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Emil Vandervelde Fights Fascism

By E. Valecki

The conference of the "socialist" branch of the League of Nations, which calls itself "according to the inexact but usual expression" (see the last article of Vandervelde) the Second "International," is being held in Paris behind hermetically closed doors.

The "Arch-Democrats" who have organised this conference want to remove it from all possibility of control by public opinion, including the opinion of the masses of the workers, in order in this way to give the discussions "the greatest possible freedom," for they fear that this control by public opinion might adversely affect the frankness of the delegates. The centre point of the discussions will be a question which has become a very embarrassing one for the socialists of all countries, namely, the question of fascism. The collapse of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany after having received the boot from Hitler, a boot very thoroughly licked by Wels, and the revelation of a thorough-going and insolent fascist tendency inside the ranks of the French social democracy are sufficient to explain the wish of the socialist leaders to discuss all these questions in secret. And in fact, although the facts which are known to the world are shameful enough, there are certainly still further facts which these gentlemen would like to keep a dead secret.

It already appears clear that the rôle of supreme ring-keeper at this secret conference will fall to the greatest artist of them all at phrase-rigging, to the only still possible "international" political and theoretical leader, to the man whom Léon Blum solemnly and publicly declared to be his "master," namely, Emil Vandervelde.

In view of this fact it is therefore highly desirable to take a brief glance at the attitude towards fascism which Vandervelde

has developed in recent years as shown in numerous books, articles and speeches.

Theoretically considered Vandervelde has produced an incredibly confused torrent of eclectic and grotesque utterances without even an attempt to win through to any logical system in explaining the phenomena.

In 1930¹ and even in 1931 in his opening speech to the congress of the Second International in Vienna, fascism (like all dictatorships, "Fascism or Bolshevism, Rome or Moscow") for Vandervelde was a political régime possible only in economically backward countries, countries in which the horse still played the main rôle as motive power, whilst in the economically advanced countries of capitalism, such as Great Britain, France and Germany, where the horse had been replaced by the iron horse, the steam engine and so on, the only possible régime was that of democracy.

This explanation of fascism, which sounds very "materialistic,"² is followed a few pages later by another theory:

"It is a second edition of Boulanger which this time is successful. It is Bonapartism which is morally far below the second

¹ Vandervelde: "Etudes Marxistes." Brussels, 1930. Pages 145-47.

² Vandervelde admits frankly that he is not the author of this theory. He borrowed it, as he explains, from "a great captain of industry" who considered himself a citizen of the world and who, in Vandervelde's opinion, "was thoroughly entitled to do so. Ibid, Page 188. That a political knight of capitalism should seek information and assistance from a simple captain of industry is not in the least surprising.

edition of Bonapartism. It is made possible by the fear of the ruling classes which saw and feared the approach of socialism. It maintains itself solely as a result of the passivity, not to use a harder word, of the ruling classes, although one feels that they are hostile to it."³

We shall deal with the political significance of this last phrase later. In the meantime we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting the reader with yet a third theory of Vandervelde's concerning fascism taken from the same book:

"With regard to fascism, the International can have no other opinion about it than the one expressed by Voltaire in a letter to Frederick II. concerning Machiavelli's Prince who had to have resort to crime in order to succeed. 'This art, which might be compared to that of Locuste and Brinvillier, might enable some tyrants to maintain a temporary power, just as poison can obtain a heritage, but it has never produced either great men or happy men; that is certain.'"⁴

Bou langer, the two Bonapartes, Voltaire, Frederick the Great, Machiavelli, Locuste and Brinvillier!; If after all that the relations of the workers murdered by fascism in Italy and Germany do not look up with hope in their eyes to the Second International whose theoretical leader is Vandervelde, then they must be very exacting.

But joking aside, when in 1933 Vandervelde notices that his previous theory of the horse and the iron horse will no longer work in view of Hitler's accession to power in Germany, he abandons it and sets up a new one: "Fascism," he writes, "is only the most brutal form of that development towards the absolute power of the State which we can observe everywhere, both in the countries of liberalist capitalism and in the countries of authoritarian capitalism."⁶

In 1930 Vandervelde had not yet thought of the two forms of capitalism, the "liberalistic" and the "authoritarian," and was aware of one form only, the "frightened" capitalism dithering at the idea that such fierce anti-capitalists as Vandervelde himself, Turati, Blum, Hermann Mueller, Severing and Wels might take over, and out of fear permitting "passively" "the little Princes" of Machiavellian fascism to establish their yoke whilst in reality being hostile to this yoke.

These two "theories" of Vandervelde, the one of 1930 and the other of 1933, have one thing in common, namely, that they both regard on the one hand the "democratic" régime as more or less decorated with social-democratic tendencies, and on the other hand the fascist régime as being independent of the "ruling classes" which adapt themselves to it, whereas in reality they are merely two forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, used by the bourgeoisie according to its needs.

However, from these two "theories" result tactics towards fascism which practically amalgamate. The first theory, the one about capitalism being frightened at the growth of socialism, causes the social democrats to tone down their "socialism" in order to allay this fear and in order to seek an alliance with the ruling classes against the fascist rival. The second theory, the one which presents us with a "liberalistic" and an "authoritarian" capitalism, can produce no other tactic than that of co-operating with the "liberalistic" elements of capitalism (such as exist everywhere) against the "authoritarian" elements, in other words, we have once again "good" capitalists and "bad" capitalists.

This tendency is still further developed in Vandervelde's latest book where the question of socialism is no longer one of property, but "a question of freedom."

There is, however, something more in this theory, which distinguishes between "countries of liberalistic capitalism and countries of authoritarian capitalism," than merely the basis for co-operation with the bourgeoisie or with the "good" part of the bourgeoisie, and that is that it provides the justification for a new imperialist war, a second edition of the "Great War for Freedom." Vandervelde, who was one of the chief vendors of "freedom" in

support of the last war, is in a position to provide inexhaustible material from his own works to support this new "anti-fascist" theory.

But let us be just. It is true that through Vandervelde's hostility towards fascism both in Italy and in Germany we can see his chauvinism clearly enough, but he is able to maintain a praiseworthy objectivity towards the German social democracy. As the officiating chairman of the Second International, whose German section was "the most powerfully organised socialist party in the world," Vandervelde cannot deny that in its policy towards fascism in recent years this party has done nothing but translate his own instructions into German. And therefore he announces that "since 1930 it has become obvious that at no time have the socialists in Germany been in a position to act otherwise than they did."⁷

Vandervelde thus approves unreservedly of the whole tactics of the German social democracy who paved the way for the triumph of fascism by one capitulation after the other. He represents this tactic as the only one possible, as the inevitable and logical result of the standpoint which he himself takes up—that is to say, the standpoint of co-operation with the bourgeoisie at all costs in the latter's attempts to defend the capitalistic régime.

And let us remember that Vandervelde never refers to fascism in his articles, books and speeches without at the same time mentioning Bolshevism, that he lumps them together, that he puts them into the same "sociological category" of dictatorships pure and simple. He is proud of the fact that at the congress of his "International" in Brussels in 1928 he secured the "unanimous" adoption of a resolution to this effect. All that he does is from time to time, when convenience determines, to admit patronisingly that Bolshevism is "a lesser evil than that régime which a counter-revolution in Russia would produce."⁸

In fact, however, he proves by the passion with which he continually attacks the Soviet Union, by the frequency of these attacks, and by the support and protection which he accords to all the enemies of the Soviet Union everywhere and at all times, that he regards Bolshevism—that is to say, the proletarian revolution itself—as the greatest of all evils.

And this cannot be otherwise, because the only real motive which drives the social democracy in all countries to apply its tactic of the "lesser evil" to all bourgeois political régimes, up to and including fascism, and to support these régimes actively, is the fear of and hatred for the revolution, the fear of and hatred for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fear of and hatred for Bolshevism.

Politics

German-Austrian Relations and the Danger of War

By Oesterreicher (Vienna)

The Vienna "Reichspost" has just published the documents which were found in those national socialist secret offices which the Vienna Police discovered a few days ago. The most important of these documents is a letter from the head of Chief Department IV. of the Foreign Political Office of the national socialist party in Berlin, Emil Schneider, to his brother, Herbert Schneider, who occupied a leading position in the Vienna Secret Office. In this letter Emil Schneider informs his brother that State Secretary von Bulow has requested the former "Provincial Inspector," Habicht, to meet him for the purpose of a general discussion, and adds the following remark:—

"It is feared in the first place that there might be intervention from abroad, that we might suffer shipwreck in regard to the question of Austria, in which case the Reich would be done for as far as foreign policy is concerned unless it succeeded in solving the Austrian question."

We have in these brief words an adequate explanation of the attitude of the Nazi government towards the intervention of the Powers party to the Four-Power Pact in regard to their relations with Austria.

The diplomacy of the Third Realm has acted in this matter as

⁷ Ibid. Pages 229-230.

⁸ "Etudes Marxistes." Pages 155-156.

³ Ibid. Pages 189-190.

⁴ Ibid. Page 155.

⁵ Locuste and Brinvillier were not statesmen, but simply notorious poisoners. The first lived in Rome in the first century A.D. and the second lived in France in the seventeenth century.

⁶ "L'Alternative: Socialisme d'Etat ou Socialisme Démocratique," Paris, 1933. Page 147.

if the wheel of history had turned back to the nineteenth century, and that instead of Hitler's officials, the officials of Wilhelm II. sat in the German Foreign Office; as if Germany were not just commencing to arm but as if Herr von Neurath and Herr von Bulow had behind them the powerful war machine of the Hohenzollern Empire. If the tactics of self-isolation pursued by Bethmann-Holweg before the war were a piece of stupidity arising from a boundless over-estimation of the forces of the German Empire, in the case of the Nazi diplomatists they would appear downright insanity if one were not aware that this policy is dictated by trembling anxiety to maintain the system.

When, on August 7, the English and French ambassadors visited the Wilhelmstrasse in order to point out to the Reichs government that, in the opinion of their respective governments, certain cases of German propaganda in regard to Austria "were incompatible with the existing treaty obligations," they received the impudent and contemptuous reply that Germany "regards this interference in the German Austrian dispute as impermissible."

The history of the Italian intervention in the same matter is even stranger. The Stefani Agency at first denied the reports in the English and French press of an Italian démarche which had taken place before the diplomatic step taken by France and England on August 7. It then admitted, however, in a detailed report, that for some time there had been an exchange of opinions going on between the German and the Italian government in regard to German-Austrian relations, in which, according to all appearances, the Duce had personally taken part. The Stefani Agency now stated that as a result of these conversations, which were conducted in the most "discreet" and friendly manner, the Italian government had obtained an assurance from the Reichs government that wireless and aircraft propaganda from Germany would be prohibited.

This promise was given on August 6, and Italian diplomacy had, it is true, vainly endeavoured at the last moment to prevent the Anglo-French intervention which had been already decided on.

It was quite obvious at that time that the structure of the Four-Power Pact was already showing considerable cracks, not only on the German, but also on the Italian side. It was perfectly clear that Italy wished to take up a special position in Berlin as against its partners, France and England, and that, therefore, it did not join in the action of these two Powers but adopted a course of its own. One could also conclude from the fact that the Anglo-French intervention took place in spite of Italy's success, that England and France had no intention of recognising Italy's role as a mediator.

But precisely in view of this jealousy among Germany's opponents it was to be assumed that the Wilhelmstrasse, in order to strengthen its own position as against France, would support this intervention of Mussolini in Central Europe, which was a thorn in the flesh of the Quai d'Orsay. Therefore, the expectations which were cherished in Austrian government circles that the attacks from Germany would now cease were justified.

But instead of this, what actually happened?

Precisely after Saturday, August 6, when Germany "gave in," there commenced a guerilla war on the Bavarian-Tyrolean frontier between Bavarian labour-service men and Storm Troops on the one side and Austrian Home Defence and Auxiliary Police on the other, of which there has already been one death as a result. Since that Saturday on which the representative of the Italian government was given the promise that wireless propaganda against Austria would be prohibited, three speeches have been broadcast by the Munich sending station, in which the Austrian Auxiliary Police were compared with the "Separatist hordes" in the Rhine district fourteen years ago, and the politest thing said about Dollfuss' ministers was that they were "black traitors."

The Hitler government thereby not only gave a snub to English and French diplomacy, but placed the Italian government, which was very cock-a-hoop on account of the success it had had in settling the German-Austrian conflict, in a very humiliating position. The German government has rendered the German-Austrian antagonism more acute than ever.

While it is in the interest of French imperialism that the breach between Germany and Austria should widen in order that it should not only separate Austria from Germany, but also become an insurmountable obstacle to German expansion towards south-east Europe, Italian imperialism on the other hand, in order to strengthen its position in Europe, must desire a reconciliation be-

tween the two German states, with the maintenance of course of Austrian "independence." Therefore that which the Reich government has done in regard to the intervention of the Powers has only brought grist to the mill of the French imperialists.

The reasons for this behaviour are to be plainly seen from the document quoted at the commencement of this article. It is because the Hitler government are afraid of being forced to confess to the petty bourgeois masses whose nationalist passions have been stirred up, to the mutinous Storm Troop that they have completely failed in the field of foreign politics; because they are afraid to acknowledge their bankruptcy.

German foreign policy is under the strong pressure of the critical situation at home. Hitler, Goering, Rosenberg, etc., know that the C.P. of Germany is making use of every failure in their policy in order to enlighten those broad masses who believed that national socialism would, by means of national emancipation, bring also the end of the crisis, improvement in their well-being, social justice and social emancipation. The adventurers who rule Germany at the present time fear that the masses who still follow them might recognise that the anti-fascists whom they send to the scaffold are martyrs in the fight for the social and national emancipation of Germany. This is what is meant when the above-quoted Emil Schneider writes:—

"That the people at the Foreign Office to-day are terribly afraid that we might have a failure in regard to Austria."

Here it is impossible for the national socialists to go back, because the correct policy of the C.P. of Germany in the national question has deprived them of every possibility of manoeuvring.

Out of fear of collapse German fascism is now heading for an increased sharpening of the relations with Austria.

We learn from the documents published by the "Reichspost" that "everything is to be done in order to bring about a sharpening of the situation."

This aim has been achieved. The publication of these documents—which, it should be mentioned, also touch on Germany's relations with Yugoslavia and Hungary—is the best proof of this. The question arises: Why is the Hitler government pursuing its present policy in regard to Austria without having the least hope of achieving any real success against France and England, even if it still speculates on the antagonisms between Italy and France? The only explanation is: Every step against Germany is welcome to the fascist dictatorship in order to serve to arouse nationalist feelings which will strengthen its position. Even if the fascist dictatorship is fully aware that it is incapable of carrying on a war against France, it would gladly see a second Ruhr invasion or something similar in order to place itself at the head of the action for "national defence."

German fascism, in order to strengthen its position, in order to maintain its power, is playing with the fire of war. For this reason it deliberately intensifies the imperialist antagonisms.

French imperialism, at the head of the Versailles Powers, is doing the same thing on the other side. The policy of the Quai d'Orsay aimed at isolating England and Italy from Germany. The Austrian problem served as the best means to this end. We know, however, from the experience of the events which preceded the great war, that such a policy of isolation—"encirclement" it was called at that time—leads directly to war.

Austrian fascism, an instrument of French and Italian imperialism, has also done its full share towards aggravating the situation. It has been actuated by exactly the same interests as its hostile brother in Germany. It has made use of every new phase in the conflict in order to strengthen its position. The fight against the Nazis was used as a justification for the anti-working class emergency decrees. To-day, under the same pretext, there is officially announced the plan for establishing concentration camps, which in reality will serve for suppressing the revolutionary workers. Austrian fascism knew what it was doing when it sent Herr Steidle's Auxiliary Police to the Tyrolean frontier. It needed the corpse of the auxiliary policeman, Schwaninger, in order to justify the formation of a big "volunteer defence corps," which shall serve as a civil war army or as troops in the coming war.

Thus when we record German's responsibility for the smell of powder in Europe, when we speak of Germany's arming, we do not forget that at the present time in Austria, with the approval of French, English and Italian imperialism, in the Federal army, in the "voluntary defence corps" and the "reserves"—not including about 18,000 men of the voluntary labour service—at least 80,000

men from the ages of 18 to 25 are being given military training and armed.

These war preparations are supported in Paris and London as well as in Vienna by the Second International. Since the Dollfuss government came into office the Austrian social democracy has continually offered fascism its co-operation, which is to be veiled by the "fight against national socialism."

Thus the danger of war as a result of the German-Austrian conflict is continually increasing. Nobody is deceived with regard to the greatness of the danger by the thought that Germany is not able to offer serious resistance.

When once the armies of the imperialists commence to move, who can say where they will stop? Who believes that military operations would be confined to a "punitive expedition" against fascist Germany? Who can guarantee that it would not come to other conflicts between the imperialists, which would set the whole world ablaze? Or that these inter-imperialists' conflicts might be shelved in favour of a crusade against the Soviet Union?

We must sound the alarm and hammer it into the minds of all workers that if the war which the fascists on both sides of the frontier are preparing breaks out, then it will not be confined to the Ruhr, nor to Austria, nor even to Europe.

Roosevelt's National Recovery Act

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The basic purpose of the National Recovery Act (N.R.A.) is to attempt to overcome the crisis at the expense of the masses of workers. It is the culmination of the entire series of Roosevelt's emergency laws which began with the banking moratorium. It is consolidating power more firmly in the hands of the capitalist class and its government than at any time since the world war, and before it is ended it may make the war-time legislation look like the work of amateurs. The immediate aims of the N.R.A. may be summed up as the further trustification and monopolisation of the economic life of the country in the hands of the great Wall Street-controlled corporations; to wipe out small and independent competitors; to further militarise the youth of the country in the forced labour camps; to outlaw strikes, enforce compulsory arbitration, and nullify or eliminate the trade unions.

With its codes for the control of the relations of industry and labour the N.R.A. has started off somewhat auspiciously for the capitalists. In March the banking standstill brought business activity to almost the lowest point of the crisis, but thereafter there was a temporary rapid upturn. It was based on inflation, which created a speculative buying market, together with war moves by all major governments to accumulate large war stocks.

The various industrial labour codes are being worked out solely by the big industrialists, with the workers excluded, though they deal chiefly with wages, hours, working conditions and organisation. They aim to beat down wages to a point below the subsistence level, at a time when prices are rising and work is being "staggered" (one job divided among two workers, etc.). The pretence is that unemployment will be solved in this fashion, but the hope is practically to enslave the workers, and set up the skeleton of a war-time organisation. B. A. Javits, one of the authors of the N.R.A., says frankly that for the bosses "... the new law is expertly calculated to increase the profits accruing from industry." ("New York World Telegram," 6/17.) This is the capitalist way out of the crisis, the "new deal."

The blanket code upon which the various codes are based provides for factory workers a minimum wage of 30-40 cents an hour for a maximum working week of 35 hours (10 dollars 50 cents to 14 dollars weekly). That this is a wage cut can be seen from the fact that average weekly factory wages in June were 16 dollars 71 cents. There are all sorts of exceptions which virtually give industry a free hand in lowering wages and increasing hours, but, significantly enough, no minimum weekly hours are set, so that there are no minimum earnings per week or year. There is no doubt that under these codes minimum wages will tend to become maximums, or a terrific speed-up and rationalisation will practically make it so for higher-paid workers. Evidence of this even from capitalist sources is abundant.

Thus the "New York Times Annalist" (6/30) writes: "Employers everywhere will endeavour to get the output formerly obtained during longer hours." Endicott Johnson, one of the largest shoe manufacturers, is dismissing all workers unable to earn 12 dollars a week on piecework at the greatly increased speed-up

introduced. Here we see the minimum wage becoming the maximum. In the textile industry the older and slower workers are also being driven out. The "New York Herald-Tribune" says in its financial columns that "the great fanfare which attends many announcements of wage increases becomes a little tinny when some of the cases are analysed. It is already an old story for a concern to announce a 20 per cent. increase when previous reductions may have totalled 40 per cent." The National Textile Workers' Union reports that cuts in the last four years in industry have totalled as high as 60-80 per cent., but in the last couple of months, in order to curb strikes, increases of 5-12½ per cent. were given. It quotes an organ of the manufacturers, "Fibre and Fabric," as saying that "the 40-hour or 30-hour week with 48-hour pay is too foolish to talk about," as labour will be paid on the old basis for the time worked. To cut textile hours from 70 to 40 per week will mean a proportionate cut in earnings. At Glassport, Pennsylvania, the Pittsburgh Steel Foundry cut wages 70 per cent., but when the workers threatened to strike for a 35 per cent. increase, the company gave them a 20 per cent. raise. These examples can be multiplied indefinitely.

The textile code, the first to be signed, sets a minimum wage of 12 dollars in the South, 13 dollars in the North, with maximum hours at 40 weekly. These wages depend upon working the full 40 hours. For women the scale is lower, and outside workers, cleaners, and apprentices are excluded, with no minimum set for them. The latter are largely youths and Negroes. The intention of the code is to divide the workers along lines of colour, sex, age, skill, etc. Certain mills are exempted (tyre, fabric, and medical supply), as well as all mills which have contracts with their workers. Otherwise the textile workers are covered by the code.

Roosevelt and the press have made a great to-do about eliminating textile child labour. The chairman of the bosses' association, the Cotton Textile Industry, G. A. Sloan, gives away this ballyhoo, however: child labour in this industry has been "practically eliminated" because during the crisis adults have replaced children at the same wage, doing more work. The children have been fired without any provision being made for them; they may starve or roam the country.

Roosevelt has filled the press with stories of the great increase in employment and wages since the boom began. Capitalist "planning" may be seen from the following figures of Gen. Johnson: On June 16 he announced that 4,000,000 men would be re-employed before winter. Ten days later he stated 3,000,000 would be put to work by the end of September, 6,000,000 by the beginning of September, and thousands in a few weeks—all in one statement. On August 3, Johnson planned to put 1,000,000 to work by October 1. On July 26 he said pay-rolls would be increased one-third in the next three months, but in the same breath he excluded all city, state, and federal employees from the operations of the N.R.A. These employees have been given great cuts in pay. A million railwaymen have just been given a 10 per cent. cut, and wage cuts are the order of the day. Even workers in the federal navy yards, who are building warships for the coming war, were slashed 17 per cent. of their wages recently. Roosevelt has stated that new work will not be created to absorb the millions of jobless: "The idea is simply for employers to hire more men to do the existing work by reducing the hours of each man's work." (Our emphasis—B.) It is just the old stagger system, advocated and practised by Standard Oil and other great corporations.

The A.F.L. at once joined the pack shouting "recovery" and "re-employment." It issued its own figures for April and May, showing that 1,629,000 men had returned to work. But its separate estimates for those months totalled up to only 943,714, and doubtless included 300,000 workers in the forest forced labour camps, and seasonal workers. The Alexander Hamilton Institute agrees with the Communist estimate of 17,000,000 jobless. Even if Green's and Johnson's figures were correct, what about the other millions of unemployed for whom there is no hope of re-employment? (Green testified early this year before a Senate hearing on the Black 30-Hour Bill that if the 1929 peak of production and employment were reached now "only 55 per cent. of those entitled to work could be given work." And there is no pretence that 1929 conditions are being restored.)

Johnson has stressed the open-shop provisions of the N.R.A. regarding labour organisation. He has said: "To obtain the benefits of this Act it is not necessary for workers to join either company unions or any particular labour union." ("New York Nation," 8/9.) The same magazine states that the collective bar-

gaining clause in the Act was "only an empty gesture." It cites conditions in Southern textile mills, where the owners are continually violating the provisions of the code. Men are fired for joining a union, even if it is the reactionary A.F.L. United Textile Workers' Union, virtually a company union. They are speeded up to tend forty looms, where previously they had eight or twelve, though the code forbids the stretch-out (this particular form of speed-up). Minimum wages are disregarded and union men driven out of the mill villages.

The Recovery Act is based upon the good old 100 per cent. American open shop. Though collective bargaining (negotiations with the union) is recognised theoretically, as a sop to the labour fakers co-operating with the N.R.A., the law specifically provides that no worker can be compelled to join a union. This means that scabs can be brought into shops and the workers cannot strike to enforce the closed or union shop. The press states that not only are strikes to be prohibited and labour curbed, but that under the impetus of the N.R.A. the bosses are going to organise a national federation of industries, something hitherto lacking in this country (the nearest approach has been a manufacturers' association). The strike-breaking purpose of the N.R.A. is admitted by the franker magazines, like the "Annalist." It wrote, on July 21: "Nor has the government, with all its insistence on the right of collective bargaining, gone so far as to break with the distinctly American tradition of the open shop." However, it fears that "before the final chapter on the new planned economy is written, we shall have labour disturbances of a kind and degree never before experienced."

Some sections of the press admit the fraudulent basis of the N.R.A. in their financial columns, which workers do not read. The "Baltimore Sun" asked whether the complicated stream of trade could be successfully diverted by street-corner windjamming, and the N.Y. "Journal of Commerce" wrote: "The economic amateurishness of this half-baked plan to raise wages and limit hours by exhortation is patent." (Quoted in "Literary Digest," 8/5.) "Business Week" wrote: "Labour is asking questions, too, however, about how 10-dollar a week workers are going to add buying power. . . ." (8/1.) The "Annalist" stated: "That the industrial recovery measure can bring any permanent increase in business activity is just as illusory as the idea that tampering with the currency is a cure for all our ills." (6/9.)

Such is the N.R.A.—the most original attempt since Coué, so far as its economic aspects and any possible improvement in unemployment and working conditions are concerned. From the point of view of finance capitalism, it is one of the most gigantic movements on record to maintain profits and further trustify industry at the expense of the masses of the population.

Poland and Danzig

By K. R.

The Polish government has concluded an agreement with the Free Town of Danzig which confirms once again the rights of the Polish minority in Danzig to maintain Polish schools and which settles one or two outstanding differences with regard to the rights of Polish citizens in Danzig. At the same time this agreement promises Danzig on the part of Poland that Danzig shall enjoy as far as possible the same privileges with regard to Polish exports and imports as are enjoyed by the Polish port of Gdynia. This agreement is termed by the German press, and in part by the Danzig press, as "a last big attempt on the part of Danzig to find a basis for an understanding with Poland."

The relations between Poland and Danzig represent one of the most critical factors in the tension which exists between Poland and Germany. As is generally known, Danzig is a town with a population chiefly German. The Polish inhabitants of Danzig represent an insignificant minority. For this reason Danzig was not given to Poland as was the corridor, in which the majority of inhabitants are Polish. But Danzig lies at the mouth of the Vistula and a considerable part of Poland's foreign trade goes through Danzig harbour. For this reason Danzig was declared to be a free town with an administration completely independent of the German government. However, Poland was given the right to use the harbour and at the same time to exercise influence on the harbour administration and on Danzig's foreign relations. The relations between Poland and the Free Town of Danzig have been a constant source of friction and antagonism, and the problem has

been before the League of Nations for treatment again and again. The Free Town of Danzig complains in particular that Poland has built a commercial and naval harbour on Polish territory at Gdynia only a short distance away from Danzig, although the development of Polish trade would permit an increasing use to be made both of Gdynia and Danzig.

The ceaseless friction between Danzig and Poland concerning the question of the rights and duties of each party was intensified by the growth of national-socialist influence in Danzig, and when, after the accession to power of Hitler in Germany, the national-socialists in Danzig also came to power, the Polish Government feared that the Nazi rulers of Danzig might declare Danzig a part of the German Reich. The quarrel concerning the harbour police began. It will be remembered that on the 6th March Poland sent about a hundred soldiers to the Danzig Westerplatte in order to maintain order and guard the dump of Polish military supplies which is situated on the Westerplatte against all eventualities.

This was obviously a test step on the part of the Polish government, which was anxious to discover whether the Danzig national-socialists intended to raise the question of Danzig's status immediately. However, Danzig answered the Polish step by lodging a complaint with the League of Nations and agreed to certain compromises in the question of the harbour police. After Poland had come to the conclusion that for the moment at least neither Danzig nor Germany was anxious to provoke a first-class conflict, the soldiers were withdrawn. The entry of the national-socialists into the government in Danzig did not lead to any sharpening of the conflict with Poland, on the contrary. On the 3rd July the President of the Danzig Senate, the national-socialist Rausching, left at the head of a Danzig delegation for Warsaw, where he solemnly declared that he was prepared to recognise the basic principles on which the relations between Poland and Danzig rested. The agreement concerning the Polish schools in Danzig and Poland's promise to develop Polish foreign trade over Danzig harbour as far as possible (a promise which is to be given greater detail in a series of agreements still to be drawn up) are obviously the result of an attempt to regulate the relations between Danzig and Poland without continually calling in the League of Nations.

There is no doubt that the National-Socialist Senate in Danzig has acted in the spirit of instructions from the National-Socialist Party of Germany. What is the reason for this sudden change in national-socialist policy in the Danzig question? The reason is apparently that the national-socialists in Germany are occupied at the moment in a concentration on the Austrian question and therefore reckon with an intensification of friction with France, and that in consequence they do not want any trouble in the Danzig question at the moment which would lead to a similar intensification of friction with Poland. As far as Poland is concerned, it is willing to satisfy the local interests of Danzig so far as they correspond with Poland's own economic interests and thus lessen the urge of Danzig to unite with Germany.

The German fascist press is doing its best to present the compromise between Danzig and Poland as a proof that fascism is prepared to recognise the rights of all peoples, but the Polish press adopts a far more reserved attitude towards the matter. The Polish point of view is given best by the "Gazeta Varshavska," which writes on the 11th August:

"So far as Danzig is concerned, we must take up the attitude that Danzig is for ever bound up with Poland and that the population of Danzig may not regard Poland as an enemy. We are therefore of the opinion that the proposal for a Polish boycott of Danzig is wrong. On the contrary, we must do our best to bind Danzig to Poland with more and more threads."

The Polish governmental organ "Gazeta Polska" also takes this point of view and writes on the 10th August:

"The economic and therefore to a great degree the political fate of Danzig is indissolubly bound up with Poland. This truth must form the basis of the mutual relations of the two parties."

The Danzig agreement thus by no means settles the antagonism which exists between Poland and Germany in the Danzig question. However, it is a good thing that the Danzig conflict has been shelved for a certain time because this conflict might have played a dangerous rôle in the development of events in Eastern Europe.

Germany

Letters from Berlin

I

Increased Wave of Terror Against the Growing Activity of the C.P.G.

The street demonstrations which took place in Berlin in the first days of August have given the Secret State Police an occasion for intensifying still further the new wave of terror which set in after Goering's "secret conference." If one were to judge from the column-long reports which appear day after day in the fascist press about wholesale raids and arrests, then one would come to the conclusion that after these arrests there was nothing left of the C.P.G. Hardly any arrest is reported without it being stated at the same time that a "central body" has been discovered.

What has been the effect of this second, more severe, part of the wave of terror on the organisations of the C.P.G.?

The numerous wholesale arrests have not failed to leave their traces on the Party organisation and have caused it not inconsiderable loss. But this new wave of terror has been unable seriously to shake the organisation as a whole. Rather is it the reaction of the Secret State Police and of the fascist apparatus to the unremitting and growing activity of the Party, which has not only succeeded in mobilising fresh strata of its followers for active Party work, but, in addition, has been able to draw new forces from among the social-democratic workers into the work, and thus further weld together the united front.

That the street demonstrations were not isolated incidents is shown, for example, by the bold demonstrations which the Berlin workers carried out at the gates of the various A.E.G. (German General Electric Co.) undertakings and at the entrances to the important chemical workers of Schering-Kahlbaum in Berlin, where short demonstrations were carried out with the workers streaming out of the works, which were especially devoted to recruiting members for the Red Trade Union Opposition. The increased activity in the factories and workshops was plainly shown by the fact that the Secret State Police in Berlin and in the Reich replied to the enhanced Party activity in the factories with the first big mass raids and searches, which were carried out in the factories themselves. The occupation and search of the Siemens Works shortly after leaflets had been distributed in them, aroused such indignation among the Berlin workers that even the fascist press published reports about it.

But it is not only the systematic and increased activity of the Party in the factories nor the first demonstrations of the workers in the streets after many weeks that has evoked the panic and fury with which the fascist apparatus of force is now proceeding to work. It is the increased mobilisation of those strata of the social-democratic, Christian and unorganised workers, who have overcome their depression and discouragement, thanks to the unceasing, persistent united front agitation of the C.P.G. This fact has been expressed in the German fascist press itself and still more clearly in a part of the press abroad. We select a few reports from the many to hand. In a part of the Neukoelln district of Berlin a group of social-democratic workers worked systematically with the Communists. This group of social-democratic workers, which is about fifteen strong, is in turn in closest contact with a further hundred members of the social-democratic party. The fifteen S.P.G. comrades recently issued the first number of the "Roter Vorwaerts."

In Hamburg, in most parts of the town, regular meetings of Communists with former social-democratic workers and members of the Reichsbanner take place. Several groups of social-democratic workers who have been left completely in the lurch by their leaders got into contact with our Party organisations, and together with them have organised the distribution of leaflets. In the Hamburg dock area a Reichsbanner detachment from two workers' streets has joined the C.P.G. Half a Reichsbanner detachment from the F. Strasse and T. Strasse have come over to the C.P.G. In another part of the town eighteen Reichsbanner functionaries have organised a course of instruction led by a member of the C.P.G.

Numerous reports on the progress of the united front movement are to hand from the central Rhine district. In the Riehl district of Cologne the members of the Reichsbanner have driven out their old leaders and elected new leaders. The removal of the old leaders took place because they opposed co-operation with the Communists.

The fascist "Voelkische Beobachter" confirms, in its own way, the increased activity of the C.P.G. by printing on its front page facsimile reproductions of six illegal Communist and R.T.U.O. newspapers and journals, and under the heading "The enemy of the State lives," reports on the illegal work of the C.P.G. and expressly confirms the fact that social-democratic and Christian workers are being systematically drawn into this work.

The tremendously intensified persecution of all revolutionary activity is the reply to this increased work of the C.P.G. and its successful united front policy, while at the same time the increasing signs of disintegration within the Storm Troops cause "drastic measures" to appear urgently necessary to the fascist government for fear lest the two movements become co-ordinated.

But the actual successes of the fascist apparatus of power in the fight against the C.P.G. are far less than would appear from the daily victory-bulletins announcing dozens and hundreds of arrests. The orders issued in every part of the Reich that for every case of Communist activity the workers already arrested are to be subjected to more rigorous treatment, or "unreliable elements" in the neighbourhood of where the activity took place are to be arrested, reveal quite plainly that the Party members are becoming increasingly skilful in carrying on conspiratorial work. The fascist press reports with increasing frequency that the arrests which have been carried out are only reprisals for the non-seizure of the actual perpetrators, that only hostages have been seized. Also the authorities have nowhere ventured to impose the death penalty threatened in the case of distribution of illegal leaflets. It is true, of the many thousands of workers who since this announcement have in defiance of death continued their revolutionary work, only a few have been caught "red-handed." But even Goering, after the storm of protest which swept the factories and labour exchanges after the "legal" murder of the four anti-fascist fighters in Altona and a worker in Hamburg, cannot venture to carry out his threats against the half per cent of workers who are caught while distributing leaflets. In the meantime, the official Prussian press service had to announce that distributors of leaflets will be liable to "several years' preventive arrest," but the threat of the death sentence has had to be dropped.

A very plain symptom of the increasing nervousness among the fascist leaders is the concentration carried out a few days ago of 11,000 men of the S.S. Troops in the immediate neighbourhood of Berlin, to whom the "Deutsche Allegemeine Zeitung," the organ of heavy industry, at the top of its page, devoted the symbolic motto: "If all become unfaithful, we shall remain faithful."

Every demonstration of international solidarity to-day means for the fighting workers an enormous strengthening of their courage, gives them the assurance that they have the backing of the international working class. Thus the wave of protests against the German steamships which have entered foreign ports flying the swastika flag has aroused tremendous enthusiasm among all the anti-fascist workers. The general strike in Apenrade and the big protest demonstrations of the Saar workers against the execution of the workers in Altona and Hamburg were made special use of as arguments in discussions with workers who have not yet lost their last illusions regarding the promises made by the fascists.

II

National Socialism Showing its True Features

For some time the shops selling butter and other fats, particularly in the Berlin working class quarters, have become real centres of the anti-fascist fight and have got a certain "freedom of speech." Every time anyone goes shopping, they are given a further lesson on the blessings of the Hitler regime, and the accumulated bitterness finds expression in anything but friendly remarks about the government. The butter dealers form the advance guard of that

section of the small shopkeepers who have lost their illusions about the promises so generously dished out by the fascists. No seller of butter who hears every day complaints about high prices, which go to line the pockets of the rich peasants and big landlords, would dream of denouncing the cursing shopper. At the most, there will be a suggestion here and there that the discussion should be more careful.

But when they once get on to complaints about the price of fats, then all other troubles are vigorously ventilated. Many thousands and tens of thousands of shoppers, who had to take to margarine in place of butter, and afterwards, the price of margarine having been doubled, were forced to change over to dripping, and then when the tax on dripping has gone up from 25 to 50 and then to 100 marks, now find that the import tax on "plum and apple" has been increased from 10 to 61 marks, i.e., sixfold. To the sacrifices, which, according to the assurances of Leys, will bring about true socialism, must apparently now be added the further one of having nothing to put on the bread, and so we get that Spartan life, which is recommended for the hastening of the regeneration of Germany.

In the small milk and butter shops in the Grossgörschen street where I last bought a little fat, there were six shoppers, who, as I came in, were vigorously discussing who among their various relatives, friends and acquaintances had got work. One of the housewives reported that her eldest son had got the sack when the Bergmann electricity works closed down. Another shopper from one of the wireless factories in Schöneberg said that in his factory they had gone on to short time. Not one of them was able to report that any one of their relatives or acquaintances had got work again. One old woman was able to say that a 30-year-old worker, whom she knew very slightly, who had starved his way through three years' unemployment, the dole, transitional benefit, and poor-law relief, had got "work." He had been transferred to Pomerania with a number of other unemployed as an agricultural worker. At the peasant's, to whom he had been sent, it transpired that he had not asked for any workers. But an attempt to take the matter up with the local fascist overseer was answered by the statement that the fight against unemployment was a kind of war, and the unemployed were, so to speak, quartered on him. This was the practical experience of the "victories on the labour front" which these Berlin working women had gone through.

If these Berliners, who had been left unmoved by the blessings of Hitler's labour victories, had read the extensive reports which were published about the great speech of the fascist Minister of Economy in Cologne, they would have learnt a lot. Not to mention the enthusiastic rejoicings with which such newspapers as the "D.A.Z.," the "Bergwerkszeitung," the "Berlin Stock Exchange Newspaper" and other such, greeted the speech. In a mighty voice and some malicious thrusts at national socialist upper and lower leaders, Schmitt sounded the retreat, for the liquidation of the last relics of Commissar economy, for the ending of demagoguery itself in the question of conditions of exploitation and the creation of work.

Schmitt's speech does not only mean "the market for capital in Germany is so tight that both German capital and foreign capital which is invested in Germany is frightened and mistrustful and has no faith in industrial enterprise." Schmitt not only announced: "We must hold fast so that Germany economy, grown up through thousands of years, must not only govern and control itself to the greatest possible extent—and indeed the new realm gives the slogans and the organisational possibilities for this—but we must see to it that we, through a free market, have an efficient economy capable of competing on the market."

Schmitt gave a final definition of what the National Socialist should understand by German socialism: "That everyone in his place gives to the uttermost for his people and for the community." And after Schmitt attacked the formulation of Leys that "Socialism meant sacrifice, sacrifice, and again sacrifice," he went on to damp down the "reports of victory" on the labour market. He declared: "We must not think that we can really overcome the great problem of unemployment by violent intervention, by reports of victory on the overcoming of local unemployment. . . . It is useless if the unemployed are given work in a district by order, if the factories in the district cannot absorb them, or if one sends them into another district."

After this blow at the "victories on the labour front," he pins down the economic theorists of the National Socialist Party: "Why

has capital no faith in the undertakings? Because here also there is unrest, due to the many theoretical discussions of the question 'Compulsory reduction of the rate of interest' and God knows what. When we are able to pacify the capital market and to engender in our people the belief that investment in Germany is not engendered, then capital will be prepared to go into the market." Thus Schmitt finishes off with a few words the last fascist theoreticians of the "breaking of the fetters of interest slavery" and the "expropriation of the bank and stock exchange princes," who then, as now, were not in earnest, but thought that these demands could not simply be struck out with impunity. Schmitt teaches them better.

But Schmitt also takes precautions that in the future none of the national socialist leaders should risk trespassing on Schmitt's domain in the central point of the activity of the government for securing profits. Is it not meant for the whitewasher, Hitler, when Schmitt declares: "I must ask the artists, the painters, the writers, the industrial magnates to **mind their own business** and not for ever discuss what they do not understand."

And now to go back to the almost hysterical rejoicings with which the press of the employers received this speech. First of all the "Bergwerks-Zeitung" (15th August), the favourite paper of the wealthy manufacturers of the Ruhr: "The works must be profitable! A happy word which the National Minister of Economy spoke. . . . It is a particular pleasure to us that the programme of the Minister corresponds in every way to that which the German 'Bergwerkszeitung' has demanded, ever since it existed. What the National Socialist Party understands by German socialism is nothing else than that everyone in his place gives up all for his people. In the sign of this German socialism we (the big industrialists of the Ruhr) will conquer." The "D.A.Z." naturally cannot remain behind. It writes (15th August): "The general despondency of the world depression can, in fact, only be overcome when the foundation is once again given to disturbed mankind on which it can base a secure calculation. . . . This is the meaning of our new economy, that personal needs are subordinate, but these personal needs have their rights which lie precisely in this subordination. That is the meaning of the economic elbow room in the Schmitt programme." The views of the other papers are similar. Every sentence a pearl for the German employers (for finance capital, for whom Schmitt is the spokesman).

What here, as a theoretical statement, receives the stormy applause of the fascist press of all shades, is felt by the German working class, and all the toilers of Germany feel it daily, and more and more as the days go on, on their own skins. Only an opposite answer is given and is expressed ever more strongly, ever more openly, ever more clearly.

III. Complete Failure of Fascist Attempts to Revive Economy

The attempts of the fascist press to keep up the tone of rejoicing about the reports of the economic situation without the headlines contradicting too crudely the content of the news are becoming more acrobatic every day.

A few weeks ago, one of the show pieces of the "economic revival," the position of automobile production, had to disappear silently with the sinking of production. After the Opel works went on short time, the Adler works had to dismiss 950 workers and the Saxon Automobile factory had to cease issuing reports, another "chapter of glory" has had to go the way of all flesh. Textile production had actually shown a certain rise from February to May. The demand for cloth for banners and uniforms, and, above all, for the brown twill for the Storm Troop shirts, brought a certain revival in the textile industry. The "Vossische Zeitung," however, had to report that the average hours of work per day sank from 7.25 hours in May to 6.94 in June. The clothing departments of the warehouses, as the "Voss" reported, showed a reduction in turnover in the months of May and June. In June it amounted to 25 per cent. compared with June, 1932. The import of cotton, according to the "Stuttgarter Neue Tageblatt," declined from 153.3 to 152.9 million marks in the first half year of 1933 compared with the same period in the previous year, and export went down from 29.1 to 21.2 million marks in the same period. The Berlin "Börsen-Zeitung" on the 12th of August reported that the further course of business in cotton yarns "became very quiet and the orders coming in were much fewer than in the previous month." Fine spinning is in no better position

and the "B.B.Z." concludes: "July is characterised by more cautious trade and by holding back. In general there is a seasonal reduction in demand. . . . The export situation has become here and there more favourable through the collapse of the dollar."

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" writes on the situation in the cloth industry "that business has again declined, after the falling off in the demand for uniforms. . . . Men's wear is similarly affected by the reduction in the demand for uniforms. Normal winter business is at the moment less than last year."

This depressing news from the one industry which could show a quite considerable improvement, apart from the war industry, was accompanied by reports which showed a further decline in all other branches of industry. The "Vossische Zeitung" reports the further decline in the delivery of water, gas, and electricity in the Ruhr district; the "Völkische Beobachter" reports the serious economic situation of pensions, hotels and boarding houses, the further decline in business of the Duisberg "Demag"—one of the greatest German machine-building works—a "hopeless situation" in the Brandenburg small iron industry, etc.

The exceedingly sober tone in which practically the whole fascist press reports the "victories on the labour front" is very significant. The system of simply quartering the unemployed of the towns, with more or less compulsion, on the small and better-off peasants and the system of hiring out workers practically without cost can, in East Prussia and in Pomerania, show a few apparent successes. But the statistics given by the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of the financing of work provision schemes show an annihilating picture. From the 600 million marks of the so-called "immediate programme," up to the present 12 per cent., i.e., 70,000,000 marks, have been used, and even the old programmes of Bruening and Papen, which were decided on in the previous summer, have not yet, about a year later, been carried out 50 per cent. No one is in a position to solve the puzzle, how the sums appropriated for the creation of work can be made profitable in a capitalist sense. And the "Frankfurter Zeitung" is already asking whether the means already set aside for this purpose have not "reached the limit up to which the path of extension of credit can go without danger." The danger here is inflation—only the "Frankfurter Zeitung" naturally must not mention that it has already begun.

Revenge the Four Anti-Fascist Workers Executed in Altona!

A fresh crime has been added to the long series of barbarous crimes committed by the Nazi murderers. On August 1, the day on which the working people of the whole world demonstrate against new imperialist wars and against fascism, the fascist dictatorship in Germany caused four workers in Altona, August Luetgens, Walter Moeller, Karl Wolf and Bruno Gesch, to be executed on the scaffold. Four brave anti-fascists, who before the fascist court, and even in face of death, boldly announced their fidelity to the emancipation struggle of the proletariat, have fallen as victims of the fascist Terror.

The murder of the four workers in Altona signalises a new stage in the development of the unbridled fascist bloody rule in Germany. Fresh bestial murders, raids and hold-ups in the workers' quarters and in the railway trains, cruel tortures, shootings while "attempting to escape," death sentences and their execution, are the reply to the growing fighting mood of the masses, and are intended to prevent the heroic fight of the workers.

The Hitler government announces with provocative insolence through its Minister for Justice, Frank, that Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev, along with the provocateur, Van der Lübbe, set fire to the Reichstag, and that Thaelmann, the leader of the C.P.G., of the revolutionary workers' movement in Germany, and Torgler, the chairman of the Communist fraction of the Reichstag, are accused as being "privy" thereto. At the same time the fascist incendiaries are attempting—by issuing various and conflicting statements regarding the holding of the trial—to confuse world public opinion and cause it to relax attention with regard to the Reichstag fire frame-up.

But they must not be allowed to succeed in this. The reply to the fresh provocations on the part of Hitler must be intensified fight against the executions in Altona, against the fresh judicial murders which are being prepared, increased revolutionary action to save Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev.

Working people, remember the many blood victims in Hitler Germany: the Communist Party of Germany alone has to record the loss of 1,600 members and functionaries who have been murdered. Many thousands of social democratic and non-Party workers have been murdered along with them. In the six months of their rule the Hitler bandits have created mountains of corpses.

In face of such savage and cruel bestialities, does it suffice to protest at meetings and in the press? No, that is not sufficient! The interest of the working people of all countries, international solidarity with the toiling masses of Germany demand much more, demand a broad indefatigable fight! Only such a fight is capable of checking the blood lust of German fascism.

Working people, do not be held back from this fight by the manoeuvres of the social democratic leaders. The social democratic party of Germany, the party of Noske and Zoergiebel, now announce in the "Neue Voerwarts" that they are the only force against fascism, and promise to punish the guilty on "the day of reckoning." Was it not the German socialist party leaders who delivered, and still to-day deliver the workers over to the fascist terror? They even try, by means of their Matteotti Fund, to sabotage the solidarity action for the victims of German fascism. Do not permit this splitting! **Gather round the International Red Aid, whose solidarity work for the victims of German fascism embraces the whole world!**

Contribute and collect for the victims of fascism! Fight with us against the bloody fascist dictatorship.

Wrest Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov and their comrades from the hangmen!

Prevent the execution of the anti-fascists who have been sentenced to death in Cologne and Chemnitz!

Down with the bloody fascist terror!

Long live the revolutionary solidarity of the toilers of the whole world!

The E.C. of the International Red Aid.

Reichstag Fire Trial Frame-Up Exposed

Paris, August 19.

The Swedish Barrister Branting has written as follows in reply to the letters addressed to himself and Romain Rolland by the German State Attorney asking them to give him access to any evidence they may possess in the matter of the Reichstag fire:

SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 10th August. I take the opportunity of informing you that in actual fact an inquiry committee has been formed for clearing up the matter of the burning of the Reichstag. This committee is composed, besides myself, of the following jurists:

England: Dr. N. Pritt, King's Counsel.

France: Gaston Bergery.

Attero Giafferi.

America: Arthur Garfield Hays.

Clarence Darrow.

Denmark: Dr. Vald Ruidt.

Switzerland: Dr. Johannes Huber.

Holland: Frau Dr. Bakker-Hort.

Belgium: Pierre Vermeylen.

Italy: Francesco Nitti.

The Secretariat of this Committee is in possession of ample material referring to the affair of the burning of the Reichstag, and this will be dealt with in the sessions of the inquiry committee.

I should first like to refer to the following passage of your letter:

"Since no further evidence, beyond that contained in the records relating to the case, has been sent either to me or to the judge of the court of inquiry of the Supreme Court, in spite of the public appeal made for any information promoting the clearing up of the matter, and in spite of the offer of a large reward for co-operation in finding the perpetrators, and the public prosecution and the court of justices are extremely anxious to be informed of all relative circumstances and to take these into account when forming their judgment, I should be much obliged to you if you would inform me with respect to the evidence allegedly in possession of the Commission."

I believe that I may assume from this passage, and indeed from the whole of your letter, that you as attorney-general are of the opinion that the evidence in your hands is inadequate. This is the only explanation which I can find for the extraordinary step,

on the part of a public prosecution, of applying for further evidence to persons not directly connected with the trial, and this after the preliminary inquiry has been closed and even the indictment drawn up. I find the same explanation for the unusual fact that you have had your letter to me published by Wolff's Telegraph Bureau. I assume that you will make my reply accessible to the German public by the same means.

It need not be said that it is of paramount importance that all material likely to lead to the ascertainment of the truth should be laid before the Supreme Court. But I consider it to be equally a matter of course that the material serving for the defence of the defendants should not be submitted to the Court through the public prosecution, seeing that the indictment has been completed and handed over to the Court, but rather through the defending counsel. I may state, besides this, that the defending counsel appointed by the Court have not applied to me.

You, as representative of the public prosecution, will admit that guarantees must be given for the complete and objective utilisation of the material by the defence. The best and most convincing of proofs may prove useless if not applied in the interests of the defendants. I do not possess personally the sole right of disposing of the evidence in the hands of the inquiry commission. I do not doubt, however, that the inquiry committee will be in agreement with the views which I have expressed above, and will place the whole of the material at the disposal of the defending counsel, provided that adequate prerequisites are furnished for a free and independent defence. In the present case I regard the following as the necessary prerequisite conditions:

1. Free choice of defending counsel by the defendants.
2. The foreign defending counsel appointed by the defendants to be admitted to the defence.
3. Defending counsel to have unrestricted access to the records of the case; the indictment to be sent to the foreign counsel appointed by the defendants.
4. The defendants to have full rights of consultation with their defending counsel, without the presence of third persons.
5. The proceeding of the court to be public during the whole duration of the trial.
6. The defendants to be accorded treatment worthy of human beings, so that they are physically and mentally capable of defending themselves before the court.
7. Safe conducts and security for the lives of the witnesses named by the defence or the inquiry committee, and the opportunity of giving their evidence freely.
8. Security for the lives of the defending counsel, and the guarantee that they will be given unhindered possibilities for conducting the defence.
9. The witnesses named, or still to be named, by the defence, are to be subpoenaed.
10. Permission for the unrestricted depositions of the witnesses who are, or who have been, in the service of the German state or of a German province.

The necessity of demanding these guarantees is shown, for instance, in an article published on 12th August by the party-official national-socialist "*Dortmünder Generalanzeiger*," the newspaper of the government party, with reference to your letters to Romain Rolland and me. This article states:

"... Every sound nation will claim that same right of self-defence which the German nation has long since claimed in actual deed, the right of uprooting and exterminating the Red Pestilence. The state which would countenance even an attempt to protect the incendiaries and murderers would call down upon itself the condemnation of the world. If Marxist hirelings declare their solidarity with their accomplices to-day, this can lead to only one result: they must be treated in the same manner."

I have considered it my duty to hand over your letter to the inquiry committee. I am following your example in giving this my reply to the press.

Awaiting your reply, which I shall then forward to the inquiry committee, I beg to remain,

Yours truly, (Signed) BRANTING.

Romain Rolland, writing on the same date (18th August) from Lucerne, replies to the German attorney-general to the same effect.

International Solidarity

Open Letter to the Social Democratic Workers

Comrade!

To you, social-democratic worker, we address these words: Consider and decide!

Look at what is happening in Germany to-day!

The fascist reaction is raging in the whole country. The fascist terror is directed not only against the Communist workers, but also against you, social-democratic worker, and against the trade unions, against all workers' organisations.

Over 100,000 anti-fascist fighters fill the concentration camps and prisons; they are tortured and mishandled; we hear again and again of workers who have been shot "while trying to escape." Thousands of workers are compelled to flee from Germany and are delivered over to misery and privation. Fascism cannot provide a way out of the misery and poverty, and therefore endeavours to quieten the starving masses by means of bloody terror... by lies and false reports to incite the working people to war against the Soviet Union and divert them from the class struggle.

But the working people of all countries are rising for the fight against white terror and fascism; everywhere they are joining in a united front for the fight against the white terror. Under the leadership of the International Red Aid a broad action in support of the victims of fascism is being organised. The workers of all countries, regardless of what party or trade union they belong to, are rallying round the Red Aid organisation in order to support the political prisoners, the political emigrants, their families and children.

What, however, are the leaders of the Second International doing in these times?

The leaders of the social democracy are continuing their policy of splitting the working class... They have revived the counter-revolutionary "Matteotti Fund" in order to sabotage the international campaign which the International Red Aid is conducting in support of the victims of German fascism.

Although the social-democratic parties have contributed only very insignificant sums to this fund, the administrators of the Matteotti Fund still had 8,000 dollars in hand in May last.

The prisons in the capitalist countries were and are filled with proletarian prisoners.

Has the Matteotti Fund done anything for these prisoners?

No, comrade!

The Matteotti Fund is used not to support the prisoners, but the social-democratic parties.

It was from this fund that the Russian Menshevik-interventionists derived their means—a fact which was proved at the Moscow trial of the Mensheviks in 1930. And the social-democratic leaders, not in order to protect genuine, honest class fighters and their families, but in order to prevent the united relief action of the masses in the I.R.A., revive the activity of this fund which has never accorded practical support to the victims of fascism.

This policy of the Second International is not due to chance. The social-democratic leaders have always supported the policy of white terror carried out by the bourgeoisie.

Remember!

Remember the bloody suppression of the revolutionary movement after the November revolution in Germany by the social democrats Noske, Severing and others, who called in the white bands and murdered the leaders of the proletariat, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Remember how, in the May days of 1929, the police of the social democrat Zoergiebel shot down 33 workers in Berlin.

Remember how the parliamentary fraction of the social-democratic party of France aided the French bourgeoisie by granting them every means in order to crush the fight of the working class, by granting the sums necessary for the maintenance of the hated mobile guard—special military formations for the fight against the working class—etc., by voting for the military budget, whilst the social-democratic members of the Paris town council were the best confederates of M. Chiappe, the Paris Chief of Police.

Remember MacDonald and the other leaders of the English Labour Party, who for the sake of their ministerial jobs openly

betrayed the workers and went over to the side of the conservatives, the most reactionary party in England. But even when it was in office the Labour Party, just like the bourgeois governments, kept the Indian workers, the accused in the Meerut case, in prison and refused to liquidate the trial and release the accused.

Who else was it but the leaders of the social-democratic party of Germany who held back the workers from the fight and capitulated to fascism? Who surrendered the trade unions without a fight? This policy was only the continuation of a policy which in 1914 voted for the war credits, in 1918 disarmed the workers and soldiers of Germany, and then for years fed the proletariat with the illusion of the "lesser evil," via emergency decrees, the Hindenburg election, up to the seizure of power by fascism. That which the leaders of the Second International and the International Trade Union Federation are doing to-day is only the logical continuation of their line, which aims at disarming the working class and supporting capitalism.

But the revolutionary working class is not laying down its arms. In spite of the frightful terror the German Red Aid is still standing at its post; it is supporting the political prisoners; it is organising the fight against the terror; it is issuing its newspaper illegally and rallying the masses for solidarity actions. The class-conscious workers of Germany are continuing their heroic fight against fascism. The international proletariat must render aid and support the German proletariat in its fight. Therefore you must not remain aloof from the solidarity organised by the International Red Aid.

... Only mass pressure, the mass struggle of the working people can wrest the thousands of imprisoned workers from the hands of the fascist jailers, can stay the arm of the jailers of Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev, as well as the jailers of hundreds of thousands of other victims of fascism.

Every honest social-democratic worker must fight with the International Red Aid against the fascist white terror. The I.R.A., which renders moral and material support to all victims of the white terror no matter what party or trade union they belong to, without distinction of race or nationality, summons you to the common fight, to support your class brothers.

To the fight against fascist reaction!

Take your place under the banner of the I.R.A. in the front of active fighters against fascism, white terror and against new wars!

Under the banner of the I.R.A. defend the fatherland of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union!

Long live international proletarian solidarity!

Executive Committee of the I.R.A.

Fight Against Imperialist War

The Lessons of the 1st August, 1933 in Czechoslovakia

By Karl Neumann (Prague)

Writing in Nr. 24 of the Basle "Rundschau" on the tasks of the C.P.Cz. with regard to International Anti-War Day, we affirmed in our introduction that August 1st already had a tradition in Czechoslovakia, although it was only the fifth occasion on which it was being kept as Anti-War Day. The article was also printed in the Czech International Press Correspondence in "Meztisker." Contrary, however, to the wish of the editors, certain comrades belonging to the leadership of the Party deleted this affirmation from the article, and also made some other "corrections." At the same time as this statement that August 1st already had a tradition was cut out in our article in the "Meztisker," the tradition of August 1st was actually broken in practice this year, as a part of the struggle of the Czechoslovak working class, and, essentially discarded. August 1st practically remained unobserved this year as International Anti-War Day in Czechoslovakia.

An examination of the way in which August 1st was kept as International Anti-War Day in Czechoslovakia proves incontestably that this is a fact. According to the reports to hand up to August 6th, a demonstration took place in Karwin on the evening of July 31st, in Orlau a few hundred demonstrators were dispersed by the police and the gendarmerie, and on August 1st itself an Anti-War demonstration was carried out in Freistadt. In addition, a politically very important and excellent conference of

Polish, German, and Czech Communists was held in the Beskiden, followed by a demonstration. There were as well as demonstrations in the Prague districts of Ziskov, Liben Vysocan, Nusle, Vrsovic and Brevnov, three meetings in the Kladov district, and a red flag was hoisted on August 1st on the police station in Kratzau. That is all that took place on August 1st, according to the reports in the Party press. There are no reports with regard to anti-war activities on August 1st from the Pilsen, Brunn, Olmutz districts, etc., from the German districts of the country, from Slovakia, from the Carpathian Ukraine, and there can be none, because such activities have as good as not taken place this year in Czechoslovakia. There was no general International Anti-War demonstration this year in Czechoslovakia, because the Party did not prepare and organise an Anti-War Day.

It is perfectly possible, without taking up much of the time of the reader, to sum up what preparations were made this year in Czechoslovakia for August 1st. In the German Party press of the C.P.Cz. there was not one line, except for the appeal of the Central European Parties. There appeared not one single call to the workers to demonstrate on August 1st, to stop work, to prepare and carry out an International Anti-War demonstration. The same is true of the central organ of the C.P.Cz., the "Rude Pravo," with the following exceptions. From July 21st, under the heading "Nineteen Years after the Great War," about half a column almost daily was devoted to material in a literary-half-literary style dealing with war preparations, without any concrete reference to August 1st. Two-thirds of these notes referred to war preparations in other imperialist countries and only one-third to Czech imperialism. On July 30th a Sunday Supplement, written in a literary style, was devoted to the question of war preparations: "the preparation of cannon fodder," for instance, in Hungary, Italy, Poland, France, England, and Yugoslavia, with the Swedish armaments industry, the war problems of the Pacific; only the introductory remarks in this supplement discussed questions of the Little Entente and Czechoslovakia, but again without direct reference to, or mention of, International Anti-War Day. From July 23rd there appeared almost daily until August 1st a line on the last page: "August 1st is the proletarian day of struggle against imperialist war." Coming incidentally like this, the "memory" of the international day of struggle was obliterated. Comrade Tomes wrote an article in the last days before August 1st, appearing in three parts, dealing with war questions which actually affect Czechoslovakia at the moment. Finally, there appeared another article dealing with the youth, one by Fritz Heckert, and the "corrected" article from the "Rundschau" mentioned above. That is all that appeared in the Central organ of the C.P.Cz. in the way of concrete "preparations" for International Anti-War Day. In the general section of the paper, too, no reference was made to August 1st. These are the only practical measures, as far as one can tell from the Party press, that were taken by the Party with regard to August 1st. In vain one looks for the concrete slogans, the appeal, the way in which August 1st should be kept in Czechoslovakia. In vain one searches for reports as to how the trades unions and other mass organisations should prepare for International Anti-War Day, as to whether the United Front Committees devoted any attention to preparations for August 1st, whether United Front Committees were elected, although there exists in Czechoslovakia a powerful movement favourable to the united front. Nothing, too, was heard from the Czech Committee of the Amsterdam Anti-War movement with regard to August 1st.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that, after such preparations, no general International Anti-War demonstration took place on International Anti-War Day, on August 1st, in Czechoslovakia. There could be none, since none was prepared, and there were no preparations, because the C.C. of the Party has struck out August 1st as International Anti-War Day from the order of the day in Czechoslovakia. The explanation as to why it has been so struck out by the C.C. from the order of the day this year in Czechoslovakia is provided by the Reichenberg "Vorwaerts" of August 1st. The following appeared in that paper on the day on which the International Anti-War Day should take place:—

"July 27th—a Mass Campaign, too, against Imperialist War.

"The mighty campaign of the toilers of Czechoslovakia against the reduction in unemployment benefit, which set in motion large masses in the week of July 27th, and above all on this day itself, was at the same time an impressive mass mobilisation against the preparations for a new imperialist war. At the numerous meetings and demonstrations that

were held in all parts of the country before, on, and immediately after July 27th, the seriousness of the situation and the necessity for a sharpened mass struggle against the imperialist war intrigues in general and the war preparations of our own bourgeoisie were pointed out. All these meetings, demonstrations, and marches were therefore at the same time a preparation, affecting broad masses of the working population, for the International day of struggle against imperialist war, on which, despite the persecution, expression is given to the will of the Czecho-slovak proletariat to intensify, under the leadership of the C.P.Cz., its struggle against imperialist war preparations."

The matter is, therefore, very simple. All those who believed that demonstrations would be held on August 1st in Czechoslovakia, as in other countries, against imperialist war, in response to the appeal of the seven Communist Parties, did not realise at all that these demonstrations had already taken place on July 27th. Quite apart from the question of international discipline in the struggle, quite apart from the fact that the decisions of the Comintern were altered without any negotiations on the matter with the Comintern, the question must be put here: **What was July 27th in Czechoslovakia?** Was it a day of struggle against imperialist war? Was it, so to speak, a substitute for August 1st? There can be no question of that. On July 27th there took place in Czechoslovakia a mighty, widespread campaign of protest against the reduction in unemployment benefit and against the dictatorship of emergency decrees of the government. The building trades workers in many places entered upon a general strike, a number of other works joined them, and in the whole country there took place mighty demonstrations for the demands raised. The appeal for the campaign, which was made by the Red building trades workers' union and the union of carpenters, read as follows:—

The cancellation of the proposed emergency decree for the reduction of unemployment benefit!

In the appeal of the C.C. of the C.P.Cz. and the Red trades unions, urging the rest of the workers to join the building trades workers, the demands for this struggle were formulated as follows:—

- Repeal of the emergency decree!
- Not a heller off unemployment benefit!
- Take from the rich, give to the poor!
- Away with the dictatorship of emergency decrees!

At the end of this appeal the importance of this campaign was summed up as follows:—

The strike on July 27th must show the bourgeoisie the strength and determination of the united proletariat!

July 27th must be the beginning of a united campaign of defence and the united struggle for liberation from the hunger, need, and misery of the dying capitalist system.

Down tools, all of you, on July 27th, and go into the streets.

Long live the proletarian united front!

Neither in the appeal of the two trades unions nor in the appeal of the C.C. of the Party did the word "war" appear at all, not to mention any linking up of the slogans against the robbing of unemployment benefit and the dictatorship emergency decrees, with the slogans against war. In the broader campaign for the preparation of the general strike of the building trades workers and the entire campaign on July 27th there was no linking up of these with the struggle against imperialist war. And then, subsequently, on August 1, July 27 is designated as "a mass campaign, too, against imperialist war" that shall be a substitute for August 1st. Here only one question is raised: What do the comrades mean by a struggle against imperialist war? What has been demonstrated in Czechoslovakia in relation to August 1st is a sliding into the worst form of opportunism in the question of the struggle against imperialist war, and nothing else. It is impossible, without slipping into opportunism, to carry on the struggle against bourgeois militarism and imperialist war without the employment of special methods and forms of struggle. The necessary linking up of this struggle with the economic day-to-day struggles does not imply the stifling of the special anti-war work in the every-day class struggle for the economic demands of the working class.

In this connection it will also be comprehensible why the comrades from the C.C. of the C.P.Cz., instead of organising August 1st, raised opposition to the article in the "Rundschau"

mentioned at the beginning, and in what connection the corrections stood which they made in the "Meztisker" without the approval of the editors. It seemed necessary for the C.P.Cz., which knows how to carry on mass campaigns for economic demands—and this was therefore done in the article—to emphasise the tasks of the C.P.Cz. for August 1st from the point of view of the "special struggle against war," as stated in the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress, which we have to carry on in our general struggle against the bourgeoisie. The "correctors" asserted that these tasks were "improvised" and were perhaps excellent for the C.P. of Hindustan, but not for the C.P.Cz. Their "corrections" consisted in the fact that they emphasised the struggle for the economic day-to-day demands for August 1st as against the tasks of the special struggle against imperialist war, and expatiated on the relation of the general class struggle against the bourgeoisie with the struggle against imperialist war. The comrades, as this year's August 1st in Czechoslovakia as an illustration of their theoretical conceptions proves in the most palpable way, did not subordinate their entire activities to the winning over, the preparation and the organisation of the masses for the struggle against imperialist war, as demanded by the Sixth World Congress, but allowed the special struggle against imperialist war to be fused in the general class struggle.

There is also the fact that the "Rude Pravo," without encountering the fiercest resistance and without being corrected, wrote some weeks before August 1st, in relation to Litvinov's pact with the Little Entente, of a postponement of war as a result of this pact. The taking up of such an attitude not only betrays a complete political misunderstanding of such pacts, but results practically in lulling the masses, weakening their vigilance, and thereby also weakening the struggle against imperialist war. **These are the real causes which led to the liquidation of August 1st in Czechoslovakia this year.** Such an attitude towards the struggle against imperialist war is contrary to all the resolutions of the Comintern and of the last Party Congress of the C.P.Cz., and is, above all, exceedingly dangerous in the present situation. It is a question of sliding into the worst opportunism in one of the most important questions of the revolutionary class struggle, in the question of the struggle against imperialist war. The C.C. of the C.P.Cz. must thoroughly correct this serious political mistake, must mobilise the whole Party for the overcoming of this mistake, and create a guarantee that in so decisive a question as the struggle against imperialist war the line of the Comintern shall be carried out and no deviation from this line tolerated.

In the Camp of Social Democracy

The Anti-Fascist Struggle and Social Fascism

By A. Karolski

An important process is going on in the ranks of the working class, and particularly amongst the social-democratic workers, in connection with the setting up of the fascist dictatorship in Germany. Not only are millions of workers who formerly followed the German Social Democratic Party rapidly awakening to the real situation, but throughout the whole of the Second International the masses feel instinctively that the happenings in Germany are of international significance, and that the bankruptcy of the German S.D.P. has tremendously accelerated the development of the whole Second International towards bankruptcy.

Following on the complete capitulation of the German S.D.P. to Hitler in the first stages of the fascist seizure of power up to the 1st May (seizure of the trade unions) and the prohibition of the German S.D.P., the press of the Second International did its best to dissociate itself with all possible means from the policy of the German S.D.P. in order in this way to take into consideration the indignation of the social-democratic masses.

Now, however, we can observe a new tendency in the Second International. The rebellion of the social-democratic workers is turning not only against the capitulation of the German S.D.P., but also against the fascist tendencies evident in a whole series of Social Democratic Parties, tendencies which the leaders of these parties try to cloak with "Left-wing" manoeuvres and "Left-wing" phraseology. This is a tendency which will determine to

a great extent the course of the special conference of the Second International which is now taking place in Paris.

Two months ago the whole social-democratic press was "indignant" at the defection of the German S.D.P. to the camp of fascism, and to-day the same press is full of articles "combating" the fascist tendencies which are openly appearing in almost all the Social Democratic Parties of Europe. This process can be observed most plainly in the French Socialist Party, which is to-day politically the most decisive party of the Second International. Renaudel and Marquet have openly shown their fascist visage.

However, the "struggle" between the Right-wing and the "Left-wing" in the Second International is not on a question of principle, but on one of tactics, as Vandervelde admits in his recent article on the congress of the Second International. It is "nothing but a question of tactical differences of opinion," he writes, and for once we can agree with him completely, because in the question of the support of French imperialism, the question of the establishment of "civil peace," the question of the defence of native country, and, what is still more important, in the question of stifling the process of radicalisation in the ranks of the workers, there was no difference of opinion. Differences of opinion arose solely in connection with the methods to be adopted to call a halt to this process of radicalisation.

The fascist tendencies were also very clearly expressed as a result of the events in Germany in those Social Democratic Parties which have representatives in the Cabinets of their respective countries. In the Scandinavian countries, in Sweden and Denmark, the social-democratic governments are carrying out a whole series of fascist measures and justify them with the necessity of "defending democracy against the fascist danger."

These tendencies are also visible in the Dutch Social Democratic Party. Two pamphlets have been published in Holland recently by social democrats: one by Duys and the other by Dr. Boumann entitled "Socialism at the Crossroads." The latter pamphlet is completely fascist. The author finds that the German and Italian fascist movements are in reality socialist movements, and that the fascist measures adopted by the Coolijn government in Holland are in reality socialist measures.

However, these increasing fascist tendencies are accompanied by a new spate of "Left-wing" manoeuvres in order to retain their hold of the masses. Two months ago the social-democratic press outside Germany was sharply criticising the German S.D.P.; to-day it is boosting the new "oppositional" German S.D.P., without, however, ceasing to attack the Germans, because this is in the interests of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries. At the same time attempts are being made to draw the attention of the social-democratic workers outside Germany away from the fascist tendencies in their own parties. The new slogan of the Social Democratic Parties is: "The Communists are responsible for Hitler's coming to power!" This slogan has been taken up by the Social Democratic Parties, at the proposal of Trotsky, who was the first to issue it and who slanders the Communist International and the German Communist Party in his every utterance. He is also now engaged in whitewashing the German S.D.P. In contradiction not only to the Communist International and the Communist Parties, but even to the social-democratic newspapers of Western Europe, Trotsky declares in the "Neue Weltbuehne" of the 13th July that: "the task of fascism was to save the bourgeoisie from the social democracy."

In other words, the only anti-fascist force in Germany which was dangerous for the bourgeoisie and which had to be smashed in order to rescue the bourgeoisie was, and is according to Trotsky, the social democracy! This thesis of Trotsky was eagerly taken up by all Social Democratic Parties and by the German S.D.P. itself and became the centre point of their propaganda. At the congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Brussels it was also taken up and strongly defended by the reformist leaders. The Dutch delegate Cuiper complained that the struggle against the Communists was not energetic enough and reported proudly that in Holland the S.D.P. had formed a special commission to intensify the struggle against Communism.

Kautzky is naturally continuing his counter-revolutionary policy in the present situation, although the "bright jewel of the Second International," the German S.D.P., lies in moral and political ruins, and although the whole of the Second International is collapsing. He goes even farther: he declares that everything is in the best of order, that everything that is had to be, and he seeks to provide this point of view with a theoretical basis.

The social-democratic newspaper in Saarbruecken publishes a short article by Kautzky entitled "Concerning Resistance by Force." In this article Kautzky takes over the bourgeois theory that every counter-revolutionary movement proceeds according to strict laws of development. He then dons the mantle of objectivity and develops a fatalistic theory to the effect that everything which has happened in Germany has proceeded along these strictly logical lines and that therefore it is pointless to search for a scapegoat. He writes:—

"The victory of the counter-revolutionaries in a civil war means not the introduction, but the conclusion of a revolutionary movement. Such victories are prepared by a change in the attitude of large masses of the population who have lost their confidence in the revolution or have even adopted a hostile attitude towards it because they have been disappointed by it or because they feel that it endangers them."

This is Kautzky's explanation for the victory of the Hitler government in Germany. He wants us to believe that there is no sense in our searching for those responsible, for the simple reason that, according to him, no one is responsible. What has happened is the result of logical development, is fate and a necessity. In order to whitewash the social democracy Kautzky takes refuge in a new swindle. Everyone knows that up to Hitler's accession to power in Germany the social democracy, with Karl Kautzky at its head, pretended to regard the German Communist Party as negligible, and not as a factor to be taken seriously in the constellation of class forces in Germany. Now, however, Kautzky finds it convenient to go to the other extreme, and he compares purely arithmetically the six million votes polled by the Communist Party with the seven million votes polled by the Social Democratic Party, and places the influence of the Communist Party on the decisive sections of the proletariat on a level with the influence of the Social Democratic Party. He writes:—

"Condemnation must not confine itself to the social democracy, but it must include the Communist Party, which was much stronger in Germany than anywhere else, and was even for a time as strong as the social democracy."

The Communist Party of Germany was, in fact, a great mass Party and it had influence over millions of workers, and it was within an ace of winning the decisive sections of the workers, but the German C.P. did not succeed in winning over the majority of the decisive sections of the workers who were to be found in the trade unions and in the factories. Eighty-seven per cent. of all seats on the factory councils were still in the hands of the social democrats. These decisive sections of the workers were still, unfortunately, in their majority under the influence of the S.D.P. and were therefore not prepared to adopt the slogans of the C.P. for a general strike and armed insurrection. As the C.P. was rapidly advancing towards winning the majority of the working class the bourgeoisie accelerated its own defensive measures and established a fascist dictatorship in order to put an end to this process. Any attempt on the part of the German C.P. to take up the decisive struggle against the counter-revolution alone without the support of the majority of the working class would have been adventurism. Therefore the responsibility, the sole responsibility, for the fact that a victorious revolutionary insurrection did not take place in Germany rests on the shoulders of the social democracy, which did everything in its power to deliver the masses into the hands of the fascists.

Karl Kautzky has taken up the role of apologist and justifier of every counter-revolution in order to hold the masses back from the struggle. The last part of his article, in which he deals with the reasons for Hitler's accession to power and in which he defends and justifies the counter-revolutionary tactics of the social democracy, ends with the following paragraph:—

"At first glance it might seem that the notorious 'Lieutenant with ten men' had been sufficient in July, 1932, to overthrow the German social democracy. In reality it was the ceaseless growth of national-socialist thought and feeling throughout the whole population in Germany which depressed the fighting capacities of the class-conscious proletariat, both social-democratic and Communist." (Underlined by the author.)

In all his works Marx taught the workers that force is the midwife of human development. Karl Kautzky, who has vulgarised and falsified Marxism for fifty years, now appears as the

defender of Loebe, Ebert and the others who sank their knees to Hitler. He provides a theoretical basis for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in the heart of Europe and declares that it was the result of the growth of "national-socialist thought and feeling."

After all the efforts of the German S.D.P. to get itself linked up in the fascist system, after all the praises bestowed on Hitler and Goebbels both inside and outside the Reichstag, it did not succeed in making the millions of social-democratic and reformist workers willing tools of fascism. The Nazis carried through their conception of the "totality" State and prohibited all parties outside their own, including the S.D.P. And from this fact resulted the new tasks which the S.D.P. has set itself. The programmatic pamphlet of the new central committee of the German S.D.P. begins with the following sentences:—

"On the 22nd June the Social Democratic Party was **prohibited** by its national-socialist opponents. With this action all discussions concerning subordination to the fascist system, toleration or co-operation have been settled. The system of a totalitarian fascist State recognises no factors of State will outside the ruling party."

The **prohibition** was thus the point from which the "opposition" of the German S.D.P. began, otherwise it might have gone on tolerating, approving, supporting and "fighting" to be recognised as one of the "factors of State will." The whole pamphlet is a long justification of the fourteen years of coalition policy pursued by the German S.D.P., the policy of the "lesser evil," the policy of loyalty to the Weimar Constitution, etc. But the S.D.P. deliberately ignores the fact that bourgeois democracy developed into fascism. The "rejuvenated" S.D.P. continues along the old path of glorifying and praising the corrupt and anti-proletarian system of exploitation set up by bourgeois democracy. The masses are expected to make a revolution and shed their blood for this system.

In order to attain this aim the pamphlet proclaims "a spiritual and mental revolution" against Hitler until the "fateful hour" shall strike when the masses will once again pick the chestnuts out of the fire for Messrs. Wels, Stampfer, Breitscheid, etc. And up to that "fateful hour" everything is to be done to hold back the masses from Communism. The whole propaganda of the S.D.P. in all its newspapers centres round this problem of the **struggle against Communism**. The bankrupt leaders of the German S.D.P. want to keep the rebellious social democratic workers behind them still and stifle every discussion on the treachery of the S.D.P. before it can develop. For this reason the membership is to be robbed of every right to exercise any influence on the policy of the Central Committee and the **fascist principle of leadership** is to be established on the ruins of the German S.D.P. "the functions of the leadership must be more prominent than before. Initiative and orders, work instead of discussions, the strictest discipline with regard to all instructions."

The social democratic workers are expected to give this little clique of bankrupt leaders a complete and general amnesty for all their crimes, not to discuss either the present or the past, and to carry out all the instructions of this clique without question. In this way the masses are to carry on a struggle for a fascism cloaked in radical garments, for what else are the concluding slogans of this platform if not semi-fascist?

"We don't want war; we want peace, both at home and abroad. We want a **strong** people's government which will deal sternly with all supporters of despotism and which will suppress all organisations based on violence against freedom. We want a planned economic system free of crises. We appeal therefore to the people of all classes: Make Germany once again into a free country in which the German people can again raise its head proudly as a free people amongst free peoples."

This is the sort of "Revolution against Hitler" that the "rejuvenated" S.D.P. central committee is planning. However, the social-democratic workers have paid too heavily for the last fifteen years of social-democratic policy in Germany to be taken in so easily by such a clumsy social-fascist programme.

The remnants of the social democracy which still remain in Germany are well aware of the fact that this platform of the "rejuvenated" central committee will tempt no one, and that something new has to be said to the masses if the flood of the

social-democratic workers into the camp of Communism is to be prevented. And, in fact, a whole series of hypocritical "Left-wing" documents are appearing dissociating themselves from the central committee, condemning its policy and dealing critically with the past, whilst at the same time conducting a furious campaign against the Communist Party in order to hold back the masses from the camp of Communism.

The "Neue Vorwaerts," No. 6, publishes a discussion article by an anonymous social democrat under the title "Revolution against Hitler—and what then?" polemising against the new central committee. The newly-baked strategist knows very well that the masses of the workers hate the social-democratic policy of defending the Weimar Republic, and therefore he writes:—

"Whoever tries to talk to the workers in Germany to-day about democracy meets with a pitying smile. All that it past, God himself could not restore the Weimar Constitution to life."

The "Left-wing" polemist then presents, as against the platform of the new central committee, a hotch-potch of his own. He even talks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, though, naturally, not a dictatorship according to the Bolshevik plan, because: "Thanks to the highly-developed capitalist structure of Germany, we have not, like Russia, to drag a leaden weight of 110 million peasants at our heels, an inert mass which would crush the ten million industrial workers should they seize power." The donkey's ears of Menshevism poke out clearly under the hat of this rabid "revolutionary," and he closes his little attempt with the slogan: "Unification of the German working class under the banner of the social democracy!" To cut short his whole rigmarole, what he means is that the clumsy platform of the "rejuvenated" central committee is not good enough to hold the masses to "the banner of the social democracy," what is needed also is a little criticism and even a few non-committal phrases about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is no doubt that the "Left-wing" manoeuvre of the social democracy in all countries expresses the tremendous dissatisfaction of the social-democratic masses at the treachery of their leaders. Special tasks result from this for us. The fact that the German S.D.P. is also being persecuted at the moment does not alter its objective role in the least. It would be superficial to deny the differences, the friction, the quarrelling, and even the struggle which is going on between fascism and social fascism. The decisive necessity is to **show the masses the content of this struggle. Both sides are fighting for a capitalist way out of the crisis and both sides are fighting against the revolutionary advance of the masses.** The struggle is not one of principle, but one of methods. The line of the struggle in the Social Democratic Parties does not run between Léon Blum and Renaudel, or between Bienstock and Stampfer, but between the **social democratic workers on the one hand and Blum, Renaudel, Bienstock and Stampfer on the other.** However, unfortunately, only a small section of the social-democratic workers realise this at the moment. It is the task of all anti-fascists to make the millions of social-democratic workers realise the true state of affairs. Therefore we say that **our main blow must be delivered at the most dangerous section of social fascism, namely, against its pseudo "Left-wing,"** which makes it increasingly difficult for the masses to appreciate the social fascist content of the whole of the social-democratic policy.

(To be concluded)

6,000 French Workers take part in the Paris Demonstration Against the Second International—for the Communist International

Paris, 21st August

The Communist Party of France organised a gigantic counter-demonstration in Paris on the occasion of the opening of the conference of the Second International. Cachin spoke for the French C.P., Campbell for the English, and representatives of the Czech, Belgian, Spanish, Italian, and Swiss Communist Parties for their parties. Special enthusiasm was aroused by the speech of a representative of the German Communist Party, who was able to attend the demonstration. The addresses were received with enthusiastic applause, and the whole demonstration evidenced the profound allegiance of the participants to the Communist International.

19th International Youth Day

Raise High the Banner of Proletarian Internationalism

The celebration of International Youth Day this year will take place in international conditions of extreme complexity and intensity.

In determining the international situation, the fundamental and most important factor is the question of the relationship of forces between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union.

Even last year the Twelfth Plenum of the Comintern noted in its decisions that a sharp change had taken place in the relationship of forces between the countries of socialism and capitalism. This change took place owing to the gigantic victories secured by the working class of the Soviet Union and the peasants in the collective farms under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party and its Leninist C.C., led by Comrade Stalin.

The successes achieved on the front of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. signify that the workers and the peasants in the collective farms are looking forward with confidence to the future.

In the Soviet Union there is no unemployment. The distinction between rich and poor farmers in the villages has been eradicated. The peasants in the collective farms are becoming well-to-do farmers.

The picture is entirely different in the capitalist world. The bourgeoisie have been unable to emerge from the crisis. There is an ever greater reduction in industrial output. The sown area is being cut down. The army of the unemployed and starving workers is increasing. The bourgeoisie are seeking a way out of the crisis. They are seeking for a way to preserve their profits.

Capitalism is compelled to reckon with the Soviet Union, to sign treaties and to trade with it. However, it would be opportunism to fail to see that the **danger of an attack on the Soviet Union is increasing** and that a counter-revolutionary war against the fatherland of the proletariat of the whole world is being furiously prepared behind the scenes of the various conferences and the League of Nations.

Therefore, one of the basic slogans of the Nineteenth I.Y.D. must be the slogan of uniting the millions of youth and mobilising them in defence of the Soviet Union, for the struggle against the preparations for a counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet war.

In preparing for war against the Soviet Union and not losing the hope of emerging from the crisis and strengthening their position at its expense, the bourgeoisie at the present day are carrying on a big offensive against the vital interests of the working class and are passing on to open civil war.

The army of the unemployed has frightfully increased. The wages of the workers have been greatly reduced. The standard of living of the working class has fallen and day by day the economic situation of the working class and the toilers, and consequently of the youth, is getting worse. The bourgeoisie, while preserving their profits, are cutting the wages of the workers, reducing the pitiful unemployment relief, cutting down the general fund of social insurance, and reply by terror, prison and shooting to the slightest expression of discontent by the workers. **The rising generation of young workers are doomed to unemployment.** Young workers are lucky in capitalist countries if they can get a job. The bourgeoisie cannot provide work for the rising generation and for the working class. In place of work they are introducing a system of forced labour. **This forced labour, which is being introduced in all capitalist countries and which has taken on specially extensive forms in Germany in connection with the coming of Hitler to power, is based on the strivings of the bourgeoisie to break the increasing political activity of the youth and train them in a spirit of slavery.**

The bourgeoisie have set up an enormous number of various youth organisations. These organisations have millions of members. At the basis of the activity of these organisations, as in the case of forced labour camps, is the preparation of the youth for new imperialist wars and the training of them in the chauvinist and nationalist spirit. However, the development of the class struggle shows that neither these mass bourgeois youth organisa-

tions, nor forced labour, nor terror can stop the youth in their struggle for their economic and political interests. The revolutionary upsurge in all capitalist countries, which the bourgeoisie as in Germany imagine they can stop by the establishment of an open bloody fascist dictatorship, finds expression in strikes, revolutionary activity by the workers and peasants. The class struggles are becoming ever larger and more intense. In these class battles the youth take an active part, irrespective of the organisation they belong to. One of the main slogans in preparing and conducting International Youth Day should be the slogan of **strengthening and widening the united front of the toiling youth in the struggle against the attacking bourgeoisie.**

No successful mobilisation of the toiling masses of youth in defence of the Soviet Union can be carried on without a struggle against fascism, for fascism and socialism are deadly enemies.

The task of the Communist Youth Leagues is to explain to the broad masses of youth the forms and the manner in which fascism is developing in their own country and what it brings for the workers, the unemployed and all the toiling youth. The task is not only to explain the essence of the danger of fascism, but also to mobilise the youth for a struggle against it. This cannot be done without a struggle, without work in the mass bourgeois youth organisations, which are the basis for fascism and which educate the youth in a fascist and militarist spirit.

It should also be firmly remembered that a successful struggle cannot be carried on against new imperialist wars, which is one of the fundamental tasks of the preparations for I.Y.D. and of our movement, without a struggle against fascism.

The coming of Hitler to power accentuated the international situation in Europe, which will become all the more intense as the economic crisis deepens.

Nineteenth I.Y.D. will take place in the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilisation, in the conditions of the transition to a new cycle of wars and revolutions. This gives special political significance both to preparatory work and to the conducting of I.Y.D.

For the Communist Youth Leagues, I.Y.D. is a militant day of review, a business-like review of our forces and a mobilisation of the youth for the struggle against capitalism.

The Young Communist Leagues must in practice test the strength of their positions in the factories.

In places where the Y.C.L.ers work badly in the factories, in places where they prepare for I.Y.D. and forget that the centre of the work must be in the factories, it may be said in advance that the political line of such organisations and such Y.C.L.ers does not correspond either to the general line of the Comintern and the Y.C.I. or their own Party.

The slightest economic and political demands of the youth should serve as the basis for developing mass work among the youth, for the organisation of the youth to conduct strikes and for uniting their forces in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. It should not be forgotten for a single minute that the **chief enemy** in the struggle for the unity of the working class and therefore of the youth in the fight against capitalism is social democracy, the Second International and its satellite, the Young Socialist International.

In face of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, social democracy and the Y.S.I. shamefully capitulated. They not only capitulated, but they hindered the working class in uniting for the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. Both German social democracy and the socialist youth rejected the proposal of the German Communist Party for the united front.

The leaders of the Y.S.I., the Central Committee of the socialist youth of all capitalist countries, **prohibited** the young socialists from entering into any negotiations whatever with Y.C.L.ers on the united front.

The only condition which the Y.C.L.ers have put and still put to the socialist youth is the condition that there will be a real con-

crete struggle against capitalism and not a struggle in words and on paper.

Many rank and file members of the young socialist organisations, despite the prohibition of their leading organs, are beginning to struggle side by side with the Y.C.L.ers against the common class enemy, the bourgeoisie. It is precisely this which is frightening the leaders of the Y.S.I. The leaders of the Y.S.I. have a united front with the bourgeoisie. They carry on a social-fascist policy, splitting the toiling youth and thus weakening their class struggle.

There can be no doubt that the leaders of the Y.S.I. will forbid their members to participate in the revolutionary activity of the youth on I.Y.D.

The task of the Y.C.L. is to appeal over the heads of the Y.S.I. leaders to the broad masses of the youth who are still under social democratic and reformist influence, and call on them for joint actions in the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union, in the struggle against the danger of fascism, against the new imperialist wars which are in preparation, against capitalist oppression, for socialism.

The idea of holding an annual International Youth Day arose about 30 years ago. However, it was in 1915, at the height of the imperialist war, that the revolutionary youth held I.Y.D. for the first time. It required 15 years to carry out this idea which had arisen in the midst of the Second International. It required still longer for International Youth Day to become a genuine proletarian international fighting day of the toiling masses of the entire world. This is explained by the fact that the opportunist leaders of the Second International, the social democratic parties, for long years disrupted the attempts of the youth to unite on an international scale.

However, the revolutionary youth realised the necessity to unite their forces in the struggle against imperialism, despite the wishes of the leaders of the Second International, and in 1915 gathered at an International Conference in the town of Berne. This conference discussed such questions as the further independent development of the youth movement, and further international struggle against imperialism.

The decisions of the conference were general and not concrete, and to a considerable extent were of a pacifist nature. However, the very fact of the calling of this conference proved that the leaders of the Second International had not been able to prevent the germination of the revolutionary youth movement. The conference made a historic decision—to hold International Youth Day every year. Though the social democrats had been able to stop I.Y.D. being conducted before the imperialist war, they were unable to do this during this war.

Seeing the "danger" that the youth might go over to Lenin, to Bolshevism, a danger which had grown all the more in connection with the formation of the Young Communist International on the initiative of the leaders of the International proletariat, social democracy against its own will took the line of forming an opportunist international youth organisation.

The basic idea and aim of the existence and activity of the Y.S.I. is to paralyse the political activity of the youth, to subordinate them to the bourgeoisie and hinder the penetration of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism among the masses of toiling youth.

Precisely for this reason it is necessary to fight with still greater energy for every young worker, employed or unemployed, for every one of the toiling youth who has not yet realised his class tasks and who is in the ranks of the Y.S.I.

For the revolutionary youth, International Youth Day is not only a festival but is a day of class struggle.

The youth of the U.S.S.R. will demonstrate their forces and their loyalty to the Communist Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, freely and without fear, and assured of the approaching victory of socialism and the proletarian revolution throughout the world.

With the same unwavering confidence in the approaching victory of the proletariat, the revolutionary youth will demonstrate in the streets of capitalist countries.

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International establishes September 1 as the annual date for holding I.Y.D. This decision of the E.C.Y.C.I. is based above all on the fact that I.Y.D. is a day of struggle. The representatives of the German, Czechoslovakian, Polish and other European Leagues correctly pointed out that on Sundays the factories are not at work, and they

could not concentrate in the development of mass work on the factories at the time of I.Y.D. no matter how much they wished.

Strikes cannot be organised on Sundays in the factories. The young workers are scattered in various parts of the towns and cannot be brought fully into meetings and demonstrations.

The revolutionary youth are preparing for I.Y.D. under the leadership of the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie are also preparing for I.Y.D. The bourgeoisie are mobilising all reactionary forces, the police and the gendarmes to disrupt I.Y.D.

The bourgeoisie expect that they will get plentiful support from the Y.S.I., which will also act in the interests of the bourgeoisie by other methods inside the youth movement, trying to disrupt the unity of the working youth in conducting I.Y.D.

However, neither the fascist terror nor the frenzy of the bourgeoisie, nor social-fascist demagoguery can tear from the hands of the revolutionary youth the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of Lenin.

With the banner of Lenin the youth will come out onto the streets of the towns and villages in mighty columns and will celebrate Nineteenth International Youth Day.

With the banner of proletarian internationalism, the youth will come on to the barricades, and together with the working class will strike a shattering blow at the fascist dictatorship and the domination of capitalism throughout the world.

Appeal of the E.C.Y.C.I. for International Youth Day

To the young workers, unemployed, peasants and students.

To the soldiers, sailors and conscripts.

To the youth of all oppressed nationalities.

To members of the Socialist Youth, Christian organisations and the youth tricked by the fascists.

To the toiling youth of the entire world.

The Young Communist International sends out to you a fighting revolutionary call to come out onto the streets on Nineteenth International Youth Day, September 1, and with powerful columns and militant strikes to take action against the bloody fascist dictatorship, against the war danger, in defence of the U.S.S.R., against the starvation, poverty and enslavement of millions of toilers.

Young toilers!

Why are we Y.C.L.ers sending to you the call to struggle? In whose interests and for what demands should you struggle?

Four years of the devastating crisis have thrown tens of millions of proletarians and peasants into the gulf of poverty and starvation. There is an army of millions of unemployed, doomed to hunger, poverty and want. Youngsters who finish school at once fall into this army of the unemployed. The majority of the young generation of the working class have no possibility of finding work.

During the best years of their life, their youth, the young workers are compulsorily inactive, in poverty and starvation. The bourgeoisie mercilessly rob the last coppers from the wages and doles of your brothers and fathers, depriving you even of the crumbs which you possessed previously.

The Means Test alone in England has removed half a million young workers from the dole. The fascists in Germany and the bourgeoisie in almost all capitalist countries are driving hundreds of thousands of young workers into forced labour camps, onto convict work, handing them over to the mercies of fascist officers for military training, for the preparation of cannon fodder.

Those who are "lucky" enough to have a job in the factories expect dismissal day by day. Their miserable wages are reduced and for any attempt to struggle they are thrown out of the factories.

Apprentices in trade schools have to study without payment, and to carry out the work of adult workers for miserable wages. On finishing school they cannot get a job. At present the capitalists are only interested in one qualification for the youth—to train them as future soldiers.

If the tortures of hunger and indignation at your oppression become unbearable and force you to protest, the police, troops and fascist gangs are sent against you to preserve "law and order" and make you respect the fatherland and the government.

You are called on to suffer privations and sacrifices for the sake of the nation and the fatherland. But the nation consists mostly of workers and peasants, those toilers who receive nothing from these sacrifices.

In the name of the nation you are forced to starve.
 In the name of the nation you are shot.
 In the name of the nation you are trained for a new war.
 Where is the way out of this situation?

The fascists inflame national distinctions, assuring you that salvation lies in the winning of new countries. They introduce forced labour. They try to destroy the revolutionary movement.

Young toilers! Do you need Polish, French, German land and colonies? Does the Polish worker live better than the German worker? Does the French worker rob the English worker? Is it not clear to you that only the capitalists gain from all this?

The Young Socialist International is an organisation which has the effrontery to call itself by the great name of socialist, and trains the youth in a slavish nationalist spirit, covering up its splitting policy with pseudo-revolutionary phrases.

The Catholic youth organisations, etc., call on you to be patient in the hope of a better future which the capitalists will "give" you.

What is the value of all these speeches? You all see this by the example of Germany. The social democrats were in power in Prussia. Did this help the youth in any way? It was precisely the social democrats who, by persecuting the revolutionary organisations, splitting the working class, calling on the workers to vote for Hindenburg, helped the fascists to come to power.

You can see by the example of Italy, Poland and Germany what fascism can give to the youth. The gangs of Hitler trample in blood every attempt of the old or young workers to fight against capitalism. Comrade Thaelmann, the leader of the working class in Germany, is menaced with the fate of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The old and young workers have lost all the political rights which they previously won. The Communist Party, the Y.C.L. and other revolutionary organisations have been driven underground.

There is only one country in the world where there is proletarian democracy, where the workers, peasants and youth can look boldly into the future and are confident of the morrow. This is the U.S.S.R.

On the basis of a successful fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan in four years, the toilers of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin, set before themselves new tasks, unprecedented in the history of mankind—the practical construction of classless socialist society.

The Soviet Union has become a powerful industrial country. On the basis of the collectivisation of agriculture, the proletariat have liquidated the kulaks, the fierce class enemy of socialism in construction.

The U.S.S.R. is the only country where there is no crisis, where industry, agriculture, technique and culture are prosperous.

The gaze of the toilers of the entire world is turned towards the Soviet Union.

The world now resembles a powder magazine.

In the Far East and in South America, war has been raging for more than two years. All the international conferences still further display the antagonisms between the capitalist governments.

In their efforts to find a way out of the crisis, the bourgeoisie are preparing a new world war for markets.

The youth will form the main cadres in this war.

Young workers, peasants, employees and students, the "honour" is now being prepared for you to be the first to fall on the field of battle in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

For this purpose a compulsory system of the fascisation and militarisation of the youth has been introduced.

In the forced labour camps, in the pre-conscription organisations, in sporting and other leagues, in the schools and universities, everywhere you are taught the art of war, everywhere you are prepared as future soldiers in the capitalist armies.

At the **World Congress of Struggle Against War and Fascism**, which will take place on September 22, in Paris, the representatives of millions of young toilers will demonstrate their readiness to fight against imperialist war, to defend the U.S.S.R.

September 1 is **Nineteenth I.Y.D.**, the day for reviewing the fighting forces of the toiling youth. Our forces are verified in the struggle. The success of this struggle depends on our militant determination, on our organisation. We can only defend our demands in an irreconcilable class struggle.

Only by a mighty united front of all the toilers can we beat off the attack of fascism.

Only the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat will liberate you from the chains of slavery, hunger and poverty.

Join in the united front of struggle around the only revolutionary organisation of the working class—the Communist Party—which leads you to the final victory over capital.

The forces of revolution are growing and strengthening throughout the world. In Germany, under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party, the working class are preparing for victory over the fascists. In China the Red Army has successfully repulsed the 5th campaign of the Kuomintang murderers. The Soviets of China have obtained new and decisive successes. The revolution is widening in Spain. The front of the strike struggle is growing in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries. In India the British government has been forced to send regular troops against rebellious provinces.

Young toilers! Form the united front of struggle for your economic and political demands, against war and fascism. Join the Young Communist League!

Y.C.L.ers! Go more boldly into the factories, the forced labour camps, the schools, the army, the mass youth organisations, and carry on revolutionary work there.

The E.C. of the Young Communist International calls on all the toiling youth on September 1 for demonstrations, strikes and fighting activity against fascism, war and starvation.

Against nationalism and chauvinism. Raise higher the banner of the class struggle and the militant internationalism of the toiling youth of all countries!

Down with the fascist dictatorship of hunger, poverty and terror! Shame to the traitors of the working class, the leaders of the Second International and the Y.S.I., who strike the revolutionary proletariat in the back.

We send our fighting revolutionary greetings to the best fighters for the cause of the working class who are pining in the fascist dungeons. We demand the liberation of Comrade Thaelmann and other political prisoners.

We greet the heroic Y.C.L.s of Germany, Japan, Poland and China, and through them the revolutionary youth of the whole world.

Revolutionary greetings to the shock brigade of the international proletariat, the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R., the Bolshevik Party, the Leninist Y.C.L., and the leader of the working class of the whole world, Comrade Stalin.

Young proletarians of all countries!

Join under the banner of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of the Comintern and the Y.C.I.!

Greetings to Nineteenth I.Y.D.!

Long live the world proletarian revolution!

Executive Committee, Young Communist International.

In the International

What is the Greatest Hindrance to the Work of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia at the Present Time?

By G. Smolyansky

(Conclusion)

The **second conclusion** is: The Czech C.P. must deal, with the utmost clearness and on Bolshevik principles, with the question of the united front, of its attitude towards social democracy, and the methods of struggle for winning over the social democratic workers. At the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Gottwald formulated this task with truly Bolshevik precision:—

"Those who approach the masses without taking their state of mind into account, will work in vain. But does this mean that we are to adapt ourselves to the tendencies of backward strata of the workers, or share their illusions? Not at all! . . . We must always know the tendencies of the masses, not for the purpose of adapting ourselves to them, but for the purpose of being able to overcome them by suitable methods and means, if they are expressions of the influence of the class enemy.

" . . . Do we conceal from the masses our revolutionary Communist views, principles, and attitude? Are we ashamed, so to speak, to come forward before the masses as Communists? Not at all! . . . It is our endeavour to convince the masses

by word and deed of the correctness of all our views, including the teaching of the armed insurrection.

"... It need not be said that we reject the substitution of the united front from below by a bloc policy with the social democrats. We raise only one question: how can the leading role of the Party be realised and carried out in the tactics of the united front from below?"

For the Czech C.P. this has been made a difficult task by the fact that in actual practice this Bolshevik line could only be pursued with considerable struggle, since a number of the units of the Communist Party, and especially of the Red Trade Unions, have pursued a united front policy and a method of approaching the social democratic workers which have differed essentially from the line laid down by Comrade Gottwald. It is, indeed, worth while to ask how it came about that, precisely after the magnificent unity demonstration of the Prague Metal Workers on 20th October, 1932, organised against the will of the reformist trade union officials, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Red Trade Unions suffered their greatest losses in the Prague metal undertakings, losing almost one third of their votes. And why, after the splendid mass unity actions during the miners' strikes at Brůx and Rossice, undeniably under Communist leadership, why did the Communists gain only an inconsiderable number of votes at the workers' council election, while the fascists gained considerably? This is not due to the objective difficulties in the metal working undertakings with their old and powerful social democratic organisations, as stated in the May number of the Prague "Bolshevik." The chief fault lies in the lack of leadership, by the Communists in these undertakings in the organisation, on the basis of a real united front from below, of self-defensive measures against the attacks of the employers, against mass discharges, and wage cuts. "We are few, the reformist workers are many, what can we do?"—this is the stock argument advanced by the Communists in these undertakings, showing a lack of faith in the revolutionary upsurge, in the determination of the workers to fight in the class struggle, and in the radicalisation of the social democratic workers.

There is an under-estimation of the leading role of the Communist Party; the Party conceals its countenance from the social democratic workers, and the workers' orientation is too much in the direction of a spontaneous workers' democracy, instead of the Communist Party formulating the slogans of the masses itself, as the revolutionary leader. The treacherous role played by the social democrats is not exposed sharply enough to the masses of the social democratic workers. This has been pointed out repeatedly by the Party itself, and was specially stressed by Comrade Gottwald at the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. with reference to the Ostrau organisation of the Czech C.P. In an extremely important trade union document, the appeal of the last conference of the Red Trade Unions for the united front, the disruptive and treacherous role played by the reformist trade union officials was actually ignored in the declaration made by the conference for the restoration of unity in the ranks of the workers:—

"We tear down the barriers by which the lords of capital strive to divide us, that they may be better able to exploit and oppress us."

There is not a word about the reformist trade union bureaucrats, so that the responsibility for the split in the working class is shifted from the shoulders of the reformists. And have not some trade unionists proposed the formation of "intermediate groups" between the R.T.U.O. and the masses organised in the reformist unions, so that there may be an "adaptation" to the "backward" level of the workers of the reformist unions? Does not the "Communist Review" (No. 3), in its article on "German fascism and German united front," state that:

"When he (the social democrat Chechatshek) lacks arguments, he resorts to accusing the Communists of exploiting the united front against social democracy. But the facts contradict this. . . ."

It need not be said that the united front of the Communists is no manoeuvre. It is the most important weapon for the mobilisation from below of the broad masses of the workers for the class struggle. This was the point of departure of the Comintern when it deemed it possible for the central committees of the Communist Parties to apply to the committees of the social democratic organisations, bringing concrete proposals for class action. But social democracy would not be social democracy if it were not to

reject such a real class united front; for the class struggle is the death of social democracy. And the realisation of the united front of the masses in concrete mass action always and inevitably means an exposure of the real nature of social democracy.

A large number of the actions undertaken of late show that the Czech C.P. is pursuing with increasing determination and resolution the line laid down by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in this most important question of the struggle of the Communists for the majority of the working class of Czechoslovakia and for the independent leadership of the struggles, and that it is pursuing this line on the basis of an earnest Bolshevik criticism of the errors and shortcomings of a number of organisations and units. The Czech C.P. must do everything to accelerate to the utmost the overcoming of the weaknesses shown in the practical application of united front tactics, and to overcome the errors which have formed the greatest obstacles to the launching of proletarian mass movements under the independent leadership of the Czech C.P. and the Red Trade Unions.

Third Conclusion: It would be strange if the slowing down of the development of mass actions against fascisation, and of proletarian mass actions in general, were not to lead in a number of the units of the Czech C.P. and the Red T.U. to hasty actions, passivity, and frequently to the designation of accidental and frequently backward forms of struggle as new and higher stages of the class struggle, but which in reality isolate the Party from the broad masses and fail to accomplish independent leadership of the masses. This is the case with the "hunger strikes." A wave of hunger strikes inundated a large number of mines in Czechoslovakia. They commenced in the main as a protest against the dismissal of individual workers. The workers went down the pits and declared that they would not come up again until the management withdrew the dismissals. The first of these hunger strikes took place at the "Biel" pit in the Brůx coalfield, and was against the dismissal of three miners. It ended successfully. A section of the Communist press, especially the press of the Red Unions, designated this strike as a "new" and "sharpest" method of struggle, on lines hitherto unknown; an article by Comrade Tomasko, published in the "Bolshevik" of April, states that these strikes show the Czechoslovakian workers how they may be successful in the struggle against individual discharges. The events in the "Biel" pit were compared with the strike the year before at the "Humboldt" mine, which commenced the magnificent mass movement in the Brůx coalfield. "Struggle against Hunger by Hunger"—this was the slogan proclaimed by many Communists, and especially by the leaders of the Red Unions. Comrade Schwerma, in a special article in "Rude Pravo" (30th April, 1933) refers to this strike as follows:—

"Whilst the reformist leaders declare that struggles are entirely impossible during the period of economic crisis, and whilst they are endeavouring to convince the working class of its helplessness, the heroic hunger strikes of the miners show us new and higher forms of the economic struggle. In this their great importance lies. . . ."

Comrade Guttman, referring to this article in the "Bolshevik" is in agreement with Comrade Tomasko on this point. Comrade Guttman refers to the experiences of the Polish Party, which is said to have developed this new and higher form of struggle in a "masterly" manner.

It cannot, however, be maintained for a moment that the Polish Party has advanced this slogan. The resolution of the C.P. of the C.P.P. opposes the "hunger strike" with the utmost decision, as a backward, primitive, and passive form of movement, having the further disadvantage of cutting off the strikers from the broad masses of the proletariat, and of hindering the extension of the movement. It is precisely the Polish Party which very rightly calls upon the Communists to overcome this backward form, to replace it by marches of the workers in the streets, by active strikes against the capitalist aggression. It is a characteristic fact that enthusiasm for hunger strikes ebbed rapidly in Czechoslovakia when the subsequent strikes of this kind proved unsuccessful. This designation by some Communists of the backward and passive hunger strike as a "higher form" of the class struggle is to be explained by the actual "hunger" for politically and materially successful mass strike struggles. This is the sole justification of the false conception of the hunger strike. The Czech C.P., which has already been able to correct those of its comrades who have fallen into this error, has the task to make fullest use of the actual upsurge in the fight-

ing capabilities of the masses and of the increasing class antagonisms in Czechoslovakia, in order to free itself of the burden of a number of distortions which have occurred in the practical application of the line of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and to lead the Communist Party at the most rapid rate to the winning of the majority of the working class and to the creation of a firm basis for victorious revolutionary struggles against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Czechoslovakia.

The Foundation Congress of the C.P. of Ireland

(Conclusion)

A Belfast delegate. The higher standard of living in Northern Ireland is based on Great Britain's monopoly position. The undermining of Britain's position leads to attacks on workers' standards. Revolutionary groups put forward perspective of mass struggle against the Labour Party's slogan of waiting until the elections. The Party also put forward the slogan that the struggle of the unemployed was part of the fight of the whole working class. We have also tended to neglect trade union work. There is discontent in the unions and prospects for the development of the rank and file movement. We have failed to build up a mass unemployed movement, except in Belfast and Dublin. We have to build up in the South and in the North. Also we have to build the joint unity of the employed and unemployed workers. The conference of railway workers showed at least a degree of success. We must have the Party paper in the struggle. It must be used to mobilise the workers and unify them. We must show that the same people are responsible for the drive against the workers in the North as for the economic blockade in the South. Thus the importance of the national struggle.

Mrs. Despard. The object of the conference is to declare and pronounce to the world that we have formed the Communist Party of Ireland. It gives me great pleasure to be present. I went to Belfast after October to "survey the scenes of the battle." The Glasgow Communists were inspired by the story of Belfast when I told them about it. We want no compromise; no reconciliation of capitalism with the working class. Compromise leads to disaster. We are going to build the C.P.I. even if we have to work underground. We are working for the future, and have the heroism of the working men and women behind us. The world is rich with productive possibilities, and those who create the wealth should share it. The danger of fascism and Hitlerism stands out, but this is only the last flutter of capitalism; it represents the fear of capitalism. I have half a century of work in the movement. This will be looked upon as an historic occasion.

M— (Dublin). The crisis in Ireland stirs the masses into action. We have the task of organising this mighty force and from the experience of the mass struggle, teaching the workers, learning from them and building the mass Party. We must seize on every manifestation of discontent. Comrade F— speaks correctly when he visualises the united front of the workers as a unity of the masses irrespective of political and religious creed, working with the Communists in the fight for daily demands. The form of the struggles of the workers and farmers will be varied. In Leitrim, cattle driving; in Cork, wage cuts; in Dublin, tenants' strikes, etc., etc. This makes it necessary that the Party studies methods of mass work and learns from the experience of the other Communists in other countries. The Party Congress and the new Central Committee must fight for the legality of the Party. Around this question will depend many other questions of Party and working class activity. The tendency to go into voluntary illegality must be combated. The Party has standing among the workers. At the Connolly commemoration meeting, the ovation was given to Comrade Murray, a representative of the Party. The workers feel that the Party will give them the clear unvacillating leadership that is needed. Hence the applause for Comrade Murray in the meeting. Illegality is a great danger. It must not be toyed with. We must show that the illegality of the C.P., if this is enforced, will soon bring illegality of all working class organisations. A German comrade states: Give fascism an inch and they will take a yard. Every manifestation of this must be fought. It is very easy for the C.P. to go illegal, but this will not

solve the problems of the working class. Now that the whole force of the reactionaries is being directed against the revolutionary movement, the question of legality is no longer one only of the C.P. The I.R.A. is threatened. The C.Y.M.S. meet and demand that not only the C.P., but the I.R.A., not only the Workers' Voice, but the An Phoblacht must be driven out of existence. We must raise the demand more sharply inside and outside the I.R.A. for legality, not drilling in the mountains but in the streets, and participation in workers' struggles. Comrades in factories and pits, etc., must learn to work underground and secure their position, while developing mass activity, but the Congress must declare for the fight for the legality of the Party.

C— (Dublin). The line of the manifesto is entirely new in Ireland and shows historical necessity for the Party. It shows not individual interests, but class interests. Distinguishes us from bourgeois and reformist parties. The sharp line will allow the workers to see this difference. In addition to the allies of the workers mentioned by Shields, the Soviets, as the workers' State, represent a most powerful ally. The workers' State settled the national question. The National and the Labour Parties, representing privileged sections of the workers, cannot lead to victory; only the best elements of the workers, steeled and immune from vacillation and deviation, grouped together in a disciplined Party, can fill this role. The workers will watch us closely and check up on our work. Re the work in the I.R.A. We say we are working there to win over the rank and file to our policy. There is a big possibility that Communists will be expelled. The only reply is increased activity in the ranks.

A woman delegate. The Party must take part in the day-to-day struggle since this is the path to national emancipation. We must show that we can gain victories for the workers. The fight for legality is necessary. The fight for legality requires mass work, in the factories and streets. De Valera said: "No open Communism would be tolerated." In preparation for the municipal election, we must conduct door to door canvassing. This is the best way to speak to the workers. If we are known as good workers on behalf of the working class, in evictions, strikes, etc., it will be difficult to attack our Party members. Connolly said the Irish workers are quick to jump from thought to action. The capitalists and the clergy fear this characteristic. The Irish workers will link themselves with the European working class.

Another delegate said: The question of the Workers' Voice is particularly necessary in view of the establishment of the Party. The Voice was responsible for the growth of the Party in Cork and elsewhere. We will no longer be able to use bourgeois channels for the distribution of paper; the Party must build up its own distribution apparatus. We must popularise the manifesto, using also the Workers' Voice. We should fight to maintain our legal status, even if we have to work underground in some country districts. The question of the legality of the Party will be tested in the coming municipal elections. We must prepare to combat attempted pogroms. One of the first tasks of the C.C. is the Workers' Voice.

Sean Murray replies to discussion. On the question of illegality, it would be dangerous to let the conception be accepted that we are underground. We must use every channel to safeguard our legal existence. We should, perhaps, have popularised more the formation of the Party, and this is the task that still stands in front of us. On the question of partition the criticism is not justified. The question of partition is bound up and included in the question of the national liberation and national unification. It was not necessary in the manifesto to deal in detail with the day-to-day activities. We must not put the question of the class struggle in opposition to the national struggle or put the latter in the background. The manifesto puts the question of the relationship correctly. Our whole strategy is laid down clearly and simply in the Manifesto.

"The Irish working class will carry on the national independence struggle to the end, attaching to itself the masses of the peasant farmers, so as to crush the power of resistance of the British imperialists, and paralyse the unreliability of the Irish capitalist class.

"The Irish proletariat will bring about a socialist revolution, attaching to itself the masses of semi-proletarian elements

in the population, so as to break the power of resistance of the capitalists, and paralyse the unreliability of the peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie."

This is the strategy which the Party must understand in the fulfilment of the tasks that lie ahead of us. The essence of Comrade Larkin's amendment is for sectarian "emphasis" on the class interests of the working class, failing to recognise that these are bound up with the whole question of the success or otherwise of the fight for national independence. The line of the manifesto is correct. The speaker declared he was also opposed to the general elimination of the word "English" from the manifesto, on the grounds that in this word is concentrated the age-long hatred of the Irish people against England. The De Valera Government will continue to manoeuvre with the view to enforcing a compromise on the British Government. The De Valera government will betray the national movement, but we should not let ourselves be disarmed if a manoeuvre takes place. The criticism on the manifesto's "failures" in connection with the Soviet Union is due to a misunderstanding of the purpose of the manifesto. The speaker expressed strong condemnation of the slanderous statements made by Carney, the delegate of the W.U.I., at the Congress, which he

characterised as anti-Party. Terrorist activity as suggested by one Cork delegate cannot take the place of mass activity by the Party and is not acceptable to the Party. On the I.R.A. the petty bourgeois leaders are directing their fire against the Communists in the movement. We cannot have a policy of resignation from the I.R.A. We need to develop the Workers' Defence Force as an avenue for the development of a wide mass movement which will defend the workers in the daily struggles. One of the first tasks of the new C.C. must be really to organise our T.U. work. On the question of finance every effort must be made to build the Party funds, as the lack of finance is strangling our work. Necessity for the delegates to get back and translate the decisions of the Congress into life, building up the Party and organising the mass struggles of the working people in the fight for the liberation of Ireland and the social and economic freedom for the toilers of Ireland.

Comrade Larkin concluded the Congress by a stirring speech, calling for the resolute going forward of the Party in the struggle to build up a mighty mass movement in Ireland, with a mass Communist Party to achieve the aims of the Party and the working class, full freedom from imperialism and Irish capitalism, and the destruction of capitalism and building of socialism.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

Why the Prospects of the Harvest are Worse in Saratovka and Grigorevka than in Isobilnoye

By our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

A Few Preliminary Remarks.

If one wants to understand the revolutionary character of the powerful socialist process of transformation in the Soviet village it is necessary to understand the whole range of the resistance which the remnants of the class enemy of the new collective order is trying to put up even to-day. The kulak could no longer succeed in holding up the victory of socialism in agriculture. But he was able to cause no little damage to the new order with his wrecking and sabotage. The destruction of part of the cattle, the partial, transitory decline in the area sown in the years 1931 and 1932, temporary difficulties which have already been overcome essentially in regard to the supply of provisions—all this was a result of the resistance of the kulaks to their liquidation as a class. In the class struggles for the socialist transformation of the countryside, there were repeated those difficulties which the working class had to overcome in the first years of the revolution, albeit on a much smaller scale and incomparably less painful and with far less sacrifices, due to the tremendous advances of socialist construction. Nevertheless, these difficulties, as those earlier ones, were used by the enemies of the international working class in the attempt to convince the toilers of the capitalist countries of the impossibility or the inevitable defeat of the socialist "experiment."

Now the spring sowing in 1933 has completely refuted the statements of the international bourgeoisie about the difficulties of the socialist transformation of the countryside: The sowing has not only exceeded the area sown in the two preceding years, but has surpassed the record area of 1930, and in quality has gone far beyond all previous sowing work in the Soviet Union.

These remarks are necessary because even among the friends and adherents of the Soviet Union abroad, the opinion is often held that the socialist transformation of the village is a legal-administrative measure, and not one of the most responsible battles of the class struggle.

Whoever thinks thus should take a trip to the south-east corner of the Middle Volga region. The three collectivised Cossack villages, Isobilnoye, Saratovka, and Grigoryevka, lie here in a triangle next to one another. The quality of the soil is the same. The technical conditions for the work are also the same: the same

machine and tractor station is at the disposal of each of the three collective farms. And as far as the laws of nature are concerned, there is no country where they are so highly valued as in the Soviet Union, where there is no belief in God or in magicians. And nevertheless—in Isobilnoye (in the colhoz "Zwilling," whose history was told in a previous article) even from a distance the fields have quite a different appearance from those of the two other villages. An observer, even if he is not very well up in agricultural affairs, will be able to predict that the colhoz in Isobilnoye will have a better harvest, if they continue to work correctly, than those in Saratovka and Grigoryevka. In Isobilnoye the whole of the spring sowing of grain was carried out in 23 days, compared with 45 days last year. On the 9th of May the completion of the sowing was celebrated with great triumph, whereas the collective farmers of Saratovka and Grigoryevka were still busy with the sowing right up into the second half of May. That in itself meant worse prospects for the harvest, greater danger in case of drought. In Isobilnoye the blades shoot up out of the ground thicker and more regularly than in the two other villages. What prevents the collective farmers of Saratovka and Grigoryevka from being just as successful in their sowing as their comrades in Isobilnoye?

1.—The Kulak as the "Adviser" of the Party Cell in the Class Struggle.

When I arrived in Saratovka, a kind of Party court was being held. The Control Commission of the district was dealing in an open meeting of the third colhoz brigade with the complaint of the collective farmer, Kutschagin, against his expulsion from the Communist Party. Ninety per cent. of those present were non-Party colhoz peasants; all the same they were asked by the Control Commission to vote as to whether their colleague, Kutschagin, in view of the accusations which had been made against him, was fit to bear the honourable name of a member of the Bolshevik Party.

The Party Cell had expelled Kutschagin on the ground that he damaged the common property by harming two colhoz horses by careless driving. He had made a politically wrong speech. He took part in the counter-revolutionary bands during the civil war. He had beaten the son of a peasant not in a collective farm. He had on his own account taken three days off work during the height of

the sowing. And finally, added to these official accusations, there were rumours in circulation that Kutschagin was a murderer, that he had murdered the husband of the peasant woman Chramzova!

The leadership of the Party Cell tried to set public opinion against Kutschagin by these accusations. The result was an icy silence on the part of those present. No one wished to speak either for or against the accusations. But this silence was also half a verdict, if not about Kutschagin. How different was the meeting which I attended in the Besentschuker colhoz, or in the neighbouring colhoz in Isobilnoye. There it did not matter how small the question was, there were a dozen who sent up their names to speak. Here, on such an important question, there was no word of agreement or dissent.

For a Bolshevik, who, of course has different ideas about democracy than a "western democrat," it is the sharpest judgment on a leadership, if its measures are carried into effect without the most active participation of the broadest masses. This silence at the meeting also had the effect of arousing doubts among the members of the Control Commission about the soundness of the accusations against Kutschagin and at the same time about the correct work of the Party Cell. The examination of the accusation then gave the following picture:—The charge of deliberately injuring the colhoz horses proved to be at least a very strong "exaggeration." The fact is that the horse, which had been driven by Kutschagin on a bad road, slipped and hurt itself, which rendered it unable to work for three days. The "politically wrong" speech consisted in the fact that Kutschagin had declared in a meeting: "If you go on against the shock-brigaders as you have against me, you will destroy their enthusiasm for shock work." The participation in counter-revolutionary fights of bandits was simply a pure invention. Kutschagin proved by means of official documents that he had fought throughout the civil war in the ranks of the Red Army against Koltshak and Denikin, and was wounded in the fight.

The history of the beating of the peasant's son was a mixture of truth and falsehood. In the year 1931 the fight for saving the cattle from the attempt of the kulaks to slaughter all cattle before they came into the possession of the colhoz, had taken on a particularly sharp form. Kutschagin was at that time one of the most energetic leaders of this struggle. When he, on the basis of the law, had confiscated the cattle of a counter-revolutionary kulak, the son of the kulak barred his way. He pushed the youth somewhat roughly away from the door of the stall, but there was no question of "bloody beating," as the youth himself acknowledged. The "murdered" husband of the "peasant" Chramzova, one of the former rich kulaks, had taken part during the civil war in the fight of the irregular White bands against Soviet power, and apparently fell in this fight. And finally, with regard to the three days' absence from work, he had not stayed away on his own account, but because the leader of the brigade had not given him any work to do.

These are the facts. Kutschagin was a shock-brigader and an active fighter against the kulaks, who could not forgive him for carrying through the policy of the Soviet power against them with determination and energy. The kulaks also know that the good active shock-brigader is their greatest enemy. Therefore they spread rumours calculated to discredit him in the eyes of the other members of the colhoz. And the leadership of the Party Cell, which here apparently consisted not of real Bolshevik class fighters, but of short-sighted people, did not ascertain the source of these rumours. It had rather used them to settle with Kutschagin, whose activity and vigorous criticism was irksome and disturbed them in their quiet, easy way of living.

Thus the Party Cell was drawn in the wake of the kulaks. They persecuted one of the best of the peasants in the colhoz, and one of the best Communists as a result of the intrigues of the kulaks and in the interests of the kulaks. Naturally that had

taken all the desire for shock-brigade work from the other members of the colhoz—as Kutschagin said in his "anti-Soviet" speech: The work was carried on without mass initiative or mutual control; socialist competition was naturally unknown here. Why trouble themselves when the most active peasant in the colhoz only suffered blame for his activities? Self-criticism, the life-nerve of proletarian democracy, was paralysed? Why criticise, when those who criticise are only treated as counter-revolutionaries? This was the opinion of the collective peasants of Saratova up to the appearance of the Control Commission. When the Commission rehabilitated Kutschagin and recommended the leadership of the Party Cell "to the attention of the Party Cleansing Commission," the mood changed suddenly. During the meeting no member of the collective farm gave in his name to speak. Immediately the chairman of the Control Commission read their resolution and wanted to close the meeting, it came suddenly to life. Now everyone wanted to speak, and the members of the Control Commission had to postpone their departure. It appeared that the accusations against Kutschagin were spread about by the former kulaks Glasunov, Neverov and Gorbatschov, and that these kulaks had really influenced decisively the policy of the Party Cell, whilst one of the most active shock-brigaders and enemies of the kulaks was persecuted as a "friend of the kulaks."

The members of the Cell leadership had not "noticed" the kulaks in the collective farm, although they themselves were under their influence. They therefore did not carry on a Bolshevik fight against the kulaks. Above all, they did not mobilise the masses for this fight. Therefore the work in the fields was also unorganised, was performed perfunctorily, without any zeal, and therefore the sown fields in Saratova were in a worse position than in the collective farms, which were working well. **If you do not beat the kulak, he will beat you**—this is the fundamental law of the class struggle in the collective village.

This law of the class struggle was clearly demonstrated to the peasants on the collective farm in Saratova through the open meeting. Now began the cleansing of the collective farm from the kulaks with the help of the masses themselves, and also the work in the fields went forward with a swing. The amount of work done increased every day. And if the new Cell leadership (for we can take it for granted that the old will be completely dissolved) understands how to lead and develop this newly-created mass activity, then there will be no place for the kulak in Saratova.

How he defended his position in Grigoryevka will be told in the next article.

(To be continued)

White Terror Raging in Greece

Athens, 18th August.

The Red Aid of Greece publishes the following Terror report for July:—

261 arrests, 57 sentences to a total of 40 years' imprisonment and 36 years' banishment to the islands, one murder, nine injuries, 66 maltreatments, 10 raids, 42 house searches, 15 meetings prohibited, 8 meetings disbanded, 5 Communist soldiers deported to the banishment colony at Kalpaki.

The Greek Red Aid further gives a survey of the Terror exercised in Greece between July, 1932, and March, 1933:—

13,030 arrests, 2,400 sentences to a total of 2,054 years' imprisonment and 844 years' deportation, 84 murders, 1,200 revolutionary soldiers and sailors deported to Kalpaki, 1,479 maltreatments, 120 tortures, 250 persons sentenced to a total of 150 years' banishment by the so-called safety committees.

The above figures are authentic, but all cases of arrest and maltreatment are not contained in them.

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