

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 13 No. 39

8th September 1933

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The Paris Conference Preparatory to the London Counter-Trial

The World Movement to Save Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev

By Ernst Bayer (Paris)

On September 2, there took place in Paris the conference of jurists preparatory to the London Counter-trial. This meeting of eminent jurists from the bourgeois world examined the preliminary work of the Committee for the investigation of the Reichstag fire, discussed the carrying out of the counter-trial, and pronounced their opinion to the public in an official communique.

The findings of the commission, expressed in the reserved, cautious language of jurists, are in fact an indictment of the judicial crime planned in Leipzig by the Hitler regime. The juridical commission records:—

"1.—That under the present conditions an effective defence is impossible. German lawyers cannot be independent defenders to-day, the less so, as the defence of Communists is liable to persecution as Communist activity. The foreign lawyers chosen by the accused or their families have been rejected by the Court under flimsy pretexts.

"2.—The freedom and the lives of the witnesses who would give

evidence at this trial in favour of the accused are threatened, as are also the lives of their relatives.

"3.—That the accused are subjected to treatment unworthy of human beings, which deprives them of their freedom to conduct their own defence in a proper manner."

These findings were made by a committee to which belonged: the well-known Paris advocate and bourgeois radical member of the Chamber of Deputies, de Moro-Giafferi, the former Italian Prime Minister, Francesco Nitti, the woman lawyer and deputy of the bourgeois radical party, Dr. Bakker-Nord, of Holland, the Swiss national councillor, Johannes Huber, the well-known Swedish lawyer, Georg Branting, as well as the lawyers Vald Huidt (Denmark) and Pierre Vermeyley (Belgium). It is of the greatest importance for the anti-fascist world movement to save Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev that a meeting of such men and women declare before the whole world that in the Leipzig trial the Hitler government is treading under foot even the most modest bourgeois

juridical guarantees. The communique of the Juridical Commission states:—

"The Commission does not see that any assurance is given that the Leipzig Court will solve any of the fundamental problems of this trial. It therefore welcomes the convocation of the Committee of Inquiry in London where, under the control of the conscience of the world, those facts will be cleared up which are officially charged against the accused but which public opinion charges against the men who are in power to-day in Germany."

The line of the London counter-trial is thus indicated. The bourgeois jurists wish "under control of the conscience of the world, that is, before the broadest world public," by an impartial investigation, to clear up those questions which the Hitler government wish to conceal in Leipzig in the interests of the actual fascist Reichstag incendiaries. The shame of the Hitler justice, the scandal of the provocative firing of the Reichstag on the instructions of the Nazi leaders is so obvious, that bourgeois journalists from all countries, some of whom are known as being direct anti-Communists, will be present at this unique meeting in London on September 14.

The international working class knows that "an appeal to the conscience of the world" alone cannot save the heads of the accused in Leipzig. Only when hundreds of thousands in all countries are aroused, raise their voices at meetings, elect delegations, send protest telegrams, hold mass demonstrations on the streets—only then, when the German fascist hangmen tremble before this world movement, will the intended crime in Leipzig be frustrated. But the working class see in this London counter-trial held by eminent bourgeois journalists, a powerful aid in enlightening the public opinion of the world regarding the true facts of the burning of the Reichstag. The proof of the innocence of Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev, the exposure of the Reichstag fire as an act of provocation on the part of German fascist government circles, the unmasking of the real incendiaries among the leaders of the Hitler party at the London counter-trial, will help enormously to arouse all anti-fascist forces in the world. Therefore, the importance of the London counter-trial must be highly appreciated by the proletarian anti-fascists.

The Paris preliminary Conference was preceded by a fresh reply by the lawyer Branting to the German Attorney-General. In his second letter Branting showed that in Leipzig there are no guarantees for a real defence and the employment of the evidence of the investigation committee on behalf of the accused. Branting proved, by pointing to the fate of several German lawyers who have been murdered by storm troops or interned in concentration camps, what any real defender has to expect in Germany to-day. On behalf of the Committee of Inquiry he put forward the demand that the English lawyer, Pritt, be permitted to defend Torgler, and Bulgarian lawyers be permitted to defend the Bulgarian comrades. The Attorney-General, Werner, has not published this second letter of Branting, which puts more sharply the fundamental question of the Leipzig trial and then proceeds to point out that the Paris lawyer, Moro-Giafferi, publicly accuses Göring of having set fire to the Reichstag. As soon as this international discussion between the German Attorney-General and the Committee of Inquiry threatens to expose the Hitler government and the real incendiaries, the fascist rulers in Germany again gag the whole press.

Thus one finds no mention whatever in the German press of the second letter from Branting. In the meantime a copy of the Brown Book of the Hitler Terror has been sent to the Attorney-General, the receipt of which he has acknowledged.

Obviously as a reply to the "Brown Book of the Hitler Terror and the Burning of the Reichstag," and the second letter from Branting, the Attorney-General, on September 2, had a report sent out through the Telephone Union that the accused, van der Lühbe, had submitted a complete confession of the act and of the motives of this act. The report also states that it is known from what environment van der Lühbe has come. Germany, it is claimed, has the right, in the face of such evidence, to hold the trial in order to establish the facts and condemn the perpetrator. This communication of the Attorney-General, which expressly refers to the publications of the Committee of Inquiry, differs in its whole tone

from the former lies broadcasted over the wireless by Hitler and Göring. It already represents a retreat, an expression of Herr Werner's fear of the surprises which the London counter-trial can bring.

In every step they take the German Attorney-General and the Leipzig Court are influenced by the counter-trial, the authority of which they themselves have recognised. World public opinion has been aroused far beyond the circles of the proletarian anti-fascists. Yes, it will be ascertained "from what environment van der Lühbe came," and the Juridical Commission in preparation for the London counter-trial, is already taking the evidence of witnesses in Holland and examining all the evidence pertaining to the case. In fact everything will be done in order "completely to clear up the matter," and to place the fascist incendiaries in the pillory before the whole world.

It will not help the Hitler government much that, in a further official report of the Wolff Bureau, they venture to describe the lawyers who have been refused permission to defend the accused, as "mainly Communist lawyers, some of whom first fetched instructions from Moscow." We have heard such stories before. The national socialist incendiaries, who find themselves in a tight corner, wish by a fresh anti-Bolshevist incitement to divert world public opinion from the fact that Hitler justice fears the presence of such foreign bourgeois journalists as Moro-Giafferi, Garfield Hays, Pritt, Campinchi and others. They fear every real defender, and will do everything in order to prevent such a defender from being present at the Leipzig trial.

All the louder, therefore, must be the response to the Paris Preliminary Conference, all the more closely must the attention of the workers of all countries be directed to the London counter-trial, all the more vigorously must the world movement against the Leipzig fascist judicial crime develop!

In every factory, in every trade union, in every workers' organisation, use the few days remaining in order to mobilise all the anti-fascist forces for the rescue of Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev. There must be no country, no town, no village in which there is not raised the storm of the anti-fascist movement under the slogan:—

Rescue Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev from the hands of the Hitler hangmen! Freedom for Ernst Thälmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists! Pillory the fascist incendiaries and their government!

The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" Fears the Arguments of the Counter Trial

Berlin, 3rd September.

The "D.A.Z.", the organ of German heavy industry, publishes an anonymous article entitled: "Torgler's Alibi." This has been reprinted by a great many of the provincial papers, and may be taken to have been officially inspired.

This article shows plainly the reasons why the Supreme Court has been so anxious to gain knowledge at once of the counter-evidence, in order that it might make preparations for refuting it.

The article in the "D.A.Z." attempts to interpret the speech given by Torgler at the last session of the Prussian State Council as an argument for Torgler's guilt. In this speech, of which extracts were published in a number of the large foreign dailies, Torgler declared that by the 5th March a National Socialist provocation on a large scale might be expected. That this was to be expected formed part of the daily conversation and common knowledge of almost all the foreign correspondents in Berlin at that time. The "D.A.Z." demands of its readers the mental gymnastics required to suspect Torgler of the following:—

"Torgler attempted, in accordance with the notorious methods of the Communists, to represent the impending crime as a provocation, in order to create an alibi for himself. His intention has been frustrated."

Politics

The Czech Bourgeoisie Pursuing an Ostrich Policy

By D. G.

Czechoslovakia, which succeeded to the best parts of the former Austrian Empire, thought for many years that it was a granite rock which could proudly defy the waves of the world economic crisis as well as the efforts of the revisionists.

There came the year 1933, and the Czechoslovakian optimists were forced to realise that they were mistaken. The world economic crisis has not passed over Czechoslovakia, this "island of prosperity." In the first six months of the present year the output of hard coal amounted to only 51 per cent. of the output in the year 1929, the output of pig iron to 30 per cent. and that of steel to 37 per cent. Foreign trade has declined to 28 per cent. compared with 1929. The number of unemployed amounts to 900,000 (a very big figure for Czechoslovakia), and has increased by 40 per cent. compared with the year 1932.

At the same time there is taking place a "bloodless fascisation" of the Czechoslovakian State. The exceptional law, under which the municipalities, health insurance societies, etc., are largely deprived of their right of self-administration, a strict censorship is introduced and politically unreliable officials are dismissed, has already come into force.

The legend about Czechoslovakian democracy and prosperity is rapidly coming to an end. At the same time, the foreign-political situation of Czechoslovakia is becoming increasingly acute. Czechoslovakia has been driven into an awkward corner as a result of international antagonisms. The expansionist efforts of German fascism in the direction of the Danube countries, the intensification of the fight for the "Anschluss" render the outlook very gloomy for Czechoslovakia. The union of Austria with Germany would mean the beginning of the end of Czechoslovakian independence. The plan for the inclusion of Austria and Hungary in the Little Entente could be realised only at a great cost, of which Czechoslovakia would have to bear the largest share. In order to support Austria, Czechoslovakia would have to sacrifice its industry, it would further have to do away with its customs duties in order to help Yugoslavian and Rumanian agriculture. Finally, it would have to give up some of its territory in order to satisfy Hungary. The Italian plan for an Austro-Hungarian bloc under the ægis of Rome naturally caused unpleasant feelings in Prague. South Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine could, under certain circumstances, be separated from the granite block of Czechoslovakia.

In the Little Entente itself, in spite of the recently signed organisation pact, there is taking place a process of disintegration. To the Belgrade government the union of Austria with Germany appears as the lesser evil, as it would liquidate the Austro-Hungarian-Croatian plans of Italy and compel Rome to turn its attention from the Adriatic to the Brenner frontier. Rumanian diplomacy again cannot let pass the favourable juncture and is carefully testing the ground in Budapest and Rome in order to obtain the maximum price for the card of the Little Entente. All this is bound to create great uneasiness in Prague, where the fear of isolation is growing and suspicion of its allies is increasing.

The fact that Czechoslovakia signed the agreement in London on the definition of what constitutes an aggressor is immediately due to the general international situation in which Czechoslovakia finds itself at present. Immediately after the signing of the London agreement a part of the Czechoslovakian press commenced a stupid campaign against the Soviet Union. It dug up from its archives whole collections of idiotic anti-Soviet inventions which are about 15 years old. In the journal "Psitomnost," a journalist who modestly hides behind the pseudonym of "Okzidentalís" doubts whether any new works are being built in the Soviet Union. The State Statistical Office in Czechoslovakia publishes a "scientific investigation" by the white-guardist professor P. Georgiviski, who juggles with faked figures and authoritatively predicts the collapse of this year's harvest campaign in the Soviet Union.

The international situation in Czechoslovakia can hardly be regarded as favourable for such attacks upon the Soviet Union. The Czechoslovakian press is consistently pursuing the ostrich policy of sticking its head in the sand. One fine day, however, it will have to raise its head from the sand, when it will hardly be pleased with the appearance of the surrounding landscape.

The Pact between the Soviet Union and Italy

By G. Peri (Paris)

A political treaty in the shape of a Pact of Non-Aggression has just been signed between Italy and the Soviet Union.

The Communists of all countries will rejoice at this fresh success achieved by the proletarian government's policy of peace.

As soon as the proletariat of the Soviet Union seized power it proposed to the belligerent governments and peoples that they conclude peace treaties. The capitalist States replied to this proposal by organising armed intervention. The Soviet Union successfully repelled the forces of intervention, but still maintained its desire for peace. It has been able to carry out its will for peace the more successfully as the work of economic construction in the Soviet Union achieved one success after the other, while the capitalist countries suffered from the results of the crisis inevitably arising from their system. Therefore the bourgeois governments, one after another, have been compelled to recognise the Soviet government and conclude agreements with it.

Italy recognised the Soviet Union in February, 1924, and concluded a customs agreement with it. Later to two trade agreements were made between the two countries: the first in August, 1930, and the second in August, 1931. To-day they are supplemented by a non-aggression pact.

The proletarians of the Soviet Union would undoubtedly prefer to negotiate with other parties than the murderous blackshirts. But it is not the fault of the proletarians of the Soviet Union if to-day the capitalist dictatorship—whether in its fascist shape or under the cloak of democracy—prevails in all countries of the world, with the exception of the Soviet Union.

The socialist leaders who have the effrontery to criticise the foreign policy of the Soviet Union forget that it is they who are responsible for the failure of the revolutionary strivings which have been apparent in the majority of countries in the last fifteen years.

The Soviet Union would to-day be negotiating with an Italian workers' and peasants' government if the Italian social democracy had not shamefully betrayed the insurrectionary movements in the years 1920 and 1921, and if later, Treves, Turati and Modigliani had not preferred to ally themselves with the Aventino bloc rather than engage in the revolutionary struggle. This is the reply we must make to the base calumnies which the socialist press will not fail to pour out in connection with the new treaties.

For us there is only one question: what advantage can the proletarian movement derive from the signing of such treaties? Truly an enormous advantage. Every success, any strengthening of the proletariat which is in power in the Soviet Union, at the same time strengthens the position of the working class in the capitalist countries. The fact that democratic France or fascist Italy or capitalist America are compelled, in order to provide work for their workers, to enter into these agreements with the socialist State, is a convincing proof that the socialist system is the only system that shows the working people the way out of the crisis, is a proof that this system is superior to all bourgeois systems.

In other words, the treaties which the Soviet Union concludes have the enormous advantage of providing the Communists with a fresh argument, of encouraging them in their endeavours, of stimulating them in their fight.

Our comrades in Italy who are pining in the prisons and in the penal settlements will interpret the fact that their jailers are compelled to negotiate with the representatives of that revolutionary order for the triumph of which our best comrades have sacrificed their liberty, as an encouragement to resistance and struggle.

M. Vandervelde signed the Locarno Treaty with Mussolini; M. Blum approved the Four-Power Pact. But the international proletariat has not derived any advantage from the farce of Locarno or the Four-Power Pact. On the other hand, the international proletariat is able to record that, thanks to the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, its victorious class brothers, who rule over a sixth part of the world, have strengthened their position. And the international working class becomes stronger every time the Soviet Union increases its security and power.

The Struggle in Ireland is Deepening

By J. Shields

Events are moving rapidly in Ireland. Hard on the heels of the setting up of the Military Tribunal by the De Valera government, armed C.I.D. men (police) have carried out raids directed against the Irish Republican Army. According to the police the purpose of these raids was to conduct a search for arms.

Such a raid took place on a Republican camp situated at Glendhu in County Dublin on August 27, when a body of some three dozen police equipped with firearms suddenly descended upon the spot in motor-cars, and producing a search warrant, set to work carrying out an intensive search, which, however, proved to be fruitless in its results.

Two days later uniformed police and a party of C.I.D. men next raided premises in Dublin which they suspected contained the headquarters of the British Boycott League, and repeated this within the next 48 hours by a further lightning swoop upon the same spot.

The interpretation to be placed upon these actions carried out on the instructions of the government authorities admits of no doubt. They prove conclusively that the provisions of the recently resurrected Cosgrave Coercion Acts are being aimed by the De Valera government against the republican movement in Ireland.

These developments have called for a denunciation of the Fianna Fail government from the I.R.A. leadership, in a pronouncement which was published last week in the republican weekly organ, the "An Phoblacht." In this document the I.R.A. Army Council outlines its attitude with regard to the De Valera government in a statement which begins as follows:—

"The Fianna Fail leaders state that Republicans should now recognise the Free State Parliament and Constitution, and accept the "Treaty" position. They even go so far as to advise Republicans to join the Free State Army and the police force. In such circumstances the Army Council feel bound to state that the government functioning in the Twenty-six Counties has no more claim to the allegiance of the people than the imperialist junta ruling in the Six Counties."

Such a very definite denunciation of De Valera's government by the I.R.A. leadership is significant. It is a clear indication of the deep disillusionment with regard to De Valera's rôle, which has now permeated republican ranks.

Particularly during recent weeks, the rank and file members of the I.R.A. have been manifesting a growing response to the lead given by the Irish Communist Party concerning the danger and character of the growing menace of fascism and the necessity for organising intensified mass struggle against it.

Because of the mood existing amongst their rank and file followers and the increasing sharpness of the situation which is now developing, the I.R.A. leaders have been compelled to express themselves very strongly with regard to De Valera.

After a reference to the fact that there has been a tendency on the part of Fianna Fail leaders to place the I.R.A. on the same footing as the A.C.A. (O'Duffy's Blueshirts), the statement issued by the I.R.A. Council next goes on to declare:—

"That the Fianna Fail government has adopted the policy of exercising coercion against Republicans is evidenced by the fact that a raid took place on a camp of well-known Republicans at Glendhu, Co. Dublin, on Sunday August 27, in which a large number of C.I.D., notorious in the Cosgrave régime, took part. The Army Council feel bound to inform Republicans that the Fianna Fail government, availing of the popular resentment against the A.C.A., and under the cloak of dealing with that organisation, intend to form a new appendage to the Free State Army. This force will be styled the

Volunteer Reserve, and will, like the Free State Army, be used to maintain the Free State Constitution and the "Treaty" position, amended or otherwise."

The statement then goes on to conclude by stating that the Fianna Fail government will have to decide whether it will rely on the support of pro-British elements to suppress Republican ideals, or whether it will unequivocally establish the Republic, finally winding up by indicating to Fianna Fail that "the only basis upon which unity is possible" is, "the repudiation of the Treaty of Surrender of 1921, and the establishment of the Irish Republic."

There is a very important question, however, upon which this document in its comments is singularly lacking. That is with regard to the question as to what concrete steps demand to be taken now so that the mass revolutionary struggle against the growing forces of reaction can be strengthened and carried forward. Yet it is precisely this question which has become a vital issue facing the Irish masses.

On the one hand there are the government activities directed against revolutionary fighters which have been stressed above. On the other, there is the fact that the tools of the bankers, big capitalists, ranchers, and the British imperialists, are hastening forward at full speed the consolidation of their counter-revolutionary forces.

Under the tutelage of their imperialist allies in Britain, the O'Duffy-Cosgrave elements are hurriedly putting the finishing touches to their plans for bringing about the fusion of the National Guard (Blueshirts), the Cumann na nGaedheal (Cosgrave Party), and the Centre Party led by MacDermott, into one united organisation. Details for the accomplishment of this task have been worked out by the leaders of the organisations mentioned.

Both the Cosgrave and Centre Party executives have put forward recommendations to this effect, upon which final decision is to be made at conventions of their respective organisations due to be held on September 8.

In connection with the project, the following announcement issued on behalf of the Centre Party states:

"The Executive Committee of the new organisation would consist of 12 members nominated in equal numbers by General O'Duffy, Mr. Cosgrave, and Mr. MacDermott, together with General O'Duffy as president and Messrs. Cosgrave, MacDermott, and Dillon as vice-presidents."

Originally it was reported that the new organisation was to be known by the title of the National Party, but the Centre Party elements took objection to this name. Now it is intimated that it shall be known when formed under the name of the United Ireland Party.

A list of points to be included in the new party's policy have already been publicly outlined as follows:—

"To obtain recognition of the reunion of Ireland as a most important constitutional issue and to work actively for such reunion.

"To maintain Ireland's right to decide whether or not to remain a member of the British Commonwealth.

"Subject to such right to preserve Ireland's position in the Commonwealth in view of the economic advantages and better prospects of unity therefrom.

"To discredit that type of republicanism which refuses to have a republic because it is desired to retain the excuses for Jingoism and for branding fellow Irishmen as unpatriotic.

"To restore and develop markets by businesslike settlement with Britain.

"While fostering other industries, to promote the interests of agriculture as the main source of Irish prosperity.

"To fight poverty by attracting capital into industry and by bringing thrift, hard work and enterprise back into fashion.

"So far as the relief of distress will permit, to reduce public expenditure to a figure within our means.

"To obliterate as speedily as possible the memories of the Civil War, to abolish intolerance, to protect individual liberty and to build up a worthy Irish civilisation to which all sections of the community will contribute."

The meaning and aim of this programme is very clear. Briefly stated it outlines a policy of attack against working-class and republican organisations in Ireland, the bringing of the country

under the complete domination of British imperialism, and the further ruthless driving down of the standard of life of the Irish masses. Behind the haste with which the plans and negotiations for bringing the new organisation into being have been conducted, is the growing capitalist alarm at the rising tide of revolutionary mass struggle which is now taking place in Ireland, and the anxiety of British imperialism to thrust forward the preparation of its war plans at the maximum speed.

The rising upsurge of the mass movement in Ireland is developing apace. The present numerous small strikes which are breaking out are the forerunners of the bigger class battles which are gathering for advance on the way. Unemployment, too, is growing and the former safety valve of emigration abroad no longer exists as a means of easing the increasing strain. The rising wave of mass discontent is giving an added stimulus to the boycott campaign being conducted against British goods and advertisement posters advertising British products are being torn down in the streets.

In this situation of growing tenseness the possibility is being raised of the staging of another general election. It is true that De Valera in a recent press interview discounted the idea of an election taking place this year, but it is significant that the Fianna Fail leaders have suddenly launched a big propaganda tour throughout the country.

That the masses are increasingly rallying to the support of the Communist Party of Ireland, which is leading the fight, is shown by the fact that new recruits are coming into the Party daily. The Irish Communist Party is now striking its roots in parts of the country where formerly it was without any contact whatever.

One of the main tasks confronting the Party, however, is to extend and deepen the campaign amongst the workers in industry and in the trade unions. With this aim in mind the Party is now devoting close attention to concentrating activity at the work places and in the union branches.

A regular storm of lies and slanders is being conducted against the Irish Communists, for the purpose of trying to cripple the building of the united front against fascist reaction and imperialism. Manufactured reports are making their appearance in the capitalist and clerical press, which seek to drive a wedge between the Party and the membership of the Irish Republican Army.

These efforts will not secure much success. By its uncompromising and energetic struggle against the growing reaction, by its clear lead and concrete proposals for strengthening the revolutionary mass fight, the Irish Communist Party is increasingly demonstrating to the masses of Ireland, that it is the standard-bearer of the struggle to bring about complete national and social freedom.

Nine Years of Machado in Cuba

By E. P. Greene

"Before renouncing the presidency of the Republic I would drown the island in blood."—Machado, May, 1930.

At half-past three on the afternoon of August 12th a large plane of the Pan-American Airways took off from the General Machado Airport near Havana. And only just in time, for at that moment masses of armed workers were already approaching the field. The plane was carrying General Gerardo Machado y Morales, fifth President of Cuba, now "on leave of absence," and four of his friends. On the night before a touching scene had taken place in the Presidential Palace in Havana. On being told by the leaders of the army that they would no longer support him, Machado broke down and wept. On arriving at Nassau in the Bahamas, the first words of Machado, most faithful lackey that American imperialism has ever maintained in Cuba, were: "I have always been a friend to the English."

Thus ends the Machado dictatorship in Cuba, which has been maintained for nine years at the cost of more than 3,000 lives, the most ruthless and bloody rule which has ever been exercised in any country in the Caribbean. The State apparatus of Machado was strongly supported by American finance-capital, particularly by loans of the Chase National Bank.

Machado is now 61 years old. He began his career as a colonel in the Cuban Army of Liberation in the war against Spain in 1895. After the war he entered politics. His first political act was the organisation of a rural guard in the province of Santa Clara.

He later became Mayor of the town of Santa Clara. In 1908 he was appointed General in Chief of the Cuban Army by President Gomez, and later Secretary of the Interior. Early in his career he became a wealthy landowner, and entered the field of public utilities. Prior to his election in 1924 Machado was general manager and a large shareholder of the Cuban Electric Co., a subsidiary of the Electric Bond and Share Co. It was Henry W. Catlin, American representative of the latter company in Cuba, who was instrumental in placing Machado in power.

From the very first Machado unleashed an unparalleled reign of terror against the workers and peasants, and particularly against their leaders. Among the victims of this butcher were Mella, Varona, Lopez, Brook, Brouzon, Grant, Wong, heroic fighters who were always in the forefront of the struggle against Machado and American imperialism. In this way Machado attempted to make good the boast he had made to his Wall Street masters: "Under my rule no strike in Cuba will last more than twenty-four hours." But neither the bullet, the knife, nor the sharks of Havana Bay could suppress the revolutionary movement, against which were directed the army, the rural guard, the police and the Porra. The *Partida de la Porra*, organised by Ros and Jimenez in 1931, was an organisation of thugs and criminals who used the fascist methods of the Hitler murder bands. In March, 1933, Ros was assassinated. In August, after the fall of Machado, Jimenez fell with forty bullets in his body; scores of the butchers of the Porra were hunted down like rats and slain by the workers in the streets of Havana.

In 1925 Machado embarked upon a vast public works programme, which was to line his pockets with millions in graft. A 700-mile central highway, from one end of the island to the other, costing 100,000,000 dollars, was built, chiefly to ensure the rapid movement of the armed forces in case of insurrections. In Havana the great Avenida Presidente Machado was laid out. A new capitol building was erected at a cost of 20,000,000 dollars.

Machado had other sources of income, equally profitable. In 1928 his son-in-law, Jose Obregon, joint manager of the Havana branch of the Chase National Bank, received a "present" of 500,000 dollars for his share in arranging a 50,000,000 dollars loan from the bank to the government. In addition, Obregon received a salary of 19,000 dollars a year from the bank.

Since August, 1925, Machado maintained complete censorship of the press; since November, 1927, the right of assembly was non-existent; since November, 1930, martial law reigned almost uninterruptedly. In 1928 Machado brought about a coup d'etat and had himself elected for a second term; he then caused the Constitution to be changed in order to extend his term from four to six years.

Machado, like all other lackeys of imperialism, attempted to surpass his masters in slander and hatred of the Soviet Union. At a banquet in Santa Clara in May, 1930, at which was present the American Ambassador, Mr. Guggenheim, Machado said:—

"Why echoes of rebellion in Cuba? It is because Russia is in Cuba! It is because the snake of Russian Communism, having found a refuge among disloyal Cubans, is trying first of all to strike at Cuba's national life with the principal object of spitting its venom at the United States."

The Machado government, through its exploitation and oppression of the masses, paid the interest on the loans of American finance-capital with clock-like regularity. Mr. Mitchell, then head of the National City Bank, said that he hoped Machado would continue to rule Cuba until his death.

The last act of this butcher was the bloodiest of his entire career. On August 7th a false rumour was spread over the radio by the A.B.C. at the instigation of Mr. Welles, American Ambassador, to the effect that Machado had resigned. At once 10,000 people assembled in front of the Capitol in Havana, and started a march to the Presidential Palace to celebrate the event. Before the latter building a horrible blood-bath was carried out by Machado's police: more than 40 were killed and 180 wounded.

When Machado saw that he no longer had the support of American imperialism he resorted to the most shameless and obvious demagogy. On August 8th, over the radio, an agent of the government called upon the Cuban people to support Machado in his struggle against American intervention! This from a man who, in every speech during the past nine years, has referred to his great friendship for the United States. Through this manoeuvre

Machado hoped to turn the growing anti-imperialism sentiment to his own ends.

The capitalist press in the United States has suddenly, after nine years, discovered that Machado is a butcher. **Céspedes**, now Provisional President of Cuba, who will carry out the same policy of exploitation and oppression of the workers and peasants, is hailed as a "liberator." And why did this same capitalist press, during nine years, not discover before that Machado had turned Cuba into a shambles? Because of the strict censorship exercised by the Machado government!

This shameless hypocrisy of American imperialism, which has always known of and supported the bloody rule of Machado, is nauseating and disgusting.

Manifesto of the C.C. of the C.P. of Cuba and Y.C.L. of Cuba

The following Manifesto was issued at Havana on August 3, before the overthrow of Machado, when the bus workers had already gone out on strike under the influence of the Communist Party and the National Labour Confederation, and when the strike had already spread to important sectors of the working class. The Manifesto appears immediately after the August 1st demonstrations which throughout Cuba reached higher levels than ever before. Machado's troops murdered and wounded workers, among them active members of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League. The bourgeoisie-landlord opposition press was attacking the Communist Party as accomplices of Machado, merely because the Party was unmasking these leaders as agents of American imperialism. In Washington, steps were being taken to reduce the sugar quota for import into the United States. Welles was actively engaged in trying to establish a government satisfactory to the Wall Street-Roosevelt government.

To the workers, poor and middle peasants, poor professionals and students, public and private employees, small business people and shopkeepers; to the toiling masses in general.

Comrades:

From one extremity of the country to the other, the working class has gone on strike for its demands. The workers on the bus lines are engaged in struggle against their exploiters, against Pepito Izquierdo and his forty thieves in the local Havana government, to win better conditions from the bosses and to force them to recognise the National Transport Workers' Union.

While these great struggles were developing, other workers also got together to demand better living conditions. Among these were the workers of the Santa Isabel sugar plantation and of the Ramona sugar mill, the tobacco workers of Placetas, Fomento and of other towns of the provinces of Santa Clara and of Pinar del Rio, the longshoremen of Tunas de Zaza, Jucaro, Antilla, Havana and other ports, the railway workers, and the workers of the various industries of the country and of entire cities, including Sanjose de las Lajas, Pinar del Rio, Matanzas, Santa Clara and Ciego de Avila. In addition, the barbers are already on strike in Havana; and the commercial employees and certain sections of the public service workers and of private business employees are about to join the strike.

These numerous strikes in solidarity with the strike movement of the Havana bus workers and for the winning of the immediate demands raised by the workers in the different industries soon grew into a nation-wide general strike, as the form of struggle of the workers and of the toiling population in general, for better living conditions, as advocated by the Communist Party and by the National Labour Confederation of Cuba in their agitation and propaganda in mobilising the masses.

Strikes Challenge Imperialism

This exceptional movement of the toiling masses in struggle against the boss offensive of the imperialist and native exploiters comes into direct conflict with the terror apparatus of the murderous Machado government, and is an outright challenge of the masses to the imperialist manoeuvres of the interventionist "mediator" Welles and to his lackeys, the bourgeois-landlord opposition leaders.

Machado and his bloody henchmen are attempting to use this situation in order to demonstrate to their Wall Street masters that they are their lackeys who cannot be substituted. They do this by

letting loose a terrible wave of crimes in an effort to drown in blood the heroic struggle of the working class and of the toiling masses, at the same time allowing the bourgeois-landlord opposition, the would-be executioners of the masses, to carry out freely their demagogic manoeuvres to mislead the masses, and allowing the pen prostitutes of the bourgeois press to foam rabidly with indignation and fear against the independent struggles of the masses for their own demands, as has been done by the venomous Hornedo from the columns of "El Pais."

On August First, Anti-War Day, Luisa Abadi, a young Communist girl, was shot down in cold blood in Santiago de Cuba. On the streets of Havana, on the same day, the Machado "porra" assassin gang, barricaded in the barber shop of Segundo Brito, shot into a demonstration, killing Carlos Alfonso Camacho, a rank and file member of the A. B. C., and seriously wounding Marcio Mandulay and Armando Chapelli, members of the Young Communist League and leaders of the student "Left" wing (Ala Izquierda Estudiantil), who are on the verge of death. Armando Herrera and a young Pioneer, as well as four other Communists, were wounded by bullets. In Santiago de las Vegas, San Antonio de los Baños, Hoyo Colorado, Camaguey, Fomento and in other places throughout the country, the demonstrations were attacked by the thugs of the butcher Machado, wounding participants, beating, crushing and massacring the masses.

Press Conceals Struggles

While Machado and his lieutenants, following the instructions of Welles himself who interviewed Herrera for this purpose, are concentrating the police and army in order to commit even greater crimes; and while the "mediation" imperialist Welles is instructing Machado to let loose his machine guns and mow down the masses who are demanding bread; the leaders of the bourgeois-landlord opposition, leeches who are about to burst from the blood sucked from the toilers, fill their infamous, lying press with appeals for calmness, resignation, patience and similar virtues, in order to hurl confusion into the ranks of the masses.

The same bourgeois newspapers which only yesterday lent themselves to songs of praise of the glories of the butcher Machado, concealing his crimes, and concealing also the struggles led by the Communist Party and by the National Labour Confederation of Cuba, although these struggles were of tremendous significance, such as the sugar strike which mobilised 20,000 workers during the recent milling season under the banner of the National Sugar Workers' Industrial Union; this same mercenary press is now carrying out a conspiracy of silence against the National Labour Confederation and the Communist Party, filling its pages with reports of the struggles led by these revolutionary organisations, without the least mention of the names of these organisations. This same press tries, through their lying reports, to identify the Communists with the provocateur thugs and assassins of the Machado "porra" gangsters, reports written by such scoundrels as the one who signs himself Pizzi de Porras, who certainly lives up to his name by organising a "porra" of slanderers which the A.B.C. is about to transform into a fascist, anti-Communist shock brigade.

Slanders Against Communists

Slanderers in the service of the bourgeois-landlord opposition! Lies and reptile venom from the fangs of your masters, the exploiters, are the only weapons you can use! It is not the National Labour Confederation of Cuba and the Communist Party who need to answer your insidious and prostituted pens. It is the raised fist of the murdered railway worker Varona; it is Alfredo Lopez from the depths of Havana Bay; it is Brouzon with his accusing arm; it is Yalob, whose body is weighted down by chains in Havana Harbour; it is Mella, on hunger strike and almost on his death bed in 1925 (when many of you were supporting Machado)—Mella bleeding to death from the wounds inflicted upon him in Mexico by the Machado paid assassins Magrinat and Lopez Valino; it is Manduley and Chapelli, battling against death in these very moments. A whole legion of heroes and martyrs for the cause of the Cuban working class—it is they who give the most eloquent answer to your infamous slanders that the Communist Party supports the assassin Machado.

Neither the sham programme of the A.B.C. nor the clownish acts of the bourgeois-landlord opposition leaders can fool the

masses. The workers and peasants, all toilers, are facing starvation and they know well that they have with them the National Labour Confederation and the Communist Party, vanguard of the working class, in their struggle to win the bread of which they are deprived by the exploiters.

Sugar Quota Is Hunger Quota

From Washington Welles has brought with him a new hunger quota in the form of plans for further restrictions of the Cuban sugar output, which are accepted by Machado as well as by the leaders of the bourgeois landlord opposition. Even the trading and commercial bourgeoisie has protested against this hunger plan, which is fought resolutely and openly, as an imperialist attack, by the revolutionary organisations, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Neither Manach, ideological leader of the A.B.C., nor his most shameless colleagues in the leadership of the bourgeois-landlord opposition have said a word against this sinister quota introduced by Welles on behalf of the sugar barons and of Roosevelt; on the contrary, they bow before their masters. It is clear that if they should speak up even with demagogic phrases, the same imperialist bandit, Welles, who is imposing the starvation sugar quota, would not give them the opportunity of shaking the hand of Herrera and Company, and become the future ministers who would hand out "justice" to the toiling masses of Cuba.

The lackeys of the bourgeois-landlord opposition are supporters of the Machado regime, that is, of the regime of open and bloody dictatorship in favour of the interests of imperialism, and of the native bourgeoisie and landlords. They are hirelings who are giving their co-operation to the imperialist intervention regime which Welles is introducing and to the imperialist agent Machado, to a regime which is dripping with the blood of workers and peasants, to a regime which at any moment may become naked intervention, through the military boot of Yankee marines.

Opposition Protects Imperialists

The opposition is trying to cover up the imperialist nature of the Welles intervention, even though Roosevelt admits it. This intervention follows the same policy of American imperialism from the Constituent Assembly of 1901 down to the regime of Machado. All the wailing of these groups of bourgeois politicians, of Machado as well as of the bourgeois landlord opposition, over the loss of "sovereignty," are nothing but mockery by those who are speculating with the myth of the independence of Cuba, "a people that has never been free," as Julio Antonio Mella said, since it passed from the Spanish colonial yoke directly to the ruthless rule of the imperialism of the stars and stripes.

Workers of Cuba! Continue your struggle! Struggle for your immediate demands, drawn up by yourselves, in the factories, on the plantations and other places of work, for better working and living conditions, against wage cuts, for wage increases, against lay-offs, against rationalisation.

Organise yourselves into trade unions of your industry, under the leadership of the National Labour Confederation of Cuba.

Machado, with the same blood-thirstiness as ever, has grasped his murderous sword, to bury it once more in your wounded flesh. The leaders of the bourgeois-landlord opposition are trying to cure your ills by means of demagogic injections. Welles with one hand directs the arm that holds Machado's sword; while with the other he directs the opposition which utilises demagogy to the full.

Amnesty! They speak of amnesty, when the jails are filled with political prisoners; and when, to top all, a judge belonging to the A.B.C. sentences to jail in Aldecoa a young girl, Josefina Maderos, for the crime of being a Communist.

Constitutional Reform! When a bloody reign of terror is continually let loose against the toiling masses, against the workers, teachers, students and veterans.

Your "saviours'" masks have fallen from your faces. The masses know what they mean by restricting the vote to only those who can read. At first they tried to exclude all the workers from voting; now they intend to exclude all the toiling youth, particularly the negroes. Their women's suffrage is restricted; it is one more "democratic" farce.

Workers! Beware of the renegades Junco and Villareal, who come to your meetings accompanied by police with the purpose of keeping you from carrying on a struggle.

The Communist Party and the National Labour Confedera-

tion has organised a series of strikes for the immediate demands of the workers. These strikes have developed into a general strike. The Communist Party calls upon all workers of those industries which are not yet involved in the movement, to join the strike, for the immediate demands.

Communist Programme of Action

The Communist Party calls upon all strikers, upon the working class in general, upon all toiling masses, to link up the struggle for their immediate demands with the fight for the following programme of action drawn up by the Communist Party; and to remain firm in this glorious struggle for the immediate demands raised by the workers in the various industries:

For the eight-hour day in the sugar industry, in the commercial establishments and in all other industries in the country; for the payment of back wages to the sugar workers, to the teachers and to all government employees; for immediate unemployment relief; for workers' control of the administration of the old age pension laws; for social insurance against unemployment—all at the expense of the bosses and the government.

For the payment of back debts to the sharecroppers (colonos); against robbery of land from the peasants; and for the cancellation of the debts of the peasants.

Against the hunger quota imposed on Cuban sugar consumed in the United States; against the revision of tariff rates in favour of the Yankee exporters; against the payment of debts to the Yankee bankers; against the new taxation laws and the present Emergency Taxation Law.

For Negro equality; and the right of self-determination of the Negroes in the black belt of Oriente, where the Negroes constitute the majority of the population.

Against the bloody Machado regime; against his terror; for the immediate freedom of political prisoners; for the right of assembly, press, strike and organisation; for the legality of all revolutionary organisations, including the Communist Party.

For the support of the struggle of the insurgents; against the leaders of the bourgeoisie-landlord opposition; against the "diplomatic" intervention of the "mediator" Welles and his threat of military intervention; against the Platt Amendment; for the withdrawal of the Yankee marines from Guantanamo; for the national liberation of Cuba.

Only a Soviet government of workers and peasants will liberate Cuba from the yoke of Yankee imperialism and of its native agents.

Workers and Peasants! Form self-defence groups, which will defend your mass actions from the attacks of the armed forces!

Soldiers and sailors! Fraternalise with your class brothers, the workers and poor peasants, and refuse to persecute and attack them!

Workers!

Long live the general strike for your demands!

All toilers!

Demonstrate in the streets!

Long live the united front of the masses against the economic offensive, against terror, and against the imperialist war which the exploiters are letting loose.

Down with the reformist, anarchist and stool pigeon leaders, who are participating in the struggles only to be better able to betray them.

Down with Machado and the leaders of the bourgeois-landlord opposition!

Oust Welles and the Yankee marines from the national territory!

Down with the military intervention threatened by Yankee imperialism through its mouthpiece Welles!

Long live the agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution!

Organise into the Transport, Sugar, Tobacco and Marine National Labour Unions and into the red trade union oppositions, under the banner of the National Labour Confederation of Cuba!

Join the Communist Party and the Young Communist League! Organise Communist nuclei in the factories and in other places of work!

Central Committee Communist Party of Cuba.

Central Committee Young Communist League of Cuba.

Havana, August 3, 1933.

Germany

The Unmasking of the Hitler Government

By L. K. (Berlin)

"The task of the Communists must be to explain to the masses that the Hitler government is leading the country to a catastrophe." (From the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the situation in Germany after Hitler's seizure of power.)

The development which Germany has undergone during the six months of the Hitler government fully and entirely confirms the appraisal given in the resolution of the E.C.C.I. as well as in the resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany. This development has already to a considerable extent created the preconditions for advancing our successful ideological offensive against Hitler fascism on the basis of *the experiences acquired by the masses themselves*, and to go over from agitation to action. We do not give way to the idea that the Hitler dictatorship will abandon their deceitful manoeuvres owing to the growing difficulties and that brutal terror will become their sole method. But the rapidly growing crisis is limiting to a considerable extent the material basis of their social capacity to manoeuvre and brings them more quickly and, *to the masses, more visibly*, into conflict with their demagogy.

It is true that the suppression of the still existing legal parties, Hugenberg's removal, the complete dominance of the State and all organs of bourgeois life by the Nazi party, have temporarily promoted the centralisation and unification of all counter-revolutionary means of terror and deceit, have temporarily removed "the pressure from below." But the intensifying antagonisms between the classes, the differences and difficulties among the leading circles of the ruling class have not been thereby removed but merely carried over into the national socialist government party itself. It was only a few weeks after that suppression of the parties that the chorus of the toiling national socialist electors, who believed that Hugenberg's resignation meant the "beginning of the second revolution," was drowned by the shrill command of the "leader" of the Third Reich: "The revolution is at an end, whoever dares to talk of it will be flung into the concentration camp."

The "Pillars" of Fascist Mass Agitation

There were, so to speak, three "pillars" of the unique national socialist demagogy, which by means of all kinds of promises, adapted to the particular social environment, deceived the masses of the people.

"Fascism will break the chains of Versailles, emancipate the German people from the strangling grip of tribute slavery, of social misery in general; will create a powerful big Germany, free the national minorities; will obtain for the German people the space to live in allotted to it by history, thanks to its race and its blood."

Chauvinism, which aimed at diverting the masses from the fight against capitalism as the first and real cause of their misery and their oppression, even climbed the steps of the gallows when the national socialists, before their seizure of power, demanded the heads of those Ministers who had acted contrary to the above-mentioned "principles" of the "German revolution." Six months of "national uprising" have passed and the result of the *practice* of the "national liberators" ought to bring them to the gallows according to their own original demands. Their foreign policy is nothing else but a humiliating continuation of the Weimar fulfilment policy, differing from it only in the impudence with which the Hitlers and Göbbels try to represent their submission to Versailles as victories.

The "People's Chancellor" himself, in his big speech in the Reichstag, gave his pledge to France and Poland to recognise the existing frontiers, the status quo of Versailles. He sealed the deliverance of German South Tyrol by his currissh fawning on Mussolini's Italy. The Reichs Bank President Schacht, at the London negotiations with Germany's creditors, pledged himself to prompt payment of the interest on the Dawes and Young loans raised by the Weimar politicians. The Hugenberg memorandum

submitted to the London World Economic Conference, the white-guardist "relief campaign for the Volga Germans" initiated by Göbbels once again revealed the general line of the fascist foreign policy: to hire themselves out as mercenaries to the Versailles Powers against the Soviet Union.

The whole bankruptcy of the fascist "national emancipation" policy finds its continuation in the imperialist adventurist policy of secret armaments, which is intended to convert the whole German people, and before all the youth, into a reservoir of recruits and to satisfy the imperialist greed of monopoly capital. Militarisation of the youth by means of compulsory labour, "provision of work" by means of road making for military-strategic purposes, exemption from taxation for the capitalists who renew and extend the plant of important branches of production, faked aeroplane raids over Berlin, development of civil aviation—these are the preparations for bloody imperialist conflicts by means of which fascism is attempting to find a capitalist way out of the crisis.

The winning of Austria (with which it is "united by ties of blood and race") for "greater Germany" by means of bombs and revolvers is the slow match to the European powder magazine. It is the best illustration of how the national question is being "solved" on the basis of an extremely aggressive imperialist fascist policy.

"Socialism and provision of work" was the second pillar of the fascist demagogy when the "Third Reich" was still lying in the cradle of Weimar democracy. Let us take a few of the most important facts. Instead of "socialisation of the big concerns"—a cartel law for compulsorily subjecting the outsiders to the commands of monopolist price dictatorship of the concerns; tax exemptions for the armament factories, amnesty for non-payment of taxes and speculation in foreign bills; setting up of a Reichs Economic Council which includes among its members Thyssen, who is on the board of directors of thirty undertakings, Reinhart, director of the Dresdener Bank, Diehm, general director of the Cali syndicate, and August von Finck, President of the German Bankers' Federation; appointment of Thyssen as Prussian State Commissary for the West German industrial districts; nomination of representatives of Labour endowed with police powers for the purpose of "authoritarian" regulation of conditions of work, with the exclusion of the trade unions and the factory representations; after the robbery of the trade unions and the doing away with all the rights of the members, "the fascist trade unions and the N.S.B.O. factory groups are forbidden to interfere in labour disputes"; abolition of the election of factory councillors and their appointment by commissars whilst the employer assumes the right of the chairman in the factory council; wage reductions by means of higher prices, cuts in piece rate wages and holiday allowances; "provision of work by means of converting unemployment benefit into wages," in reality by means of compulsory labour service for the youth at a "wage" of 40 pfennigs a day and less, by organising the transfer of workers to the land where they have to toil for the junkers without any payment in cash, by forcing the unemployed to take any job offered under threat of loss of unemployment benefit, by means of the five-day week without wage compensation, by faked statistics, by dismissing part of the staff and replacing them by national socialists.

Finally, lavish promises were made to the German peasants and the small traders ("rescue of the German peasant," "expropriation of the reactionary big landowners," "abolition of interest slavery," reduction of taxes, "abolition of the competition of the big stores," anti-semitism). In practice it turned out as follows: prohibition even to talk about the distribution of the indebted East Elbian big landed estates, even with full compensation. The 4 per cent. rate of interest, which is unbearable for the peasants, remains; the agricultural co-operatives and the insurance societies remain under the control of the big banks; the inheritance law deprives the greater part of the small peasants of their land and compels them to work as agricultural labourers; the moratorium

against distraining on the property of small peasants will come to an end in October; no tax reductions have been introduced for the small traders; bonds at a fixed rate, in return for which he has to give commodities, are taken by the authorities in payment for taxes in arrear. The fighting leagues of the small traders have been dissolved. The big stores are receiving subsidies. (Only recently the Tietz concern received the sum of 14½ million marks. The Jew and millionaire Tietz was appointed member of the directorium nominated by the government.) Increased prices, lower wages and the cuts in unemployment benefit tend to reduce the turnover and increase working costs. The "voluntary gifts" enforced by the government from the workers and employees, and also from the peasants and the small traders, are a great burden. The inflationist policy threatens to expropriate small savings.

The Direction of our Agitation and Propaganda.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to conceal this big capitalist policy behind the smoke screen of national socialist demagoguery. The Central Committee of our Party was able to record that the proletariat, under leadership of the C.P. of Germany, has ceased to retreat; that discontent and even rebellions have broken out among the petty-bourgeois followers of the national socialists. Labour conflicts in the factories, strikes in the labour service camps are participated in by Nazi workers. The opposition to the "voluntary" labour gift is almost general even in the camp of the toiling Nazi followers. But in most cases much smaller and trifling circumstances are leading to conflicts. For a number of Nazi factory workers the outward cause for their discontent was, for instance, the fact that they did not get back the advance which they had made for a brown uniform, which they were afterwards forbidden to wear. Revolts broke out among the storm troops because members who had joined the storm troops after January 30 were deprived of the right to wear the uniform, which meant the loss of certain privileges. Small traders are complaining that they are compelled to attend meetings, which means a loss of time and money, while at the same time they are not allowed to state their opinions there. Discontent is further aroused on account of the obligation to give the Hitler salute to all Hitler followers in uniform.

All these and similar rebellions (this refers chiefly to the N.S.B.O. workers) are more or less within the bounds of their ideological connection with fascism; they are not yet expressions of class-consciousness directed against the fascist régime. But they are and must become for us the basis of our approach in order to raise the movements for the most trifling demands to a higher stage, and to lead them into the fight against Hitler fascism. The conscientious investigation of the reasons for this discontent, for the disappointment of the toiling followers of fascism is the precondition for the putting forward of concrete slogans and fighting demands going beyond the narrow limits.

It is necessary to defend the daily interests of the workers and toilers, to organise and extend the partial struggles, to be able to react to every attack of fascism, to every expression of discontent on the part of its followers, to put forward in every case concrete demands in order to set the anti-fascist mass struggle higher tasks.

It is necessary to discredit fascism on principle as the régime of decaying capitalism, to enlighten the working population regarding the causal connection of even the smallest fascist partial attack against the toilers with the fascist dictatorship régime as a whole, to propagate our ultimate aim, our way out of the crisis, at the same time explaining to the masses that fascism is leading the country to disaster.

In view of the fascist demagoguery by means of which the toiling followers of the Nazis are daily deceived, it is more necessary than ever not only to show the contradiction between the promises so lavishly made and the practical policy of the national socialists, which is the opposite of them, but to make it clear to the masses, on the basis of our national and social emancipation programme and the example of the Soviet Union, what immediate measures a victorious workers' and peasants' Republic would at once carry out and why it alone could carry them out.

We must remember Lenin's masterly agitation in 1917 when, against the deceit of petty-bourgeois demagoguery of the Mensheviks and the social revolutionaries, as well as against the counter-revolutionary Cadets, he explained to the masses with great persistence again and again why the crisis would continue, why the

catastrophe was inevitable, if the revolution did not cut through the Gordian knot.

"Six months have passed since the revolution" Lenin wrote after the February revolution in 1917, "the catastrophe is approaching nearer . . . it suffices to pay some attention and to reflect a little in order to realise that there *exist* means for combating the catastrophe and hunger, that these fighting measures are perfectly clear, simple, easy to carry through, appropriate to the forces of the people, and that these measures are not adopted *solely because* their realisation would limit the enormous profits of a small handful of capitalists and landowners."

We add to this: because their realisation is incompatible with the fascist dictatorship, which defends with civil-war terror the enormous profits of the capitalists against the revolution.

In our daily agitation we must show the path to the overcoming of the capitalist dictatorship and its fascist form of rule and emphasise that the mass strike, the general strike, the armed revolt are the only means to put an end to it, to prevent imperialist war, to give the workers and peasants bread and work, land and freedom. *(To be concluded).*

The Plenary Session of the Y.C.L. of Germany

By Müller (Berlin)

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League has been held. It was the first session since the League went into illegality. In spite of all fascist enemies we succeeded in holding the session for several days without any disturbance. The Central Committee of the Young Communist League was not in full attendance, because the enemy had torn gaps in its ranks. Some of the bold fighters are pining in prison or in the concentration camps, or they are among the tortured and murdered heroes. In spite of everything, the leadership of the League, and through it of the German young proletarians, is secured, the more so as the League still possesses reserves in order to replace the members of the Central Committee. This is an important fact.

The following main questions were discussed by the Plenary Session:—

(1) **Ideological fight against the fascist theory of solving the crisis, exposure of the fraud regarding the provision of work, the war danger and the problems of the future of the German youth.**

There was unanimous recognition of the fact that a general intensification of the crisis would ensue as a result of an accentuation of the crisis in America, which will very likely set in shortly, which would confirm the correctness of the analysis given by the Twelfth Plenum of the Executive of the C.I. The class crisis in Germany will inevitably experience an intensification during the winter, and as soon as the masses who have been compulsorily transferred to the villages flock back starving to the cities, the swindle of providing work will collapse to the extent that the Party and the League prove able to increase the mass fighting actions in autumn and winter in all factories, labour-service camps and at the Labour Exchanges.

It is therefore absolutely necessary to make the labour-service camps centres of revolutionary ferment, to carry into them the spirit of strike struggle and mutiny in order by their actions to spur the masses in the big factories and the unemployed workers on to fight. Every young Communist in the labour-service camp has to maintain connections, by illegal means, with the organisation to which he belongs. They must all endeavour to form cells of the League in all the camps, and all local organisations in the neighbourhood of the camp must help the inhabitants of the camp to organise the fights. The prevailing discontent among the young workers in the camps must be converted by the League into conscious political fighting will, into revolutionary actions. At present there are at least 500,000 workers in the camps who could become the best cadres of the revolutionary army through the mass work of the League.

This work will at the same time result in the ideological ousting of the fascist influence among the masses of youth, because we can raise among these masses and with them all the questions of the future of the German youth. We have to convince the masses of the youth that only the proletarian revolution opens up a future for the German youth, in which all young forces will be able to develop practically as builders of Socialism.

At the same time a concrete struggle must be conducted

against the militarisation of the people, and in particular the youth, against the imposition of fresh war burdens upon the working masses. The youth who are learning the use of arms must be directed to employ this art against murderous fascism.

(2) Then the question of the importance of the partial fights in the present situation was dealt with. Whilst constantly propagating the political mass strike, the general strike and the insurrection against the fascist dictatorship, it is necessary, in order to bring the masses into the class fight, to attach the greatest importance in agitation to the conscious organising of partial actions to enforce even the smallest demands. It is therefore necessary to find the most immediate political demands in time in all economic fights: for instance, election of factory councils with the participation of young workers, election of camp committees, release of arrested workers, freedom of meetings and demonstrations, freedom of strike picketing, of the press, right of combination, free election of youth committees at the trade schools, etc. The League as well as the Party can record many partial actions, some of which were carried out successfully. But considering the possibilities obtaining we are still lagging behind. The growing discontent in the factories on account of the wage and working conditions, the enormous deductions from wages, call for a systematic organising of the united front for actions of resistance and for fresh aggressive attacks.

(3) In order to establish more rapidly the ideological class unity of the proletariat, in order to arouse the remaining portions of the proletariat from passivity, it is necessary to launch an energetic offensive against the social democracy. The theory that social democracy is dead must be made true by us. We must enlighten the masses regarding the fundamental difference between Marxism and reformism, between Bolshevism and social-fascism. Only after the mass influence of the social democracy and of the young socialists has been liquidated will the day of emancipation approach. Many examples from recent times prove that even now the social democracy in fact represents the main social support of the bourgeoisie, because by its theory that the regime will collapse of itself, by preaching to the workers the necessity of remaining quiet, by its anti-Soviet incitement, by its placing Bolshevism on the same footing as fascism, it actually assists the German bourgeoisie to maintain their rule.

Our united front policy towards the socialist youth can record considerable successes. But in many localities and factories this policy was an opportunist one. Instead of separating the socialist youth ideologically and organisationally from the social democracy, our Leagues in many cases acted toward the socialist youth as toward allies.

A decisive turn is now to be made in this respect. There are sufficient examples showing how our mass work for drawing the most active sections of the socialist youth into the Y.C.L. ought to be conducted. The socialist youth must be liquidated by us; by means of the most energetic ideological struggle against the social democracy, against their fresh deceitful manoeuvres and the deceitful "Left" radical manoeuvres of the socialist youth leaders we must succeed in bringing about such a collaboration with the members of the socialist youth that it will not be hard for us to get them to make a complete break with the past. No negotiations must take place with the socialist youth leaders without our approaching the rank and file of the socialist youth. Our ideological mass work must be conducted mainly among the rank and file.

(4) Finally, the questions of mass work and mass struggle in the mass organisations were discussed. The greatest weakness still prevails in this sphere. The Y.C.L. must get better connections with the masses in the sport organisations, in the trade unions, in the Catholic organisations and even with the discontented elements in the Hitler youth and the Storm Troops.

The Plenum devoted part of its deliberations to the development of class trade unions, in which the Y.C.L. will take an active part. The weaknesses and shortcomings of Youth R.T.U.O. were criticised, and it was stated that there exist great possibilities of winning broad masses of young workers for the new class trade unions, as many socialist young workers would join them.

The Plenum recorded as one of the main shortcomings the fact that the connections between the lower organisations and the leading committees are sometimes inadequate. In future every district organisation has to issue, apart from the "Junge Garde" (Young Guard), a weekly organ as a supplement for the factory newspapers. These organs shall assist as far as is possible under

the illegal conditions in recruiting the most reliable and tested young workers for the League—in spite of the fascist terror.

The Session, which closed by paying homage to all the heroes of the Youth League who had fallen in the fight, clearly demonstrated that Liebknecht's spirit is alive among the young proletarians of Germany. The Y.C.L., side by side with the Party, will energetically help in order that Marxist theory shall become the material force of the proletarian masses, who in alliance with the peasants and the urban toilers will soon bring about the overthrow of the capitalist regime.

China

With Soviet China Against Imperialism

By Marcel Cachin (Paris)

According to official telegrams which have arrived in the last few days, the Red Army of the government of Soviet China is successfully advancing in the province of Fukien in the direction of the big seaports of Foochow and Amoy. This is an important event. Since 1929 the government of Soviet China has been ruling over the greater part of the inland provinces of Kiangsi, Kwangchow and Hunan. It is making progress everywhere. The population under Soviet rule numbers 80 million.

We remember the language employed by the Lytton Report when speaking of the Chinese Soviet power. On Page 23 of this report we read:

"Communism has become the real rival of Nanking. The influence of the national government of Nanking, the government of Chiang-Kai-shek, extends over only a few of the 18 provinces of China. And this only by means of force. The Communist rule extends over a far larger area."

Many working people in the capitalist States of Europe are ignorant of all this. The bourgeois papers carefully conceal the true facts. As regards the socialist leaders, Vandervelde summed up their opinion in a book which appeared in 1931 entitled: "A travers la revolution Chinoise" (Across the Chinese Revolution). According to his opinion:

"Armed bands calling themselves the Red Army roam here and there and disappear on the approach of the regular army of Chiang-Kai-shek. The Nanking government will soon settle with them."

That is how the chairman of the Second International refers to the Red Army of China. But the victory of his democratic friend Chiang-Kai-shek, predicted and desired by him, looks very much like a final collapse. The "armed bands" of Soviet China, i.e., the army of the workers and peasants of China, are continually gaining ground, and it is the forces of Chiang-Kai-shek which have had to "disappear" five times in face of the Red Army.

If it were not for the intervention of the imperialists, whose admitted plan is to carve up China, the whole of China would very rapidly become a Soviet Republic. This is a prospect which obviously appears unbearable to the governing classes of Japan, the United States, Great Britain and France, all of whom are striving for a share of the booty. It is a prospect which also appears unbearable to Vandervelde and his reformist companions.

The news agencies also report that, on the urgent request of the Nanking government, the Japanese admiralty have sent three warships to the coast of the province of Fukien. The United States are sending a cruiser and the British a big warship. The French consul, acting on the orders of the Foreign Minister Paul Boncour, has instructed the naval authorities in the Far East also to send warships to Foochow.

These are the latest facts. There is no doubt that the delegation of French socialists and Communists (Marteau, Vaillant-Couturier, Poupy) who at the present moment are investigating the situation in the Far East, will give exact reports on the serious events which are pending there.

But it is already the duty of the parties of the working class to call attention to the scandal of the intervention of the imperialists against the power of the revolutionary workers and peasants of China. It is their duty to demand and insist on the withdrawal of the expeditionary forces which have been sent there by the brigands of imperialism. It is their duty to support in every way the proletariat of Soviet China, who are resolutely following in the footsteps of their elder brothers of Moscow.

India

The Present Situation in India

By V. Basak

I.—A Summary of the Policy of Gandhism.

On the pages of the Indian press and at numerous meetings in the country, among the most varied strata of the population, there is a most lively discussion as to the results of the policy of Gandhism. The summarising of the results of Gandhism for the last twelve or fifteen years takes place from the point of view of a criticism of Gandhism. Various classes, various political groups draw various conclusions from this criticism. Many Congressites have again raised the question of forming a Swaraj Party, i.e., participation and collaboration with British imperialism in the Legislative Assemblies.

One of the prominent Congressites, Mr. Azaf Ali, published an article in the "Bombay Chronicle" on June 26, in which, while recognising the breakdown of Gandhism, he calls on the masses to adopt a Five-Year Plan of participation in the Legislative Assembly to bring pressure on the English from within. This plan, says Mr. Azaf Ali, is our last hope. If this does not succeed, there is nothing to prevent the Communists or revolutionists triumphing in India.

"Left" Congressites like Bose appealed for the formation of a "Left" party inside the National Congress to change the old leadership of the Congress. They criticised Gandhism, but in their own fashion, reproaching Gandhi for losing his steadfastness, because, they say, he proved to be a bad diplomat, does not know when to make compromises, easily gives way to the pressure of the imperialists and was not able to use in negotiations such a trump card as the mass anti-imperialist movement. Bose swears that he is against the policy of compromises, etc. But this is not true, because in the appeal to the third political conference of Indians in London, where he criticises Gandhism, Bose objects to the use of revolutionary methods of struggle, speaks against the peoples' revolution, and invites the masses to apply the methods of the economic boycott only. In the past and at the present time, the "Left" Congressites in every way disrupted the preparations for a general strike, disorganised the mass peasant movement against payment of rent, taxes and debts, etc., and while having in mind that their words cannot be believed, the very plan of Bose of overthrowing the yoke of the British imperialists by an economic boycott without a revolution is reformism, is the same Gandhism which Bose so emphatically criticises at present. As a matter of fact, Bose's project of a "Left" party to a great degree is intended to keep back the petty-bourgeois masses, above all the student youth, from going over to the side of the Communist Party, to the side of revolutionary methods of struggle.

What is the picture of the present bourgeois national camp? What divisions can be seen? At present we can note three groups. One which openly and insistently demands the cessation of all pseudo opposition and participation in the Legislative Assembly. The second, led by Gandhi, does not object to participation in the Legislative Assemblies, but considers it inadvisable to admit defeat openly before the masses and puts forward a plan for individual civil disobedience (Gandhi proposes to select one hundred picked Congressite non-resisters who must demonstratively refuse to obey some law. Gandhi proposes to concentrate the attention of the toiling masses on this campaign, calling on them not to interfere nor undertake mass activity). Gandhi is openly against the mass movement, but formally states that resistance (!) is not yet over. Finally, there is the third group of "Left" Congressites, Bose and Co., who profess to criticise Gandhi from the "Left," but are ready to take part in the Legislative Assemblies, to prepare a new leadership. Both the "Lefts" and the Rights and the Gandhists (who will try to play the role of the centre) are against calling on the masses to resist the new constitution. All the groups are trying to avert mass activity, hiding themselves behind talk about the alleged apathy of the toiling masses. Nobody will be surprised when the "Left" Bose and Co. and the Rights unite to form a party like the previous Swaraj party. The leading article of the "Bombay Chronicle" of June 1933 speaks about it.

The policy of all these groups show that the Indian bourgeoisie continues its line of collaboration with British imperialism. Rivalry with Japanese capital and a number of small

economic and constitutional concessions, and their fear of the approaching national revolution, compelled the bourgeoisie to come out openly to stop mass struggle. The bourgeois leaders of the National Congress explain their failure to get any substantial concessions by saying that they have not been able to secure Hindu-Mussulman unity, and they call on the National Congress to concentrate the attention of the toiling masses on this, and even criticise Gandhi because he gave more prominence to the question of untouchability.

All these explanations of the causes of the defeat of the civil disobedience campaign are not serious, because the Hindus and Mussulmans acted together in mass activity (strikes, demonstrations, hartals, etc.). Only bourgeois reformists are capable of replacing the question of the unity of the toiling masses of various religions and nationalities by the question of agreements with the priests, landlords and bureaucrats whose actions depend on the will of the British imperialists. **The responsibility for the present pitiful results of the independence movement falls entirely on the Congress leaders, including the "Left" Congressites.**

The bankruptcy of Gandhism is rapidly accelerating the process of the disillusionment of the revolutionary sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, especially the revolutionary youth, with national-reformism. The great peculiarity of the present situation in India is that the workers and peasants have accumulated tremendous experience in the class struggle, have seen in practice the policy of bourgeois national-reformism and its "Left" variety. This practice proved the treacherous attitude of the I.N.C. towards the struggle for independence, their betrayal of the interests of the workers and peasants. And ever new sections of the toilers are realising this at the present time.

History has put on the order of the day the question of summing up the results of Gandhism, and around this a wide discussion should be carried on, because it is the duty of Communists to help the masses to realise the lessons of the past stage of the class struggle.

The Indian Communists in 1930 published their Programme of Action, and the short course of events confirmed the correctness of its statements, and it should be made clear to every toiler.

The toiling masses, and above all the workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia, in summing up the experience of the past years and re-examining their old positions, must not only reject Gandhism and the "Left" national reformism of Bose, Nehru, Roy, Kandalkar and Co., but must also sum up the results of the policy and the practice of the national revolutionary groups. It is time to sum up the results of the terrorist groups as the **Gadr Party, the Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party**. It is time to sum up the results of the policy of the Leagues of Youth (Naujuwan Bharat, Sabha, etc.). While fully admitting the self-sacrifice and heroism of the members of the national revolutionary groups, we must openly recognise that their path was not correct and objectively helped the bourgeois National Congress to carry out its reformist policy. As a matter of fact, the national revolutionary groups dragged at the tail of the bourgeois leadership of the National Congress.

There is only one path for the liberation of India, liberation of the peasants, formation of a workers' and peasants' government, and this path was pointed out by the Communists. The workers and peasants of the old Russia followed the path pointed out by the Communists. And at the present time the power in the Soviet Union is in the hands of the workers. There are no landlords, factory owners and usurers in the Soviet Union. There are no castes and no pariahs. The land and water belong to the peasants. The workers' government has given to the peasants 150,000 tractors and gives an additional 50,000 every year. Women and men are equal. Almost everyone literate. All the children go to school free of charge and receive free food in the schools. There are no unemployed in town or village. The workers themselves fix wages through the workers' government and the trade unions. Wages are increasing every year. The working day is seven hours. Medical assistance is given to all free of charge. **The Workers' Republic is building Socialism, i.e., a system in which there are no parasites, no exploitation of man by man, where everything is directed towards improving the life of the toilers, where the workers rule the country and there are no idle rich.**

The Chinese workers and peasants are going along the same path, building and fighting for their Soviet power. Throughout the world the workers are following the example of the Soviet

workers and fighting against imperialism for socialism. In India also the workers have begun the fight for socialism. In India the workers have begun to build up a Communist Party, and it is **only under the leadership of this party** that the workers and peasants of India will obtain freedom, will receive land and water, create a workers' and peasants government, destroy the caste system and inequality, will improve the life of the workers and move forward to the construction of socialism.

Every worker and peasant, every revolutionary and toiler must think over these results and choose the path of further struggle.

The path of Gandhi, the National Congress, Bose and Nehru, Roy and Kandalkar and their like, the path of reformism and crawling before the imperialists, princes, landlords and capitalists, is the path of treachery and betrayal of the peoples' interests.

The path of the terrorists, of the petty-bourgeoisie national revolutionary groups, the path of unclarity, brings confusion into the mass movement, instability and vacillations, and is the path which supports capitalism and aids the work of the reformists. We should not go along this path because it leads to defeat.

There remains the only path, the path of the Communists, the path of consistent revolutionary mass struggle, the path of systematically preparing, mobilising and training the masses for the national revolution and its culminating point—the revolt of all the toiling people for independence, land, food and the workers' and peasants' government.

Every class-conscious worker and toiling peasant and revolutionary must take the path pointed out by the Communists.

There is no other path for liberating our great, mighty, but enslaved and impoverished country.

This path means the strengthening of the fighting alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the alliance led by the working class with the Communist Party at its head.

(To be continued.)

Fight Against Imperialist War

Czechoslovakia, the Outpost of Imperialist War in Central Europe

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The greater the difficulties at home and abroad become, the greater becomes the danger of war and the more feverish the armaments for the coming war, the capitalist way out of the crisis. In this respect Czechoslovakia, as the leader of the Little Entente, this group of imperialist States in Central Europe, also plays a leading role in the war preparations. The Four-Power Pact, the increasing activity of the revisionist States, the growing inner difficulties in the States of the Little Entente themselves, have given rise in these countries to a situation which in no way differs from the time preceding the imperialist world war. The threats to employ military force against the "enemies" who are demanding a revision of the peace treaties are becoming increasingly open, and instead of the former phrases about "securing a hundred years' peace," which were used in order to cover up war preparations, one hears talk about the sure guarantee of a strong, well-equipped army.

Needless to say, here, too, the social democrats set the tone and support and conduct the ideological war preparations among the working masses. Pointing to the dangers which threaten the State—which of course in the eyes of the social-democratic leaders is at the same time the State, the home and fatherland of the working class—they call for the unity of all elements which are "loyal to the State" to be ready to defend it. Thus, speaking at the Congress of the Czech Social Democratic Railway Workers' Union, held some time ago, Bechyne, the social-democratic Minister, when dealing with the political situation, referred to the events in Germany and declared that the State is in danger and

"therefore it is our duty to rally and organise all elements true to the State, to give them a common aim and to prepare ourselves for anything. Our State and our democracy are in danger. We shall defend ourselves. We must defend ourselves, cost what it may. We shall defend democracy also against the enemy at home."

This bellicose language was expressed even more clearly in

the speech of the social-democratic Minister for Education, Dr. Derer, on the occasion of the national festivities in Pribina. This worthy member of the Second International declared:—

"For us revision is neither a diplomatic nor an economic nor a political question. For us revision is simply and solely a military question. . . . We are endeavouring to perfect and strengthen our army."

And as Derer, as social-democratic Minister for Education, is not only qualified to deal with military questions, but is also an authority on educational questions, he demanded:—

"The Slovakian generation educated in our schools must be inexorably and mercilessly opposed to anybody who has no feeling for the interests of our Czechoslovakian State. For people who wish to overthrow the State, no matter whether they are cunning opponents and enemies or dreamers, there must not and will not be any pardon, for any weakness in this respect would mean the commencement of inevitable disintegration. The State is maintained by moral force, but also by physical force."

Could a Mussolini, a Hitler, or any other fascist Minister have said it better? The necessary supplement is provided by the daily columns of the social-democratic press, which, under the cloak of the alleged fight against fascism, holds forth on the "mission" of the Germans in Bohemia with regard to Hitler Germany. Here there is put forward in a disguised form the same argument with which the German social patriots in 1914 called upon the German workers to "fight against Russian Tsarism," which "threatened German liberty."

A few days ago the representatives of the Prague newspapers were invited to the Gbeller aerodrome, where manoeuvres with bombing planes were carried out. Before the commencement of the manoeuvres Bradac, the Minister for National Defence, delivered a speech in which he pointed out that the Czechoslovakian air force must not lag behind that of foreign countries. He opposed any reduction of the military budget; the Czechoslovakian air force alone must receive at least 500 million crowns a year.

At an interview with the correspondent of the London "News-Chronicle," President Masaryk stated:—

"It has already been pointed out to the parties to the Four-Power Pact that the Little Entente and Poland would offer armed resistance to a revision of the frontiers attempted against their will."

Thus the President of the Czechoslovakian Republic, who is declared by the social democrats to be a staunch champion of peace and a pacifist, threatens with war.

The Czechoslovakian statesmen are not content with words, but are making all technical preparations for war. Thus, whilst preliminary military education of the youth is not yet introduced by law, it is nevertheless being carried on unofficially. The Czechoslovakian sports organisations, as well as the social-democratic gymnastic associations, are giving military training to their members. At the same time, however, efforts are being made to introduce universal preliminary military training by law. A systematic campaign is being carried on, especially by the General Staff, for the realisation of this aim. The propaganda, likewise conducted by members of the General Staff, for the establishment of work camps for the youth has the same object in view. A number of work camps have already been set up in various places and enjoy the support not only of the State but also of the military authorities.

Simultaneously with these preparations there is a feverish piling up of armaments. It should be mentioned that a law is being prepared which provides that all inhabitants shall be compelled to possess gas masks. In a number of towns air defence manoeuvres are taking place at which all organisations and the whole population are mobilised. Bata, the boot king, is adapting his factories for the production of gas masks. After the population of Zlin, where the Bata works are situated, have been adequately supplied, the Bata works will continue the production of gas masks in order to supply the Czechoslovakian market. All these facts show how near is the danger of imperialist war and indicate with what haste and intensity the bourgeoisie are arming. The more important and urgently necessary therefore is the fight which the C.P. of Czechoslovakia is conducting against the danger of imperialist war.

Danger of War in the East! Against the Polish-Danzig War Agreements

Joint Appeal of the Communist Parties of Danzig, Gdynia, East Prussia and Pomerania

Danzig is and remains one of the most dangerous focal points of imperialist contradictions in the East. This fact is in no way altered by the negotiations for an understanding which have been initiated in the meantime between Danzig and Poland and which represent an attempt on the part of German fascism to push the imperialist antagonisms into the background for the time being in order to conclude an alliance for intervention against the Soviet Union. With this object in view the fascist government of Danzig made fresh important concessions to the Polish capitalists, whilst the Polish fascist government has not changed in the least its attitude towards Danzig.

The monstrous chauvinistic incitement and stirring up of all nationalist instincts, which is cloaked for the time being by the smoke screen of "understanding," that is to say, understanding at the cost of the Soviet Union, will collide all the more furiously with one another when the fiasco of these negotiations becomes apparent. Precisely at this moment the joint appeal of the Communist Parties of Danzig, Gdynia, East Prussia, Pomerania acquires the greatest importance.

The workers gave practical demonstration of their readiness to fight against imperialist war by the seamen's strike in Danzig and Gdynia on August 1, by the joint anti-war conference and by the formation of an anti-war committee of the workers of Danzig, Gdynia, East Prussia and Pomerania from the most important undertakings, railways and ports and by the tremendous protest demonstrations of the Warsaw and Cracow workers on the occasion of the visit of the Danzig fascist government.

Working people of Danzig, Gdynia, East Prussia and Pomerania!

Starvation, high prices and terror are throttling the people. Fascism is scourging the working masses with scorpions in the vain hope of saving the bankrupt capitalist social order from expropriation by the tolling people. Bloody imperialist war adventures are intended to provide a way out of the crisis. Hitler, Pilsudski and Rauschnig, all the reactionary powers of the world, who brutally crush the strikes and struggles of their own workers and peasants, are all endeavouring to justify their imperialist war incitement by means of provocative nationalism.

The war clouds are gathering menacingly in Eastern Europe. The taking over of the government by the Hitler party in Danzig has dangerously tightened the knot of the Versailles antagonisms and enormously intensified the danger of conflicts between Germany and Poland. The fight between German and Polish imperialism over Danzig and the Corridor has assumed the character of a pogrom; broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, infected by the chauvinistic incitement of the German and Polish bourgeoisie, have been drawn into it.

Hitler fascism is provoking war. Under the slogan of equality it is preparing for immediate war; but at the same time it is preparing the ground for a fresh predatory war against the Soviet Union.

On August 8, the fascist Senate in Danzig, through the foreign-political declaration of Rauschnig regarding the Danzig-Polish negotiations, plainly and openly followed this line of foreign policy of Hitler fascism. The Danzig Hitler fascists have in the most servile manner offered themselves to Polish imperialism for service in the anti-Soviet united front. On this day the fascist Senate demonstrated to the whole of the working people of Danzig what base national treachery it is capable of. The results of the negotiations between the representatives of the Danzig and Polish governments mean an increase of the double yoke of exploitation and oppression borne by the working people of Danzig. Under the pretext of granting rights to the Polish minority, the fascist Senate accords new privileges to the Polish capitalists.

The use of Danzig harbour, one of the most vital questions for the working masses of Danzig, remains as before only an object of negotiations between the Polish and Danzig government commis-

sions. Pilsudski's brown foreign legion, with Rauschnig and Greiser at the head, deliver everything over to the profit-hunting Polish stock jobbers and speculators in the hope that a few crumbs will also fall to them.

This fresh enslavement pact, which places Danzig still more tightly in the clutches of the Warsaw rulers, has been concluded on the backs of the Danzig and Polish workers and peasants. The capitalists intend, with the aid of their fascist watch dogs, to extract fresh millions in profits out of the blood and sweat of the proletarians on each side of the frontier.

On August 8, the social-democratic leaders in the Danzig Parliament, with one exception, supported the fascist Senate and thereby revealed themselves as the open assistants of the fascist dictatorship.

The Polish social fascists, just like the Danzig social-democratic leaders, side with their own bourgeoisie. They conceal their chauvinism behind the cloak of defence against Hitler fascism.

Shame on these traitors, on these pacemakers of fascism, who even to-day have the effrontery to call themselves Marxists. Never again social democracy: that must be the solemn oath of all honest social-democratic class-conscious workers.

The working class of all countries have one enemy, namely, the capitalist bloodsuckers, who in order to increase their profits wish to incite the working people into a fresh fratricidal war. That is why we Communists fight under the slogan: the enemy is in our own country!

Only the workers' and peasants' Republic can give work and bread. Only a Soviet Germany, a Soviet Poland in alliance with the Soviet Union, will give to the human beings what they need in the way of food, clothing and shelter. Only the revolution will give the masses of the people in Pomerania and Silesia the right to decide to what State they shall belong; only we Communists are fighting for the right of self-determination up to separation. The fight against the fascist plans of Pilsudski and Hitler is the common fight of the German and Polish proletariat.

Down with the Polish-Danzig war provocateurs! Hands off the Soviet Union! International proletarian solidarity against fascism, hunger and war! Stretch out your hand to your brothers across all the frontiers! Inexorable fight against the fascist monster. For freedom and Socialism!

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. of Germany

Berlin, August 15, 1933.

War is immediately threatening. Socialist construction in the Soviet Union is menaced by Japan, Germany and England. Fascism is systematically inciting the working youth! Social democracy is continuing, systematically and impudently, to split the proletariat.

But we are here! Mass indignation is growing. Our authority among the masses is daily increasing. We are the only anti-fascist, anti-capitalist, socialist youth organisation, the only leader of the young proletarians.

Whoever is against us is for hunger, war and fascism! Whoever fights against the World Congress of Youth—is in favour of the anti-Soviet war!

Now to work! Defend the Soviet Union! Launch the fiercest fight against Hitler, Krupp, Göring!

Raise the banner of Lenin and Liebknecht higher and more boldly! Let your call for unity of the militant youth resound a thousandfold in town and country!

Down with compulsory military service, labour service and forced labour! War against imperialist war! Defend the Soviet Union! Come out in protest demonstrations and strikes on Youth Day! The militant youth from the whole of Germany is sending delegates to the World Congress! Long live the unity of the youth in socialist action for freedom! Long live the Young Communist International! Our fight for the overthrow of Hitler—our lives for freedom! Long live Soviet Germany!

An Appeal of the C.P. of France and Spain against the Moroccan War

The Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues of France and Spain have issued an appeal against the Moroccan war to the toilers of their countries, in which it is stated, *inter alia*:

The governments of France and Spain, allied by secret military treaties, are jointly operating against the Moroccan people, which is fighting for its independence.

The Daladier government, supported by the Socialist Party, and the Azana government, which includes three socialist Ministers, have entered on a fresh stage of the wars of plunder, conquest and enslavement which have been conducted in Morocco for over twenty years.

The troops of French imperialism are climbing the slopes of the mountains to the last heights which can be reached by the Moroccan mountaineers who, starved, attacked with machine-gun fire by the armies of "progress and civilisation" of the democratic bourgeoisie, are offering heroic resistance to the advance of the bank and stock exchange bandits.

Spanish imperialism is operating in Rio de Oro in the expectation that the joint military action of the two robber States will be carried out in this district and in the Riff, where already in the year 1925 the French and Spanish troops slaughtered the Riff peasants.

The milliards squeezed out of the toilers are squandered in the Moroccan adventure for the benefit of a small handful of rich parasites.

Toilers of France and Spain! Stand up against this war, which swallows up milliards, squeezed out of you, a war which murders your sons and brothers and throttles a people fighting for its freedom. Your enemy is not the Moroccan people. Your enemy is your own imperialists, who draw profits from the colonies which strengthen their power as a ruling class in order the better to exploit you.

From the colonies it derives cheap labour power which it uses against you in order to lower your standard of living.

Finally, capitalism derives military forces from the colonies, which it arms in order to be able to choke in blood any rising of the people in the mother country.

Working people of France and Spain! Socialist workers! The socialist parties in France and also in Spain, which approved the war and the colonial credits, bear a large share of the responsibility for the slaughter in the colonies.

Contrary to the Second International, which splits the forces of the workers in the mother countries and fights the colonial peoples in the interest of the capitalist exploiters, the Communist International fights for the united action of the proletarians of all countries, the worker of all races and all nations, for the common struggle against the yoke of imperialism.

Therefore we call upon you to fight against war by holding firmly aloft the flag of the proletarian International. *The people of Morocco are your allies. Their fight is yours. It is directed against your common enemy.* Denounce with every means the wars of conquest and plunder! Adopt resolutions of protest against the Moroccan war! Arouse public opinion by distributing leaflets, posting up bills, organising factory meetings!

Develop the fights for your demands! Defend your wages, which capitalism is reducing in order to conduct this war in Morocco!

Organise powerful mass demonstrations in the factories and in the streets.

Railwaymen, dock workers, seamen, metal workers, expose the transport of war material, demonstrate in the factories, at the railway stations and in the docks.

Realise everywhere your unity of action against the bourgeoisie!

Socialist workers! Like us you are against the Moroccan war. Fight with us! Along with your Communist brothers and the whole of the exploited, set up fighting committees against the Moroccan war in the factories, in the workers' quarters and in the localities!

United front of all working people against the colonial slaughter!

Down with the Moroccan war!

Fight for the complete independence of the people of Morocco by the *immediate withdrawal of the imperialist armies of France and Spain!*

Long live the common fight of the colonial peoples and of the proletarians of the oppressing nations.

Long live the common action of the proletarians of France and Spain against the Moroccan war!

Amalgamation of the World Committee against Imperialist War with the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Union

The International Bureau for the fight against imperialist war and the European Anti-Fascist Bureau inform all followers of the fighting movement against war arising from the Amsterdam Congress of August, 1932, and all followers of the movement against fascism arising from the Paris Congress of June, 1933, that they have decided on the amalgamation of these two movements both internationally and in each individual country. This decision was adopted on the proposal of the most active champions of both movements and in view of recent events.

The changes which have taken place in the international situation confront us with fresh responsibilities, lay fresh obligations on us and multiply the tasks which have been set our two movements—these movements which have many common aims, which have hitherto collaborated in a brotherly spirit, and each of which has performed important work in the sphere of organisation and action, a work which to-day must be strengthened and deepened by all means.

The world economic crisis has shaken the whole capitalist system. It has accentuated the contradictions and antagonisms between the imperialist countries and called forth terrible dangers which in all countries are weighing more heavily every day on the masses of hand and brain workers.

To a redoubled and general armaments race there is added the economic war, which, as a result of the competition and under the influence of the imperialist interests which are conducting it, leads inevitably to a military world war.

The world, which is already partly in a state of war, as in some regions slaughter has become a regular feature, is full of the ingredients for a new world war. War in Morocco, in the Far East, in South America, danger of war in Central Europe and in the Balkans—what use is it to enumerate them all when it is more than clear that new seats of war, fresh causes of war, can spring up at any moment? Shaking and violent upheavals, which can at any moment lead to a general conflagration, threaten us on all sides, without anybody being able to say where the next outbreak will take place which will bring the new great war which will be a repetition on an incomparably larger scale of the terrible hecatombs of 1914.

The terrorist offensive against the masses is intensified and carried on more systematically.

Simultaneously with the robbery of the working people by means of inflation to which the biggest countries are resorting and by means of which it is intended to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the working masses, social and political reaction is increasing from day to day. **The whole of Germany is bespattered with blood.** Without speaking of the other countries where the fascists are in power, we see the same methods, the same ideology being introduced and developed in those countries which are still described as democratic countries, but where democracy, because it is a bourgeois democracy, is becoming more and more converted into fascism. In the fateful hour in which we are living at present we must devote special attention to these events. We must not forget for a moment that fascism can assume any form, and that, side by side with the shameful fascism of Hitler, the bourgeoisie of all countries are seeking a way out which leads finally to the same state of affairs.

Is there any ray of hope in this gloomy picture of the world situation? Yes, the situation is not hopeless. On the contrary, the feeling which must predominate in spite of everything in the hearts and minds of us soldiers of a new order is one of hope! For the front of the toilers is growing. The defensive and aggressive fight of the masses is becoming stronger. The working class, this decisive social force, is becoming more and more conscious of the tasks confronting it and also of the pitfalls lying in its path.

One of the firmest reasons of our hope is the growth and in-

creasing strength of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Inspired by the shining example of the workers' and peasants' State the masses in the other parts of the world have strengthened their organisations in spite of all temporary failures and in spite of misery and need.

After the abominable excesses of the Nazi inquisition it is splendid and inspiring to see how the German working class, even if temporarily held up in its advance, has not surrendered but is rallying again and going over to the attack. The best elements of the masses are pushing forward into the fight for the maintenance of the achievements of the proletariat, into the fight against war and fascism.

This fight against war and fascism has been conducted for a year by the Amsterdam movement, and for some months by the anti-fascist movement which was started at the Congress in Paris. We have won battles; we have commenced to rally the masses.

But the results achieved by these two movements are exceedingly small compared with what remains to be done. And the increasing danger of war and fascism impose fresh duties on each and all of us and demands to-day not only the closest co-operation but the merging of the two movements.

The experience acquired by each of the movements, which have hitherto been co-operating in the most cordial manner, show the advantages of a complete merging. In principle the dangers of war and of fascism are inseparably interwoven, so that the fight against these two direct products of capitalism must also be equally closely linked together. In actual practice the best results have been recorded where these two movements have worked not separately but together.

The great international demonstration to which the Amsterdam and anti-fascist movement are at present eagerly devoting their whole attention, namely, the **World Congress of Youth against war and fascism**, renders the amalgamation an immediate necessity.

The congress is taking place this month, and it is necessary that the youth in the factories and in the fields, the schools and universities—whom fascism and war have marked down as their special prey—adopt a definite attitude to the fight by forming the storm troops of the united big army.

But there are other big tasks facing us at the present moment: the increased campaign which we must conduct against the growing danger of war and against the terror in Germany by commencing to wrest from the claws of Hitler those who are in the greatest danger.

The unceasing fight against the wars which are already going on (Morocco, Far East, South-America), the great demonstrations which we must carry out on the occasion of the anniversary of the armistice, and all the other public demonstrations which it is our task to organise—all this will gain in extent and importance if our two movements are merged into one.

Our directives, our slogans remain the same: fight against war and against fascism by fighting against capitalism, which gives birth to war and fascism, by means of the united front of all toilers.

We must oppose all demonstrations of fascism in the countries which are not yet openly fascist countries; we must allow fascism no peace in those countries where the representatives of the hangmen's governments openly come forward, and where fascism weaves its underground demagogic plans and, by inciting and befogging the victims of capitalism, is working to render the fascist plague universal.

The International Bureau for the fight against imperialist war and the European Anti-Fascist Bureau have adopted at the sitting at which they decide to assume the common title of **International Bureau for the Fight against Imperialist War and Fascism** and to amalgamate the two organisations from top to bottom, the decision to conduct from now on the united fight in this sphere in all countries, taking into account the special conditions obtaining in each individual country.

Through this decision we enter on an important stage of our fight. In this way there grows and deepens a great international united front movement which comes forward independently of political parties, is subordinate to none of them and does not make any claim to replace them. Its aim is to rally the forces and to co-ordinate the actions in the whole world against war and fascism.

We call across all party boundaries for a common fight! We do not enquire about race, creed, or party membership; we are only concerned with the real readiness to fight against fascism and war. We summon the masses to the broadest united front for the purpose of crushing fascism and war.

Apart from this movement any other independent movement setting itself the same or similar aims can **only hinder or disturb** our social work. The International Bureau for the Fight against Imperialist War and Fascism therefore directs the attention of all its members to the danger threatening our cause through the formation of such movements.

We issue a stirring appeal to the hand and brain workers in all parties, the trade unions of all tendencies, to the peasants and members of the middle classes, to the youth and the women:

Our vital interests demand the letting loose of a powerful wave of resistance of the masses against the dangers of fresh slaughter and of oppression which is approaching menacingly from all sides.

Our slogans are:—

Down with imperialist war and fascism!

Long live the fight against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors!

Long live the united front of the working people!

Paris, August 20, 1933.

The Bureau of the Joint World Committee
against Imperialist War and Fascism.

In the Camp of Social Democracy

Social-Fascist Blind Alley and Revolutionary United Front

By Bela Kun

The "rejuvenating" Conference of the Second International has not succeeded in any consolidation, but, on the contrary, has driven itself into a blind alley.

The Paris Conference was intended by the leaders of the Second International as a united front manoeuvre. It was convened in order to allay the indignation aroused among the working masses by the treachery of German social democracy, before, as well as after, the Fascist dictatorship came into power. The Conference was called in order to offer to the masses a "new programme," to create the illusion of the possible existence of a "better" social democracy than the German, and, finally, to continue the manoeuvres of the Second International in connection with the united front by a new appeal to the Communist International.

At the closing session, *Otto Bauer*, leader of the Austrian social democracy, was forced to declare that the Resolutions Committee had not succeeded in obtaining a majority on the question whether it was expedient to approach the Communist International with a new offer to start negotiations for united front.

According to Bauer's assertion, three tendencies collided with each other in the Commission. The first tendency, representing only a small minority, was voiced by *Nenni*, the Italian social democrat, who advocated that the Second International should immediately apply to the Comintern and propose the convocation of a common conference.

The second tendency, represented by the German social fascists and the Scandinavian delegates, was emphatically opposed to any negotiations on a united front with the revolutionary organisations and in particular with the Comintern.

The third tendency represented by *Otto Bauer*, *Leon Blum* and others, advocated giving the Second International a "free hand" regarding the question of negotiations with the Comintern. This latter tendency won the majority. The Bauer-Blum proposal obtained 291 votes, whilst *Nenni* received only 18. After the adoption of this decision the Conference was concluded.

The conclusion which every worker must draw from this decision is that the offer for united front which the Second International made to the Communist International in February last was just a deceitful manoeuvre. The object of that manoeuvre was to sabotage the joint struggle of the Communist and social-democratic workers in carrying out definite tasks in their respective countries, and particularly to sabotage the anti-fascist actions of the workers in their struggle against reduction of wages, bad conditions, social services cuts, the unemployed relief cuts and wholesale dismissals.

The German leader, *Wels*, had resigned from the Bureau of the Second International because he and his party were in an in-

tolerable position: On the one hand he had to carry on negotiations with Hitler, and on the other hand, had to stand at the head of the organisation which declared, of course (as a trick manoeuvre), its readiness to carry out negotiations with the Communist International, the leader of the anti-fascist struggle.

It was no other than *Blum* who declared after *Wels*' resignation from the Second International, that the leader of the German social democracy had exerted all his forces to separate the fate of German social democracy from that of the Communist workers, and that "for him, of all the decisions of the Second International the proposal to approach the Comintern was the most unacceptable."

Rarely has the leadership of the Second International had such "success" as when all the social-democratic parties declined the proposals made by the sections of the Communist International for a joint struggle against fascist reaction.

The British Labour Party declined the proposal for a united front under the pretext that "the workers must everywhere support the Labour Party—this sharp political instrument against fascist and Communist dictatorship," and afterwards continued its fight against Communism with redoubled energy.

Austrian social democracy declined a united front with the Communist Party, declaring that the Austrian Workers' movement was unsplit, and immediately decided to support the fascist government of *Dollfuss*.

Belgian social democracy declared briefly and clearly that it occupies a "negative position" towards the idea of a united front and continued to sabotage the struggle of the workers against the capitalist offensive.

Czechoslovak social democracy, which is part of the government, answered this offer by a furious attack on the Communist Party and voted for the fascist Emergency law.

Under such circumstances *Wels* returned to the Second International as a "victor." The fascist tendencies of the Second International were clearly displayed at the Congress of French Socialist Party by the speeches of the "neo-fascists," *Marquet*, *Marcel Déat*, and others.

The Czech social-democratic ministers participate in the persecution of anti-fascist fugitives; the Danish social-democratic government mobilises the police against the workers who refuse to unload German ships flying the Swastika flag and imposes heavy sentences on revolutionary workers on account of their anti-fascist struggle.

The same social-democratic parties which reject the united front with the Communists, praise the economic policy of *Roosevelt*. This policy which *Mussolini* characterises as the economic essence of fascism, the social-fascists describe as "a movement to socialism."

At the Paris Conference *Blum* was compelled to state that there was no sense in adopting any decisions allowing or forbidding the united front movement from below, as this movement bears a "spontaneous character."

The united front between the Communist and social-democratic workers for carrying out concrete tasks is rapidly developing. Its "prohibition" by the Second International can hinder its growth as little as the "permission" can destroy its revolutionary content.

The united front is progressing in Germany, where the social-democratic workers, under the guidance of the Communist Party, are participating more and more in the anti-fascist struggle.

That is the reason why the Second International, at its Paris Conference, opened fire against the Communists, and at the same time allowed a "free hand" to its Executive Committee to formulate a new message to the Communist International.

But the hands of the Second International are far from being free. The social-democratic parties are clinging fast with both hands to a united front with the bourgeoisie. They stick firmly to their historical rôle, to remain as the main social support for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, at the same time splitting the ranks of the working class.

When representatives of the "Independent" Labour Party, like *Brockway*, who carry out the policy of the Second International outside its ranks, gather together again in Paris, after the downfall of the Paris Conference, and repeat their comic proposal that the Communist International must carry on negotiations with *Wels*, *Bauer*, *Vandervelde*, *Marcel Déat*, *Leon Blum*, and

other social-democrats, for the fight against fascism, for which social democracy has cleared the way, then the Communist Parties can answer in the same words of the Communist International in its declaration of March 5 that:—

"The Communists have proved by their long struggle that they were and always will be in the front ranks of the fight for a united front, not in words, but in deeds and class actions against the bourgeoisie.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International firmly believe that the social-democratic and non-party workers, regardless of what attitude the leaders of social democracy adopt towards the creation of a united front, will overcome all obstacles and, together with the Communists, set up the united front not in words but in deeds."

The fresh manoeuvre with a united front made at the Paris Conference landed in a blind alley at the moment of its inception. The deceitful character of this manoeuvre is exposed. Broad masses of social-democratic workers will continue to set up, together with the Communists, the real united front of action.

The White Terror Prison Revolts in Yugoslavia

By *Rup*

About 1,000 political prisoners are pining in the prisons and penal institutions of Yugoslavia. The great majority of them are Communists, while the rest are national revolutionaries. This figure does not, however, include those who are under arrest and awaiting trial. There is no need to mention the barbarous and mediæval régime in these prisons. The political prisoners are treated worse than thieves and murderers. The slogan of the régime is: punishment must be a torment. Communists who are considered particularly dangerous are systematically got rid of by continual torment and deadly injections. In the penal institutions alone 16 political prisoners were foully murdered. Many prisoners have been driven insane. Thus, for instance, *Eajic*, who made an attempt on the life of *Pasic*, has become completely insane, but is nevertheless kept in the *Mitrovitza* penal institution. *Stejic*, who made an attempt on the life of *King Alexander*, has also been driven insane. There are only a few examples out of many.

In the last year or two the political prisoners, supported by the revolutionary organisations, have taken up the fight for treatment as political prisoners. In *Mitrovitza*, where there are about 270 political prisoners, the first hunger strike broke out in 1927, the second in 1931. The hunger strike in the autumn of 1932, which lasted for 14 days and in which 140 prisoners took part, found an echo abroad. Under the pressure of the international solidarity the prison authorities were forced to give way and grant certain concessions to the prisoners. There were similar cases in nearly all the prisons.

The present year has witnessed an increase of the revolutionary ferment in Yugoslavia, increasing defensive actions of the working masses and of the oppressed people against the fascist dictatorship, a deepening and extension of the revolutionary movement, but at the same time also a tremendous intensification of the white terror. The prison régime has become more rigorous; the rights won by hunger strikes are being done away with.

Statistics of political trials from January 1 to June 30 this year, which, however, embrace at most only 60 per cent. of all the trials, give the following picture:

One hundred and thirty-five persons received sentences aggregating 391 years' imprisonment, one person was condemned to death and four to imprisonment for life. In July alone 32 persons were sentenced to 38 years' imprisonment. During the present year hunger strikes in the prisons have broken out one after another, as for instance in *Sarajevo*, *Spalato* and in the women's prison in *Pozareva*, which lasted 11 days. The demands, which included better food, human treatment, books, were in part granted.

On August 1, a hunger strike broke out in the prison attached to the district court in *Ljubljana*. In this prison there were over 50 Communists awaiting trial, among them being workers, peasants, intellectuals and students. Many of them had been tortured at the police station at the time of their arrest in order

to extort "confessions" from them. At the end of July a worker named Sustercic, who was awaiting trial, was found hanged in his cell. The workers in the whole town were roused to great indignation on hearing the news. The remaining prisoners used this case as an occasion for a hunger strike, in which the following slogan was put forward: against the Balkanisation of the Slovenian people and Slovenian culture. Thirty prisoners, including three women, entered on the hunger strike under this slogan. Further demands were: Investigation of the case of Sustercic; dismissal of two overseers who mishandled the prisoners; prisoners to be allowed to have food sent to them; more opportunities for exercise; light, books and newspapers; supper on Sundays and holidays. The prison authorities succeeded in a few days after various manoeuvres in reducing the number of strikers by one-half. On the seventh day there were still 10 prisoners on hunger strike. They held a meeting in which they decided in a disciplinary manner to end the strike. The prison authorities fulfilled all the economic demands of the prisoners and the political demands were submitted to the Minister for Justice.

The public followed with sympathy the fight against the Balkanisation of Slovenia. At the same time the workers' organisa-

tions performed exemplary work, distributed leaflets, etc. Broad circles were mobilised in support of the fight. The Pen club of Slovenia championed the demands and sent a deputation to the District Court and to other authorities. It also issued a protest calling upon the authorities in Zagreb and Belgrade to take action to remedy such abuses. It commenced a broad inquiry, in which prominent writers took part personally, into the mishandlings in Slovenia.

A declaration of protest was also drawn up which was signed by all students of the universities and also by the association of academically trained women, the social-democratic women's organisation, the christian social-youth organisation, some well-known intellectuals, etc.

The christian, fascist and social-democratic trade unions refused to sign the protest.

The action has stirred the whole of the Slovenian public. It is the first action in Yugoslavia which immediately intervened in regard to the events which are taking place in the prisons. In connection with this action an organisation of the International Red Aid has been founded.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

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

By our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

A great part of the Cossack population of Isobilnoye, just like that of Grigorevka, was on the side of the Whites at the time of the civil war. Here, too, there were powerful kulaks who attempted by every means of sabotage and wrecking to hinder the development of the collective farms. But here they encountered a far stronger wall of resistance than in the two neighbouring villages. The fact that here the state of the crops is such that even at the first glance they promise a better harvest than in the collective farms in Saratovka and Grigorevka, which we have already described, is mainly due to the circumstance that here there was a more alert Party leadership, more aware of its Bolshevik tasks, which exposed more rapidly the underground machinations of the class enemy and that the kulaks, thanks to the timely removal of the worst of them from the collective farm, were not able to disturb essentially the spring sowing.

The purging of the collective farms from the class hostile elements, however, is not effective if it is done by administrative measures and is not accompanied by a fight against the small peasant traditions in the minds of the masses themselves, for these traditions form a favourable soil for the influence of the class enemy. The Party Cell in Isobilnoye appears to have accomplished good work in this respect.

It is a matter of course that the Communist youth are in the front ranks of this fight. Here in Isobilnoye they possess particularly great authority. This authority was acquired in the first place thanks to the fact that the Komsomol performed field work in an exemplary manner. In the past year each Komsomol performed on an average 279 labour units (work days), whilst the total average on the collective farm amounted to 202 labour units. The Komsomol of Isobilnoye are proud of the fact that their meetings are often attended by numerous grey-headed collective farmers who come in order "to learn from our young folk how the work must be done."

There are, however, old collective farmers who are too proud to learn from the young people. One of these is the old Cossack, Liniev; and one must give him his due and admit that he does not allow himself to be beaten by the young folk. Whilst the year's work performed by the best Komsomol on the collective farm amounted to 375 labour units, last year the 50 year old Liniev worked 441 units in ten months, and at the same time received a special premium for the good quality of his work. Two months of

the year he was working on a building job in a neighbouring town. Here, too, he received a premium as a shock-brigader. Consequently, he earns more than any member of the collective farm.

Even before the revolution Liniev was not a poor peasant. He had a good, middle-sized farm. With 50 hectares of land, even if the soil was not the best, and with four oxen he was better off than most of his neighbours. He joined the collective farm when the great victory of collectivisation convinced him that the future belongs to the collective farm, although he was still undecided whether that future would be a good or bad one for him. Thanks to his diligent work he has now reached, or even surpassed, his former standard of living of a well-to-do individual peasant, while at the same time, as he himself says with satisfaction, he is no longer continually worried about the future. The victory over his past has now made Liniev a whole-hearted and enthusiastic supporter of collective farming and socialist competition.

When the spring sowing campaign began he challenged another collective farmer, named Rodionov, who is of the same age as himself, to a competition. The two veterans entered into this competition with youthful zeal and enthusiasm. When anybody asked Liniev whether Rodionov would beat him, he replied, quite offended: "There is no man on earth who can beat me!" But this time he overestimated his powers. On the last day of the sowing campaign, exhausted by work and the heat, he dropped asleep for five minutes while feeding the horses, just as the work inspector was making his round. Thus Rodionov gained the victory, which is all the more valuable because it entitled him to represent the collective farm at the regional congress of the kolchos shock brigaders in Samara. That the victory was not accorded to one who was unworthy of it is shown by the work Rodionov performed at the early spring sowing.

In the Volga district the so-called early spring sowing has since last year become one of the most important means of combating the danger of drought and high winds. But it calls for hard and exhaustive work. It must be commenced as soon as the snow begins to melt in the fields. One has to wade up to the knee in ice-cold mud and slime. There are only a few days during which this work can be performed, for as soon as the soil which is soaked with water from the melted snow begins to dry, the early spring sowing has no longer its growth-promoting effect. At the same time the kulaks and idlers mock and deride as fools those who engage in this

work. The resistance to this early spring sowing was particularly strong in those villages in which the Church still has a certain amount of influence, as is the case in the Volga German region, which is still much behind the Russian villages in combating religious superstitions.

The collective peasant Rodionov did not allow himself to be put off by the kulak agitation. He remembered with horror how, in the famine year 1921, he had eaten straw and earth, and he knew that the kulaks desired nothing more ardently than a repetition of the horrors of 1921. He therefore became all the more firmly convinced that the fight for the harvest is inseparably bound up with the fight against the kulaks. In his work he combined the experience of an old farmer with the enthusiasm of a revolutionary class fighter. He does not like to talk about his own achievements and therefore we requested his brigadier to tell us something about the work of his best shock-brigade worker.

Brigadier Roshnov, leader of the fifth brigade of the collective farm "Zwilling" keeps a diary on the work of his brigade, which was published in the local press as an example for other brigadiers. On April 7, he made the following entry:—

"We sowed the whole day. Rodionov went about as if he would chase the snow away. Even when there was only a small patch where the snow had disappeared from the field, he crept into the mud and waded about it with his three assistants, no matter how deep he might sink into it. In the evening he had no more straw in order to mark up to what point the field had been sown, so he took off his cap and placed it on the spot where the sowing had ceased, and said: 'This is where we shall begin to-morrow.' And so he went about bareheaded the whole evening and the next morning in the frosty weather."

April 8: "When I woke up the sowers were standing ready to go to work. Rodionov and his assistants were already at work."

April 9: "Rodionov is ahead of all the rest. He has sown eight hectares three days running." And so it went on.

The whole collective farm takes an active part in socialist competition. Thus the fight for the "Red Flag" (this flag is awarded to the best brigade, but it is entitled to keep it only as long as it maintains the first position) was conducted in Isobilnoye with an enthusiasm which was bound to frustrate any machinations of the class enemy right at the outset.

The fifth brigade of Brigadier Roshnov won the flag for the best preparation of the spring sowing. It was now a question of maintaining it in the sowing campaign itself. This struggle is described as follows in Roshnov's diary:—

April 10: ". . . To-day we finished the sowing in the mud. The chairman told me that the other brigades had not yet fulfilled the plan. . . ."

April 14 was also a joyful day: "To-day someone brought us an extract from the minutes of the meeting of the farm management, according to which we have been granted a ten per cent. addition to the labour unit worked by us in recognition of the good harrowing work performed by the members of our brigade."

April 17 and 18: "We were unable to work on account of the rain. Two valuable days have been lost."

The next day Roshnov complains about various faults in the work of members of his brigade. He demonstrates to the members of the brigade how the work should be done. On April 24 he still writes: "The youngsters are taking it easy. They must be called to account."

April 27 is a sad day: "The second brigade has passed us. The 'Red Flag' has been taken away from us. We have fulfilled the plan 68 per cent., while the second brigade fulfilled it 69 per cent. Ah, these many pauses for smoking and these sleepy heads!"

But the brigade did not give up the fight. Roshnov writes further:—

"We discussed the matter at the production conference. We have all the prerequisites in order to reach first place again. From to-morrow, on, we shall commence work at five o'clock."

May 4: "Yesterday they brought the 'Red Flag' to us again and told me that my name has been put forward as candidate to the regional conference of shock-brigadiers. To-day at 12 o'clock I reported to the management the completion of the sowing and at once hastened to the aid of the third brigade."

The second brigade completed the sowing on the next day, and the whole collective farm on May 9, which was a week before the scheduled time. The second brigade eagerly discussed how they could win back the flag from the fifth brigade in the work of weeding and ploughing of fallow land.

The fifth brigade, Roshnov, Rodionov, Liniev and the other revolutionaries are proud of their victory. A young collective peasant considered it necessary to explain to me the deeper reason for this pride: "Comrade, tell Comrade Thaelmann we will fight with still more determination for further successes, for we know that then the German proletariat will succeed all the sooner in sending this—what is the name of this chief of murderers in Germany? this —, I have it, Gitler,* to the devil."

The Week in the Soviet Union

International Youth Day

On the 1st September hundreds of thousands of young workers paraded on the Red Square. Apart from flags, banners and placards, etc., they carried with them this time numerous models of machinery, automobiles and samples of various Soviet products. The year 1933 is a year devoted to the mastering of new technique, a year in which all the new and complicated technical processes in the new big factories and works must be learnt and applied in an expert fashion. One of the chief tasks of the youth is to raise its technical knowledge to the level of modern industrial requirements.

Every young worker learns at the cost of the Soviet State. In the factory schools alone there are now 1.2 million young workers learning; there are 400,000 more at the high schools and a million more at the technical schools and just as many at the workers' faculties. Those young workers who leave the schools immediately find work. The working youth of the Soviet Union has no practical experience of the tremendous unemployment and insecurity of the working youth in the capitalist world.

In the provincial towns and in the country districts also the Soviet youth celebrated with magnificent demonstrations the material and cultural progress of the young generation and everywhere showed a fine spirit of class-conscious will to work.

The Beginning of the New School Year

The new school year in the Soviet Union began on the 1st September. In this connection the newspapers published informative figures concerning the development of general education in the Soviet Union. As is generally known, compulsory general school has been introduced into the Soviet Union and the school period extends from seven to ten years. Before the Revolution there were no more than seven million children throughout Tsarist Russia attending the elementary schools, where they received a meagre education. To-day twenty million children are attending these schools and the curriculum is modern and far-reaching.

Prior to the November Revolution only 400,000 pupils attended the middle schools. To-day four million pupils attend such schools throughout the Soviet Union. The budget figures, the number of teachers and the number of pupils are increasing from year to year. In comparison with last year, for instance, the number of pupils has increased by three millions. About 3,000 new schools are being built on absolutely modern lines. The new school year was everywhere opened up with children's celebra-

Competition for the Carrying Out of the Finance Plan

At the end of August a radio meeting of the district committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the executive committees of the Soviets, and of the editorial boards of the district newspapers took place under the chairmanship of Comrade Grinko, the People's Commissar for Finance, with a view to organising a social competition scheme for the carrying out of the finance plan for the third quarter of the year.

In his radio speech Comrade Grinko declared that the competition throughout the Union was a new stage in the development of work on the financial field. The leadership in this competition is at present held by the Gorki district, which carried out its finance plan for the first half year of 1933 to 111 per cent. The competition embraces all the factors of financing in the Soviet Union, including the mobilisation of the financial resources of the population, the campaign to support the savings banks, to increase the active balance of the budget, etc.

The Harvest Results in Mass Entries into the Collectives

The splendid results of this year's harvest campaign have caused many individualist peasants to join up in the collective farms. The organisational and economic strengthening of the collective farms is so obvious and convincing that mass applica-

*There is no "H" in the Russian language.

tions for membership are now coming in again. In the Gorki district alone 15,000 peasant farms were joined up with the collective farms during the harvest campaign. Other figures are: 35,000 in the Western district, 1,300 in the Odessa district. In many places new collective farms have been founded. In the Odessa district 96 per cent. of the tilled area is now embraced by the collective farms.

The "Starving" Volga German Republic.

An excursion of German and other foreign workers and technical experts visited the capital of the Volga German Republic and a series of collective farms. These workers have decided to issue an appeal to the workers of the world on the basis of their observations during this excursion in order to inform them of the real situation in the Volga German Republic, which is certainly everything but in a state of want.

New Achievements in Transport and Traffic

On the 1st September traffic was opened up on the new electrified line Leningrad-Peterhof. This is the first electrified stretch in Leningrad.

The Leningrad carriage factory has turned out the first four-axle tramway car. This is a car of the American type. It is 15 metres long and seats 54 persons. It is a single decker and the doors close automatically. The mass production of this new type of wagon is about to begin.

The First Soviet Stratosphere Balloon

As a result of the research work of Soviet engineers the first stratosphere balloon has been built in the Soviet Union with all-Soviet materials and equipped with all the necessary scientific instruments for measurement, etc. The construction will permit the balloon to rise to a height of 20,000 metres and to remain at tremendous altitudes for from 30 to 40 hours. The start is to take place on the 6th September from the Moscow airfield. The Soviet scientists do not regard the attempt as any attack on the world altitude record, but as the beginning of a systematic and technically efficient scientific work for the investigation of the upper layers of the stratosphere. This Soviet stratosphere balloon is the biggest yet constructed. The balloon has a capacity of 24,900 cubic metres and a diameter of 36 metres.

Good Work in the Automobile Industry

In the month of August all the automobile works in the Soviet Union have more than carried out their production plans. The Stalin works exceeded its plans by 3.2 per cent., the automobile works in Yaroslav exceeded its plan by 0.6 per cent., the Molotov works just completed its plan, making a total excess of planned production of 0.8 per cent.

Herriot on the Pioneers in Northern Caucasia

On his journey through the Soviet Union, Herriot was present at a meeting of young pioneers from the collective farms in Northern Caucasia, at which 4,000 children were present. The organised collective of children which takes such an active part in the political and economic life of the country made a deep impression on the former Prime Minister of the French Republic, and addressing the pioneers he declared: "I have seen many magnificent things in your great country, but I can imagine nothing more splendid than this magnificent body of children. When I return to France I shall tell the French children how the children of the Soviet Union at an early age are taking an active part, together with their fathers, in the tremendous work of construction which is proceeding here."

Organisational Questions

From the Practice of the Work of the Factory Nuclei of the C.P.G.

By L. R.

The German Communist Party, which has shown its ability to re-organise itself according to the conditions of underground work, which has succeeded in rapidly restoring its basic organisations, maintaining the chief cadres and reinforcing them with new forces, correctly focusses attention on the work of the lower nuclei, especially in the factories. As we know, a large number of political and economic strikes, the May Day demonstrations of the Communist Party and the successful campaign against the fascist demonstration, a large number of acts of struggle by the factory workers against the policy of the fascist dictatorship and against

repression towards the Communists and the revolutionary workers, showed definitely favourable results of the work of the C.P.G. in the factories. It is necessary to proceed further along the path taken by the C.P.G., the path of a further and wider growth of Party work in the factories,

A series of facts show that in this respect the Party leaders have begun to meet with healthy initiative from below, and that the best nuclei are rapidly learning. Here are some of these facts, which are also characteristic of other nuclei.

A worker from a factory writes: "We began to gather the members of our nuclei two or three at a time and after talking to them about the political situation and the situation in the factory, we gave them practical tasks. Two members of the nucleus who seemed unreliable were isolated until they had been verified." Here we find something new compared with the previous practice of many nuclei. Frequently the nuclei busy themselves with petty technical and organisational questions, not linking them up with the current tasks of educational and organisational work among the masses, and just as often the nuclei discuss some political question in a detached manner, not drawing conclusions from it for their practical work. In the given case, we see that the discussion of the question of the political situation and the situation in the factory was linked up and went side by side with the practical work of the nucleus. A new feature can be seen in a more careful attitude to the selection of people—unreliable ones are isolated and verified. The same comrade informs us of new methods of work with the activists.

"From time to time we get two or three of the best workers from various shops, workers who to our knowledge are respected in their shops. Among them are social democrats, trade union members, non-Party workers. We have talks with them in someone's home. After we have dissipated their doubts, we tell them that the time has passed when we had to be patient with disunion. Now we have to rally together in the anti-fascist front. After such talks, these workers join our organisation. There has not been a single exception. As a result of this work, the nucleus has already succeeded in recruiting new members, and some of these new members have themselves become recruiters for the Party."

This method on the whole is quite right, and all that is needed is that the workers should be accepted into the Party after a sufficient verification of each one, and that the new Party members should be carefully verified in their work and looked after by the educational work of the Party.

Quite recently we could frequently find the sentiment that members did not want to work among the social-democratic or other backward workers. They just thought that it was a useless waste of time. Now, as can be seen from the example of the best nuclei, they are beginning to use a varied approach and varied methods of work towards various strata of the workers.

"It should be said," writes a comrade from a nucleus, "that now for the first time we have really come up closely to the social-democratic workers, in which we were tremendously helped by the great disappointment of these workers, which compelled them to see that all their social-democratic factory committees, with the exception of one member, had gone over to the national socialists. In the shops where the highest skilled and highest developed workers are to be found, we have now great influence. But among the workers there are more timid elements who do not wish to join a revolutionary organisation. We have come to an agreement with them to pay dues into the funds for our propaganda and press."

The nuclei are also learning better how to use illegal methods of work and are showing resourcefulness in this matter: "We have organised the distribution of the papers in such a way that in case of a raid, in case of treachery or a chance arrest, it will be difficult or even impossible to arrest the others. Every distributor of the paper has an address where he receives the papers, but he does not know where the papers come from and/or who brings them."

In another letter from a large factory, the comrades from the nucleus tell how they utilise the mails of the management for sending the revolutionary leaflets.

We should also mention the question of the correct structure of the factory nuclei, a question to which the C.C. C.P.G. pays great attention. The best type of factory nucleus, which is now being worked out in the practice of Party work, is the factory nucleus with sub-units in the shops, united by a general factory Party leadership in the form of a factory Party committee or a factory bureau of the nucleus.

Book Reviews

The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror

By B. R.

The long-announced "Brown Book of the Hitler Terror and the Burning of the Reichstag" has now appeared. The criminals who at the present moment rule in Germany will be anything but pleased with the publication of this book. It is a sober recital of the facts. It is this that lends it the necessary weight and thereby that political importance which undoubtedly attaches to this first big publication on the misdeeds of the Hitler government.

The details contained in the Brown Book, and which render it an unexampled indictment, are already widely known. That Goering is a sadist and drug addict has become common knowledge in the last few months, while the fact that the Communists no more set fire to the Reichstag than to the moon has been admitted in the columns of even the most conservative and reactionary European papers. Nevertheless the Brown Book has the effect of a revelation.

The first chapters, which deal with the burning of the Reichstag, contain the politically most important material in spite of what the remaining two thirds of the book reveal to the world public regarding the horrors and atrocities. It is hard to say, but it is nevertheless a fact that what these two-thirds of the book record, on page after page, of murder, manslaughter, torture, outrage, violation, barbarism, baseness, unbridled savagery of beasts in human form—has in these days become part of our ordinary daily fare. It must be said that, just as we are living in a phantastically mad economic and social order, so we are living in the midst of an uninterrupted series of legal and idealised murders and manslaughters; and these murders and manslaughters are just as much a part of our every day life as air and water, or the fact of unemployment and the existence of millionaires. Systematically ordered and backed by documents and photographs, the facts related rouse one to indignation. One should in the future, with the Brown Book in the hand, read certain big bourgeois papers appearing in the countries adjoining Germany in order to ascertain what little place moral indignation and conscience have among the big bourgeoisie when it is a question of the lives of proletarians, as soon as the question of the social existence of the bourgeoisie arises. When this collection of facts in the Brown Book is confronted with the vile, lying methods of the German fascist government and its propaganda machinery, its effect is all the greater. The appeal to feeling and the usual conceptions of humanity, no matter how important they may be, have not that importance as the conversion of this feeling into conscious political action, which alone is capable of putting an end to the fascist terror.

From a political point of view the section dealing with the Reichstag fire is not only the most important, but also the best part of the Brown Book. The destruction of even bourgeois cultural products, the violent frustration of even every bourgeois attempt to find new forms of artistic and other cultural expression of our life, the brutal prevention of any attempt to develop bourgeois science further is not disposed of solely by a documentary record of the various facts. It does not suffice, for instance, to record that Professor Albert Einstein is persecuted because he is a Jew and also on account of his pacifist or democratic views. Anti-semitism which, it should be remarked, is not "the basis of national socialism" serves in most cases only as a pretext. In reality it is a question of brutally suppressing any movement, any development which must necessarily go beyond the limits of the existing order. The Brown Book furnishes for the first time a closer view of this aspect of the fascist wave of vandalism. It gives some interesting facts in regard to the questions of literature

"The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror and the Burning of the Reichstag," with an introduction by Lord Marley. 352 pages, 17 illustrations. (Victor Gollanz).

music and the cinema. The summing up of all the news and reports of the horrors of the concentration camps, the attempt to compile statistics of the number of people incarcerated in the prisons and concentration camps, a compilation of the reports of tortures and murders—this whole summarising of details leads one to the conclusion that we are only now getting an idea of what the alleged most cultivated and advanced bourgeoisie is capable of in the way of cruelties and barbarism in order to secure the continued existence of its social and political rule.

It may seem strange at first that the question of the Reichstag fire is so agitating the minds of people in all countries that, six months after the event, the Hitler government, which is certainly not overburdened with scruples, does not venture to commence the trial and in fact up to the time of writing has not ventured to publish the indictment.

In February last it was asserted that Germany, in fact the whole world, was saved from a wave of Bolshevik incendiarism, nevertheless six months have passed and the prosecution have not succeeded in obtaining evidence in support of the assertion, that "the burning of the Reichstag was to be the signal for a bloody insurrection and civil war!" The louder the assertion was broadcasted to the whole world, the more flimsy became the web of lies which constituted the "evidence."

In the good old times it happened that conspiracies were discovered, and once, in Serbia, a dynasty was replaced by another as a result of the murder of a king. The conspirators, according to the circumstances, were either allowed to go free or were hanged. In any case the affair was brought to a conclusion. This time, however, it was not a question of a change of a Balkan dynasty. This time it was a question of Germany, the land with the most highly developed technique and the highest standard of bourgeois culture, the influence of which extended far beyond its borders, but also the country of the profoundest capitalist crisis in Europe, of the sharpest class contradictions. The social, political and economic events in Germany since 1918 were followed with the closest attention by the whole of the bourgeois world. Here is the weakest link in the whole chain. It was to save this link that Hitler was called in. As long as the rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat is possible in the forms of democracy, terror and violence are regarded as belonging to a far off, abominable world of chaos and barbarism. But as soon as the proletariat raises its fist in order to free itself from its chains, when the capitalist bourgeois world sinks step by step into its inevitable grave, when the prerequisites for formal democracy disappear with the growth of the elements of the deadly crisis of bourgeois society, the bourgeoisie resorts to terror and violence as the last means of artificially prolonging its class rule.

The burning of the Reichstag has driven this fact into the consciousness of the bourgeois world as no other event. The political lack of logic to ascribe this (from the proletarian standpoint) senseless act to the enemies of bourgeois society, the clumsiness of the provocation showed terror and violence, ruthless brutality, trampling down of all the hitherto carefully preserved bounds of order and morality as the last resort of the rule of finance capital.

There is more connected with this monstrous act of terror than a mere sensational trial. Here is a question of exposing German fascism and thereby the true state of German society. Mussolini did not find it necessary to set fire to the Quirinal or the Vatican. Ordinary murder was sufficient for his purposes, and finally it sufficed him, at least for a certain time, to conclude a treaty with the Vatican. The Reichstag fire has set more on fire than the unsightly German Parliament; it has caused a whole world of illusions to go up in flames.

The world press has awaited the Brown Book with tense expectation, the numerous announcements in the newspapers of all countries prove that here a shrewd blow has been delivered against the real incendiaries. The second volume which is to follow should contain the history of the Reichstag fire trial. This will be a long, serious and important history which must be made known to everybody.

Published weekly. Single copies (Britain only), 2d. Subscription rates: Great Britain, six shillings half a year; U.S.A., Canada, five dollars a year. Other places abroad, £1 a year.

Published by UNTHANKS BOOKSHOP, 31, Dudden Hill Lane, London, N.W.10, and Printed by THE UTOPIA PRESS, LTD. (T.U.), 44, Worship Street, London, E.C.2.