaties concluded by the bourgeoisies against the interests of the working people. Together with the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R. and of the imperialist countries, it will organise the defence against all attempts at restoration on the part of the finance-capitalists and the landowners.

The German Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Communists, will secure bread and work for all unemployed by means of the introduction of the seven-hour day, the five-day working week, and by increasing the purchasing powers of the masses. It will increase wages by abolishing the capitalist profits, the unproductive expenditure of capitalist methods of economy, and all expenditure for imperialist war armaments. It will ruthlessly apply against all parasites the principle of: "He who does not work neither shall he eat!"

By taking over the whole of the means of production, it will create the prerequisites for an unprecedented economic prosperity of the country in the interests of the toiling masses themselves, and fresh prerequisites for the development of foreign trade, especially with the U.S.S.R.

The power of the Soviets, the overwhelming majority of the people, does away with the exploitation of man by man, abolishes national oppression, and creates socialism. Rise, workers, rise, defrauded people of Germany! With the fighting call of the Commune: "Room for the workers—death to the executioners," forward to the struggle for work, land, bread, and freedom, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, for a free Soviet Germany! All power to the Soviets!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany  
7th May, 1934. (Section of the Communist International)

## Austria

### The Manifesto of the Schutzbundlers

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The Schutzbundlers and Austrian workers, who in the February days fought heroically on the barricades against the Dollfuss and Heimwehr fascists, ceased to be social democrats the moment they took up arms. The Second International, it is true, attempted to make capital for itself out of these proletarian heroes and to use their fight to cover up the socialist fascist betrayal of the workers. But this shameful attempt at deception has also failed. The February fights have not only opened the eyes of a great portion of the Austrian working class to the treachery of the social-democratic party of Austria, but these workers have also drawn the logical conclusions from this treachery. The going over of thousands of social-democratic workers to the Communist Party of Austria, the growing resistance and the fight against the fascist dictatorship, which is flaring up under revolutionary Communist leadership in all parts of Austria, prove this.

A splendid and politically important example of how Communism is gaining ground among the social-democratic workers is the declaration of hundreds of Austrian Schutzbundlers, former social-democratic functionaries, which was issued on the occasion of the departure of the first party of Schutzbundlers to the Soviet Union. The Austrian Schutzbundlers who, as the social fascists maintain, fought for the demands and slogans of the Second International, did not—as one would assume from such assertions of the social fascists—feel at all at home in Czechoslovakia, where social-democratic Ministers take part in the government. They have also not gone to Sweden or Denmark where social-democratic governments are in office, but to the Soviet Union, thereby acknowledging that for them too the Soviet Union is the only home, the only country which can not only provide them with asylum, work and bread, but also give them the possibility of learning, in order to take their part as trained and better class fighters in the future decisive fights in Austria. Four hundred Schutzbundlers, the majority of whom still regard themselves as organised in the social-democratic party, before their departure issued a manifesto which contains a damning indictment of the social fascist leaders and their policy. They declare:—

"The defence of democracy was in reality nothing but a steady retreat before the advance of the class enemy. . . . The class-conscious proletariat was prepared to rise in mighty fighting unity. . . . Our leaders evaded the decision."

And the Schutzbundlers draw the conclusions from this: there is no return to Parliamentarism. To-day it is a question of preparing for the proletarian revolution, the armed revolt against fascism. The Manifesto further states:—

"The aim of this revolution must be the dictatorship of the proletariat, the shattering of the bourgeois State apparatus, the abolition of capitalism, the building up of a socialist Soviet Republic on the lines of the Soviet Union."

This plain recognition is also expressed in the declaration of the social-democratic functionaries who have come over to the Communist Party of Austria, and of the leaders of the former "Lefts" in the social-democratic party of Austria. These functionaries, among whom are a former editor of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung," the vice-chairman of the Union of Industrial Employees in Austria, Schutzbund commanders and chairmen of factory committees in important undertakings, have dissolved their Left organisation and called upon all social-democratic workers to join the C.P. of Austria. These Lefts drew the only possible conclusion from the whole policy which they hitherto conducted within the social-democratic party of Austria. They declare that it is impossible "to begin again," either under the old leaders or under their disciples. They state:—

"Austro-Marxism is dead, and the idea that the decaying

Austrian social-democratic party serves as a connecting bridge between Western democracy is absurd and represents nothing but a new manoeuvre. Western democracy has fallen completely victim to the poison of fascism as Central European democracy has. The proletariat has only one possibility, to take up the fight for the seizure of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a real revolutionary united front."

And these former leading social-democratic functionaries, with the experience bought in the bloody barricade fights, come to the conclusion:—

"Despite the fascist terror and despite illegality, the Austrian Communist Party will organise and carry through the Red October."

The step taken by the 130 Schutzbundlers, who have likewise severed all ties with the social democracy and joined the Communist Party, gives evidence of the same conviction and confidence. Their declaration is a splendid confirmation of the correct policy of the Comintern and its sections and at the same time an admonishment to all social-democratic workers who still cherish illusions and shrink from the decisive step of finally abandoning the treacherous Second International. The Schutzbundlers who have gone over to the C.P. of Austria address to these workers the summons:—

"We call upon you to draw the lessons, the same as we have drawn them, from the events of the last few years, especially from the Austrian revolt, for the collapse of which the social democracy is responsible. Only if the working class is united and under revolutionary leadership can freedom be won. Only the way of the Communist International, as is shown by the example of the Soviet Union, leads to victory. We call upon you socialist workers to follow our example. Settle accounts with the social democracy, which is the confederate of the bourgeoisie!"

The social fascists are spitting out gall and venom on account of this damning indictment by honest workers who for years were misled by these leaders. For this indictment of the social fascist leaders, this avowal of Communism is tantamount to an annihilating defeat of the whole of the Second International. The long years of betrayal of the workers by the Second International receives in these manifestoes a well-merited castigation. Lies and slanders must therefore be resorted to in order to belittle the importance of these manifestoes, the declaration of the Schutzbundlers and the fact that hundreds of social-democratic functionaries have come over to the Communist Party.

The social-democratic press, among other things, maintains that the manifesto of the Schutzbundlers is a "Communist fake" and was not signed by the Schutzbundlers. What, however, is the fact? The manifesto of the Schutzbundlers who have gone to the Soviet Union is signed not only by these 300, but also by a further hundred Schutzbundlers who are still in the refugees' camp in Czechoslovakia. Against the social fascist lie that the manifesto, at most, was signed by people who had nothing to do with the February fighting it must be stated: Among the 400 signatories is *Heinz Roscher*, the commander of the Floridsdorf Schutzbund regiment which fought heroically right up to the last second. All members of this regiment who have gone to the Soviet Union signed this manifesto along with him. Further, among the signatories are *Alois Erjautz*, the commander of the Schutzbund detachment which defended the Goethe-Hof. Further, *Karl Sindelkar*, the leader of all the fighting actions of the Schutzbund in Simmering. Then follows the name of *Zartel*, who together with 47 men, with weapons in hand, made their way to the Czechoslovakian frontier. All 47 have signed the manifesto. We find among the signatories the heroic defenders of the Karl Marx-Hof, *Ferdinand Erb*, *Karl Demut*, *Leo Buchmayer*, *Otto Mueller*, *Josef Vogt* and a further 380 heroes who fought to the last minute in Vienna, Floridsdorf, Simmering, Steyr and other places.

These therefore are the facts, and they only prove that the social fascists have no other arguments but lies and slanders. But the more the social fascists foam and rage, the more reason we have to make these facts known among the masses of social-democratic workers and, supported by these facts, call upon them to follow the example of the heroic barricade fighters. The manifestoes of the Schutzbundlers are an avowal of Communism. This avowal must be the banner round which, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working class will rally to the fight against fascism, against capitalist rule and for the Soviet power.

# China

## Rapid Development of the Szechwan Soviet Movement

(Report from the Szechwan and Shensi Soviet Districts on the 20th March, 1934)

It is just a year ago that the Fourth Red Army of the Soviet districts in Honan-Hupeh-Anhwei advanced on Shensi and made a drive forward into the province of Szechwan, thus giving the impetus to the outbreak of the Soviet revolution there which has since developed rapidly. Szechwan is a province which has been torn by the endless conflicts between the Chinese militarists. The collection of taxes and other impositions for years in advance has impoverished the population of the province. The constant fighting has ruined the province and turned tens of thousands of landless and dispossessed peasants into bandits.

Small wonder that under such circumstances the toiling masses of the province flocked to the banner of the Communist Party and took up arms with enthusiasm when the Red Army arrived and the armed struggle against the rich landowners and militarists began. The upshot of the struggle was that further great areas were won for the Soviet idea and the Soviet power was established in the province.

During the course of the fighting the Fourth Red Army won a series of magnificent victories over the forces of the enemy. In its drive towards Shensi the Fourth Red Army annihilated the 1st and 44th Divisions of the Kuomintang Army. In Szechwan itself it met the forces of General Tien Sung-yao, and with the assistance of the insurrectionary masses it utterly defeated them and destroyed the local militia of the rich landowners in three districts, Nankiang, Batzung and Tunkiang. These were the first three districts in Szechwan in which the Soviet power was established, and at the first Soviet congress of these districts the *provincial Soviet government of Szechwan* was proclaimed.

The Fourth Red Army originally consisted of about 20,000 men, but by that time its numbers had increased to 40,000. After a short pause in its operations made necessary by the training of the masses of new recruits which had flocked into its ranks, the Fourth Red Army again took up the offensive against the Kuomintang troops. Last April the forces of the Kuomintang General Tien Sung-yao suffered a smashing defeat at the hands of the Red Army and only 20 per cent. of the Kuomintang forces were able to extricate themselves from the debacle. The Red Army captured 10,000 modern field service rifles and large quantities of ammunition. As a result of this victory the area under Soviet control was considerably extended.

In the following September the Red Army again advanced to the offensive and defeated the troops of the Kuomintang General Yan Sen and drove his forces out of the Yunsan district. At the same time the army of General Tien Sung-yao was driven back over the Djaling-Kiang river. Shortly after these successes the Red Army pressed southward into the Suiding and Shuanhan districts, the area occupied by the Kuomintang General Liu Tsen-hao. In a pitched battle which lasted three hours the Kuomintang forces were utterly routed, whole regiments surrendered and were disarmed, 21,000 rifles and over six million rounds of ammunition, 20 machine-guns with large quantities of cartridge belts, and 15 field-guns with the necessary supplies of shells were captured by the Red Army. The Red Army also captured the local arsenal with supplies for the production of 15,000 rifles and eighty million rounds of ammunition, and large quantities of military equipment of all sorts. When the Red Army assaulted the district capital *Suiding* the workers in the towns immediately rose in rebellion against General Liu Tsen-hao, who was hated for his brutality and the crushing taxation imposed on the population. Liu and his troops fled with the Red Army at their heels and four new districts in the south were taken under Soviet control. Victories were also won by the Red Army in other engagements.

The Red Army has defeated the troops of one general after the other in Szechwan, and the only force which still remains half-way intact is that of General Liu. Since the beginning of its operations the strength of the Red Army has increased enormously and it now totals 200,000 men and is supported by a local Red Guard militia of 150,000 men, so that the total armed forces at the disposal of the Szechwan Soviet government now amount to 350,000 men. The repeated victories of the Red Army have had a de-

moralising effect on the Kuomintang forces and the number of mutinies and desertions, mostly to the camp of the Red Army, are rapidly on the increase.

In Szechwan the Soviet power extends from the eastern bank of the Djaling-Kiang river to the northern bank of the Tchu-Kiang river. The Soviet area in North Szechwan and South Shansi embraces 26 districts with an area of over 94 square kilometres and a population of over ten millions. The rapid development of the Soviet revolution all along the line indicates further rapid growth of the Soviet area in Szechwan.

The Soviets were reorganised a little while ago with a view to drawing in new cadres of fighting elements and guaranteeing the class basis of the Soviet power amongst the workers, landworkers and poor peasants. A broad campaign of land inspection has been organised and the distribution of the land amongst the peasants is being carefully controlled from a class standpoint. The broad masses of the population in the Soviet areas are enthusiastically taking part in this campaign and in all other activities of the Soviet Power. The Red Army also enjoys active co-operation on the part of the civil population in its operations. Volunteers are forthcoming in large numbers, reconnoitring work is conducted by civilians on behalf of the Red Army, the wounded are tended with great devotion and military transports and all other operations are receiving active support. The civilian population is also taking an active part in the work of Soviet propaganda. This work takes on many forms, for instance, planks with Soviet slogans were set afloat in the Djaling-Kiang river to drift down into the non-Soviet areas for the benefit of the peasants there.

When the Soviet area was still under Kuomintang control the peasants were compelled to grow poppies in order that the authorities could extort the heavy opium tax from them. Incidentally this naturally led to a great increase in opium smoking amongst the peasant population and to a consequent deterioration of the health of the population. The Soviet government is now taking energetic measures to stop the growing of poppies and is conducting a widespread campaign against opium smoking, and in the short time since the establishment of the Soviet power considerable success has been obtained.

The new Soviet area is very fertile and rich in various agricultural products and natural resources which were not utilised under the Kuomintang regime. Apart from arsenals and minting works there were no industrial undertakings in the area at all. In the short period of Soviet control the picture has been changing rapidly. In Kwangyuan a score of mines have been sunk and are now working. In Nankiang the iron-ore is being worked. It is of a particularly good quality and provides excellent metal for metallurgical purposes. In the south of the Soviet area salt mines have been cut and are now working and over 10,000 workers who were unemployed under the Kuomintang regime have since been employed in the works of the Soviet government.

Naturally, one of the primary tasks of the Soviet government is to provide the Red Army with weapons and equipment and to ensure regular supplies. In the main Soviet arsenal 120 modern rifles and 600,000 rounds of ammunition are being produced daily. The workers at this arsenal have on their own initiative organised night shifts in order to increase the supplies for the front.

On December 4, 1933, the first workers' and peasants' bank was opened. The prices of all foodstuffs and all articles of mass consumption are controlled and stabilised by the Soviet government. Productive and distributive co-operatives have been formed and are developing rapidly. A special department for trading with other areas has been formed and commodity exchange with the areas still under Kuomintang control is being organised.

Thanks to the energy and enthusiasm of the working masses great progress has also been made on the *cultural field*. Under the leadership of the Communist Party a great campaign is being conducted for the liquidation of illiteracy, for the political training of the broad masses, and for the development of an all-embracing mass cultural movement. The "Pen-Yang" college (named after two local peasant leaders who were murdered by the Kuomintang authorities) has already completed its first year of work, and Leninist people's schools are being founded in all districts. However, the development of these schools is being held up for the moment by the lack of trained teachers, but this difficulty is gradually being overcome and the Soviet government is preparing to found Soviet high schools.

The Soviet government and various revolutionary organisations issue a number of newspapers, but here too the preliminary



difficulties are great owing to a shortage of paper and printing apparatus. The newspapers and periodicals with the largest circulation are: "The Communist," "The Young Guard," "The Red Army," "The Soviets," "The Red Flag," "Soviet Construction" and "The Anti-Imperialist." In addition a number of illustrated periodicals are being issued.

## The Labour Movement

### Ten Weeks of the Verviers Textile Strike

The heroic strike of the textile workers of Verviers has now been going on for ten weeks under the leadership of a strike committee elected by the strikers themselves. All the provocations of the employers, all the repression of the police, and all the manoeuvres of the reformist trade union leaders have not succeeded in breaking the strike.

On April 24 a mass meeting of the strikers took place. At this meeting the strikers unanimously declared themselves behind their own strike committee and announced expressly that no one had the right to conduct negotiations with the employers over the heads of the members of the strike committee. The meeting also adopted an ultimatum to the employers containing the conditions on which the strikers would be prepared to return to work. The meeting took place in the largest hall in Verviers which was packed with 3,000 strikers, whilst many other strikers were unable to obtain admission. The chairman of the strike committee, *Mathieu Petry*, gave the meeting a report on the activity of the strike committee and on the systematic efforts of the reformist trade union leaders to disrupt the united front of the strikers. *Petry* pointed out that the strike committee had tried again and again to persuade the reformist trade union leaders to meet them in public before the masses of the strikers and to discuss the situation. On each occasion the reformist leaders had refused, no doubt because they were afraid to hear the verdict of the workers on their strike-breaking activity.

A representative of the International Textile Workers' Committee was present at the meeting, but owing to the attitude of the police he was unable to speak. His report was presented to the workers by another comrade.

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution for the further strengthening of the Central Strike Committee, for the further organisation of factory strike committees, and for the continuation of mass picketing.

The unbreakable fighting spirit of the strikers, the activity of the Central Strike Committee, and the growing popularity of the revolutionary International Textile Workers' Committee have compelled the reformist trade union leaders to resort to further manoeuvres. On April 23, a day before the meeting of the strikers called by the Central Strike Committee, they also called a mass meeting at which the well-known reformist leaders *Duchene* and *Wauters* spoke to an assembly of less than a thousand workers.

The Central Strike Committee sent its chairman *Mathieu Petry* to one of the meetings called by the reformist leaders, but the latter refused to permit him to speak. At this about one-half of the workers present left the hall as a protest and went to another hall where they held a second meeting at which the representatives of the striking workers spoke.

In order to re-establish their waning authority the reformist trade union leaders decided to bring their heavy artillery into action, and on April 26 they organised a meeting at which *Vandervelde* was billed to speak. The meeting took place and about 800 workers turned up to hear *Vandervelde* trying to persuade them to capitulate. His speech was chiefly directed towards white-washing the collapse of the *Banque du Travail*. He also defended the attitude of the employers and asked consideration for them owing to "the burden of taxation" they were compelled to carry.

However, not even *Vandervelde* could persuade the workers to return to work, so the reformist trade union leaders and the employers adopted more brutal methods in order to smash the strike.

The employers placed their hope upon strike-breaking. In Verviers itself they were unable to rake together any blacklegs, so they began to seek them in other districts and to bring them into Verviers under false pretences and engage them at the back factories. Many workers returned to their homes and refused to have anything to do with the strike-breaking plan when they discovered

what they were supposed to do in Verviers. In many cases the strikers themselves made collections to provide these workers with their fares home. Up to the present the employers have succeeded in collecting no more than about a hundred scabs. This little handful of blacklegs live all the time in the factories where they work, eat and sleep under close police protection and are unable to venture outside the doors. The employers are also trying to recruit scabs in Northern France and in fascist Germany. They are also attempting to send black consignments of wool to Poland. The struggle against scabbing is therefore an international one and the textile workers of all countries must pay close attention to it.

The reformist trade union leaders are supporting the efforts to recruit strike-breakers. The chairman of the local organisation of the reformist textile workers' union in Verviers has personally recruited strike-breakers for the smaller factories. The chairman of the reformist union of wool-cleaners is trying to obtain the names of all workers who come to him in his office to report cases of strike-breaking. He requires their names for his files, he declares. In reality he wants their names in order to be able to denounce active trade unionists to the police as "dangerous elements."

With the support of the reformist trade union leaders the police are "successfully" prosecuting their campaign against the revolutionary workers. Comrade *Leemans* has been arrested for his struggle against scabbing. The strikers are realising more and more clearly the united front which has been established between the State apparatus, the employers and the reformist trade union leaders. The role of the reformist trade union leaders and of the social democracy was also demonstrated at a meeting of the municipal council of Verviers when the social democrats voted against a Communist motion for the withdrawal of the police from the factories at which the strike is proceeding.

More and more members of the reformist unions are joining up with the Central Strike Committee. A full membership meeting of one of the strongest reformist unions in Verviers, the Union of Wool-Cleaners, which has over 4,000 members, decided at the beginning of May to recognise the Central Strike Committee. The meeting further elected a committee of seven workers to co-operate with the Central Strike Committee. The meeting also decided to issue a statement to the workers condemning the attitude of the reformist trade union leader *Duchene* as treachery to the cause of the workers. Similar resolutions have also been adopted by other reformist trade union meetings and by factory meetings of the workers.

On May 5 big street demonstrations of the strikers took place in Verviers and huge meetings were addressed by the Communist deputies *Jacquemotte* and *Lahaut*.

The Central Strike Committee has connected up the economic demands of the strikers with political demands against the police terror, for the release of all proletarian political prisoners, and against fascism.

Thanks to the general situation of the Belgian proletariat the strike of the textile workers of Verviers is now entering into a decisive stage. On May 15 wage cuts are to come into force for the metal workers, and on May 20 for the miners. Wage cuts are also to come into force in May for the textile workers in Flanders. These cuts range from 25 to 30 per cent. The strike of the textile workers in Verviers is thus an advance-guard struggle of the Belgian workers against wage cuts, and for this reason the combined attack against the Verviers strikers is now being conducted with increased energy.

The revolutionary trade union movement in Belgium is redoubling its efforts to strengthen the struggle in Verviers and to use it as a lever to assist in the mobilisation of the masses of the Belgian proletariat as a whole. It aims at organising a joint struggle on the part of the textile workers, the metal workers and the miners against wage cuts and for joint demands. In this way the strike in Verviers is taking on a significance greatly in excess of its local importance. The textile workers of Belgium and of the whole world must make it a point of honour to do everything possible to assist the strikers of Verviers to victory.

The strike of the textile workers in Verviers has already met with a strong echo in other countries, and particularly in *Czechoslovakia*, *Holland* and *France* where the revolutionary trade unions have organised the collection of funds in support of the strike, and the revolutionary trade union press is conducting an active campaign for solidarity with the strikers, and utilising it as a spur to the struggle of the workers at home. This campaign must now be

strengthened, and above all, the revolutionary textile workers' unions must concentrate against strike-breaking. The International Railway Workers' Committee which is joining in the movement of solidarity and support must do its best to organise international action against the wool transports to Poland and against the carrying of strike-breakers into Verviers.

In view of the situation in Belgium and of the international situation, the importance of the strike of the textile workers in Verviers is very great. International proletarian solidarity and support must assist the heroic textile workers of Verviers to win the victory in the eleventh week of their strike.

## Lessons of the Danish Seamen's Strike

(From a resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. of Denmark)

*The Politbureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Denmark, at its meeting held on April 28, adopted a long resolution on the experience of the economic struggles and strikes in Denmark. We publish that portion of the resolution dealing with the lessons of the seamen's strike.—Ed.*

The struggle of the Danish seamen was an economic strike for the justified demands of the seamen; but it was at the same time an offensive struggle not only against the shipowners, but also against the capitalist State and its social-democratic agents in the government and in the trade unions.

The estimate of the situation, made by the C.P. and the Red Trade Union Opposition of Denmark that the working masses are driving, even if unconsciously, to an offensive struggle against the capitalists and against the attacks of the government, was completely confirmed.

This is proved by the complete unity and the fighting will with which the seamen entered the strike, the unanimity with which they carried out the strike, in spite of the dirty work of the reformist elements who attempted to prevent the strike and to break the united front of the sailors and the stokers. This is proved by the spontaneous cessation of work on the part of the dock workers throughout the country, in direct defiance of the orders of the General Trade Union Federation and of the union of unskilled workers. This is proved by the splendidly carried out general strike in Esbjerg and the courageous protest action of the Copenhagen workers in Faelledpark on April 18. This is proved by the strike of the slaughtermen and cooks and by the fact that the employers were unable to obtain any workers during the strike. All these and many other facts prove that the majority of the workers, in spite of the manoeuvres of the reformist bureaucracy, maintained solidarity with the strikers and were filled with the desire to take up the struggle themselves against the employers.

The strike of the seamen was a victory, because it was carried out despite the resistance and terror of the whole of society. It was a victory because it was conducted for the independence of the trade unions and the right of the workers to strike because it compelled the employers to respect this independence and this right to strike in spite of laws and decrees, to agree to fresh negotiations and to grant considerable concessions and not to enforce the application of the penal conditions of the old and the new anti-trade union law. It was a victory because it showed, together with the strike of the slaughtermen and of the cooks, as well as the new agreement of the brewery workers, that it is possible to conduct strikes successfully if the workers and the trade unions refuse to tolerate the interference of the State and do not bow to the reformist dictatorship.

The social-democratic press and the General Federation of Trade Unions attempted with all possible means to organise strike-breaking on the ships and in the docks, to break the united fighting front of the sailors and of the stokers. They also succeeded in calling off the strike of the seamen, as a result of which the stokers were compelled to end their strike with a less favourable result than would have been achieved otherwise.

The strike of the seamen proved that it is possible to conduct a successful strike if it is under revolutionary leadership, but that it will be betrayed and throttled if the workers do not settle accounts with all overt and covert reformists within the labour movement. The strike further shows the necessity of the revolutionary opposition being rooted in the work places and the struggle being organised on the spot. It also shows that it is necessary to conduct systematic work in order to liquidate the reformist elements and to elect class-conscious workers to the trade union committees. The strike was weakened by the fact that the revolutionary opposition

in the federation of the seamen was not able to settle accounts with their own reformists earlier. The greatest weakness of the strike consisted in the revolutionary movement not having organised systematic work at the right time among the dock workers on the basis of the demand for work, which is such a burning question that even the reformist leaders at the Aarhus Conference in December, 1933, threatened to resort to "direct action" if this question was not solved in a satisfactory manner for the dock workers. The C.P. and the R.T.U.O. are responsible for this weakness of the strike; they have not organised the work in such a manner as to render possible the rapid initiation of solidarity actions on the part of the dock workers.

In spite of these weaknesses the revolutionary movement, as well as the whole of the working class, has derived invaluable experience from this struggle which will equip it better for new struggles.

The brutal police terror of the government against the strikers, both in Copenhagen and in the province, house searches, arrests of leaders of the revolutionary trade union opposition, the attacks of the General Trade Union Federation, the reformists and the social-democratic press against the strikers and the revolutionary movement have opened the eyes of thousands of workers who have not hitherto actively participated in the revolutionary movement.

The government decree, introducing compulsory arbitration in the strike of the slaughtermen, a perfectly "legal" strike, clearly shows that it is no longer possible in Denmark to conduct large "lawful" wage struggles. The Danish working class is now confronted with the question of the further existence of the trade unions, as well as with the question of the organisation of the offensive of the working class against the capitalist class, which is launching its attacks under the protection of the reformist trade union leaders and the social-democratic government.

This new situation faces the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition with the task of preparing for and organising the counter-offensive of the workers on a broad front.

The Communist Party must draw the lessons from the struggle for the collective agreements and from the strikes in Denmark: the political line of the C.P. and of the R.T.U.O. was correct in general; under their leadership the workers succeeded in breaking through the trade union legality and carried the struggle from the defensive over to the offensive; the trade union bureaucracy and the social-democratic government use every means in the fight against the working class in the interest of the capitalist class; a further and stronger fascisation of the State apparatus and the incorporation of the trade unions are being carried out shortly; the C.P. and the R.T.U.O. of Denmark are the only political and organisational force capable of gathering the class forces of the working class and organising the "lawful" and "unlawful" counter-offensive for the daily interests of the workers; this renders necessary the rooting of the R.T.U.O. in the workshops and the mass recruiting of workers into the C.P. in order to convert it as soon as possible into a real political mass party able to frustrate the splitting and expulsion policy of the reformists; it is necessary to promote and consolidate the revolutionary press and in particular "**Arbejderbladet**."

The force of the revolutionary movement must now be directed towards extending the political positions which have been won so that the working class will be better equipped in the coming struggles.

### The International Trade Union Federation Responsible. Fresh Facts on the Return of the Trade Union Funds to Dollfuss Vienna, May 13.

The return of the trade union funds to Austria, after they had been safely taken abroad, is being carried out not only with the aid of the Austrian social fascists, but with the collaboration of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. These funds had been placed in the care of the Trade Union International. The secretary of the International Metal Workers' Union has now made it possible for the Austrian trade union bosses to obtain the funds which they came to fetch, accompanied by detectives. Five million shillings have already been returned, and a further three and a half millions are said to be secure. As a reward, arrested trade union secretaries are being set at liberty, and some are even being given positions. The example set by the metal workers' secretary is now to be followed by the secretaries of the building workers' and foodstuffs workers' unions. This is a treachery exceeding even that of desertion by the trade union bosses to Mussolini and Hitler.

## Fight Against Fascism

### The Development of the Class Struggle Inside the Fascist Mass Organisations of Italy

By Estella

One of the most important tasks which the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. placed before the Communist Party of Italy was to be able to develop mass work inside the fascist trade unions and the other fascist mass organisations, such as the Dopolavoro,\* insurance societies, Co-operatives, etc., in order to lead the masses of the workers in these organisations into the fight against fascism and for their own demands. It is therefore necessary at the present time, six months after the sessions of the Plenum, to make an examination of the advance which has been made in the carrying out of the resolution of the Thirteenth Plenum on the tasks of the Italian Communist Party.

Although the difficulties of this work are getting greater every day, nevertheless much advance has been made. Episodes of the class struggle within the fascist trade unions have been multiplied and extended. These have taken the form of the intervention of the workers in meetings in the fight for their own class interests, in the form of protests, of resolutions put forward and adopted, and of mass action for their support.

The most important of these episodes, of which some were carried out and led by the C.P. of Italy and the C.G.L. (Confederazione Generale del Lavoro=General Confederation of Labour), others which have been brought to notice and confirmed by the fascist press itself are given below.

(1) In . . . the women employed in an important factory were in a state of great excitement because the management of the factory wanted to give them only three days' holiday out of the six which were laid down in the agreement, on the excuse that the orders received had to be completed. The secret organisation of the C.G.L. demanded payment for the three days which had been withdrawn. The women forced the fascist woman functionary responsible in that department to put forward the demands of the working women. The factory management was compelled to grant the women what was due to them.

(2) In one of the most important centres of industry, the workers of one of the biggest engineering works were dismissed on account of the bankruptcy of the firm. On the ground that they would be taken on again, compensation was to be withheld from them. Some of the members of the illegal cell of the C.G.L. began an agitation for either immediate reinstatement or for compensation. The workers decided to protest to the fascist trade union by sending the fascist shop stewards, who were also accompanied by the workers. The trade union made promises to the fascist shop stewards and ordered them to calm down the workers. Under the leadership of the Communists, however, the workers decided to work in a different way. They met at the Labour Exchange and elected a commission of nine workers, among whom were workers belonging to the fascist militia and Catholics. Accompanied by a strong group of workers, this commission went to the trade union, whose horrified officials were forced to put through the demands of the workers in full after two weeks.

(3) In . . . in one of the largest chemical factories, there was great indignation at the introduction of the Bedaux system. In a branch meeting of the trade union numerous workers protested vigorously and forced the fascist officials to declare their support for their demands. But then any further trade union meetings were prevented and the most dissatisfied workers threatened with dismissal. Further reports on this are not yet forthcoming. In this factory there was no organisation either of the C.P. or of the C.G.L., although a few workers read the Communist press.

(4) The unemployed of one of the most important centres of industry protested at the Labour Exchange against the inadequacy of the unemployment benefit and elected a commission to put forward their demands. Even the fascist press had to report on this move for which the Communists were responsible.

(5) In . . . the printing workers came out against the officials in a trade union meeting and brought forward their demands. The fascist press reported this movement, in the preparation for which the C.P. organisation had taken a direct part.

(6) In a small village there was a meeting of the workers of the most important trades of the district at which a revolutionary worker stigmatised the starvation wages and the lack of activity on the part of the fascist trade union officials, who did not dare to come out against this worker who had the whole meeting behind him. In this area, up till now the revolutionary workers had been very obstinate in their refusal to make use of legal possibilities.

(7) In one of the most important centres of industry the workers at a trade union meeting in a vehicle factory, which was going bankrupt, on the proposal of revolutionary workers, elected a commission which through the trade union compelled the factory management immediately to pay the money owing to the workers.

(8) In . . . the workers in a quarry took possession of the quarry after they had found it impossible to force through their demands for wage payment and working conditions with the trade union or the management, and by this means they enforced the acceptance of their demands.

(9) In a small agricultural centre, the peasants threatened with eviction organised a demonstration against the selling of the land of the municipal houses. The demonstration went to the Mayor, with the banners of the Dopolavoro and the ex-service men at the front. There a commission, elected by the peasants, demanded the stopping of the sale while the crowd demonstrated further in the square. The Mayor had to promise that no peasant would be evicted. That same afternoon the peasants sent another commission to the municipal authorities in order to demand the remission of five years' back rent, which, however, was refused, but the movement led by the Communists continued.

(10) In . . . the Mayor promised that the small peasants who had suffered from the hail storm in the spring and were uninsured, should receive assistance. They received no support, however, and even received tax demands. Then even the fascist peasants began to protest. Some peasants, at the suggestion of the Communists, then proposed that all those who had suffered should sign a list and refuse to pay taxes. A committee was formed which collected the signatures and handed them over to the Mayor. No one paid the taxes.

The official organ of the fascist trade unions the "*Lavoro Fascista*" had to report some important episodes in the class struggle inside the fascist trade unions, in which, naturally, it sought to minimise the significance of these facts.

(11) In Porto Civitanova, as the "*Lavoro Fascista*" of February 14, 1934, reported, a meeting of the metal workers was held in order to discuss the new labour agreement, at which there were "lively" speeches in discussion by the workers.

(12) In *Terni*, many workers spoke in the meeting of the boiler-makers on their most important demands. The "*Lavoro Fascista*" of February 18 itself had to give quotations from these speeches.

(13) In *Brescia* only the fascist shop stewards of the boiler-makers' group of the fascist trade unions were called to the meeting on the discussion of the new labour agreement, but not the workers, but nevertheless even the shop stewards, as the "*Lavoro Fascista*" of February 27 had to report, spoke against some of the clauses in the agreement.

(14) In *Rome*, at a meeting of the metal workers' trade union, some important demands were put forward in the speeches in discussion and adopted. As the "*Lavoro Fascista*" of February 28 reported, the workers there are 100 per cent. members of the fascist party.

(15) In the congress of the building workers in *Bologna*, in which only specialists and fascist shop stewards of the trade took part, some of the 25 speakers in discussion, as reported in the "*Lavoro Fascista*" for March 2, put forward very far-reaching demands, and only a few of the speeches were fascist in character.

(16) The glass workers, meeting in *Turin*, in a discussion on the labour agreement, demanded "the revision of some peculiarities in the departments" as the "*Stampa*" of February reported.

(17) The postal, telegraph and telephone employees of *Siena*, who as State employees may not belong to a trade union but only to a "society," held a meeting, 350 present, and discussed vigorously their professional questions, and brought out some important questions, which the "*Corriere della Sera*" of February 26 passed over in silence.

(18) At the meeting to hear the report of the board of the building workers' trade union of Padua, there were many speeches

\* The fascist organisation for sport and recreation.

from workers in the discussion in which protests and demands of various kinds were to be found, as the "*Lavoro Fascista*" of March 8 reports.

We have quoted above only a few of the events as it is impossible to report on all the fascist meetings and conferences at which workers protested and put forward demands. But it comes out very clearly that the workers are determined to push through their most immediate demands and that on this basis an elementary united front of the majority of Catholic, fascist, Communist and non-party workers is being formed.

It is necessary, however, to make some remarks about the character of the greater part of these meetings and about the tactics of the fascist trade unions.

(1) The fascist trade unions are forced, through mass pressure, to call meetings and conferences, albeit with many precautions.

(2) They endeavour to invest these meetings with the character of propaganda meetings, at which the workers should not have a chance to speak, or they get together in the place of the workers their "representatives," the shop stewards (fascists), the specialists, etc.

(3) Such meetings of workers or their "representatives" mostly take place in small centres or in the less important trades.

(4) Nevertheless the workers come forward in ever-increasing numbers with their protests and demands, even in meetings of their "representatives" or in meetings of fascist workers.

One of the greatest positive results of the work of the C.P. of Italy and of the C.G.L. trade union organisation consists in the development of the anti-fascist and class activity of the workers inside other mass organisations of fascists: Dopolavoro, Co-operatives, insurance societies, etc. Here also, in almost every district, in which there are C.P. and C.G.L. organisations, numerous and decisive advances have been attained. Below are given some examples:—

(1) In a centre in South Italy of middle size, a sport organisation with 100 members affiliated to the Dopolavoro passed over into the hands of the anti-fascists.

(2) In an important centre of North Italy a very important co-operative came into the hands of the Communists, who, however, were later discovered, arrested and killed, whilst 250 workers who were members were taken into custody.

(3) In a co-operative of a small agricultural centre the toilers led by Communists for many months carried on an obstinate fight against the fascist management, enforced a meeting and elected a management committee of anti-fascist workers with nine-tenths of the votes.

(4) In the Dopolavoro of a small village, the members led by Communists enforced the resignation of the fascist leadership.

(5) In the Dopolavoro of . . . the workers by a demonstration enforced the admission of the unemployed to the rooms without the payment of subscription.

(6) In a co-operative society with 150 members, which was brought to ruin by the fascists, the fascist list for the management committee was defeated by 120 votes to 20, and the workers enforced the acceptance of three "honest" (i.e., through compulsion) fascists on the management committee.

(7) In the meeting of the insurance society (mutual aid club) of the employees of Fiat in Turin, as reported in the "*Stampa*" of March 30, a resolution was brought forward and adopted which demanded the resignation of some members of the management committee.

From these and numerous other cases a few conclusions can be drawn on the work of the C.P. of Italy and of the C.G.L. in the mass organisations of fascism:—

(1) The work has been extended to almost all trades and in many districts of Italy.

(2) Ever greater numbers of workers take part in the meetings.

(3) The demands brought forward are often very far-reaching and correspond to those of the C.G.L.

(4) There is an extension in the utilisation of legal possibilities.

Still there are many negative sides to this work, such as insufficient drive in the most important centres of industry, insufficient popularisation of the experiences of this work, not enough combination of legal and illegal work, lack of organisational results, etc. The elimination of the negative sides of the work is an essential condition for the attainment of even greater success.

## **Fight Against Imperialist War**

### **The World Congress of Women Against War and Fascism**

By Gertrud Düby (Paris)

Some weeks ago numerous well-known women—Charlotte Despard, Helene Stassova, Sun-Tsi-Lin, Anna Lindhagen, Karin Michaelis, Madame de Saint-Prix, Dimitrova, Dr. Gertrud Woker, Ellen Wilkinson, Jenny Lee, Countess Karolyi, Andrée, Viollis, Dimitrov's mother, and others—addressed an appeal to the women of all countries calling upon them to send delegates to the **World Congress Against War and Fascism**, which is to take place on the 28th, 29th, and 30th July, 1934, in Paris.

The Women's Committee of the World Committee Against War and Fascism immediately replied to this appeal by proposing to set up a broad Initiative Committee, which will have the task of organising the World Congress of Women Against War and Fascism.

The Congress will take place on the twentieth anniversary of the declaration of war, at a time when all the capitalist States are engaged in an unparalleled armaments race, when in a number of countries the torch of war has already been kindled and when a world war, the horrors of which are unimaginable, can break out at any moment.

The Campaign in connection with the Congress is being conducted under the slogan of fight against imperialist war, against colonial oppression, against Japanese imperialism, which is making all preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union, against the bloody campaign against Soviet China, against the war in Morocco and South America, for the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets, as well as for the fight against fascism in one's own country, and against Hitler fascism in particular.

The World Initiative Committee has been formed on the basis of a broad united front with the object of drawing new strata of women, who have hitherto stood aside, into the fight against war and fascism. This is all the more necessary in view of the great ferment among the toiling women, which may be utilised by the fascist and other bourgeois organisations for their purposes. In addition to the popularisation of the general slogans, the economic, social, and cultural interests of all strata of toiling women shall be linked up with this campaign for the Congress.

The greater part of the women's delegates to the Congress are to be sent from the factories, the trade unions, the co-operatives, and the rural districts. In all countries the work must be concentrated in particular in these spheres. But the masses of women clerks, the members of the Catholic and other cultural mass organisations, the women teachers' organisations, intellectuals, women students, all those who wish to fight against war and fascism, are to be interested and won for this campaign. Socialist, Communist, pacifist, and Christian women are to combine in one united fighting front.

For the preparation of the World Congress, conferences of mass organisations (reformist, revolutionary, and Christian trade unions, Communist, socialist women's organisations, sport and cultural organisations) will be held in all countries.

To each National Committee Against War and Fascism a **Women's Committee** will be attached, consisting of representatives of the petty-bourgeois elements who are resolutely opposed to war and fascism, of socialists, progressive intellectuals, in addition to a firm grouping of proletarians.

National Women's Congresses Against War and Fascism will take place in **England, Spain, and Czechoslovakia** before the World Congress. **Special Women's Conferences** will be held in **France, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Spain, England, Sweden, Greece**, together with the National and Youth Congresses Against War and Fascism.

The question of the Congress will be raised and its slogans popularised at public meetings, at strikes and manifestations organised by trade unions, socialists, Communists, pacifists, suffragettes, etc. The World Initiative Committee will issue an appeal (this will be in four languages), pamphlets, postcards, etc., a regularly appearing bulletin and press communiqués. A special illustrated review in four languages will be published before the Congress.

A questionnaire will be sent to all National Committees for the purpose of compiling data on the situation of the women in



the various professions and countries, which data will be employed in the work of the Congress and the publication of a book.

In July 28 the women of Paris will be summoned to a great demonstration, at which the international delegations will be welcomed.

In various countries, such as in the U.S.A., France, Spain, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Initiative Committees have been busy already for weeks with the work in preparation for the Congress. Delegations are expected from China and America. All preparations are made in order that the Women's Congress Against War and Fascism shall have not only a European but a real world character.

Letters and enquiries should be addressed: Comité d'Initiative Féminin, 1, Cité Paradis, Paris 10.

## The White Terror

### Rescue Comrade Rakosi!

The Former People's Commissar of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, **Rakosi**, who was to be set at liberty at the close of a term of 8½ years' penal servitude, has now been conveyed to Budapest again on the demand of the Public Prosecutor. The Public Prosecutor brings against Rakosi the charge of having committed murders and other crimes under the Soviet Power.

—“*Reggeli Ujság*,” Budapest.

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A few weeks ago, when a world-famous Hungarian jurist interviewed the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, on the request of foreign colleagues, with regard to the expected release of Comrade Rakosi, he was assured that of course Rakosi would be released after the close of his term of penal servitude. On 24th April our comrade concluded his barbaric penalty of 8½ years' penal servitude, intensified by cruel disciplinary punishments. But he was not released. At first the Hungarian authorities preserved complete silence. Not a word could be extracted from them. Now they suddenly drop the veil. Rakosi is to be brought up for trial for murder—for more than three hundred murders. This is the indictment brought in the high treason charge against the onetime People's Commissar, Rakosi, who is to be called to account, not for political offences, but for all the persons killed during the rule of the Soviets in Hungary, even the murders committed by the counter-revolutionists, and even the murders committed by common criminals. The socialisation measures of the People's Commissars are considered as robbery, their financial measures, though taken over by the counter-revolutionary government and continued, are designated as counterfeiting of money. They are to be called to account correspondingly. On the basis of such indictments, four former People's Commissars, less implicated than Rakosi, have already been condemned to death by hanging, so that Rakosi is to-day faced by a *res judicata*, a position in which the sentence is practically already pronounced against him.

That the Hungarian authorities are endeavouring to mislead the world public opinion, that they are deceiving and side-tracking the foreign countries wherever they can, is too obvious for words. It will be remembered that the “*Pester Lloyd*” had the impudence to announce that Rakosi was to be released before his full term was served, on account of his “*good conduct*,” whilst at the same time he was being subjected to an inhuman disciplinary punishment on account of alleged “*bad conduct*.” Why did the authorities hold back with the indictment which they now bring forward? What was the aim of all this secrecy? The chief reason has been their anxiety to be able to prepare for a trial by **summary procedure**, by which the rights of the defendants are greatly restricted with regard to conducting their defence. In a word, the aim is a verdict without an actual trial. At the same time the preservation of silence was intended to mislead foreign countries, and to prevent a campaign in aid of Rakosi, whose trials before the court-martial, and the regular court, have won him so much sympathy at home and abroad.

Hungarian fascism is in a contradictory position. Had it not been for the fresh wave of terror sweeping across Central Europe it would never have ventured to bring before its bloodstained court of justice a man who has served 8½ years' penal servitude, and

this for political offences committed 15 years ago. International reaction swells the sails of Hungarian reaction as elsewhere. But on the other hand it has not forgotten the old Rakosi campaign, and, what is perhaps still more important, it has witnessed the mighty Dimitrov campaign, which defeated a much more powerful antagonist than the rulers of Hungary. Public opinion in foreign countries not only supports this campaign, but, if properly mobilised, can even thwart their criminal plans. And this is not the only contradiction. If Horthy, Gömbös, Bethlen, etc., after ruling for almost 15 years, find it necessary to drag their opponents of the days of the Soviet rule before their courts of justice, then they have every reason to stage a propaganda trial, at which they can pillory the “*sins*” of the People's Commissars before the whole country, and oppose to them the “*blessings*” brought by the present regime. But these gentlemen will beware of any such action. After 15 years of rule they need no propaganda press, but only terror sentences, gallows, that they may intimidate those who are carrying out only propaganda work against them. Hence the great conspiracy of secrecy!

We have torn the veil from all this secrecy, we have forced the authorities in Budapest to give a reply to our questions, and now our urgent task is to carry on our campaign by all available means. This bankrupt regime must not be permitted to drag its political opponents before their so-called court of justice after ruling for 15 years. It must not be permitted that a man like Rakosi, after serving 8½ years' penal servitude, is brought to the gallows, to serve as a means of intimidating the opponents of the present regime.

It was precisely at the crest of the reactionary wave sweeping over Europe that the magnificent Dimitrov victory was won. Therefore it cannot possibly be allowed that now, at a time when victorious fascism is losing prestige rapidly, that one of the most bankrupt of fascist regimes gives one of the bravest fighters for liberty into the hands of the executioners.

A new trial of Rakosi must be prevented altogether, to say nothing of a new sentence. Comrade Rakosi, who has been martyred in the Hungarian jails of Waitzen and Szegedin for 8½ years, must be released!

### Hungarian Fascist Jailer's Shameful Treatment of Rakosi

Budapest, May 13, 1934.

The Budapest newspaper “*Magyar Hírlap*” publishes a statement of the Hungarian Public Prosecutor that he has confiscated “100 Swiss francs sent to the address of Rakosi and sent apparently by the Swiss International Labour Defence.” This one sentence contains so many lies and reveals such contemptible meanness that we are compelled to give the true facts.

First of all it is not true that 100 Swiss francs were sent to the address of Rakosi, and it is also untrue that the money was sent “apparently by the Swiss International Labour Defence.” Money was sent to the address of Rakosi but not from Switzerland, but from France; and not 100 Swiss francs, but 1,000 French francs, were sent, and this not by the International Labour Defence but by a Paris bourgeois lawyer, who received the money from Rakosi's relatives, as Rakosi, at the end of March, with the knowledge and consent of the prison governor, had asked them to send him French francs to the value of 200 to 250 pengoes in order to buy underwear and a suit for himself and to have money ready for his journey. No section of the I.L.D. had anything to do with the matter. The lawyer sent the 1,000 francs to the prison governor, together with a covering letter. The letter was signed by the lawyer, and he also wrote his address as sender on the envelope. This whole affair of remitting money has nothing of a peculiar or secret character about it. It has never been prohibited to send a modest sum through the prison governor to a prisoner who had already served his term of imprisonment. The incident only becomes mysterious with the interference of the Hungarian Public Prosecutor. Why is the International Labour Defence dragged into this affair? Obviously in order to have a pretext for confiscating the money. The International Labour Defence is suppressed in Hungary. Its property can therefore be confiscated at any moment, even if the money comes only “apparently” from the I.L.D. But why had the money to be confiscated? Simply in order to deprive Rakosi of the means of buying underwear and a suit and to compel him, who has served his sentence of 8½ years' penal servitude, and

thus is no longer a prisoner but at the most a prisoner on remand, to continue wearing prison uniform.

Why does the Public Prosecutor allege that Swiss francs and not French francs were sent and these to a lesser amount than the actual sum sent? Unfortunately we cannot completely solve this riddle. Here we can only make assumptions. The Hungarian authorities have already once had bad luck with French 1,000 franc notes. Everyone will remember the trial of franc forgers at which it was established that under the leadership of Prinz Windischgraetz, the provincial chief of police Nadossy, Bishop Zadravetz and a whole number of general staff officers, and with the active assistance of a considerable part of Hungarian "society," French 1,000 franc notes were forged. The money sent to Rakosi was a *genuine* 1,000 franc note—but one should not talk of ropes in the house of a hangman, and therefore the Hungarian Public Prosecutor, out of a sense of shame, anxiously avoids mentioning *French* francs. But why does he say that 100 Swiss francs were sent when the value of the note sent was equivalent to 210 Swiss francs?

The Paris lawyer who sent the money will not give way any more than the French government did at the time of the franc forgeries. It will be officially ascertained where the money actually is. We are not concerned about the money. We want to call the attention of the world public to the dirty means with which the Hungarian authorities are working against Rakosi and what a danger it means to him that he is in the hands of such authorities.

## **VI International Solidarity Day** **Strengthen Class Solidarity !**

By Fritz Heckert

On June 3 the Day of International Solidarity will be celebrated by the workers in all countries. On this day it is necessary to make a big step forward in consolidating the solidarity of our class, the working class. The bourgeoisie, drawn into the vortex of the world economic crisis and driven by an insane armaments fever in preparation for a fresh world slaughter, is organising one brutal attack after the other against the working class. Capitalism is approaching its end, and the class which is doomed to perish is making the last attempts in order, by the employment of the most barbarous means, by the establishment of fascist terror, to gain for itself a respite, to maintain the decaying capitalist system for a further while.

All those who profit from the exploitation of man by man have combined together, and by shameful demagogic manoeuvres they have even succeeded in winning members of the oppressed class for participation in the suppression of their class comrades. The position of the working class has become worse than ever. The toiling peasants and the small middle-class people are suffering terrible misery. This fascist tyranny, this increase in misery and suffering is solely due to the fact that the reformists and the social-democratic leadership have split the working class. The rule of the oppressors and exploiters is possible only owing to the split in the working class. Everywhere where the workers are united, their power is great and they are able to repulse the attacks of the enemy. Wherever solidarity is combined with class consciousness and the passionate will to fight, as was the case with the Russian people in the year 1917, the class of oppressors and exploiters can be overthrown.

The class solidarity of the proletariat and the alliance of the working class with the poor peasantry achieved the great victory in October, 1917. The class solidarity and the alliance with the toiling peasants gave the Russian people the strength to crush the intervention and the counter-revolution. Class solidarity and the alliance with the toiling peasants made free a sixth part of the globe for the construction of socialism. By means of class solidarity and alliance with the toiling peasants the Soviet Union became a powerful guarantor of peace. On its soil the toiling masses of the proletarian State are advancing to prosperity and culture.

In all other countries, however, where, thanks to the social-democratic policy, the class solidarity of the workers was destroyed, where the alliance of the working class with the poor peasants was rejected—in all these countries wages have been cut, the poor peasants deprived of their last cow, millions of workers, employees and minor officials thrown into the street, the freedom of the press, of assembly, the right of combination have been

taken away from the working masses. In these countries the militarists have been able to set up their dictatorship unhindered and drill the toiling masses to serve as cannon fodder in the new imperialist robber wars.

Only when the proletarians unite, when they safeguard their class interests with the greatest energy, only then can freedom be achieved, race hatred be destroyed, the yoke of colonial slavery shattered, the path to culture made free for the toiling masses. But this path can only be won in inexorable class struggle. For the workers there exists no other possibility to escape from tyranny, exploitation and oppression than by class struggle.

Victims fall in the class struggle. That is unavoidable. But the victims of the class struggle are a hundred times less than the proletariat loses when it delivers itself over to the bourgeoisie without any resistance. All the sacrifices involved in our emancipation struggle can be borne more easily if the solidarity of our class is growing, if everybody who participates in the struggle knows that the comrades of his class are alleviating his sufferings, are increasing his strength. There was not enough solidarity, not enough class-consciousness, too little understanding of the strategy of the proletarian struggle among the Austrian workers when they rose to repel the attacks of the Dollfuss bands. There was too little solidarity, too little class-consciousness, too little understanding of the tasks of the hour on the part of the German workers when Hitler established his power.

If we learn to strengthen the bonds of brotherly solidarity in our ranks, then the day will soon come when the working masses will not retreat in face of fascist terror and capitalist violence. Then the day will come when the battalions of the working masses, united by solidarity, when the toilers, firmly welded together by the alliance between the workers and the toiling peasants, will be able to proceed to the great attack which will destroy all tyranny and exploitation.

In the last few months the workers of France rose in their millions in order to demonstrate their hatred against fascism. The workers and the toiling farmers in America manifested in mass strikes and demonstrations their will to fight against their oppressors. In many countries the signs of a fresh coming revolutionary upheaval are to be seen. The Austrian workers have shown in their armed uprising that they are prepared to stake their lives for the cause of the freedom of the working class.

Therefore, everyone who wants to participate in the big struggle for the emancipation of the toiling masses from fascism and capitalist slavery, join the great front of proletarian solidarity! The day of solidarity of the proletarian class struggle in June must become a mighty proclamation of struggle against all enemies of the working class, a demonstration of solidarity.

## **Fifth Congress of the C.P. of Greece**

Athens, May 4, 1934.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Greece was held under conditions of strict illegality. The new Central Committee states:—

The Fifth Congress has taken place. The agenda contained the following items: (1) Report of the Central Committee (political and economic situation of the country, activity of the Party), co-report on the present organisational questions of the C.P. of Greece. (2) The work of the Communists in the Red and reformist trade unions. (3) The position and the tasks of the C.P. in the rural districts. (4) Election of the C.C.

The Fifth Congress unanimously approved the political line and the practical work of the C.C. since the appeal of the C.I. in November, 1931. The Congress further endorsed unanimously the resolution of the Sixth Plenum regarding the character and the driving forces of the coming revolution in Greece, as well as the resolutions on items 1 and 2 of the agenda.

In regard to item 3 the Congress approved of the main line of the report of the C.C. and instructed the C.C. to draw up and publish the provisional statutes of the C.P. of Greece, which will be finally adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Party, as well as to work out the programme of the Party before the Sixth Congress.

The Congress sent letters of greeting to the E.C.C.I. and the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., to Comrade Stalin, to the C.P. of Germany and the C.P. of Bulgaria, to Comrades Thaelmann and Dimitrov. There prevailed complete Bolshevik unanimity at the Congress. A delegation of the E.C.C.I. and delegates from the Y.C.L. of Greece were present at the Congress. All the speeches and resolutions will be published in the central organ of the Party.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# Why We Shall Be Victorious!\*

By N. Bucharin

To-day millions of workers and peasants will march through the streets of our towns and villages with the confident feeling that their class power is growing. They will march with red flags at their head and with revolutionary songs on their lips and the strident blare of a victorious fanfare will sound wherever they march. Veterans grown old in the struggle will march shoulder to shoulder with the youth, with women and with children, and the strains of the "International" will be heard in all parts of the world. The representatives of hundreds of peoples, innumerable delegations of foreign-born workers, heroic proletarian fighters from Vienna, workers from China and Germany, Japanese and Negroes, American and European proletarians will march past the mausoleum in the historic Red Square of our Soviet capital, whilst above their heads hundreds of aeroplanes will circle, the steel eagles of the Soviet power, and the thunder of the guns will make the air tremble.

Let us for one moment turn our thoughts to the past in order that we may realise the tremendous historical distance which separates us from former epochs. A real effort is necessary in order to grasp realistically how far we have advanced beyond the old milestones. Let us take one characteristic fact: In this year of socialist construction 1934 no one speaks any more of the day on which the absolutist monarchy fell in the February Revolution. Why not? Is it forgetfulness, historical thanklessness, or a failure to appreciate its importance? Nothing of the sort. It is simply a sign of the tremendous measures of historical quantities and qualities which are characteristic of our epoch. The blue-clad gendarme of the world, the monster of Asiatic despotism, the infernal machine of Petersburg absolutism collapsed before the rising anger of the people. How many things, feelings and thoughts were connected with this fact! What tremendous changes took place on all hands! But already we have let the memory of this day sink back into the cool abyss of forgetfulness, for the scorching breath of our time, the turbulent drive of history, the fantastic and tremendous scenes which follow each other in a great kaleidoscope, have banished the memory of even this tremendous victory over a fearful power into the mist of historical past.

Bourgeois "common sense," cool calculation and even the "higher reason" regard all historical events from the standpoint of "eternal" capitalist society. And for this reason the historical science of capitalism has brought innumerable scholarly investigations into the world to prove that capitalism *always* existed, that there was always an exchange of commodities, that there were always property owners, and that "truth, beauty and goodness" were always, like shining goddesses, hovering above the heads of the chosen few, the rich and the strong. Exchange, declare the bourgeois scientists, is something innate in the human soul. The stick of the overseer is capital. Capital always existed and will always exist everywhere. Naturally, there have been circumstances which hindered its development, they will admit, "the obscurantism of feudalism, unenlightened spirits, the envy of the vulgar mob," which attacked the holy rights of property, the true basis of all real culture. But feudalism was overcome and the vulgar mob (the proletariat) kept in its place again and again. The slaves were flogged, the moushiks hanged, the mutinies suppressed, the insurrections crushed—what more do you want? Does not the whole course of history demonstrate that all such attempts at rebellion are doomed to failure from the very beginning? Does not the history of science prove conclusively that it is unnatural and impossible that the lower organs of society, the rank and file, the mob, should aspire to put themselves in the places of the higher organs of society, the rich, the educated and the wise of this earth? Is this not as though hand or foot should aspire to take the place of the more valuable brain? The old fable of the belly and the limbs invented by the Roman general Menenius Agrippa to appease the populace has been adopted as a dogma by

bourgeois thought. At one time this fable was presented to the masses in a gilded democratic form, but to-day it has reappeared in such a brutal and barrack-room atmosphere that even many of the priests and parsons of Hitler's Third Reich can no longer stomach it.

But in the year 1917 a historical wonder took place. In the words of Tchernov, the social revolutionary Minister and theoretician of a parlour-pink socialism, "the vulgar mob violated all considerations of reason, flung itself into the arms of anarchy" and seized power on its own account. And as a logical result the whole band of noble landowners, capitalists with and without titles, professors, generals of infantry and generals of cavalry, bishops and archbishops of all colourings, diploma engineers and patriotic poets and authors suddenly united in one fraternal counter-revolutionary family thirsting for the blood of the workers, crying for intervention, shrieking for machine-guns. Naturally they adopted the cloak of "culture and civilisation" which they dearly wanted to save from the depredations of the mob. Suddenly the patriots ran with one accord to the foreign consulates begging for assistance. Naturally, even in their anxiety and horror they were quite sure that the whole business was nothing but a passing episode, that the historical event could not last longer than a few weeks, that it was abnormal as typhus and ague are abnormal in the human constitution, that it was all due to a transient "mass madness." They were all quite sure that the "iron and eternal laws" of normal life, that is to say, bourgeois life, would reassert themselves against all obstacles, and that the god of capital would again mount his throne to the delight and profit of the Denikins and Merezhkovskis, the banks and the stock exchange, the churches and the whores of the Imperial Ballet.

But time passed and somehow the spirit of victory remained persistently and perversely on the side of the "miscreants" until to-day the Soviet Power can look back on an existence of 17 years, during which time it has developed and strengthened into a tremendous proletarian power. Neither civil war nor intervention can crush it, neither famine nor blockade, neither the N.E.P. nor the prophecies of the Thermidor, neither the kulaks nor its own economic shortcomings. The heroic working class of the Soviet Union has overcome all obstacles and stands in the centre of the world historical arena as a first-class Power, highly organised and victorious.

The book of history is a long and instructive one, but one must know how to read it. The Titan of human intellect, Marx, the incomparable genius of centuries, the greatest revolutionary of human intellect and will power, has taught us how to read and understand it. And when to-day the paltry lieutenants of fascism stamp their spurred heels and announce the death of Marxism whilst rifling the armoury of their dismal predecessors for the most poisonous and malicious emanations of human hatred and presenting this excrementitious ideology to their contemporaries as the latest epoch-making discoveries in the field of human reason, then we can afford to laugh. We repeat, the book of history is instructive, but one must know how to read it and then it will deliver up its treasures.

It is true: during the course of thousands of years there were many attempts on the part of the oppressed masses to fling off the yoke, but they all ended in defeat. And when, as sometimes occurred, they succeeded for a while, they proved themselves incapable of solving the tasks facing them and exploitation and oppression once again obtained the upper hand. Why? Fascist "philosophy" has one simple and universal answer: it all depends on the race, on the blood, on the hair and on the skin, on the purity of descent. What pitiful idiocy! What poverty of thought! What obscurantism! To-day historical research tells us that the

\* From the May Day number of the "Izvestia."

development and decline of great civilisations did not proceed according to this primitive formula of the "white-skinned beast." We know about the great civilisations of the black tribes in Africa, of the age-old culture of America, China, India and Egypt. We know now that all the finesse of philosophical thought are to be found in China and India, although they were generally considered as the exclusively cultural treasure of European civilisation, and in particular of Hellenic civilisation. What has the poverty-stricken wisdom of the Brown Shirts to tell us about all this?

The oldest revolution known to us was the victorious rising of the poor and the slaves in **Egypt**. A document of the time remains to us, a counter-revolutionary pamphlet, the "**Plaint of Inuver**," which is reminiscent of the writings of **Sinaida Hippius** in its class fury. What a frank display of hatred against the victorious poor and the slaves who had made themselves the rulers! The victorious insurrectionaries seized the goods of their masters; they seized power and destroyed the legal records of the past, but finally the old order was restored, because the victors had no new means of production at their disposal. They continued on the old basis of their predecessors. A change had taken place superficially, but there had been no radical change in the productive forces and the means of production. Both interesting and instructive is also the history of the old **Chinese** peasant revolutions during which victorious insurrections occurred, the rich landowners were overthrown and new peasant dynasties established. But here also in the last resort the old order began again anew. The reason was not the military suppression of the insurrection, which did no more than dot the "i's" and cross the "t's" of the verdict of history. There was a deeper reason. The final defeat of the movement can be explained largely by the fact that after their victory the peasants divided the land amongst themselves and at the head of the administration they established new rich landowners began to develop. In the ranks of the victors a differentiation began, it grew and it had to grow because the preliminary conditions for the development of a higher stage of production which would have destroyed the classes were not present.

But let us take a flying leap over continents and centuries. Before us a new page of history opens up. We observe the boiling tumult of the great **French revolution**. In the period of the terror the petty bourgeoisie of France established its heroic dictatorship. The sansculottes, the patriots, the Jacobins and the Mountain rallied the masses of the people and in a great revolutionary drive they beat down the counter-revolution both internally and externally. But here, too, in the last resort the rebels were beaten and the head of Robespierre fell under the guillotine of the Thermidor. Objectively the dictatorship established by the Mountain was the broom of iron which swept away feudalism in the interests of historical progress, but the petty bourgeois masses who came to power offered a fruitful basis for the development of the poisonous flowers of bourgeois profit-making, exploitation and usury. The heroic slogans of freedom were interpreted to mean a free and untrammelled path for reckless and unlimited exploitation. That was the tragic finale of the great historical drama. The opponents of Communism who consider themselves to be "thinkers," still point to the development of the French revolution. Hopes and even prophecies are based on it. Is it not true that the "abnormal" period of terror in '93 was followed by the peace and prosperity of a return to a normal system? The bloody days of the "terror" came to an end and the foul "diseases" burnt themselves out. Did not the irrefutable internal logic of development operate here too and bring about a return to sanity? Thus it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, preach the scholarly Philistines. Nevertheless such an analogy applied to us is utter historical nonsense. The dictatorship of the Jacobins, which was politically most advanced, suffered a defeat in the last resort because the petty bourgeoisie was economically backward as compared with the bourgeoisie. Large-scale capitalist industry is superior to handicraft, it is technically more advanced and economically more rational. It was this contradiction therefore which finally brought down the dictatorship of the Mountain and cleared the way for the triumphant advance of capitalism whose representatives in the Gironde had once been defeated in bloody conflict by the Mountain.

The modern industrial proletariat, however, does not consist of slaves, of small craftsmen, of small property owners. The proletariat is not a class of slave society nor a class of feudal society. It is a special class which grows and develops within the frame-

work of a special order of society, capitalist society with its mechanical basis and its concentration of masses of workers in its factories. At the same time the proletariat is the decisive productive force, the protagonist of the new system of production—**socialism**. Socialism is not nonsense, it is not utopian, it is not a Fata Morgana. Socialism is a definite economic system which is already in a process of rapid and powerful development. As an economic type socialism is more advanced than any previously known system of production, for it is capable of developing a higher productivity of social labour power and to develop the social productive forces to a greater extent than ever before. This circumstance alone makes all the analogies of the scholars and ignoramuses senseless and their efforts to prove the impossibility of socialism and of the final victory of the proletariat idiotic.

The analogy is drawn between the proletariat of to-day and the "proletarians" of earlier societies, the slaves, the craftsmen, the peasants, the lumpen proletarians and Gladiators of Ancient Rome, etc. But the circumstance mentioned inverts the usual "conception" of bourgeois "thinkers." It is **capitalism** which is sick, sick to death of its own contradictions and writhing in the toils of the crisis. Capitalism is unable to utilise even the existing productive possibilities to the full, and the fascists are so blind and so confused by the difficulties of their own economic system that they propagate the "salvation" of capitalism by means of autarchy, militarism and war, and do not realise that this "war of salvation" they propagate is just one of the most obvious symptoms of the fatal sickness of capitalism from which only the proletarian revolution can bring relief.

The proletariat will be victorious with absolute and inevitable certainty, for the proletariat is the protagonist of a higher form of production and it will free the productive forces which are being held in thrall and destroyed by capitalism. This logic of development is fundamental and real and it is forging its way through all hindrances. Naturally, this development is not absolute and inevitable of itself. Men make history. The classes, the parties and their leaderships make history. The great historical drama unrolls with the active co-operation of these vital forces and as a result of their heroic struggle. And do we not see that many of the thinkers and politicians of the bourgeoisie feel the inevitability of our victory in their bones? Are they not trying to imitate us? They have been compelled to realise the advantages of socialism and they are trying to "correct" capitalism by a "planned economy." Do they not demand "economic organisation"? Are they not striving to secure a basis for themselves among the masses? Are they not flirting with the word "socialism"? Have they not even attempted to steal the 1st May and turn it into a "Holiday of National Labour"? But all these things are the impotent and pitiful attempts of bankrupts. Capitalist planned economy is dry water. The national "socialist" swindle is becoming more and more obvious to the workers of all countries who can see on the other hand the real and victorious progress of socialism in our country. We have developed the technical resources and the economic system of our proletarian country at an unparalleled rate. We shall catch up with our opponents and we shall forge ahead of them on all fields from the foundry industry to aviation, in the arts and in the sciences. We know, for historical science teaches us so, that we shall be victorious inevitably and irrevocably.

## The Heroes of the Austrian Barricade Fights in the Proletarian Fatherland

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent, **L. F. Boross**

Over 300 heroes of Floridsdorf, Goethe-Hof, Karl Marx-Hof, Linz, Bruck-on-the-Mur, etc., have now been in Moscow for some days. Up to now they have seen only small snapshots, so to speak, of how the proletariat, after having made a **victorious insurrection**, proceeds to build up its new life. Up to now they have seen only a few of those magnificent factories and workshops which are now also their property, as in the home of the international proletariat the native and the foreign workers have **equal rights** in every respect. They have seen some of the streets where feverish building activity is going on. "One sees building construction everywhere in Moscow," one of the **Schutzbundler** said to me.

They have already seen, however—and none of them can



speak of that without enthusiasm—what international proletarian solidarity is. "We are living as in a dream; we could not imagine there could be such a reception as has been given us," declared a Simmering barricade fighter to the workers of the Moscow Automobile Works. What did the Schutzbundlers find so "dream-like" in this reception? It is not only the loving care with which they are surrounded; not the fact that the barricade fighters have had placed at their disposal as a dwelling those premises in which the Moscow proletariat usually lodges the best fighters for socialist construction, the delegates to the Party and other congresses; not the food, and not so much the careful medical attention given the sick and wounded. All this shows only **one side** of the solidarity which they experience in the proletarian fatherland. What they appreciate most of all is the immediate expression of solidarity by the **great masses**.

For instance, three or four Schutzbundlers go through the streets in their uniform. Before they have got to the next street corner they are surrounded by a group of people. The Moscow workers make use of every such chance opportunity in order to give the Vienna barricade fighters a hearty, brotherly handshake. The journey of the Schutzbundler from the Soviet frontier to Moscow was a triumphal march of proletarian solidarity. Every visit to the factories becomes an unforgettable scene of fraternisation between the victors of the Moscow barricade fights of 1917, who are to-day masters of the greatest country in the world, and the Austrian barricade fighters of 1934, who are cruelly persecuted by the bourgeoisie. The Schutzbundlers feel in every word of greeting from the Moscow workers that the hearty reception that is given them here is a recognition of their courage, their resolution in having resorted to the sharpest weapon of the class struggle: the armed struggle against the bourgeoisie. At the same time, the Schutzbundlers have plenty of opportunity of hearing what the broad masses of the Moscow workers think of the Austrian social-democratic leaders, whose cowardice and treachery led to the defeat of the February uprising.

The Schutzbundlers, however, do not need to be convinced by the Moscow proletariat that the social-democratic leaders are responsible for their defeat. The great majority of them have already been convinced of this by Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch themselves and by the other "revolutionary battle-losers," as they are called by the heroes of the Goethe-Hof. One only needs to hear the leader of the fighters of the Goethe-Hof, Comrade Erjautz, on whose head the Dollfuss government set a prize of 5,000 shilling, speak. He was for years one of the most faithful followers of Otto Bauer. He accepted Otto Bauer's demagogic revolutionary phrases at their face value. He took these phrases so seriously that he was prepared at any time to lay down his life for those aims for which, according to the words of a Floridsdorf Schutzbundler, Otto Bauer was prepared to sacrifice only a few drops of ink and Julius Deutsch only a clean bandage over his allegedly wounded eye. He can hardly realise even to-day why a party which had such fighters as he, and thousands like him, had to declare itself bankrupt. He believed Otto Bauer when he said that the Communists are fighting against the social-democratic workers and insulting them when they designate Otto Bauer and his consorts what they are: traitors to the cause of the working class. He and many of his comrades were deceived by their leaders regarding the aims of the Communist struggle for the united front. Now, however, he and many other Schutzbundlers with him, have received a splendid object-lesson.

The Communists not only fought side by side with the Schutzbundlers on the barricades right up to the last moment, but when the battle was lost they showed what the united front really is. Erjautz fled in order to escape certain execution. In a little locality, hunted down by fascist patrols—he chanced to meet three Communists. They did not know who he was. They only knew that he was a proletarian fleeing from the fascists; they did not want to know anything else. Nevertheless, at the risk of their own lives, they kept him in hiding for 28 days; out of their very scanty means they provided him with food and cigarettes until a fourth Communist conducted him over the frontier. Erjautz is not yet a Communist, but he knows what the Communist united front means.

During his flight Erjautz felt it rather as a humiliation that he, a member and hero of what—so he thought—was the "great social democracy," was rescued not by his own party comrades,

but by unnamed members of the "insignificant" Communist Party of Austria. That this was not due to chance he first learnt in Bruenn. There he met Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch. He did not fight in order to receive thanks; nevertheless, he hoped that the "revolutionary battle-losers" (it was Erjautz who coined this phrase) would at least express a word of recognition, would give him a brotherly handshake for having honourably carried forward into the fight the flag which they had so shamefully deserted.

But he experienced nothing of the sort: "They stared at me as if I were a statue come to life, as if they could not understand how one can erect barricades without taking the precaution of having a railway ticket in one's pocket in order to be able to make one's escape." He had taken a number of striking photographs of the barricade fighting. He proposed that they be utilised for a film show. The financial secretary of the foreign bureau of the Austrian social democracy said to him condescendingly: "We have no money for **such things**; no doubt the Russians will have roubles to spend on **such things**." He and the fighters who were the last to leave the barricades were treated by the bourgeoisified party bureaucrats with such cynical superciliousness that he arrived at the conviction that the coming victorious Austrian revolution must deal with Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch just in the same manner as it must deal with Dollfuss and Fey. That is the conviction which prevails among the Schutzbundlers.

The individual members of the Schutzbund have not drawn the lessons from the barricade fights to the same extent. A great part of them already perceive that a victorious revolution is possible only under a firm Bolshevik leadership. Another part regard the treachery of Otto Bauer and his consorts rather as a moral question than a question of the principles of the party. All, however, are unanimous that no **victorious revolution can be carried out with a social-democratic leadership**. The lesson they have all drawn from the barricade fighting is that Austro-Marxism is bankrupt. We could quote hundreds of talks we have had with Schutzbundlers which confirm this. We will confine ourselves here to one. A Simmering company leader (we must not mention his name out of consideration for his relatives who are still in Austria) lost faith in his leaders not after, but already at the beginning of, the fighting. In spite of the fighting spirit of the masses, his district leader, Koelbl, sabotaged the fight right from the commencement. "Koelbl was among the first," the Schutzbundler says, "who left his troop without saying a word. The result was that the first day passed without our actively participating in the fight. The Schutzbundlers obtained weapons and hid them in their allotment gardens and waited in the expectation that a higher officer would put in an appearance. But in vain. The oldest member among the Schutzbundlers had to take over the leadership." Thus the Simmering barricade fighters commenced their heroic fight deserted and betrayed by their leaders. But after the battle had been lost, this Schutzbundler was rescued by Communists.

The poison of social-democratic slanders against the Communist struggle for the revolutionary united front has so deeply penetrated the minds of many Schutzbundlers that they said to one of the leaders of the Communist International who visited them: "Comrade, the most wonderful thing, and what we would not have believed, is that you have given us social-democratic workers such a reception." The answer was simple: "You social-democratic workers have fought with weapons in hand against the common class enemy, why should not you be our brothers?"

The bankrupt leaders of the social democracy have often declared it to be illogical on the part of the Communists to strive for the united front with the social-democratic workers, whilst at the same time they fought against the leaders of these workers as traitors. The Schutzbundlers have now learnt from experience that precisely that which unites us Communists with them divides both us and them from their former leaders. It is the barricade itself which unites them with us and separates them from their leaders. It is impossible to win a barricade fight, the strategy of which is determined by the lieutenants and non-commissioned officers of the enemy's General Staff. The word united front from below means: united front with all those who fight on this side of the barricade. That is also the meaning of that enthusiastic reception which the millions of workers of the Soviet Union have given the Austrian barricade fighters.

## The First of May in Moscow

From early morning the Red capital was in great motion. In the night thousands of rubies, amethysts, and emeralds sparkled all over it. In the velvet darkness of the night its many coloured mingled fires glittered like a halo, like the milky way which had suddenly come down to the earth, sprinkled thickly with countless masses of people. But in the morning when the mist lifted and the rays of the sun began to pierce through its grey wisps, young and melodious voices began to sound to the accompaniment of brazen horns and the rhythmic rattling of tanks sweeping in serried ranks to the Red Square.

At ten o'clock sharp the parade began. On the two tribunes of the Mausoleum stood the well-known figures of the leaders—the dry, energetic, firmly built Stalin, surrounded by his nearest comrades, Molotov, and Kalinin, Orjonikidze, Andreyev, Yenukidze, and the tall figure of Maxim Gorki could be distinguished among the others. And on the right flank was the staff of the Red Army and the Turkish guests. Below stood the military representatives of foreign Powers in their many coloured uniforms, often exquisite in form and striking in appearance. To the left, in the first ranks stood the diplomatic world, an island surrounded by the sea. Here also stood the foreign workers' delegations, guests from all parts of the Soviet Union. But what is this bright blue line of people standing in front with three red banners? These are the heroes of Vienna, a selected column of warriors who have come here from semi-imprisonment. They are standing in military order, with flaming banners brought from the field of battle, waving like a scarlet blot over the blue shirts of the Schutzbund.

The bugles sounded the signal. The hoofs of horses were heard. It was Clim Voroshilov, the worker from Lugansk, who rode around the lines of troops. The shouts of welcome rolled and echoed. The beautiful square was covered with rows of fighters, smarter than ever.

Voroshilov rode round the lines, and then his voice sounded from the platform. Loud speakers reproduced every word clearly for the straight and exact columns of people.

### SPEECH OF COMRADE VOROSHILOV

Red Army Comrades! Shock Workers in socialist enterprises, collective farmers, and you, our comrades and class brothers, the proletariat of capitalist countries. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Workers' and Peasants' government of the Soviet Union, and at their instructions, I greet you and through you I greet the entire Red Army, all the toilers of the Soviet Union and the entire proletariat of the world, on the international proletarian holiday, May First.

Comrades, the May Day holiday will be celebrated to-day by the conscious proletarians of all countries. In the streets of the towns and industrial centres of the capitalist world the international proletariat to-day will demonstrate its power, its unbending will to struggle for freedom, for a better life, for socialism. On this day as in former years the proletariat will come face to face with the bourgeoisie, armed to the teeth. There is no doubt that our brothers will once again pay in blood and possibly in lives, the lives of the best of their comrades, for their boldness and daring, for their open demonstration against the rule of capital.

But no repression, no sacrifices can break the will of the class which is called by history to reconstruct human society, which must build the new happy human life based on scientific socialism in place of dying and decaying capitalism.

All the proletarians and toilers of our boundless country celebrate May First, but they celebrate it in their own workers' country.

On the squares of towns and villages, in every corner of the Soviet Union, the workers and collective farmers are marching to-day in joyful columns under the victorious Red banners of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, summing up on their achievements.

Comrades, looking around at the path which we have travelled since May First, 1933, we note with pride the enormous successes in all branches of the life of our country in all the directions of our difficult but noble socialist activity.

In the sphere of international relations during this period we have improved our relations with our nearest Western neighbours. During this period we have established normal relations with the great people of the United States of America and thus we have com-

pleted the cycle of the normalisation of the relations between the proletarian State and the capitalist States. During this period, comrades, our State has continued to strengthen and develop the friendship with the people of the friendly Turkish Republic, the representatives of which in the persons of the airmen, the brilliant conquerors of the air, are present at our May Day celebrations led by the commander of the air forces of the Turkish army, Colonel Jeliam Bey. During this period our country, in the person of the workers' and peasants' government, has taken innumerable steps in the direction of preserving and strengthening peace throughout the world. It is not our fault but a misfortune for all mankind that the governments of some bourgeois States still dream of strengthening their very unstable internal and external political position by measures which are by no means peaceful.

Our country, both previously and at the present time, is an invincible rock of peace in the whole world. We were, are, and will be the most consistent champions of peace. But we still remember that while our country is an isolated island in the capitalist world of exploitation, oppression and destruction, we must not only strengthen socialist construction but perfect our means of defence. And during this time we have considerably strengthened our workers' and peasants' forces. The workers' and peasants' Red Army in all its units and sub-units forms one powerful and formidable defence for the country which is building socialism.

Comrades, during this year our scientific, technical and general cultural forces have also multiplied and strengthened. The names of our scientists, engineers and technicians, the names of the valiant conquerors of the stratosphere, the explorers of the Arctic—the crew of the Chelyuskin and the hero airmen who rescued them—these names have become known to the whole world. The exploits of these genuine heroes have shaken the world, have attracted to themselves and to the great Soviet Union the attention and sympathy of all mankind.

The culture of our country is blossoming brilliantly.

Our achievements are enormous, immeasurable. We are justly proud of them. But we Bolsheviks are people who want to remake the lives of millions of people afresh in the shortest historical period. This is why even these achievements do not satisfy us. We look on them only as the first buds, the first twigs of the gigantic work planned and carried out by us. We want more. This is why, in noting our achievements to-day, we simultaneously point out the shortcomings in our work, which the working class of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of our valiant Communist Party, will be able to overcome in the shortest possible period, and to multiply many times the successes, the victories of socialist construction.

Comrades, we are proud to be able to say at this international proletarian festival to the whole world of the workers, to all the friends of the Soviet Union, that our cause is a firm one, that we stand solidly and confidently on our historic post, that we shall build up the new human life at the same speed and with the same unswerving will, with the same ever-increasing and constant successes as we have done up to the present.

**Let our brothers know that they are not alone, that the powerful working class of a great country, the class of conquerors, stands at the head of the historic struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.**

Comrades, on the occasion of the international proletarian holiday, May First, the young fighters of the Red Army take their solemn oath. The young fighters, before the proletariat and the toilers of the country, before their workers' and peasants' government and our mighty Party of Lenin and Stalin, undertake to be just as firm and just as loyal fighters as their elder brothers were and still are.

Comrades, young Red Army men, repeat after me word by word the text of the solemn oath. (Reads out the text of the oath, which is repeated by all the Red Army men participating in the parade.)

Comrades, young fighters, your oath of loyalty to the workers' and peasants' government, to the cause of socialism, makes you into full members of our valiant workers' and peasants' Red Army. I am confident that you, with your young energy and conscious Bolshevik wills, will be able to strengthen our powerful army still further, will arouse a new upsurge of enthusiasm in its ranks for the further struggle to master perfectly the complicated technical weapons and all the heights of fighting and political training.

Long live our noble and invincible workers' and peasants' Red Army!

Long live our Communist Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which alone in the world is organising new mankind!

Long live our workers' and peasants' government!

Long live the toilers of our great Soviet Union!

Long live the world proletariat and its victory over the class enemy!

Hurrah!!!

The Red Army fighters take the oath of loyalty to the cause of the working class, and the boom of the guns confirms this oath. The triumphant strains of the "International" rise. The regiments of Red fighters march past in good order. Some are without weapons, others carry rifles at the slope, others again with rifles at the "ready," moving rhythmically in an immeasurable ocean of heads. The spectators greet with applause the detachments of girl commanders with rifles, but a roar of applause arises when, behind the grey-bearded veterans, the warriors of the revolution, come the ordered battalions of the **armed workers** marching on to the Square with measured and confident steps. Here the foreign comrades see the proletarian body of the revolution. With the unaided eye they distinguish its great heart, and the scales of slander fall away which, possibly, had taken root in the secret convolutions of their consciousness.

But now the music plays with another tune in which the sounds produce a light and airy gallop, and the beautiful horsemen, the **Red cavalry**, tear into the Square in dense columns. Behind them rattle the guns and the fast tankettes. Tanks and tanks again creep in, enormous armoured forts, genuine heavy monsters, under the weight of which it seems as if the whole Square must bend and break.

Suddenly in the clear sky, through the smoky film of mist, comes the silhouette of winged machines. These squadrons of **airplanes** become visible over the towers of the Historical Museum. With incredible speed they fly over the Square like a flock of geese, and soon the entire sky is covered with these flocks, while the roar of the motors fills the air from all sides. Thousands of hands are raised waving handkerchiefs, hats are thrown up in the air, and applause rises from all the stands. But they are already far away, army after army of winged ships. And, finally, as the concluding chord, short and speedy chaser planes dart like arrows, humming like bees. They whizz right over the heads of the people. It seems as if they will hit the Kremlin tower.

Right from under the walls of the Historical Museum a forest of red banners suddenly appears from both sides. They move like bunches of coral with strange branches, with flaming tongues of pennants, calling for the great revolt of the oppressed. And soon the entire enormous Square is filled to the brink with a dense mass of millions of living, joyful, and militant people, men, women, youth, children, old men. Innumerable banners, emblems, portraits, wonderful imaginative decorations, flowers and colours, burning and calling, moving together with the gigantic living mass as a component part of it. It is just as if the Square had become an enormous bowl filled to the edge with people and colours. Songs, the music of orchestras, merry shouts, rise above the crowd like a warm and sounding joyous cloud. The **avalanche of 1,700,000 people** moves through the Square and, with storms of triumphant and delighted shouts, thousands of voices sound out like an electric discharge when these moving masses pass the tribune on which stand the leaders of the proletarian revolution, where also stood Comrade **Dimitrov** and his old mother. The whole world could see what masses were united by **Stalin** and what an ocean of the confidence of people surrounds him. His name sounds constantly among the roars of greeting and applause. The masses of people move by like a mighty river, wonderfully organised, disciplined and united in their variety. Hour after hour passes by, factory after factory marches past. The giants of industry come, workers, technicians, scientists, actors, the student youth, women workers, pioneers, collective farmers. Hundreds of professions march past, all forming part of the great army of labour which is represented here at the great May Day review. The blue-shirted Austrians energetically shout "Red Front," and their fists rise in the air above the masses of people who excitedly reply to the fighting greetings of their fellow-comrades in the international struggle. Then they form themselves in military order and with unfolded flags join the general demonstration. From the diplo-

matic stands is heard a voice: "A bas les chapeaux!" (Hats off!), and in reality heads are unexpectedly bared on this tribune. Amid shouts of sympathy and love the **Schutzbund** marches with military step in a clear blue column along with all the others and disappears behind ever new ranks which are truly endless. And these ranks come and come. Ever new clouds of banners wave in the air. A mass of production posters, banners, emblems. The sharp policy of pure slogans changes into a political carnival with figures, masks, costumes. Here creeps an enormous snake—representing social democracy crawling before capital. Here is a caricature of fascism, fierce and stinging. Here is a straw figure depicting the pitiful **Kautsky**. Alongside are the elements of vigorous merriment, folk dancing, with brilliant costumes, dancing in the middle of the street as they march. Here are the **pioneers**, white lines on a black background. Here coloured balloons rise in the air, one after the other, scores of them, and soon the whole sky is sprinkled with them. But the spirit of competition acts also on the demonstration. A big balloon is released, and it rises, swaying high over the small specks of its predecessors. Slogans burn on the banners—heavy industry, transport, textiles, aviation, the struggle against fascism, against war, for peace, for the rule of labour—all this has become part of the flesh and blood of the millions. It can be seen what careful and competent hands painted each slogan, gave it form so as to come on to the Square with the proper quality of decoration. Never before was there so much inventiveness, such a wealth of forms, such a joy of colour, sound, tints, as on the May Day demonstration this year. Never was there such enthusiasm. It was as if the wings of the airplanes which saved the **Chelyuskinites** were invisibly quivering over the ocean of people. Profound faith in the cause of the revolution, in its victory, breathed from the mighty breast of the heroic masses of people. What solidarity! What strength! And when the stream of people dried up and the endless procession nevertheless came to an end, when the orchestra marched away to the sound of the trumpet and drum, the general thought became clear as crystal—there is no force which could break this mass power, this insistence, this self-sacrifice, this heroism and this **great organisation!** Yes, this is the real shock brigade of the international proletariat, and even the hardest heads, the most brazen, the most bony heads will be broken against its heavy armour.

## Obituary

### The Death of Comrade Menzhinski

Moscow, May 12, 1934.

The inexorable hand of death has removed our Comrade **Menzhinski** from the first ranks of the fighters for socialist construction. Although he had been ill already for a long time, and there was no hope of his recovery, the news of his death has come as a severe blow to all. Our comrade, who was the leader of the fighting organ of the proletarian dictatorship, the chairman of the State Political Department of the U.S.S.R. (O.G.P.U.), was a faithful and staunch disciple of Lenin and Stalin. He was a close assistant of **Felix Dzerzhinski**.

**Menzhinski**, a jurist, the son of a teacher, joined the revolutionary movement in the first years of the present century and without hesitation took his place in the ranks of the **Bolshevik Party**. A man of deeds and not of words, he always chose the most dangerous field of Party work and went where he was directly confronted by the class enemy and could see the immediate results of his work and his struggle. In the revolution of 1905, and the years following, **Menzhinski** worked in the military organisation and organised the revolt of the soldiers against the reactionary officers' corps of the **Tsarist government**. He was a member of the leading body of the **Petersburg Bolshevik military organisation**. While attending a meeting of this body, **Menzhinski** was arrested and tried by court-martial. He succeeded, however, in escaping abroad. After 1907 he lived in emigration in Belgium, France and in Switzerland. In 1917 he returned to **Petersburg**, where he resumed work in the military organisation. He participated immediately in the preparation and the carrying out of the **October revolution**. During the whole of this time he was a member of the bureau of the **Bolshevik military organisation** and editor of the newspaper, "The Soldier." After the **October revolution** **Menzhinski** became the first **People's Commissar for Finance**. In 1918, after the signing of the **Brest Peace Treaty**,

when the capital of the Soviet Republic was transferred to Moscow, Menzhinski worked in the Commissariat for Justice. He took over the criminal department in Petrograd, in order thus to have the possibility of punishing through the sentences of the Revolutionary Tribunal the enemies of the revolution, who did not cease their attempts to organise a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. At the same time Menzhinski took an active part in the work of the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission for Combating the Counter-Revolution and Sabotage.

After some interruption he bound up his life with the work of the Cheka and later with the O.G.P.U.

In 1919 the fiery ring of the imperialist intervention armies was drawn tightly round the Soviet Union. The bands of white guardists hidden in the Soviet towns and villages supported their armed confederates in every way. In those years the work of the Cheka was particularly strenuous. Sharp eyes had quickly to discover the dozens and hundreds of white guardist saboteurs of the great cause of the defence of the socialist fatherland and to render them harmless. In that year the Party entrusted Menzhinski with leading work in the Cheka as member of its Presidium, and, later, as deputy head of the O.G.P.U.

In 1926 the Party suffered a severe loss in the death of Felix Dzershinski, one of the best comrades-in-arms of Lenin and Stalin. His place was taken by Menzhinski, who remained right up to his death at the head of the O.G.P.U.

Extremely modest, never sparing himself, full of boundless self-sacrificing courage, Menzhinski was a model revolutionary fighter, who devoted all his powers, his tremendous revolutionary temperament, to fighting the enemies of the proletarian revolution. His keen intellect possessed a particular capacity for discovering the secret driving forces of the base work of the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship.

He knew how to inspire the steeled ranks of the Cheka fighters and fill them with enthusiasm for determined revolutionary action. He indefatigably taught them how to recognise the countenance of the class enemy, no matter behind what mask or flag he might be concealed.

Menzhinski possessed an almost encyclopædic knowledge in many branches of science. He was always intellectually well equipped, and worked up to his last breath in extending and perfecting his knowledge.

One of the best fighters for the Party, one of the best fighters for socialism has been taken from us. But there remain to us the cadres of faithful Bolshevik Chekists, who are boundlessly devoted to the proletarian revolution, formed by Lenin and Stalin and organised by Menzhinski and Dzershinski. They stand on guard at their fighting post. The grief on account of their severe loss will not weaken for a moment their ranks and their readiness to fight all enemies of the proletarian revolution, all enemies of Communism.

## Menzhinski—An Inexorable Fighter for the Proletarian Dictatorship

By D. Manuilsky

Moscow, May 12, 1934.

A great personality of our Party, one of the best representatives of the old Bolshevik guard, an inexorable fighter for the proletarian dictatorship, who kept his keen sword in his hand to the last, has died. A man of crystal purity, a fearless knight of revolutionary duty, one of the best-trained Marxist-Leninists of our epoch, has departed from us.

The Party has lost in Menzhinski a faithful son, and the working people of our country have lost a great and honest friend.

Menzhinski's career is inseparably connected with the development of the great Leninist Party. He grew politically together with the working class and rose together with the Party, suffered for it under the blows of the enemy, and together with it vanquished the enemy. In the time of Tsarist illegality he organised the working class under Lenin's leadership. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin he marched in the front ranks of the Party to the October victory. Together with Comrade Dzershinski and in his famous school he became the leader of the army of the Chekists, who stand on guard over the October conquests.

It is difficult in the limits of a short newspaper article to deal with the chief stages of the life, so rich in revolutionary content, of Comrade Menzhinski; his biographers will be better able to do this. The loss is still too fresh and is felt too greatly by all those comrades who had the possibility of coming into contact with this exceptional, charming personality.

I met Menzhinski for the first time in emigration, in the years of reaction, long before the world war. I still remember the strong and lasting impression our conversation on the German and French social democracy made on me. I was still young and politically inexperienced at that time. I remember that I heatedly defended the view that the German and French social democrats would not permit a war. One should have heard how prophetically Menzhinski spoke of these parties. "You will see," he repeated, "that these people will betray the workers."

At that time I regarded this estimate as pessimism. Yet how right Menzhinski proved, when the social democracy, on August 4, 1914, committed its unexampled act of treachery. This characteristic feature—coolly and calmly to weigh the situation, to judge men soberly and not to believe in words but in deeds—was typical of Menzhinski. It made him a publicist of the Party, an excellent politician and a far-seeing leader of the O.G.P.U., who, with his keen understanding, grasped the essential points in the tactics of the class enemy and was able, in a few simple words, to disentangle the most complicated situation. Lenin appreciated Menzhinski on account of his passionate, revolutionary, militant nature, which was hidden behind the countenance of a calm, reserved and exceedingly modest man. It was not due to chance that Lenin's choice fell on Menzhinski when, in the first days of October, it was necessary to place in the hands of the proletariat the most important citadel of capitalist society, the State Bank. Menzhinski solved his task splendidly. In those stormy days, when the overthrown classes were offering savage resistance, Menzhinski, amidst the hysterical cries of the whole of the bourgeois press, entered the building of the State Bank, seized the saboteurs with a firm hand, with an imperturbable smile opened the safes, and thus carried out to the end the will of the proletariat just as he did later in the fight against the conspiracies of the counter-revolution.

It was not due to chance that Menzhinski was appointed by the Party to another fighting post, to the position of chairman of the O.G.P.U. Few know that Menzhinski was a man of enormous, all-round culture. Menzhinski was master of more than ten languages. This knowledge of the outer world, combined with his revolutionary experience, enabled him to draw broad political perspectives in the fight against the counter-revolution. Under his leadership the network of wrecking activity inspired by the governments of the big capitalist Powers was discovered. Under his leadership the participation of the Second International in the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union was exposed. His daring was hated by the enemies of the Soviet Union, but was of great value to the working class, the toilers of our country. His name has become the symbol of unshakeable fidelity, steadfastness and devotion to the cause of the proletarian world revolution.

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