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Before the European Anti-Fascist Congress

Providing nothing occurs at the last moment to prevent its being held, the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress will meet in Paris on June 4. Preparations for the congress have been going on since March; its meeting fixed for the middle of April in Prague having been banned by the Czechoslovakian bourgeois-social-democratic coalition government, and the meeting of the congress planned for Copenhagen being rendered impossible through the chicanery of Stauning's S.D. Government there.

It is just a little over four years ago that an anti-fascist congress met in Berlin. Since then, fighting and suffering every bit of the road, we have passed through a period full of world-historical events. And, just as there is a tremendous difference between the economic, political, and international situation then and the position to-day, the forthcoming congress will be utterly different in every respect from the one held four years ago. This not only because conditions have altered since then, but also because we ourselves have changed, more especially, in that we have learnt so much since that time.

Even as early as four years ago there were vast masses of the workers who recognised in fascism merely a special form of capitalist rule, a special form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to which the capitalists as a class, confronted with the swift sharpening of all class antagonisms and the threat to their rule, were turning as a last resource, a form of rule making use

of the most abominable physical oppression to press down wages and unemployment benefits to their lowest possible level and preventing any kind of defensive action. Thus already at that time it was recognised by the broad masses that in all this business the S.D. and reformist T.U. leaders were only the confederates of fascism. For, with their policy of coalition and class collaboration, they had secured to only a small section of privileged workers the chance of being pushed into comfortable jobs on State, municipal, and parish bodies, the opportunity to obtain a petty-bourgeois level of existence as officials in various organisations controlled in part by the workers (the co-operatives, friendly and sick benefit societies), and ensured for only a narrow stratum of the workers for the time being what were perhaps somewhat better wage and working conditions, whilst on the other hand the great bulk of the workers were forced down to the most servile conditions of life and labour. By throttling wage struggles, by helping to cut down wages and benefits, by denying the revolutionary workers freedom of the press and the right of association, by their incitement against the Soviet Union, and by their massacring of the workers, these people have done and are doing everything—and all in the name of democracy, in the name of socialism—to split and divide the workers and to blind them to a true realisation of their own interests as workers. More: the S.D. and T.U. leaders are now so closely tied hand and foot to their capitalist friends and the system of capitalism that they



do not repudiate them even when they go the length of complete, full-fledged fascism. They stick to them to the very end!

As already said, all this became plain years ago to great masses of the people. But the numbers of those workers who shut their eyes to a realisation of these things was still greater. They let themselves be persuaded that fascism does not represent any real danger for "the more progressive countries." They fondly imagined that it was a danger only in those countries where horses furnished all the motive power (Vandervelde's idea), or where it was likely to descend as a punishment for the sin of radicalism (the argument of the Austro-Marxists)! Severing, Braun, MacDonald, and Stauning—they were the best guarantee against any danger of fascism! When these misleading theories were shown by the course of development to be the tissue of lies they were; when it became obvious that the peril of fascism is most threatening in the most "progressive" countries, in such a country where Severing and Zörgiebel exercised joint rule; and when it had become all too plain that the only force capable of stemming the tide of a victorious fascist movement was the united struggle under a revolutionary lead of all the workers, the attempt was made to bamboozle the workers with the social democrats' fight, so-called, against fascism. And in what did the fight consist? In the Iron Front, the Three Arrows stunt, the "liberty greeting," while at the same time there was a fiercer drive against the Communists, and all power was handed over to Hindenburg, that faithful and devoted servant of the fascists!

What all this has led to is now known to a far greater number of workers to-day than was the case some years ago. But by no means nearly enough workers know of these things! And thus the S.D. parties in what are still "democratic" countries attempt to hold the workers in check by "turning their backs" on the German social democracy and on the leaders of the German T.U. movement. In this way, by this sort of manoeuvre, the workers still following the social-democratic parties are being roped in in these countries as well, which are free of fascism, for the support of the social-fascist policy of their leaders, a policy which is becoming more undisguised than ever as the class struggle becomes sharper and more bitter in these countries as well.

And so the Second International, which is doing all it can to befog the minds of the workers, which has split their ranks, and has thus acted the midwife to the victorious emergence of fascism, has a new means to offer for combating fascism: in the struggle against Hitler-Germany and Italy the working class are to form a front of the so-called "democratic" countries—said countries being France and Great Britain! As if France and Britain had not already come into conflict with Germany over imperialist aims! As if they were waging a struggle for "democracy," and as if, finally, it were not intended that fascist Poland, fascist Rumania, and fascist Yugoslavia should also join the said "democratic front"! After bringing the fascist scourge to the German proletariat, the Second International is now going to help to plunge the entire international proletariat into the horrors of a second imperialist world war!

The European Anti-Fascist Congress will now soberly draw the lessons for every clear-thinking worker from the developments of recent years. Democracy and fascism are not two forms of rule which may be set the one against the other as one cares to choose, but are closely bound up with any particular phase of development, and more particularly with the policies pursued by the workers in that given phase of development. The punishment for not having carried through the revolution to an end is counter-revolution—that is the lesson the revolutionaries of 1848 had to learn in exile. The repudiation of the revolutionary and united struggle against the main evil, against monopoly capitalism with its recurrent crisis, and readiness to put up with the lesser evil leads to the victory of fascism, to an incredible enslavement of the workers, to the slashing of their wages, the whittling down of their unemployment and other benefits, to their moral degradation. And should the workers fail once again to-day to rouse themselves to the united revolutionary struggle and listen instead to the siren's-call of the Second International which is appealing to them to decide in favour of the lesser evil of the "democratic front," then they are going to be overwhelmed by the worst evil of all, that of an imperialist holocaust!

This European Anti-Fascist Congress will be no mere congress of simple proclamations. Its preparations are being carried out under very special conditions, in a situation unprecedented for the acuteness of its inherent antagonisms. To that extent it is unlike the Anti-Fascist Congress meeting in Berlin in 1929, which assembled in what was still the end of a period of relative stabilisation leading not only to the strengthening of capitalism, but also to the tightening of its fascist form of rule in Italy and Poland. The Anti-Fascist Congress then held in Berlin was attended in the main by delegates from organisations active on the fringes of the political parties, and therefore consisted of mentally elite elements, mainly from non-fascist countries, with but a relatively small following among the masses. The Berlin Congress, then, was only to have been the prelude to an anti-fascist struggle on a big scale.

The European Anti-Fascist Congress will be made up on entirely different lines as far as organisation goes. The greater bulk of the delegates are coming from the countries of fascism this time. Nor are they going to be delegated by any organisations' leaderships. Instead, intensive propaganda will be carried on in the factories, at the labour exchanges, and in the working-class districts in favour of sending delegates to the congress, and funds to supply their travelling expenses will be raised in the same way. In countries where the workers can hold meetings, suitable meetings and demonstrations will be arranged. Every fight, all the various aspects of the labour movement, the whole anti-fascist struggle of all countries will be organically linked up with the congress. This being the case, the initial drive for the congress will in itself be a grand struggle against fascism, while simultaneously ensuring the financial and organisational success of the congress. Consider, for a moment, the report to hand on the congress preparations in Germany which has just been submitted by the Organising Bureau:

"It is in the midst of the savage Nazi terror that the German working class is driving forward to the Anti-Fascist Congress. Activities in Berlin are being directed by a committee of twelve consisting mostly of social-democratic and non-party workers and trade unionists. Here the election of delegates has already taken place in the big industrial plants, the active medium-scale plants, as well as the building workers and the unemployed at the labour exchanges, having also elected their delegates. The 'waterside district' round Hamburg and the adjacent ports announces 30 ships' meetings as well as the election of delegates from among the dock workers. The results of collections among the seamen have been splendid, so that from this source alone it has been possible to finance two or three delegates. In the same area ten delegates were elected for the congress four weeks ago. In the Ruhr, the industrial heart of Germany, seven delegates have been elected, including four members of the S.D.P., and, as regards their jobs, three from big metal works, two miners and one textile worker. The campaign is particularly intensive in the Lower Rhine area. Printed sticky-backs with different wording have been got out and small cards with appropriate texts serve as receipts when collecting for delegates, some of whom have been elected at trade union meetings as well. In Middle Germany it is the big chemical works which lead in the movement to send delegates, although the lignite-mining districts and the metal trades are running them a close second. A strong delegation is therefore assured us. Lower Saxony announces 3; Silesia 2; Pommerania 7; Saxony 20; Middle Germany 15; Stuttgart 3; the Ruhr 7; and Danzig 5 delegates. It is too early yet to say anything as to the likely strength of the Berlin and Hamburg delegation. So far not less than 80 have been elected."

This is truly an inspiring story of the struggle being waged against fascism and a splendid example of a united front realised in actual struggle against the fascists.

We need hardly be surprised, then, that the Enlarged Executive Meeting of the Second International of May 18 issued a "ukase" from Paris against attendance at the coming European Anti-Fascist Congress.

The excellent preliminary steps undertaken in connection with the congress offer the best possible prospect of successful labours on its part.

Politics

The Meeting of the "Disarmament Conference"

As a result of Hitler's speech delivered on May 17, the crisis of the so-called Disarmament Conference has been alleviated for the time being. Nadolny, the German representative at Geneva, has withdrawn his motion to shelve the British proposals regarding the unification of the armies, and declared that Germany agrees in principle with the British proposal. He has also withdrawn his other proposals, which, among other things, aimed at prohibiting the use of aerial bombs against colonial peoples. The Conference is therefore able to continue its meetings. But for how long?

France, and, above all, the Little Entente, are now interested in preventing Germany from arming, whilst at the same time not reducing their own armaments. It is known abroad only too well how feverishly Germany is arming; and, above all, with what amazing rapidity, it is developing its air force. Therefore, France would like, before all, to obtain an effective supervision of Germany's armaments, by which it could be proved to the whole world that Germany is arming in open defiance of the armament provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, which Hitler has solemnly promised to observe. Once this fact has been recorded, joint military measures are to be adopted against Germany. For nothing short of armed intervention will cause Germany to abandon its secret armaments. Germany is to be stigmatised as the aggressor, and action against it declared to be a defensive action. That is also the meaning of the Consultation Pact, i.e., the Powers meet together and consider who is the aggressor.

Accordingly, the French were not completely satisfied with the speech which **Mr. Norman Davis**, the United States representative, delivered in Geneva on May 22. Hitherto the United States have refused to commit themselves to joint military action with the European Powers. Mr. Norman Davis now declared that his government would be prepared to take part in a consultative Pact. Not, it is true, to use armed force against the "aggressor," but to adopt economic measures against her. Mr. Davis declared himself in favour of an effective, permanent, and automatic supervision of armaments. And, finally, he declared that the United States are opposed to any increased arming, and consequently, also to Germany's arming! All these proposals, however, were sprinkled with a pacifist sauce in view of the approaching World Economic Conference. But, from the standpoint of France, there was too much talk about abolishing offensive weapons, which, as is known, America least of all is prepared to renounce.

Therefore, **Paul Boncour** again insisted on France's security being guaranteed. (This security requires, however, that France shall be fully armed and Germany completely disarmed.) In the second place, he demanded effective supervision of armaments. One can see, therefore, what France is aiming at. It is impossible to say at the moment how far the French diplomats will go this time in order to enforce their demands. They would hardly like to be responsible for the abandonment of the World Economic Conference, which would be bound to result from the break-up of the so-called Disarmament Conference. They will, therefore, persistently pursue their aim, but, in order to achieve it, will agree to compromises.

* * * * *

It was stated at the end of last week that **Mussolini** had renewed his offer regarding the conclusion of a Four-Power Pact (Italy, England, France, Germany). French and English newspapers report that in the new offer there is omitted all that led to rejection of the original offer. It is said that the new offer expressly states that any territorial alteration of the Versailles Treaty will be excluded from the Pact; decisions regarding other States can be adopted only with the approval of the latter; and any action of the Powers party to the Four Power Pact shall be within the limits of the League of Nations. The advantage of the Four-Power Pact, it is said, lies in the fact that it prevented the formation of hostile blocs (Italy and Germany

on the one side, and England and France on the other). As a result, a certain pacification would ensue which would lead to a revival of economy. This Pact would at the same time be the best guarantee of security for France.

But the proposers of this Pact again reckoned without their host. France recognises only one condition of security: a disarmed Nazi-Germany. The whole Pact, however, aims at enabling Germany to arm secretly. Therefore, this new Pact, if there is nothing more behind it than what the French and English newspapers report, is a still-born child, just as was its predecessor. Of course, we must never forget that there is still another "solution" for the imperialists, namely, an understanding at the cost of the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

The League of Nations is a League of imperialist Powers which mutually guarantee each other their booty, and which renders possible joint action on the part of these imperialist Powers against oppressed peoples in the name of "Law," and even in the name of "Humanity." Therefore, the League of Nations is called upon to perform a whole number of tasks, one of the chief being to protect national minorities! Of course, all this is only humbug so long as an imperialist Power cannot make capital out of "pursuing principles." When that is the case, then, of course, the League of Nations can come forward as a champion of "humanity"—in the interest of an imperialist Power. It has, therefore, never happened (with the exception of the intervention against Japan, which took place in the interest of America) that the League of Nations has intervened in order to protect a national minority against an imperialist Power. When the inhuman persecution of the Jews, and also non-Jews, set in in Germany a cry of horror was raised in the whole world, and the pacifists demanded that the League of Nations should intervene. It is characteristic of the League that it did intervene, as France, England, and even Poland, were interested in its doing so, but for this purpose a frontier district was chosen: German-Upper Silesia, where Germany, in a treaty with Poland in 1922, had guaranteed the rights of the minorities.

One can await with curiosity what will come of the matter. Germany wants to prevent a debate on the Jewish question, to "postpone" it till the autumn, giving as a reason the pressing work of the Disarmament Conference and the World Economic Conference.

We must follow the proceedings in Geneva, not on account of the work that is being performed there, but because it is very probable that in Geneva the spark will be laid to the gunpowder-barrel which will set the whole world in flames.

Working Women in Germany Protest Against High Prices

Berlin, May 16.

Working women are everywhere protesting against the rise of prices of foodstuffs by the fascist government. On Saturday, May 13, working women protested in many market places and market halls against the high prices of butter, margarine, and other foodstuffs. In the Pankow market place, in the Berlinerstrasse, in the Wedding market place, and in the Müllerstrasse there were sharp collisions with the tradesmen. Police and Storm Troops were alarmed, because the working women wanted to force the tradesmen to accept lower prices. Indignation ran high, and very soon big crowds had assembled. The tradesmen, defending themselves, put all the blame on the farmers, who were now demanding these high prices. But the working women were not to be deceived, and openly stated that the Hitler government is driving prices so high.

Contrary to their former attitude, the police did not use their truncheons against the working women.

Last week there was another increase in the prices of foodstuffs. From Friday on butter will cost 1.50 M. a pound instead of 1.—M. Meat prices have gone up 10-15 per cent.

The Dictatorship of the Emergency Decree Government in Belgium

By F. Coenen (Brussels)

On May 12, after an almost uninterrupted debate lasting thirty-two hours, the Catholic-Liberal majority in the Chamber voted for the Bill which had been introduced by the Government and "which gives the Government full powers to carry out measures for the restoration of the finances and the balancing of the Budget." (With the exception of four Liberals, one of whom voted against the measure and of whom the remaining three abstained from voting.)

On May 17 the Senate confirmed the vote of the Chamber.

The title of the Bill, which has now become law, is completely deceptive. The Government press now speaks of the granting of "limited special powers" to the Government, although previously it only referred to "unlimited full powers." These last two words smell all too strongly of dictatorship. And yet how else is one to designate the fact that the Government demanded that the services of the "Parliament which had been elected on the basis of universal suffrage" should be dispensed with for three months, and that this demand was granted, although the Government obstinately refused to make known to the people the nature of the measures which are to be carried out for the "restoration of the finances."

It is sufficient, however, to examine a little more closely the powers granted the Government to convince oneself that "the Government has demanded a regular dictatorship in all spheres for three months."

The entire legislative powers are transferred to the executive. It has powers to change the laws, to extend them, or repeal them, and at the same time also to make alterations in the Budget as well as in the taxes at will—this in spite of all votes in Parliament, in spite of the constitution. One can therefore rightly maintain that the "free constitution" of the "free Belgian people" is being treated like a "scrap of paper." Even the censorship was not forgotten, and infringements of the press laws will be dealt with no longer by a jury, but in a police court.

This is one of the elements that will contribute to the sobering of the masses, for the worst is yet to come. Even if the Government has given no definite indication of its intentions, yet it could not conceal the fact, in spite of all its demagogic phrases, that the new economies, to the amount of a milliard, that it is to carry out, will be made at the expense of the old age pensioners, war invalids and those incapacitated during their work, unemployment benefits, the wages of the workers, the salaries of the civil servants and the workers in State undertakings, subventions for mutual insurance schemes, and sums devoted to children's welfare work, etc. All this is to complete the measures already carried out by the same government with the aid of "special powers" which were granted it scarcely four months ago: 1,500 millions in new taxes and the reduction of expenditure by 500 millions, as well as the floating of loans, the amortisation and interest charges on which are nothing more than a mortgage on the future, and the burden of which will be born by the toiling masses alone.

Thus two millions of the working population will be directly affected by the new measures of the finance-capital dictatorship, for the Finance Minister, who was almost openly appointed by the bank magnate, Franqui, acts literally as the latter's representative. Tens of thousands of small traders, who as a result of the crisis are very near bankruptcy, who are being sucked dry by the landlords, were left in the lurch by the Senate, which adjourned for its holidays, without completing the law for the revision of rents. The question of the revision of the peasants' leases is in no better position.

In these circumstances and in view of the new complications which the international economic, financial and political crisis is still further aggravating, class relationships and contradictions will develop in a more acute form in the course of the coming months.

On these grounds the Government is hastening its preparations also for the imperialist and civil war. No leave is being granted to the General Staff, and the Minister for "National Defence," as well as his colleague at the Home Office, are busily employed in mobilising the gendarmerie for the fight against the "internal enemy." In co-operation with the industrialists they

are carrying out measures for the occupation of the strategic points.

The social-democratic leaders poured scorn on the ministers, calling them poor-spirited and feeble "dictators' apprentices." Their protests were bad jokes. In particular it is Vandervelde who has to curb the love of office of his subordinate leaders, for "we could do nothing more stupid at present," he declared, "than to take our places on the Government benches by the side of Jaspar and Deveze." Hence the "irreconcilable opposition" of the social democrats in Parliament to the "full powers" of the Government. This is, in view of the "high temperature of the masses," the only possible tactic, as the deputy Pierard admitted with great frankness. For the bourgeoisie the chief question is as follows:—Whether it shall seek its salvation by setting up an open fascist dictatorship or whether it is still possible to escape from the cul-de-sac, in the case of necessity with the help of the social democrats. The Minister of Finance, Jaspar, has given this to be understood with sufficient clarity:

"If the Parliamentary system shows itself to be incapable of solving the Budget difficulties and of dealing with the serious dangers that threaten the country, then the Parliamentary system will not last much longer. For, since the country cannot perish, the system that governs it must perish."

What kind of a way out do the social-democratic leaders offer from the dilemma formulated by the mouthpiece of the bourgeoisie, M. Jaspar? Again and again the promise of a great plan for united action and the demand that the masses shall discipline themselves and wait in patience. In practice this means a fight against the struggles entered upon by the workers, as was the case in the last miners' strikes in Borinage, the textile strikes in Verviers, and the strikes of the Antwerp dockers against Hitler.

Coming events may prove decisive. A former liberal minister said in the Senate that "the Government is destined to succeed," but he was counting on a dictatorship lasting not three, but six months. Why should it not finally become a five-year dictatorship, such as that which Hitler has in view. And there is no reason why one should not, after the lapse of the first three months, complete Jaspar's experiment by means of a revised and extended form of the dictatorship, as a certain newspaper which is in close connection with the central employers' organisation, the Comité Central Industriel, gives us to understand. Everything depends, in the last resort, upon the defensive and offensive strength of the proletariat. This strength will determine the orientation of the petty bourgeois masses to the revolutionary or to the capitalist-fascist solution of the crisis.

An enormous historical responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Belgian Communist Party, for upon it alone will depend the decisive shaping of events. Although the bourgeoisie and the social democrats pretend openly to attach very little significance to the small Communist Party, yet inwardly the possibilities of its development make them very uneasy. The means to this development consist, for the Communists, in continual day-to-day working among the masses, and in rousing and directing their will to resistance and attack. The united front struggle is growing among these masses in the fight for bread, work and freedom.

Increasing Fascist Tendencies in Greece

By Kostas Grypos

The front of the fascist and reactionary offensive of the Greek bourgeoisie is becoming stronger and broader every day. The setting up of an outspokenly fascist dictatorship or the further fascistisation of the present regime as a way out is seriously engaging the attention of the most important circles of Greek capitalists.

In Greece there are many organisations and parties which would take on the role of the fascist hangmen, but which at the present time have no following worth mentioning. Thus for years there have existed in Salonica and Macedonia the "Steel Helmets" of the "National Union of Greece" (E.E.E.), which organised the pogrom against the Jews in Salonica in 1931 and murdered revolutionary workers. The attempts of the E.E.E., directly supported by the State apparatus and the tobacco manu-

facturers, to break up the tobacco workers' trade unions and found fascist organisations remained without success. In Athens the editor of the "Esperini," *Jannaros*, attempted to found a fascist fighting organisation, and General *Pangalos* and his paper "Allagi" attempted to found an organisation known as the "Iron Peace," consisting of retired officers and well-known putschists. Both attempts, however, failed to meet with any noteworthy success. Apart from these outspokenly fascist organisations there are also parties which are striving for the setting up of a fascist dictatorship. The Agrarian Party—at least its group which is under the leadership of the lawyer and adventurer *Sofianopulos*—set up a programme which on many points resembles that of *Mussolini*; and the right wing of *Tsaldaris*' People's Party, under the leadership of *G. Mercuris*, has formed a national socialist party after *Hitler's* model.

Even if up to the present the above-mentioned fascist organisations are without any mass influence, the danger of a fascist dictatorship is increasing. And if General *Plastiras*, who is the tool of certain circles of finance capital, failed in his attempted putsch on March 6, this was solely due to the prompt counter-action of the working masses under the leadership of the Communists. *Plastiras*, who is to-day a refugee in *Dodekanas*, is openly eulogised by the press of *Venezelos*; on the other hand, General *Kondylis* and Admiral *Hadjikyriakos* would likewise be prepared to venture on a putsch.

The daily fasciation of the State apparatus under *Tsaldaris* with the connivance of *Venezelos* constitutes not a future but a present danger. The workers' organisations are being persecuted more than ever and many of them have been dissolved. The All-Greek Red Trade Union Congress is prohibited. Civil servants are being dismissed on political grounds. *Tsaldaris* announces the establishment of concentration camps according to *Hitler's* pattern. The small measure of legality still left the Communists is being actually abolished. The fasciation of intellectual life is proceeding at an equally rapid pace. The Ministry for Education, the universities, the church, and the reactionary students are conducting a broad "national campaign," of which the first victims are the Communist and sympathising elementary school teachers, who are being dismissed wholesale.

The *Tsaldaris* government is also endeavouring to organise a broad fascist fighting movement. The bandits in the E.E.E. are being supplied with uniforms, steel helmets and revolvers at the cost of the State. Their organisation openly demanded that they should be officially equipped by the State in order to smash Communism.

But the working masses have given a prompt and energetic reply. The first meeting which the fascists attempted to hold in *Kokkinia* (*Piræus*) was broken up by the workers, in spite of the fact that the fascists were actively supported by the police. Several workers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and banishment on account of this action. It was intended by means of these savage sentences to terrify the workers, but the workers did not allow themselves to be intimidated. The second fascist meeting in *Drapetsona* (*Piræus*) was also broken up and converted into a Communist meeting. The parade of the E.E.E. bandits from *Salonica*, which was announced with such a set out and was to have been held in Athens on the national holiday (March 25) was postponed, and then quietly dropped. The hostile attitude of the working population, who at various workers' meetings in *Salonica* and *Piræus* adopted resolutions expressing their determination to smash up the "parade," had not failed to have an effect. In face of the protests of the working masses and the organisations of intellectuals, the Prime Minister *Tsaldaris* was forced to declare that he "knew nothing of the plans of the E.E.E. organisation to arm and that he would look into the matter."

A number of anti-fascist mass meetings have been held in various towns in Greece in preparation for the European Anti-Fascist Congress. All workers' congresses and conferences held in preparation for the All-Greek Trade Union Congress sent written messages of greeting to the Organisation Committee of the Anti-Fascist Congress. Anti-fascist workers' conferences are being prepared at the present time in Athens and *Salonica*.

The Communist Party is endeavouring to organise a still broader anti-fascist mass movement and to set up anti-fascist fighting organisations in order to be able effectively to meet the danger of a fascist putsch and the further fasciation of the State apparatus.

The Questions of the Chinese Eastern Railway

Moscow, May 20, 1933

In connection with statements in the Chinese Press, the "Isvestia" writes:

"A part of the Chinese Press, as well as the press published by foreign imperialist circles, is very indignant on account of the negotiations of the Soviet Government with Japan regarding the possibility of a sale to the latter of the Chinese Eastern Railway. These are the same newspapers which for years have been conducting an uninterrupted campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union. They accused the Soviet Government of being imperialistic, as according to their opinion the possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway constituted a violation of the socialist principles of the Soviet Power. Now this same press is attacking the Soviet Government on account of its readiness to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway. By this, it is alleged, the Soviet Government not only violates socialist principles but also the Mukden-Peking Treaty. These newspapers obviously forget that in the year 1929 General *Chang-Hsue-Liang* occupied the Chinese Eastern Railway with the support of the Nanking Government, and thereby tore to pieces this same treaty. It was openly admitted that the Kuomintang supported this action. The Chinese bourgeois, the big landowners and the capitalists, have lost Manchuria to Japan without putting up any fight whatever. At the first shot fired by the Japanese troops, this same General *Chang-Hsue-Liang* ordered his army to retreat. Only recently the whole world again witnessed the monstrous betrayal of China's national interests by its militarists, who abandoned the mountainous district of *Jehol* (which is very suitable for defence) to the Japanese almost without a struggle.

The Chinese bourgeoisie is losing one district after another without even attempting to put up any resistance, but the Soviet Power is expected to defend the Chinese Eastern Railway and to risk an international conflict. We must not forget that neither the Mukden agreement nor the Peking agreement in any way limits the powers of the Soviet Government in regard to a sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the more so as the other party to the treaty does not possess any actual power over the territory to which the Treaty applies.

A part of the Chinese Press contrasts the Soviet Union with the pious League of Nations, which "did not recognise Japan's conquests." This reveals the true nature of the Chinese pseudo-nationalist policy. These elements, who are afraid to call upon the Chinese masses to defend their independence, are hiding behind the backs of the imperialist powers. They sought to save themselves from Japanese imperialism with the aid of the same governments which hold Chinese territory in their possession and do not recognise the sovereignty of China. By renouncing a fight themselves, and hoping for salvation by means of other oppressors, means that they are deceiving the people. For if other imperialists were to drive the Japanese imperialists from their conquered positions, it would only be in order to take their place.

The first fiddle in the concert of incitement against the Soviet Union is played by the English imperialist press in China. This reveals the real meaning of the whole agitation. The English "Economist" writes that the Japanese Die-hards are aiming at a speedy understanding with the Chinese militarists in order to be able to turn against the Soviet Union. The English Die-hards would be very pleased, declares "The Economist," if the Japanese were to turn against Russia. The English Die-hards know very well what they are doing when they incite China against the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union is also quite aware that this anti-Soviet campaign does not reflect the opinion of the serious and really patriotic circles of China. These circles realise in whose interests a conflict with the Soviet Union, the country which is a real friend of the Chinese mass of people, would lie. We are convinced that the workers and peasants, as well as the sincere patriotic elements of China, recognise that the policy of the Soviet Union is correct, and that they will do all in their power to prevent the world imperialists from drawing the Soviet Union into a war. They realise that the imperialists are attempting to avoid a war among themselves and to divert their conflicts into a war against the Soviet Union, and thereby facilitate the destruction of the national movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Germany

Hitler's Reichstag Speech "Against" Versailles

The Fresh Shame of the Social Fascists

The third meeting of the Reichstag staged in the Kroll Opera went off according to programme. The only disturbers of the fascist "national unity," the Communists, were forcibly kept away. Thus fascism could make out to the world that the whole of the German people is behind Hitler. For that part of the German people who remain true to the cause of Communism, and in unceasing trench warfare accomplish wonders of heroism in the fight for the revolutionary cause, have neither a Parliamentary platform nor a legal press at their disposal. Only the sullen murmuring among the masses, the illegal papers, which are secretly circulated from hand to hand, and the hysterical outcry of the fascist rulers about the illegal undermining work of the Communists, show that here a life and death struggle is being waged.

As was to be expected, the Reichstag unanimously supported the Hitler government. Unanimously, that is to say, with the votes of the social-democratic leaders, who, by pronouncing their confidence in the dictatorship government, set the crown on their shame and disgrace. Twenty social-democratic members of the Reichstag are in the fascist prisons, a dozen others have fled abroad, another was murdered only a few days ago in a railway train. All this, however, did not prevent their party comrades from expressing their confidence in this government of fascist murderers. The funds of the social-democratic party have been confiscated, their printing works and party premises have been closed and handed over to the national socialists, the trade unions and co-operative societies have been taken from them, the Reichsbanner has been dissolved. All this, however, did not prevent the social-democratic leaders from standing unanimously behind the leader of the fascist terror regime. Thousands of social-democratic workers have been arrested and ill-treated, hundreds of others have been murdered, but the social democracy expresses its confidence in the leader of the bands of fascist murderers.

Hitler's speech was full of lies and pacifist phrases, which no one believed. His references to Versailles, calculated to stir up chauvinistic feeling in Germany, had no other purpose than to represent the peace treaties as being the sole cause of the present world crisis of capitalism, in order in this way to conceal the real cause of the crisis, namely, the capitalist system, of which, in fact, the peace treaties are only the outcome.

Whilst continually stirring up the chauvinistic passions of the masses, on decisive questions Hitler made a retreat, as was expected. He who for fourteen years had promised the masses that on coming into power he would tear up the treaty of Versailles, solemnly declared that no German government wished to break the treaties. He welcomed the MacDonald plan, the Mussolini plan, the Roosevelt plan, although all these proposals are diametrically opposed to his disarmament demands; and he would have welcomed hundreds of further plans of this kind if they had been submitted. For, with such apparent approval, he only wanted to break through the foreign-political ring by which fascist Germany is surrounded. He carefully avoided making any reference to frontier revisions, although he had demanded this for years; he said not a word about Danzig, the Polish Corridor, Upper Silesia, nor about South Tyrol and Austria, Eupen-Malmédy and Alsace. He made no allusion to the colonial demands. All this he passed over in silence, although it constituted 99 per cent. of his foreign-political programme, in order to retreat to one single point: the armament provisions of Versailles, Germany's equality on the armament question, freedom to arm!

Fight against Communism was the leitmotiv of Hitler's speech. He appealed to the anti-Bolshevist feeling in the capitalist countries in order to take himself the credit of having rescued Europe from the "Communist chaos." And this is the same Hitler who goes begging to the Soviet government for orders to keep the bankrupt German industry going. Had he really the illusion that nobody abroad believed a word of this?

Also on the acute, main question of armaments he made a semi-retreat. But all the conditions which he attached to his approval of the unification of the army, the MacDonald plan and the Roosevelt plan will prevent any softening of imperialist antagonisms. The representatives of French, and probably also of British, imperialism in Geneva will politely push on one side all his phrases about desire for peace in order to put more inexorably in the foreground the armament demands which are wrapped up in them.

Hitler's speech will not bring about any easing of the imperialist antagonisms. This will be seen in the next few days in Geneva. The danger of war still remains, in spite of all Hitler's pacifist talk. In fact it is growing precisely as a result of the wave of chauvinism which fascism has produced in Germany in order to conceal its political bankruptcy. This chauvinist feeling is driving rapidly to a war. The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" is not far wrong when it compares this meeting of the Reichstag with its unanimous vote of confidence in the Hitler government, with that sitting of the Reichstag on August 4, 1914, when, with the same unanimity and with the same approval of the social democracy, the Reichstag voted the war credits. Is it possible that the social democratic leaders did not recognise the chauvinistic character of this speech by Hitler? No. The meaning of the Reichstag demonstration was as clear as that of August 4, 1914. The social democracy has thereby taken over its share of responsibility for the further development of this Hitler Germany, and will be judged for it before the tribunal of history.

The Communist Party of Germany, driven underground, is raising its voice and summoning the masses of the working people to the fight against the threatening war for which Hitler is heading. It is pointing out to the masses the inability of fascism to solve a single one of the national questions of Germany, and is putting forward the Communist programme of social and national emancipation.

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The approval by the social-democratic Reichstag fraction of the pronouncement of confidence in the Hitler government was preceded by a number of events which throw a vivid light on the present state of affairs in the social-democratic party. On May 15 there took place a meeting of the enlarged Central Committee of the party, at which the question of what should be the attitude of the fraction in the session of the Reichstag on May 17 was down for discussion. **Wels** was not present at this meeting, as he was still in the Saar district; some other members of the Central Committee were also absent. **Löbe** advocated that the fraction should attend the session of the Reichstag. He declared that seventy social democratic deputies could be present. It was intended at first to submit a declaration. Some expressed the fear that the handing in of a declaration, no matter how submissive in tone, would mean an immediate danger for all members of the fraction present. After a long debate it was decided that the fraction should not take part in the session. At the same time a declaration was submitted which was to be given to the press. In this declaration it was stated that the Hitler government could not conduct any other policy than that which the social-democratic party had always conducted (!), namely, a policy of understanding with the Western Powers. This decision, however, encountered the criticism of a number of members of the Central Committee; it was decided to appoint an editorial committee, which should once again revise the declaration for the public. The Reichstag fraction leaders also decided, like the Central Committee, that the fraction should not take part in the sitting.

On the following day there took place the meeting of the fraction, which was attended by about seventy deputies. The decision of the Central Committee and the Reichstag fraction committee was very sharply opposed by **Künstler** and **Ebert** (from Brandenburg). They hypocritically declared that if the fraction

were to be absent from the meeting of the Reichstag it might be interpreted as cowardice; but at the same time they revealed their real motives by expressing the fear that if the fraction absented itself it would provide the government with the possibility of accusing the social-democratic party of high treason (!). About fifteen deputies were against attending the Reichstag, and all the others were for. It came to very exciting discussions, in which some expressed the fear that participation in the Reichstag meeting would place the fraction in a situation which could seriously compromise it in the eyes of the workers and involve the danger of a complete collapse of the social democratic party. One of the opponents of participation stated:

"They will finally compel the fraction, accompanied by the Storm Troops, to sing the Horst Wessel Song; and most of the fraction will in fact actually sing it. If the fraction takes part in the session a split will be unavoidable."

These "heroes," however, had not the courage afterwards to go against the majority of the fraction, but submitted like curs. Finally, an editorial committee was formed which should finally formulate the declaration of the fraction. Another suggestion, which was put forward before the meeting of the Reichstag fraction but did not find any advocates at the meeting, was that the whole fraction should lay down their mandates, when, in accordance with the Parliamentary rules, their places would be taken by the next on the election list of the social-democratic party, and the dilemma of participation in the Reichstag meeting would be avoided for the moment. Against this proposal it was argued that among the people who would replace the present fraction there was a whole number of persons of whom one could not be sure that they would not simply go over to the Nazis. This proposal was therefore dropped.

This history of the events preceding the participation of the social-democratic fraction in the meeting of the Reichstag shows quite clearly the complete bankruptcy of this clique of leaders and—what is specially important for the German workers in the present situation—the self-exposure of such sham Lefts as Künstler, who come before the social-democratic functionaries mouthing the most radical phrases, and even make fierce attacks on the old gang of leaders, in order to push themselves to the foreground, whilst at the same time they are the most miserable advocates of grovelling before the fascist rulers.

The End of "German Socialism"

The fascist "Congress of the Labour front" turned out to be quite a different affair from that intended by its organisers, the leaders of the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation). It was planned to hold a great and pompous demonstration, dominated by the phrase "German socialism." It was to have been a great display of fascist demagoguery, with the fascist counter-revolution represented as a socialist resolution. It was further intended, with the same demagoguery, to issue a proclamation on the "Protection of the rights of the German worker," and with its programme for providing work the Reichs government was to announce the first stage of the Four-Year Plan. And, finally, it was intended to outline the proposals for the reorganisation of the trade unions in a fascist sense.

Nothing has come of all this. The intended pompous demonstration turned out to be a meeting of 500 leaders of the N.S.B.O.; that is to say, a meeting of national socialist bureaucrats, at which the employers' organisations were represented. It was they who actually staged the congress, and Hitler delivered his speech according to their directions and not according to the desires of the N.S.B.O. leaders Schumann and Engel, who in order to continue the deception of the masses required and demanded a new edition of socialist demagoguery. Hitler finally discarded the phrase about "German socialism." Instead of "protection of the rights of the German worker," he proclaimed the right of the employer to order as he pleased, prohibition of strikes as a weapon of the workers in the fight for their interests, and the abolition of trade unions as representing the interests of the workers. The profound crisis of German capitalism does not permit fascism to place socialist phrase-mongering in the centre of its agitation. Thus Hitler commenced his speech by praising the capitalist employers as the centre point of economy and of the fascist economic policy:

"Not the word ownership in itself can be regarded here as characteristic, for we know that a great number of men

who founded our production came originally not from the ranks of the property owners but from the ranks of the workers, that in them the strength of the hand at the same time extended to genius of intellect, that they have been god-favoured inventors, gifted organisers to whom we and our fellow-countrymen owe their lives."

Hitler's eulogy of the employers ended in the following sentence:

"One cannot therefore oppose the employer to the worker, but the point is that the mind, as always in human life, commands the ordinary forces."

The meaning of the above is clear: the employer becomes the central figure, whom the workers must obey. The employers' press is exceedingly satisfied with this part of Hitler's speech, for it gives them an idea of what is intended with the contemplated legal measures by means of which the law relating to collective agreements and social insurance is to be entirely changed. The worker must be obedient; that is to say, according to the will of the fascist legislators he must accept the wages and working conditions ordered by the employers. That is German socialism. And thus, in connection with the fight against Marxism, Hitler proclaims the prohibition of strikes. The right to strike is Marxism. Under this catchword strikes will be prohibited and rendered punishable in the coming fascist labour constitution.

In addition to the abolition of the right to strike, the trade unions in their old forms as organs representing the interests of the workers are to be done away with. **Dr. Ley**, the leader of the action against the trade unions, stated in his speech of welcome at the congress:

"The trade unions as they were, will never return. They must be changed. You will realise that work should not be merely a means of earning wages, but that the organisation representing the German workers should become the representative of a new estate under the term: 'the German worker.'"

Thus it is clearly stated that, under the fascist dictatorship the trade unions will no longer be trade unions, i.e., organisations having as their object to represent the interests of the workers, but organisations for mastering and enslaving, which shall make the workers realise that work is not merely a "means in order to earn wages."

The phrase "German socialism" is dead; the congress of the German Labour front has buried it, even if it will be heard occasionally in some Sunday speeches of Nazi leaders. Hitler's speech and the fascist congress show how narrow is the field in which fascism can manoeuvre. It must take care not to increase even by agitational phrases the socialist longings of the revolutionised working masses; it must openly and nakedly show the rule of capitalism to be its economic policy.

The congress itself was preceded, especially after the attack on the trade unions, by stormy discussions and disputes in the national socialist party and between its leaders and the leaders of industry. The employers' federations had, in several interviews with Hitler and Seldte as Reichs Minister for Labour, pointed to the dangers which the incorporation of the trade unions in the fascist system must involve to economy. They opposed most emphatically any kind of nucleus organisation in the factories. They protested against the interference of the N.S.B.O. in the right of the employer to run his business as he pleased, and further demanded that a halt should be called to the socialist agitation within the N.S.B.O. and in particular that the congress of the German Labour front must make quite clear what is the position of the employer in economy towards the worker.

As is to be seen, the representations made by the leaders of the employers proved successful. Hitler hastily fulfilled all the demands of his big capitalist masters. From a demonstration for the protection of the right of the German workers, the congress became a demonstration by Hitler against the activist elements in the N.S.B.O., who wished to invent a "German socialism" which they could hold out to the workers.

Hitler's speech means in a certain sense the conclusion of that stage of German fascism in which social demagoguery was predominant. Fascism is now entering its realistic period, in which, as Göbbels formulated it, the celebrations of the triumph of the national revolution have come to an end and daily routine work begins. Hitler's speech was a speech for the fascist every-day

life, in which all socialist holiday tunes are lacking and the dictates of monopoly capitalism furnish the dominating chord.

Not a single social, political or trade union question has been settled at the congress. The N.S.B.O. has now been forbidden to admit any new members; further applicants for membership are to be referred to the trade unions. The N.S.B.O. is thereby to be deprived of its trade union character and the old trade unions are to become the organisational basis for the setting up of fascist trade unions. The final decisions have not yet been made in this respect, but an end has been put to the social phrases of the N.S.B.O.

Thus the congress has lost the socialist mask which the N.S.B.O. intended to put on it. In this time of tremendous intensification of the crisis, monopoly capital requires sober capitalist realistic politics in its interests. And Hitler has promised this.

A "Committee of Action" Captures the German Trade Unions

By E. Arndt (Berlin)

The German workers built up their trade unions over a period lasting decades. As a result of the great sacrifices of generations of workers, they became gigantic organisations, embracing millions of proletarians. Hundreds of thousands of them became class fighters through the trade union school, where they faced the employers in the every-day minor struggles, and thus became acquainted with the social class antagonisms between workers and capitalists, between rich and poor.

And now there comes a "Committee of Action" of the Nazis, consisting of seven men, and "captures" these mass organisations of the German workers. A number of social democratic trade union leaders, including Leipart, Grassmann, Aufhäuser, and Wissel, are placed under "preventive arrest," and a number of trade union central committees, as well as a number of editors or trade union newspapers, are arrested. In place of the arrested social democratic trade union leaders Nazi trade union commissioners, who acquired their knowledge of trade unions in the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation) are installed. The trade union premises and all institutions of the free trade unions are occupied by Storm Troops. Then an incredible thing happens: these powerful mass organisations of the German workers which have been led for decades by social-democratic leaders, these pillars of the social democracy in Germany and of the Second International, are violated and terrorised without any resistance whatever being offered.

How was this possible? This is what hundreds of revolutionary trade unions in Germany are asking. The whole extent of the crime of the social-democratic trade union leaders was once again revealed on May 2. But the weakness of the revolutionary opposition work in the trade unions was also plainly seen here. For years the social-democratic trade union leaders enervated the trade unions; any will to resistance of the rank and file and functionaries was broken. Marxist ideas were thrown overboard or falsified. Thousands of revolutionary members and functionaries were expelled, and the oppositional functionaries were removed from their positions. The only thing that attracted and held the members was the sickness and unemployment benefits and the "well-won rights." When the Nazi Commissioners guaranteed these rights and ordered the employers to observe the collective agreements concluded by the trade unions, they knew what they were doing. They thereby secured the material interests of the members, but delivered the German Labour movement an annihilating blow without encountering any resistance worth mentioning. The policy of Leipart and Co. smoothed the way for the Nazis and made it easy for them to take over the trade unions. Messrs. Leipart and Co. believed that in return for their treachery they would be treated favourably. There was no lack of declarations of capitulation on their part. But they made a mistake in their calculations. The Nazis do not need them for the present. By accusing the social-democratic trade union leaders of having made wrongful use of the members' contributions, it was easier for the Nazi commissioners to carry out their work. They are thereby endeavouring even to win the approval of the members. Thus, as the revolutionary opposition predicted, the policy pursued by the A.D.G.B. leaders has resulted in the trade unions being converted from organs of the class struggle into fascist organisations.

The right to conclude new collective agreements has already been reserved to the "Committee of Action for the Protection of German Labour." Thus the first step has been taken towards a fascist monopoly of the trade unions.

The incorporation of all workers hitherto organised in the free trade unions in the N.S.B.O. means that in connection with the slogan issued in Germany: All class-conscious proletarians join the trade unions, there exist great possibilities for strengthening the anti-capitalist elements in the N.S.B.O.

It is a peculiar tragedy that a few days before the Nazis took over the trade unions, the chairman of the Red Miners' Union, Albert Funk, who was arrested by Nazi Storm Troops in Dortmund on April 15, was alleged to have jumped out of the window fifty feet high into the prison yard and was killed. The A.D.G.B. trade unions are converted into fascist unions and the red unions are to be destroyed by means of terror.

But so long as exploitation and oppression, so long as capitalism prevails in Germany, the class struggle will not cease.

Raise Higher the Flag of Socialist Culture!

By Karl Radek

On May 10 last the square between the Berlin Opera and the Berlin University presented a strange spectacle. Student detachments in the uniform of Nazi Storm Troops, with torches in hand, surrounded a huge pile of books which the Nazi authorities ordered should be burnt. Motor lorries drove up with fresh baskets full of literature. The bands struck up, and as the flames seized the pile of books there arose to heaven the hymn of Germany's emancipation.

All this took place in front of the Berlin University, where 120 years ago Fichte delivered his speeches "To the German People," in which he called upon them to fight against Napoleon, but defended the heritage of the French Revolution. For Fichte never forgot that he once wrote: "From now on (since the French Revolution) only the French Republic can be the fatherland of an honest man." And from their pedestals the statues of Alexander and Wilhelm Humboldt looked down on this conflagration. Alexander Humboldt, the founder of the Berlin University, fostered the spirit of the epoch of French Enlightenment and set himself the task "to study the progress of the spirit of the times, the progress of enlightenment, philosophy and science." He was a liberal courtier and strove to raise the Prussia of the junkers to the level which the bourgeois world of the West had attained. Wilhelm Humboldt was a great natural scientist, and had mastered the scientific knowledge of his time. Before the eyes of these two eminent Germans, the German students, egged on by the authorities, made a bonfire of the literature which they considered to be hostile to the "German spirit."

That they burnt the works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin is not surprising. It is obvious that all they can oppose to the great scholars who lit up the way for humanity, is yelping and mediæval fanaticism. The study of modern Communism is the memento mori for those who wish to turn back the wheel of history. The fascist "Tägliche Rundschau" warned the authorities against prohibiting the works of Marx, pointing out that it is impossible for a man to-day to get a clear idea of the course of economic development without a knowledge of Marx, even if one holds the teachings of Marx to be false. For this the paper got the reward it deserved. It was suppressed and was only able to appear after it had promised not to give expression to such disagreeable truths again. The fascist youth are not satisfied with destroying the literature which predicted their inevitable end. They are burning the feeble offshoots of bourgeois democratic culture that appeared in German literature in the St. Martin's Summer of the Weimar period. Stefan Zweig, Heinrich Mann, Döblin—writers who desired in their works to defend democracy, were committed to the flames just as Remarque, Gläser and other writers who sought to describe all the horrors of the world war. Neither Remarque nor Gläser have indicated the revolutionary way out of the cul de sac which imperialism has created. The fact, however, that these writers described to the cannon fodder of to-morrow the fate that is awaiting them, sufficed to call forth the profoundest hatred of those circles who see a way out in a new imperialist war. We do not know whether, together with the Communist, democratic and pacifist books, the works of natural scientists, who were either driven from the university or left it of their own accord as a protest

against the triumph of mediævalism, were also burnt. The bulletin from the German Book-Burning Front states that the works of **Freud** were committed to the flames, but does not mention the names of the great physicist **Frank**, and the chemist **Haber**, who during the war discovered a process for making artificial nitrogen and provided Germany with the poison gases necessary for the prosecution of the war, and who has now been compelled to go with sunken head and a feeling of shame on account of the ruling class whom he served so well.

Marx once wrote, that the spirit which in the brain of the philosopher builds up a philosophic system, is the same spirit which, with the hands of the worker, builds railways. These words were written by Marx in his youth, when he had not yet finally freed himself from the influence of idealistic philosophy. But in spite of their idealistic husk these words contained a profound truth. There can be no State with a big industry, there can be no State which promotes technique, in which creative scientific ideas in any sphere are destroyed. The German bourgeoisie, which combats with fire and sword the spirit in the sphere of sociology, in the sphere of the natural sciences because it is incompatible with the "German spirit," thereby says that this German spirit has become incompatible with any progress, even in the sphere of technique. And, as a matter of fact, the seizure of power by the German fascists is a proof that the bourgeoisie of this leading country despairs of the possibility of further development on the path along which it has developed hitherto; that it is seeking to save itself with the aid of alchemy, which has always gone hand in hand with autodafes and inquisitions.

The bonfire of books erected in front of the Berlin University was not merely a crazy trick on the part of a crowd of drunken students who have never loved books and who prefer to imbibe truth from beer barrels. The bonfire in front of the Berlin University is the fire showing to the whole world the limits which humanity has reached. We Communists have always said that capitalism in its death agonies destroys all that still remains of greatness and value in bourgeois culture. The bourgeois intelligentsia of the West would not believe this. They pointed to the development of technique and natural sciences in the capitalist countries. The agents of the bourgeoisie sought to maintain the influence of their masters over these intellectuals by telling them that the dictatorship of the proletariat gives no freedom for the development of scientific thought, because it sees in every scholar and savant a representative of the bourgeoisie. Now even the blind can see who was right. In the Soviet Union the old scholars who in the past were closely connected with the bourgeoisie, and the majority of whom even to-day have not yet adopted the standpoint of Communism, are working and enjoying the appreciation and support of the Soviet Power and of the whole country. The work of our chemists, our physicists and biologists, our geologists, is followed with keen attention by the whole country. Our country is proud of them. And the Communist Party, the leader of the land of the Soviets, calls upon its members to learn from these old bourgeois scientists; the Soviet Government rewards their achievements as achievements in the interests of the country which has bound up its fate with the advance of science. We Communists do not blindly take over the achievements of bourgeois culture. Communism is the culture which is built by emancipated labour on the basis of dialectical materialism. Communism leads the fight against the legacy of idealistic philosophy. Whilst, however, the German black-hundreds to-day burn the works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin in order to-morrow to burn the works of Darwin, we, on the other hand, are publishing translations of the works of the great idealist Hegel in order to study the way along which humanity came to Marxism. **Communism is not afraid of idealistic teachings, for it vanquishes them ideologically and by actions.** Communism builds its structure for the future on all the great achievements of the human spirit in the past. Fascism destroys the germs of the future lying in modern bourgeois science in order to kill the fruit of revolution in the womb of the bourgeoisie. If it should succeed in this, then pregnant Germany is bound to perish, for no development is possible, even for the bourgeois world, in the straight jacket of mediæval obscurantism, in the claws of savage nationalism. This obscurantism is incompatible with modern technique and industry. This savage nationalism is bound to lead to disastrous war. From the bonfire which was lit in front of the Berlin University there arises not the smoke and fumes of burning paper, but the pestilential stench of the rotting German bourgeoisie.

But no matter how fascism may rage, it will not achieve its aim. The economic and social development of Germany is far too advanced to be driven back, even with fire and sword, into the middle ages. This development has created those social forces which will overcome renaissance mediævalism. The blind fury which drives the fascists to the demonstration of burning books is not a proof of their strength but of their sense of weakness. They indulge in wild excesses, for it is only in the excesses that they see a chance of salvation. These excesses show to all people to whom the cause of human culture is dear, to whom the achievements of the human spirit are dear, where are the saviours of this spirit, where the force is that will rescue the heritage of Fichte and Hegel, the heritage of Helmholtz and Haeckel from the fascist inquisitorial fires. This force is the force that protects the heritage of Marx and Engels from the modern barbarians, and proves the truth of the words of Marx that the German Labour movement is the successor of classic German philosophy.

Public opinion in the Soviet Union, in face of the bonfires on which the works of German progressive writers are burnt, will not forget for a moment what humanity owed in the past to the spiritual life of Germany. Public opinion in the Soviet Union will not believe for a moment that with the bonfires which flared up on the night of the 10th of May there disappeared Germany's capacity to serve the development of human culture. Public opinion in the Soviet Union will not permit Germany to be identified with the crazy fascists, no matter how much they may claim to be the representatives of the "true German spirit." Public opinion in the Soviet Union knows that those capacities which made Germany the leading country will also in the future make it the leading Socialist country.

The burning of the heaps of books in front of the Berlin University signals to the public opinion of the Soviet Union not the decline of culture, but the decline of bourgeois culture. It means that the flag of Socialist culture must be raised higher, that the men of science must make common cause with the working class which is building Socialism, for the working class is the only power which creates the preconditions under which the new great culture of humanity arises.

The Lives of the Imprisoned Comrades are in the Greatest Danger

By Willy Trostel (Zürich)

The illegal leaflet issued by our German comrades exposing the abominable system of taking hostages practised by the Nazi murderers, is a terrible document. By its publication in the legal press abroad, millions and millions are being given an idea of the actual state of affairs in Germany, which must fill them with indescribable fury against the fascist rulers. In addition to the victims of fascism who have been buried, there are hundreds and hundreds whose bodies are lying uninterred in the forests or floating in the ponds and rivers. But apart from these murdered victims there are thousands and thousands who are pining behind barbed wire, behind prison walls and in the prison hospitals, and are delivered over to the mercy of the savage Brown Shirts. The leaders of "national Germany" deliver bombastic speeches about comradeship and chivalry, but at the same time maintain a reign of savage terror surpassing anything ever known even in the Balkans. In the year 1925, the English Colonel **Malone** published a pamphlet describing the bloody rule of Zankoff in Bulgaria. He wrote, *inter alia*:

"The Osvoboshdenie society, the co-operative society which had 70,000 members, was declared to be illegal and the whole of its property, amounting to hundreds of millions of francs, was confiscated. The rulers in Sofia went so far in their cynicism as to use the wonderful building of the co-operative society in Sofia for the police, and it is now officially called the 'Bureau for Public Safety,' whilst it is generally known as the Chamber of Horrors. Judging from what we saw during our last stay in Sofia, this designation seems to be justified."

"Under the Zankoff government massacres have taken place in Dom-Palanka, Philippopolis, Bashardshik and Damokov. No less than 15 members of Parliament, who were elected to represent the interests of the workers and peasants, were murdered, some of them in the streets of Sofia.

"This Cathedral outrage was made an excuse for immediately persecuting all advanced sections of the population,

for hunting down by the military officers' league, the police and the soldiers of all political opponents of the Zankoff government, of whom it was said, after they had been murdered, that they had committed suicide."

One only needs to change the name—in place of Sofia to put Königsberg, Trier or Berlin; instead of Cathedral outrage—Reichstag fire; instead of co-operative premises, Karl Liebknecht House—and everything else would tally. In fact, as regards diabolical cruelty, civilised Germany puts backward Bulgaria right in the shade.

The lives of the imprisoned leaders, of Comrade Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff, Tannev and others, are in particularly great danger. The "evidence" found in the "catacombs" of the Karl Liebknecht House is said to have proved the guilt of the leaders of the Communist Party. This "evidence" was used as a reason for declaring a state of emergency. On March 2, the "Angriff," the Berlin organ of the national socialists, promised that these documents would be submitted to the public. Over ten weeks have passed since then and absolutely nothing has been submitted to the public, in spite of the fact that Göbbels has a State forgery factory at his disposal. But the less evidence there is for a public trial, the greater the danger of the usual "suicide," "shot while attempting to escape," or "combined inflammation of the lungs and kidneys." Thus the life of Comrade Thälmann is in immediate danger.

The accusation of setting fire to the Reichstag is obstinately maintained against Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popoff, Tannev, although, as is known, Comrade Torgler, as soon as he heard of the charge of arson brought against him, voluntarily reported to the authorities, and although the Bulgarian comrades had just as much to do with the Reichstag outrage as, say the American Ambassador in Berlin. But it is precisely the lack of "evidence found in the catacombs" that constitutes such a great danger to Thälmann, whilst the fact that Torgler, Dimitroff, Tannev and Popoff had nothing to do with the fire in the Reichstag is an even greater danger to them. Since the "Manchester Guardian" and the Paris "Journal" openly accused Göring, Göbbels and their Nazi gangsters of having set fire to the Reichstag, the German government is like a whipped cur. The swindle of the Reichstag fire is becoming from day to day a greater source of embarrassment for the government itself. It is therefore high time that the accused, who serve as an inconvenient reminder to the public, should be got out of the way according to the approved methods of the Nazis.

The Bulgarian comrades, Dimitrov, Tannev and Popoff are threatened not only by the German, but also by the Bulgarian fascists. Their alleged connection with the Sofia Cathedral outrage was intended to be used to impart to the Reichstag fire the character of an international Communist crime. As, however, it has become perfectly obvious that the fire in the Reichstag was the work of the Nazis, the rulers of Germany have no longer any object in connecting this crime with the Sofia Cathedral outrage. All the worse therefore for the accused! Göring and Co. need show less compunction towards the arrested Bulgarian comrades than towards their own countrymen. We know only too well the methods employed by the fascist governments of Bulgaria in order to get rid of people abroad who are inconvenient to them. For instance, it was proved that the Bulgarian Ambassador in Rome, Radeff, was an accomplice to the murder of Chauleff, the leader of the Macedonian Lefts, and also that this same Radeff had designs on the life of Comrade Dimitroff. And Comrade Dimitroff is now in the clutches of the German Radeffs. One can therefore have some idea of the danger threatening him.

Prompt action is necessary. We call attention not only to the successes of former big international campaigns to save comrades whose lives were in danger, but also in the first place to the foreign situation of the German government. It is in a state of complete isolation, and it has been fiercely attacked in the foreign press. When it was at first stigmatised on account of its cruelties, it remained quite indifferent. But since Hitler's emissaries abroad have had to run the gauntlet and the German government is being treated in a way in which no other government has hitherto been treated, it is coming to realise that it cannot tread all the laws of humanity under foot with impunity.

It is our task, therefore, to mobilise world public opinion on behalf of our comrades. Factory meetings, big demonstrations must be held, delegates must be sent to the German Consulates and Embassies. Delegations should also be sent to interview our

own authorities and also business people, manufacturers and bankers, who have business connections with Germany. The precondition for this work, however, is a tremendous press campaign.

If we work indefatigably and intensify our campaign, our imprisoned comrades will be rescued.

The Wave of Fascist Terror

Nazis Still Murdering German Workers.

Berlin, May 19.

Minister Göring had the impudence to say that during April only two political murders were committed in Prussia. The workers' press was able to give the lie direct to this impudent statement. To prevent liar Göring from publishing similar statements for the month of May, we publish below a list of murders committed by the Nazis, which the capitalist press published. This list contains, of course, only a small part of the Nazi murders, the majority of such murder cases being hushed up altogether by the German murder government.

"Der Tag," May 14: "Near the Olex tanking place in Heerd, near Düsseldorf, the two brothers Christian and Joseph Vobis, both unemployed, were found shot dead. It is said that the brothers were politically unreliable. Both of them were members of the Stahlhelm and joined the Communist Party later."

"Vossische Zeitung," May 6: "In the Prenzlau Prison, the Communist, Spangenberg, district Templin, committed suicide by hanging himself. He was arrested on the suspicion of having committed a bomb outrage."

"Germania," May 15: "The Düsseldorf police reports: On Saturday night several persons persuaded the slater Henseler to go with them into the house Lessingstrasse 21. Soon after the inhabitants heard several shots. Henseler was found, seriously wounded, in the loft of this house. He was taken to hospital where he died soon afterwards. The culprits escaped."

"Der Tag," May 17: "In Gladbeck the former leader of Spartakus Hermann Riedel committed suicide by hanging himself. Riedel played a prominent part in the tumults after the war in Emscher Lippe."

"Der Tag," May 17: "The 30-year-old workman Johann Bardt and his 20-year-old brother William were attacked by unknown persons and seriously wounded. (Both have died since.)"

"Vossische Zeitung," May 17: "At the end of last month the body of a man was found in the Tegeler See. The body has now been identified. It is the 28-year-old barber, Walter Eckart, of Ruhewalderstrasse in Hohenneuendorf."

"Vossische Zeitung," May 16: "Suicide of the lawyer Frank I. Yesterday the lawyer, Frank I., died in the St. Norbert Hospital in Berlin of the consequences of attempted suicide. Frank I. has been recently released from 'protective arrest' in Dortmund. His partner, Elias, had committed suicide in Dortmund. Frank I. had for a long time been legal counsel of the Engine Drivers' Union."

"Vossische Zeitung," May 5: "At the so-called Grashorn near Geltow the body of a man was found in the river Havel. His body was packed in military blankets and tied together with strings. Legs and knees were tied together. The chest was wrapped in a red-striped coverlet. The dead man is about 30-35 years old. He must have laid in the water since middle of April. The Potsdam public prosecutor has confiscated this body."

"Vossische Zeitung," May 13: "The body of a man who was found in the Teltow Canal has now been identified. It the 33-year-old workman Willi Plonske, of Manteuffelstrasse 97."

"Der Tag," May 14: "The former socialist member of the Senate, Johann Lopau, who has for many years been business manager of the 'Volksblatt für Lüneburg und Umgebung,' committed suicide (?) on Friday."

"Vossische Zeitung," May 18: "Police found the body of a man from the Maybachufer, who evidently committed suicide some time ago. The body has not been identified yet."

Proletarian Solidarity in the Anti-Fascist Fight!

Already at the end of last year the Workers' International Relief commenced a big international relief action for the fighting proletarians in Germany. It called upon its strongest foreign sections to support their German class brothers, proceeding from the conviction that after the Soviet Union, the German proletariat to a certain extent holds the key position in the international fight for emancipation. The accordance of international proletarian aid was bound to result in a stronger revolutionary activity on the part of the German proletariat and shorten the way to its victory. On the other hand, any further impoverishment could so greatly worsen the general situation of the German proletariat that parts of it would become incapable of conducting the fight for their own emancipation. Here the work of systematically influencing and leading the reserves of the class-conscious proletariat from among the small artisans and peasants to the Communist advance guard, played a big role. And here, according to the testimony and admissions of the bourgeoisie, no organisation was so suitable as the **Workers' International Relief**. In the fights which were led by the Red Trade Union Opposition and the Red trade unions the W.I.R. played an increasingly big role. This also applies in regard to the anti-fascist fight. The W.I.R. is successfully approaching those sections of the population which Göring and Göbbels wish to play off against the class conscious proletariat.

Therefore, the brutal suppression of the W.I.R. in Germany by the Hitler government did not come as a surprise to anybody. The organisation was prohibited, its property and effects were confiscated; its solidarity funds seized, its feeding centres for the unemployed and children's clubs were closed. The general suppression of the Communist "left" press and literature destroyed a wide-spread newspaper and book-publishing activity of the W.I.R. Unscrupulous slanders and calumnies, which had their counter-part only in the poisonous lies disseminated on the outbreak of the world war and during the time of the "anti-Bolshevik League" in Germany in 1918/19, were employed against the leaders of the W.I.R. It was thereby hoped to frighten the Left inclined circles of artists, writers, officials, employees and small traders.

In spite of all this the W.I.R. did not interrupt its work for one day. The most important publications, the "**Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung**," "**Unsere Zeit**," the "**Mahnruf**" and the "**Vormarsch**," which were prohibited in Germany, were printed abroad and circulated legally and illegally. Topical anti-fascist bulletins and effective leaflets were issued. The international relief action for the German proletariat initiated in November, 1922 became effective. English and Scandinavian, Swiss and Dutch class comrades sent not only messages of solidarity, but also money and packets of food. The English section of the W.I.R. alone, at the end of March, sent 1,000 packets of food to German victims of fascism, which were welcomed as living proofs of proletarian solidarity. The Belgian section of the W.I.R. arranged public meetings and demonstrations against the fascist terror in Antwerp, Brussels, Liege, Mecheln and in nearly all big localities and organised collections of money in support of the victims of the fascist bands. In the Saar district temporary quarters were provided for emigrants, and at the beginning of April, 7,500 meals were served to German emigrants and free lodgings provided. Even in Germany the activity of the W.I.R. is being continued to a certain extent under other forms. The comrades and functionaries of the prohibited W.I.R. vie with those of the prohibited Communist Party in order to set up a broad revolutionary united front from below against fascism and capitalist class rule.

The W.I.R., shoulder to shoulder with the International Red Aid, is performing a great work in the anti-fascist movement and in caring for the victims of German fascism. These organisations are not only rendering support but are themselves actively taking part in the fight. The W.I.R. is taking a prominent part in the preparations for the International Anti-Fascist Congress and, in the preceding Congresses in the individual countries. In Norway alone it is holding 32 public meetings attended by thousands. As a result of this activity the reactionary press is demanding that German propagandists of the W.I.R. shall be expelled from the country. **The fascist government organs in Germany are conducting a fierce campaign against the prohibited W.I.R., because it has commenced an extensive and effective activity abroad in order to inform foreign public opinion regarding the state of affairs prevailing in Germany.**

In Czechoslovakia, in Austria, as well as in the Balkans, where the W.I.R. is prohibited for the most part or can only exist semi-legally, anti-fascist relief committees have been formed, which hold public demonstrations against fascism in Germany and distribute large quantities of revolutionary literature. The anti-fascist relief committees of the W.I.R. are particularly active in England and in the United States of America, in Holland and in France. On June 11 there will be held the 5th International Solidarity Day of the W.I.R., which will give demonstrative expression to this mass work.

On the 5th International Solidarity Day the whole of the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist countries will demonstrate under the solidarity slogans of the W.I.R. The International Solidarity day will have a stronger anti-fascist and anti-imperialist character than in former years. Hitler and Göbbels can triumphantly maintain that there is no such thing as international solidarity. International proletarian solidarity lives and will help to sweep away capitalist class rule.

Fight Against Fascism

Appeal of the Young Communist International

Young Workers and Working Girls!

On March 5, 1933, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and after it the Young Communist International made another effort to create a united front with the social-democratic masses through the medium of the social-democratic party and Socialist Youth organisations.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern and the Y.C.I. made this effort with a firm conviction that a united front of the working class against the bourgeoisie would break the offensive of capital and fascism and would quicken the inevitable end of any capitalist exploitation.

Do you know, young workers and working girls, that the Social-Democratic Party, the Second International in the moment of greatest danger of war and growth of fascism have rejected this proposal of the Comintern?

Do you know that the Young Socialist International and its organisations while babbling about unity have not only forbidden its members to fight in reality against fascism, but are throwing out of their ranks those who united with the youth of other organisations in the name of revolutionary class struggle?

This is being done at the time, when the class consciousness and the necessity of uniting their strength against the monstrous unemployment, against starvation, poverty and the cultural degradation, to which the bourgeoisie has doomed the working class, is growing in the youth masses.

Persons who make a pretence of being Socialists fear the unity of the masses at the time, when thousands of social-democratic workers and many rank and file Socialist Youth organisations in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, France, Spain, England, U.S.A. and other countries are already together with the Communists, Y.C.L.ers, and revolutionary workers fighting against fascism and offensive of reaction.

May First, the international day of proletariat solidarity, was an outstanding confirmation of the unity of the toilers in the struggle against capital.

Young Workers and Working Girls!

Look at Germany and you will see in whose interests the social democracy and the socialist youth organisations serve.

For many years the German social democracy, participating in bourgeois governments and heading the police apparatus, tried to disrupt the Communist Party and revolutionary workers' organisations, thus weakening the whole working class.

A year ago the German social democrats, with the approval of the Second International, called upon the masses to vote for Wilhelm's Field Marshal, Hindenburg, against the worker of Hamburg, Ernst Thälmann. Their slogan was then: "Who votes for Hindenburg—hits Hitler."

Thousands of young and adult workers, not believing the statements of the Communists and the Y.C.L.ers that the social democracy is disarming the proletariat, and through this is clearing the road for a fascist dictatorship, followed the social democracy and its slogans.

They believed that their leaders, together with Hindenburg, would not allow Hitler to come to power.

They believed that the Amsterdam International and the leadership of the reformist trade unions called to defend the life interests of their members—the workers would struggle against fascism, which carries hunger and need.

Nevertheless, on January 30, when Hindenburg, submissively obeying the will of the bourgeoisie, frightened by the revolutionary upsurge and the growth of the influence of the Communist Party, gave over the power to Hitler and his fascist bands, the social democrats committed another monstrous treachery. They rejected the call of the heroic Communist Party of Germany for a general strike and immediate common action against fascism. Moreover, in the session of the Reichstag on the 23rd of March, the social democrats, through Wels, cynically stated that only thanks to its policy was Hitler able to come to power. They confirmed what the Communists proved as far back as July 20 of the past year, when the social democracy was thrown out of the government by the bourgeoisie and rejected the proposal for a common struggle together with the revolutionary workers against aggressive fascism.

Now the social democrats implore the fascists for the right to be included in the system of fascist dictatorship. It again, as before, is ready to participate in all bloody actions against the working class and more so against its vanguard—the Communist Party.

Comrades!

Already for three months unheard of brutal terror is raging in Germany.

Thousands of the best fighters are being tortured or have perished in the dungeons of fascist barracks for the cause of the working class.

Tens of thousands of young and adult workers, together with their leader, Ernst Thälmann, have been thrown without trial into jails and concentration camps.

The life of the imprisoned, as well as the fate of the working class of Germany, is in the greatest peril.

A soldier's barrack with forced labour—this is what the so-called "national revolution" has brought the German toiling youth.

Unemployment, poverty, starvation and the strengthening terror—this characterises the political and economic situation of the German young worker and unemployed.

Fascism puts as its main task the education of the youth in the spirit of slavish submissiveness to the bourgeoisie, and this above all every young worker and working girl of Germany should understand.

Together with their German brothers in class and struggle the working youth of the whole world should see that fascism is becoming aggressive and this danger is growing in their own countries.

Young Workers and Working Girls!

Have you understood through the experiences of the struggle of the German working class, who clears the road for fascism in your own country?

Have you understood that the treacherous path of the German social democracy was, and is, the path of the whole of the Second International and the Y.S.I.?

Youth of Austria, Czechoslovakia and other countries, is it not plain to you why the social democratic party and socialist youth organisations prevent you from struggling together with the Communists and the L.C.Y.ers against fascism?

Do you not remember that the social democracy itself declared that they are "physicians" of capitalism?

Is it not clear to you yet, young workers and working girls, that the social democracy **in words** are leading you to socialism, **in reality** lead you to fascism?

Young workers and working girls, through the example of Germany and in your own country you see that **only the Communist Party** and its closest helper—the **Young Communist League**—firmly and consistently, in spite of terror and persecution, organises the united front of the broad masses of the proletariat and toilers for the struggle against capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Socialism.

Comrades in class and struggle!

The Young Communist International in your name, in the name of thousands of our brothers languishing in the fascist dungeons, brands with shame the Young Socialist International, which is disarming the working youth in front of the class enemy.

We ask the leaders of the Y.S.I.!

In the name of whose interests do you forbid the local organisations and rank and file members to struggle against fascism hand in hand with the Communist youth?

Whom do you serve, forbidding your members to unite with the Y.C.L.ers for the carrying out of **strikes** against wage cuts, worsening of labour conditions and dismissal from the factories, against forced labour, against the infringement of social insurance, against the cutting and the abolishment of relief for the unemployed youth?

If you are in reality for a united front and for that, that the "masses themselves should rule and decide their own fate," why then do you throw out of your ranks anyone, who not in words, but in action has started to create a united front in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism?

At your Congress in **Prague** you declared that only the "middle" path between Bolshevism and reformism can be the path to Socialism. Then to what else in reality has this "middle" path brought you if not to a united front with the bourgeoisie and a miserable adaption to the fascist dictatorship? Is it not on account of this that you are so tolerant towards all those who call themselves Socialists and carry out a united front with the bourgeoisie?

You have betrayed the youth you organised in Germany and are betraying it in Austria, Czechoslovakia and other countries, holding them back from the struggle against fascism. In the name of whose interests?

What is the concrete path of **struggle** you showed to the German Y.S.L. and the youth members of the reformist trade unions, the organisations which are being destroyed by the fascist bands?

Where and when have you exposed the "Socialists," who are sitting in the parliaments, who are voting for reactionary bourgeois decrees, for the increase of the **Military** budget, for the curtailment of expenses for social insurance and public education?

You declare that only by means of negotiations (and not in common class struggle against the bourgeoisie) can the unity of the working youth be achieved.

We ask you on what basis do you, who concluded a united front with the bourgeoisie, want to have an agreement with us, with the revolutionary youth?

The Young Communist International and its sections have not only declared, but have proved in action that they are **fighting** for the creation of the united front **only** on the basis of an irreconcilable and merciless struggle **class against class**.

We will not participate in any negotiations from above and combinations behind the backs of the masses, but we will constantly declare that we are fighting and will fight for the organisation of a strong united front struggle from below, in the factories, workshops, labour exchanges, forced labour camps, villages and schools, farms and plantations.

We greet every youth organisation which sincerely and truthfully joins in our struggle against the bourgeoisie, but we will mercilessly tear off the mask and brand with shame, as strike-breakers those who in the interests of capital, shielding themselves with loud phrases, try to destroy the unity of the working-class youth.

And we again declare that everywhere, where the Socialist Youth will fight against the bourgeoisie, against fascism, we, the Y.C.L.ers, will stand with them shoulder to shoulder.

You, young workers and working girls, should firmly understand **Lenin's** words that leaders should be tested not by their words, but by their deeds.

Force your leaders to give a substantial answer to the accusations which we presented and why they are against the united front?

Do not give them the possibility by means of empty phrases, the value of which especially the young workers and Y.S.L.ers of Germany know, to evade a clear answer to the persistent questions which we put before them.

And if you will be able to do this you will see that your leaders have nothing in common with you and that their policy is the policy of your exploiters and they must be driven from the ranks of the working class as agents of the bourgeoisie.

In face of the offensive of fascist reaction and the feverish preparations of the bourgeoisie for a war and an attack on the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world—U.S.S.R., we, Y.C.L.ers, call to you, young workers and working girls, with the

appeal to consolidate the united front and get into the general struggle of the working class for its emancipation.

The main weapon of the proletariat in its struggle against the curtailment of its wages and the worsening of the working conditions, as also in the struggle against fascism is the **strike**.

By means of the united front prepare strikes, elect fighting committees—**strike!**

Organise demonstrations, meetings, mass protests against the compulsory attempts to fascise and militarise the youth, against the starvation offensive of the bourgeoisie.

Comrades! In a few weeks the European **Anti-Fascist Congress** is gathering.

We appeal to all youth organisations and to you, Y.S.L.ers, in spite of the sabotage of your leaders, actively to participate in the preparation and carrying out of this Congress.

Your proletarian duty, young workers and working girls, is to organise in the factories, in the labour exchanges, in the forced labour camps, in the trade unions, and in the workers' quarters, anti-fascist fighting committees and send your delegates to the **Anti-Fascist Congress**.

We are firmly convinced that the young workers and working girls, irrespective of their membership of various youth organisations, will find a common language at this Congress and will unite for the struggle against fascism.

Young workers and working girls! Before you the question is put directly, either—Capitalism or Socialism.

Choose! With the Second International and the Y.S.L.—to fascism or with the **Communist International and the Y.C.I.—to Communism!**

Strengthen the united front of the working class in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Join the ranks of the only revolutionary youth organisation—the Y.C.L.!

**The Executive Committee of the
Young Communist International.**

South Wales Workers for the United Front

By B. F. (London)

A big advance was made in uniting the working-class forces in **South Wales** resulting in a conference held in **Cardiff** on May 20.

The conference was called officially by the Executive Committee of all Trades Councils in South Wales and only organisations recognised by the Trades Congress were permitted to send delegates.

The credentials showed 171 Trade Union delegates, 27 Trades Councils, 7 Co-operative, 13 Labour Women's Sections, 6 Socialist League, 75 Labour Parties.

Jim Griffiths, the Vice-President of the South Wales Miners, moved the first resolution calling upon the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress to organise: (1) Protest demonstrations against German fascist terror; (2) Offer to print "Vorwaerts" and other German working-class newspapers; (3) To organise relief and hospitality to refugees; (4) Any other measures required by the German Labour movement.

Griffiths hardly touched upon the resolution, but spoke upon the need to recruit the workers into the trade unions, stating that too much reliance was placed upon the political machine, and because of this, when political parties were smashed by fascist terror, the trade unions were also smashed.

The trade unions were the first and last defence of the workers, he continued, and there could be no defence about the workers not joining the trade unions. Unless we build a united working-class movement, he concluded, then fascism will triumph in Britain.

Betty, miners' agent for Glynneath, seconded the resolution and took the opportunity to make a veiled attack on the efforts of the Communists to build a united front, and stated that the only basis for unity was within the three wings movement, the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress, and Co-operative movement, and discipline in carrying out the decisions of these bodies; and those talking about unity are getting inside these bodies to build unity.

There was no time left for the delegates to discuss the resolution, but the Cardiff railway delegate reminded the platform that they were responsible for throwing the Communists outside, and these bodies which were banned by the Trades Union Congress should have been invited to send delegates, if the talk about unity was sincere.

Aneurin Bevan moved the second resolution, warning against the growth of fascism in Britain and calling for united working-class action against fascism and war and colonial oppression.

Bevan in his speech destroyed the reactionary arguments about the possibilities of trade revival and the lesser evil theory.

He stated that the belief in the capitalist revival was more widespread in the Labour movement than amongst the capitalists themselves. He said that the resolution sought to get united action between all sections of the working class, no matter to what parties they belonged.

Bevan had rousing cheers when he finished, and no voice in the conference was against the resolution, except to further emphasise the necessity for unity of all sections, including the Communists.

Replying to the discussion on how to operate the resolution, Bevan invited all interested delegates to remain behind to consider forming groups in each locality open to any individual worker to dedicate themselves to this purpose.

The platform protested against this unconstitutional procedure and refused the use of the hall.

Bevan held a short meeting of the delegates outside and then secured a small hall, where half the delegates discussed the proposals and agreed to be responsible for forming groups in each locality.

A committee of 14 members was elected to direct this work and to modify the proposals if necessary, which would be sent to the groups for final confirmation.

Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress in Paris, June 4

Copenhagen, May 18, 1933.

The Organising Bureau for the Congress has issued an appeal to the anti-fascist united front committees of the most important countries in which it is stated:

"The social democratic government of **Denmark** has now, after adopting all kinds of police measures designed to hinder the publication of the bulletin of the Congress, after having carried out a press boycott against the Scandinavian Anti-Fascist Conference, ventured to prevent the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress which was to take place in Copenhagen on June 4 and 5. All demonstrations as well as indoor meetings in relation with the Congress have been prohibited."

It was originally proposed to hold the Congress in **Prague** but this was prohibited by the government of Czechoslovakia, which also contains social democratic Ministers. Toilers of Europe! protest against the lackey services rendered by the social democratic leaders to Hitler fascism!

The Organising Bureau for the Congress has now decided to hold the Anti-Fascist Congress in **Paris** on June 4 and 5, in view of the fact that the preparations for the Congress have extended over an extraordinarily broad front and that the number of delegates elected for the Congress already far exceeds all expectations. Further, the fight against Fascism has created a united front movement of Social-Democratic, Communist, Christian, Syndicalist and unorganised workers.

The European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress will be held in Paris, the city of the glorious Commune, under the patronage of the heroic working-class of Paris, the determined fighters against French imperialism.

"Our Congress will be a flaming signal for millions of anti-Fascist workers, a Congress of all the determined fighters against Fascism, a Congress of international action against the Fascist hangmen, and against all war-makers.

"Therefore, anti-Fascists, prepare for the Congress, which will open in Paris at ten o'clock in the morning of June 4.

"The agenda of the Congress is as follows:

"(1) The fight against Fascism and the capitalist offensive. (Reports by the anti-Fascist and revolutionary trade union movements of Germany, Poland and Italy, and exhaustive discussion.)

"(2) Adoption of a manifesto to the workers of Europe and a resolution to fight against the increased danger of imperialist war.

"(3) Election of a Central Committee of the anti-Fascist Workers' Union of Europe."

On the day before the Congress, June 3, a session of the extended Organising Bureau will be held in Paris.

The Paris Congress will create the fighting front which will shatter Fascism.

The Organising Bureau of the Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress of Europe.

* * * * *

Note.—The Secretariat of the Organising Bureau for the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress has removed to Paris and requests all anti-Fascist committees and associated organisations to address their correspondence to the French committee at the following address:—

**M. Rouffinganges,
237, Rue Lafayette,
Paris 10e.**

All questions relating to the Congress and all reports regarding the elections of delegates should be directed to this address.

First of May

May Day in the United States

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

May Day this year saw some of the largest and most militant demonstrations ever held in the U.S. It was evidence of the readiness of the masses to struggle against hunger, fascism, and war, under the auspices of the Left Wing, led by the C.P. It was, further, a manifestation of the vitality and timeliness of the united front tactic, since it was the broadest campaign organisationally of any ever conducted. The national leaders of the S.P. and A.F.L. sabotaged, but many members and units of these and other workers' organisations participated, in many cities against the orders of their leaders and the pressure of the police.

The slogans of the Left Wing united front demonstrations centred around the demand for federal unemployment insurance, to be paid by the employers and the government. The freedom of the Scottsboro' boys, Tom Mooney and other class-war prisoners in this country, and the release of Thälmann and his fellow-victims of Hitlerism in Germany, was another central issue. The struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, especially in view of the Chinese-Eastern Railway "incident," was on the lips of the demonstrators everywhere. The menace of fascism and the treachery of the German social democrats and their fellows in the U.S. was denounced in speeches, banners, effigies, and floats. Many A.F.L. unions, socialist branches, the Conference for Progressive Political Action (Left socialist), anti-fascist organisations, I.W.W., anarchists, and many cultural, social and fraternal and intellectuals' and artists' organisations joined with the "left" wing unions, unemployed councils, relief and defence organisations, and the C.P.

In *New York City*, where the largest demonstration was held, attempts were made at conferences with the leaders of the S.P. and by pressure of the masses upon them to force them into a united front. The socialists not only rejected this, but instead made one with the police to prevent the United Front Committee from using Union Square, historic meeting place for militant workers' demonstrations. It was the mass pressure and publicity put upon this confraternity, as well as the obvious determination of the revolutionary workers to have the square, police permit or no permit, that smashed this attempt.

The S.P. rallied 20,000 in their parade and demonstration in *New York*. After their meeting was over they ordered the workers to disperse, and the mounted police tried to carry out these commands. But the United Front Committee took over the microphones, asked the workers to stay, urged them to resist the police pressure, and succeeded in keeping the bulk of them for its demonstration.

The Left Wing parades here were the largest and most colourful ever seen in *New York*; 150,000 were in Union Square, while half that number marched in two great united front parades during the entire day. Nineteen thousand police were mobilised for the demonstration, but only one arrest was made.

In *Chicago* the police and gangsters co-operated—another united front—to produce the dynamiting of half a dozen buildings. The C.P. denounced it as similar to the police bomb

provocations in the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign, in the war preparedness parade in San Francisco in 1916 for which Mooney is still in jail, the Reichstag fire, etc. The following day, May 1, being over, the press unanimously stated it was a gangster affair, in an attempt to wrest control of the teamsters' union from other thugs. In spite of this attempted provocation, over 50,000 rallied to the demonstration and a great indoor meeting of 25,000 was also held in the evening.

In *Detroit* the greatest May Day demonstration in the history of the city was held, with the workers forming for their parade in fifteen centres throughout the city. They enthusiastically voted to support the Ford Hunger March in June, while at Dearborn, nearby, where the great Ford plant is located, the demonstration was headed by the Ford local of the auto workers' union. *Philadelphia* saw 20,000 meet in the chief square, with speakers from the C.P. Unemployed Councils, I.L.D. (MOPR.), Ex-Servicemen's League, Tom Mooney Committee, etc. In *Boston* 20,000 demonstrated in the main square, and later before the State Capitol, greeting a delegation of 300 hunger marchers. In *Cleveland* 15,000 met, after a parade through the Negro and other proletarian sections. In *New Orleans* 10,000 rallied in a parade which marched to City Hall in protest against wage cuts and reductions in relief, and police attempts to smash the march failed.

In *Milwaukee* 10,000 demonstrated, many marching seven miles. Here the S.P. called off their meeting for April 30, due to rain, postponing it for a fortnight. Many entire branches of the S.P. and Socialist-controlled Workmen's Circle (sick and death benefit) participated. In *Crosby*, Minnesota, the only town with a Communist mayor, May 1 was declared a legal holiday. In *Birmingham*, heart of the south, 2,500 Negro and white workers demonstrated despite a great mobilisation of police and thugs.

After this record May Day, the C.P. is driving ahead to strengthen the united front of the workers in all organisations. New mass demonstrations and marches of Scottsboro' sympathisers to Washington, of war veterans to the same city, of Ford workers, of Mooney defenders, of farm strikers and of workers will soon bring the masses upon the streets in ever-growing numbers against the attacks of the Roosevelt hunger government. The demands brought before new hundreds of thousands of workers on May Day will be pressed in the every-day struggles that follow it with increased enthusiasm and determination.

May Day in South America

Buenos Aires (received by letter.)

A state of siege was proclaimed in *Buenos Aires* and in the whole of Argentina on May 1. Numerous arrests took place, and severe measures were taken by the government to prevent all demonstrations. The Justo government threatened to deport all foreign workers who take part in the demonstration. On the eve of May Day a government order was proclaimed forbidding the display of red flags. The socialist party capitulated before these threats and called off its May demonstrations, which caused great discontent among the socialist workers.

The Communist Party was the only party going into the streets. Flying meetings were held at the traditional meeting places of the workers. At the biggest of these 4,000 workers took part. When mounted police appeared to disperse the demonstrators the masses assembled again in the next street. Several policemen were disarmed.

In *Montevideo* (Uruguay) the Terra Government has not prohibited the May demonstration. But all party offices were closed and all material found there was confiscated. The socialists and syndicalists had refused to hold a joint demonstration with the Communists. 8,000 workers took part in the Communist demonstration, whereas, according to the bourgeois papers, only a few hundred attended the meetings of the socialists and the syndicalists.

In *Santiago de Chile* a state of siege was proclaimed in the last days of April. In spite of this, Communist meetings were held all day, although the Communist Party had been badly hit by the arrest of eighty delegates to the party congress, among them also the secretary of the party, **Comrade Contreras Labarca**. These comrades, who were arrested some weeks ago, decided to go on hunger-strike on May 1. It is to be feared that the arrested comrades will be deported to the murderous islands in the Pacific.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Tasks of the Leading Collective Farmers

By V. Molotov

Abridged Report of Speech Delivered at the First District Conference of Shock Brigaders and the Collective Farmers of the Middle Volga Province, held in Samara

"Comrades, allow me again and again to transmit the heartiest greetings of the Bolshevik Central Committee and of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the Soviet Union. (Stormy and prolonged applause.)

"Your Congress of Collective Farm Udashniks who have already finished their spring sowing is of enormous significance. You and the Tartar Republic have won first places in the Soviet Union in the spring campaign. You hold now an honourable position in the field work of the spring of the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan. You have not yet finished all your work. You still have to see that all collective farms in the middle Volga Province attain the high level of the most advanced collective farms which have completed their sowing. When that is done, your victory will be clinched.

"Better progress is being made this year in sowing both on collective and state farms, not only as compared with last year but also with two years ago. The year of 1930, when sowing started much earlier than usual, was the best year in this country, not only since the Revolution, but in the history of our country. It should be particularly emphasised that we have readjusted our sowing plan on the basis of that best year. We need not compare with last year or with what was two years ago, when sowing was late. We want to compare with the best harvest year, 1930."

The speaker quoted some figures indicating that sowing this spring approximates the rate of 1930, the best harvest year. On May 5, he said, only 4 million hectares less had been sown this year than by the same date in 1930. During the second five-day week of May, another step forward was made the difference by May 10, as compared with 1930, being only 1.5 million hectares.

There can be no doubt, said Molotov, that the third five-day period which ended May 15, will have brought the level of this year's sowing to a level not lower than of 1930. This is one of the achievements we are aiming at, he said. Further, we should excel 1930 and thereby secure one of the most essential requisites for a bumper crop.

"As to Middle Volga Province, it, like the Tartar Republic, has been showing much better returns, not only better than last year, but also better than 1930 in the course of several five-day periods. I therefore congratulate the Congress of Kolkhoz Udashniks of Middle Volga with the greatest of pleasure. You have excelled the level of 1930 by more than a million hectares."

(This statement was greeted with stormy applause and cheers, hailing the Central Committee of the Party, the Soviet Government and the Middle Volga Executive Committee, and their leaders, Stalin, Molotov and Shubrikov of the Middle Volga Party Committee.)

Molotov further pointed out that not all provinces and republics are managing their campaign as they should. North Caucasus and some parts of the Ukraine lag behind the general rate of spring sowing. The Party and the Government, he said, are doing their utmost to strengthen the front at these difficult sections of the spring campaign.

But if there are lagging and difficult districts, "it behoves us so much the more to guarantee a good harvest in those districts where the sowing is better organised, where much progress has been made in establishing labour discipline on the collective farms, where village, district and provincial organisations, with the Party Committee and the Soviet Committee of the province were at their best, have splendidly and in true Bolshevik fashion coped with their tasks (stormy applause). In these districts, we have all the more reason to endeavour to insure that the work is done as it should be done—by conscious, organised, progressive collective farmers.

"The very fact that the sowing campaign this spring keeps on the same level as in 1930 and that some advanced districts, and especially Middle Volga Province and the Tartar Soviet Republic have managed to sow at a much faster rate, shows that a great and very favourable change has taken place this year in the development of collective farming. This is borne out also by various other facts taken from collective farm life."

A Definite Turn in the Attitude of the Masses Towards Collective Farming.

The most important feature of our collective farms this spring is that the attitude of the broad masses of collective farmers has changed toward collective farm labour and collective farm discipline. As a rule the situation in all more or less sound collective farms, and they are the majority, is much different this year than it was a year or two ago. The collective farmers themselves have brought to the forefront from their own midst many thousands of excellent workers, real shock brigaders, such as formerly we had only in the factories and mills.

The collective farmers have brought to the forefront thousands upon thousands of conscientious people who are devoted to collectivisation, holding positions of brigade leaders and presidents of collective farms and even leaders of districts and higher. These people, who have come from the mass of collective farmers, are doing their work conscientiously, are sincerely engaged in the work which has been assigned them. They have learned a good deal and they know how to proceed with the organisation of labour on a collective farm, how to form a brigade, how to organise the cultivation of the soil, how to make the sowing campaign a success, how to prepare for the new important and difficult task confronting us.

There is still a serious lack of organisation in collective farm work. Very often we find in our midst indolence and carelessness, but that is not true of the mass of collective farmers. Numerous facts show that the attitude of millions of collective farmers to collective farm labour, and consequently to the collective farm, has changed for the better. And only such an attitude can guarantee a rise in the productivity of collective farm labour, a good crop on the collective farm fields, and consequently an improvement in the standard of life of the collective farmers.

Another important sign of the change which has transpired in collective farm development, indicating colossal growth and strengthening of the collective farms, is the sentiment of the broad sections of individual peasants.

Even in provinces which are backward from the point of view of collectivisation, such as Gorki or Western Provinces, the situation, according to statements of responsible workers of those districts, is such now that if an opportunity was given to join a collective farm, every individual working peasant would join it. The gravitation of the individual peasants to the collective farms is very strong. That shows how big the change is in the attitude towards collective farms, even on the part of those peasants who for a long time hesitated and kept away from collectivisation.

The advanced collective farmers ought to understand the new tasks that confront them. The collective farm system is here to stay. It is our task now to open the way for new kolkhozniks coming from the individual peasants, taking them in, however, through selection. The advanced collective farmers ought to help their more backward comrades among the individual peasants, help the better elements among them join the ranks of the builders of collective farming.

A change has taken place in the attitude towards the collective farms on the part of large numbers of collective farmers. This, however, does not mean that we have no more enemies of collective

farming in the villages. It does not mean that the kulak has laid down his arms. We can find some of the worst enemies of the collective farmers and of the Soviet system in our collective farm, government and, at times, even Party organs. There they try to disrupt our work, to break up labour discipline, to facilitate the work of thieves and spend thriffts among the collective farmers, and in every way to sow the germ of doubt as to the results of collective farm work among the collective farmers. It must be made clear that we will employ also in the future the most ruthless measures against our active, vicious, and irreconcilable enemies and counter-revolutionary kulaks.

Considering the change which has taken place among the collective farmers in relation to the collective farms, considering the fact that our collective farms have become strengthened, considering that we already have an advanced force of active and sincere workers and managers of collective farms, we ought to say that the task before us is not so much to resort to repressive measures but more in political and organisational work among the masses and in the complete isolation of our enemies. This is now the task. We must see that the mass of collective farmers learn at every step, at every moment to repel intelligently and in an organised way the slightest attempt of anyone to interfere with their work, to thrust back any act of kulaks and wreckers, and fight every attempt of the lazy and the careless to undermine and demoralise our collective farms.

We must isolate the remnants of our class enemies in the villages, while smiting our active enemies. We must place in a position of complete isolation and helplessness anyone who by instigation of our class enemies tries to upset our collective farms, to interfere with the strengthening of the collective farms.

We have no doubt that we are able this year to accomplish this task much better than ever in the past.

Let us Overcome the Difficulties in Mastering Kolkhoz Production.

Comrades, this is not the first year that we are building up our collective farms. Nevertheless we cannot yet see all those results which our collective farms must give and will give.

Compare the state of our collective farms and their development with the development of our factories.

During the year that has just elapsed, and particularly during the First Five Year Plan, we have established large and really powerful factories, which are extremely necessary to our nation, and in particular, to our villages, to our collective and state farms. But only now are the plants beginning to produce at full capacity. We have put much energy and considerable resources into the construction of these new factories. But we are still unable to realise to the full their enormous production possibilities. It has required several years, and much perseverance on our part to ensure the development of these new factories, so necessary to cope with the growing demands of consumption and production.

The time is now at hand when we shall all see clearly what power these factories have given us. Let me cite one example:

During the four years of the First Five-Year Plan, 120,000 tractors were released to our state and collective farms. During the present year alone, that is to say, from the end of this year's sowing campaign to the end of next year's, i.e., from June 1933 to June 1934, we expect to receive from our tractor plants no fewer than 68,000 new tractors, including 4,500 powerful "caterpillars," to be produced by the Chelyabinsk Plant for the first time in this country.

Great perseverance was required to lay the basis for our industrial strength. It was necessary to put away kopek after kopek, pood after pood of bread for our enterprises, for the work of construction, for the workers' districts. But here we have succeeded. Now, while continuing to build new factories and plants, our chief attention is concentrated on the mastery of the new technology, of the new industry, the new factories and plants. This accomplished, we will be provided with industrial goods in an incomparably greater quantity than heretofore.

Even greater perseverance and doggedness was demanded of us, comrades, to guarantee the victory in collective farming, to pave the way for the enormous results we seek to derive from our collective and state farms.

Agriculture, in this connection is a still more complex affair. In agriculture, the small proprietor and landowner, who exploited

the farmers, have held sway throughout the ages. We were compelled to effect a complete revolution in the entire technique of rural economy. In the villages, we encountered enormous resistance on the part of such numerous enemies as the kulaks. The kulak elements, scattered over the entire country, have often penetrated craftily into desired positions, and have dealt us blows in the back, masquerading now as middle peasants now as poor peasants. And despite all this, our Bolshevik perseverance and loyalty of the peasant masses to the Soviet Government is now beginning to make its influence felt along the wide front of collective farming.

If we fulfil the tasks which we have set ourselves, if we carry out the sowing throughout the entire Soviet Union as successfully as we have carried it out until now in the Middle Volga Region; if we improve our work in the other branches of collective and state farming as well, we shall be able, even this year, to considerably raise our yield, to take a new step forward toward improving the living conditions of the peasant masses in the collective farms, in strengthening our workers' and peasants' State.

The present spring sowing shows that the work of our collective farms has been consolidated, and if the work continues as it has begun in the foremost districts, we shall really feel not merely the advantages of work in the collective farms as compared with the work of individuals, but we shall begin in the near future actually to taste the fruits of this work.

The Road to a Well-to-do Life a Struggle for High Yield.

At the Congress of Udarnik Collective Farmers, Comrade Stalin said that during their first year of existence, the collective farms had raised the poorer peasantry to the level of the middle peasantry. The poorer peasantry has truly felt all the advantages of collective farming; its position has been improved. For the time being this may apply to the masses of the middle peasants in a lesser degree. But from the present moment, when our collective farms have changed; when the attitude of the masses of the individual peasantry, who even yesterday did not believe in the collective farms has changed radically—now the time is approaching when results of work along the lines of collective farming will be felt more and more directly both by the former middle peasants and by the former poor peasants.

It is precisely for this reason that Comrade Stalin was right in advancing, as the chief task at present, that of making all the collective farmers well-to-do. And the accomplishment of this task depends on the collective farmers themselves. Their prime duty is to ensure a high yield.

The sowing campaign does not end the struggle for a high yield. The sowing is only the beginning of the job, not more than half of the job. You have completed the sowing. Now it is necessary to consolidate this first victory by the further work—by weeding, by fighting the blight, by fallow-ploughing, by good work during the harvest and by correctly distributing the yield in accordance with the work put in by the collective farmers.

By fighting for the proper organisation of labour, for strict discipline, for good Bolshevik leadership, by fighting against the idlers no less energetically than during the sowing campaign, you must guarantee the fulfilment of the task you have set yourselves, namely, that of obtaining on an average no less than eight centners of wheat from every hectare in the Middle Volga this year.

Our collective farms have already won important victories; these we must consolidate. The first period of the upbuilding of collective farms has already passed. The time has already come when all this new technique must be mastered. Its importance is increasing daily in the collective farms. Every achievement on the collective farms along this path in true Bolshevik fashion will signify a new step forward in improving the living and cultural conditions of the collective farmers.

Our Party and Government are doing everything necessary to enable the collective farms to gather strength and develop, giving when necessary direct assistance to those farms which are weak and which lag behind. We consider it also our task to wage an unwavering struggle to strengthen the cause of peace; to ensure further peaceful conditions for the development of our State, by frustrating the imperialist plans of an invasion by our enemies abroad from among the capitalist classes.

Comrades, you, the Conference of shock workers from the collective farms, have fulfilled this year's sowing plan. You have been in the forefront of the builders of socialism in our rural

economy. You have big conquests to your credit. But yours is the further duty to carry this work to a successful conclusion. The foremost collective farmers of the Middle Volga must not surrender a single position, but should strengthen them and march forward in serried file.

In you, comrades, I greet the foremost fighters for the cause of socialism; in you, I greet an example that is worthy of emulation throughout the whole Soviet Union.

Long live the foremost collective farmers of the Middle Volga!
Long live the shock workers of the collective farms of the whole Soviet Union!

Long live the Bolshevik Party, and its leader, Comrade Stalin, the leader of our entire constructive work!

(Stormy ovation by the delegates. Shouts of "Long Live Stalin! Long live his best comrade-in-arms, Molotov!" All delegates stand and sing the "International.")

The State Loan for the Second Five-Year Plan

By I. R.

The other day the "Pravda" published an appeal which the staffs of the Tula factories, decorated with the Order of the Red Flag, have addressed to all workers, collective peasants and toilers in the Soviet Union and in which they called on them to demand of the Soviet Government the raising of a fresh mass loan. This appeal states:

"The capitalists thought to frustrate our plan of great construction by refusing to grant us credits. . . . We have built and are still building without the aid of foreign loans. We are setting up socialist society with our own proletarian forces. Our collective work, our energy, our Soviet rouble, our workers' savings we have invested in Magnitogorsk, in Dnieprostroy, in the whole powerful economic foundation of Socialism which we have already built up.

"Now, when we are commencing the second Five-Year Plan, we workers of Tula, on the initiative of our best shock brigadiers, have decided to call upon the Soviet Government to issue a fresh loan, the loan of the second Five-Year Plan. We have no doubt that our suggestion will be followed by the best works and collective farms; we are convinced that this proposal will be supported by all those to whom the cause of the working class is dear."

The first to reply to this suggestion were the workers of the Red Putilov works, famous on account of their revolutionary energy and who rightly referred to the good results they achieved in the realisation of the former Soviet loans.

Every day "Pravda" received enthusiastic letters from fresh factories calling upon their fellow-workers to join in this campaign. The Leningrad factory, "Krasnaya Sarja," which had raised 1,342,000 roubles for the loan of the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan, and thereby more than fulfilled its obligation in three days, is also now among the first to join in the campaign.

In the rural districts the best collective farms, the machine and tractor stations and the Soviet estates hastened to join in the campaign. The workers, employees and the administrative and technical staffs of the machine and tractor station of Kalatchevsk (Central Black-Earth District) declared their readiness to support the appeal to the Government to issue a new loan.

The Soviet Government has responded to this mass initiative. On May 15, the Central Executive Committee and the People's Commissariat issued a decree on the raising of a State loan for the second Five-Year Plan. It is intended by means of this loan to raise 3,000 million roubles, redeemable in 10 years. It is stated in this decree:

"During the first Five-Year period hundreds of fresh works, factories, Soviet farms, machine and tractor stations, etc., were created with the aid of the money which the toilers invested in loans. A tremendous building activity was developed which has raised the material and cultural level of the toilers of the Soviet Union. The successes of the first Five-Year Plan set the second Five-Year Plan the practical task of building up the classless, socialist society. It is therefore necessary to mobilise all the means of the country on the largest scale."

The fresh loan will doubtlessly prove a still greater success than all the previous loans. The Central Executive Committee recently ascertained that at present 40 million persons are holders of

loans. This tremendous participation of the toiling masses in the investments for socialist construction developed at a rapid pace. The following table proves this:—

Description of Loan	Number of subscribers	Sum realised Roubles
First industrialisation loan ...	6,000,000	200,000,000
Second industrialisation loan ...	8,000,000	507,000,000
Third industrialisation loan ...	10,000,000	828,000,000
Five-Year Plan in four years ...	12,000,000	1,072,000,000
Loan of the third year of the Five-Year Plan ...	33,000,000	2,030,000,000
Loan of the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan ...	40,000,000	2,710,000,000

Thus in the years of the first Five-Year Plan the number of subscribers to loans in the Soviet Union increased almost seven fold, and the sums of the loans realised increased more than thirteen times.

The loans of the Soviet Union have been used entirely for solving the most important tasks of socialist industrialisation of the country and collectivisation of agriculture. The Bolsheviks organised a broad campaign of enlightenment regarding the aim and object of these loans, and the greater the masses who realised the significance of these loans, the greater the number of those who invested their savings in socialist construction. The proletarian State has done away with the enslavement and exploitation of the proletariat, but it has at its disposal other sources of inner accumulation which no capitalist State can ever open up: the self-sacrifice of the toilers.

The increasing participation of the masses to the Soviet loans and the ever-larger sums realised by them are, of course, also due to the fact that the income of the toilers has uninterruptedly increased in these years. In the four years of the first Five-Year Plan, the income of the proletariat of the Soviet Union increased from 23,700 million roubles to 70,000 million roubles. The wages fund of the workers and employees increased almost fourfold: from 8,000 million in the year 1928 to 30,000 million in the year 1932. Hence every worker, every collective farmer, every employee is able to subscribe to State loans without making any great material sacrifices. In addition, the loans yield interest and prizes. During the first Five-Year Plan 841,000 million roubles were paid out in prizes.

The workers of the Stalingrad tractor works write in the "Pravda":

"Our chief gains are the historic results of the first Five-Year Plan. Our chief gains are the Stalingrad, the Kharkov, the Cheliabinsk tractor factories, Dnieprostroi, Magnitostroi, Kusnetzkstroi, the Gorki automobile factory and the other giants of socialist industry. Our chief gains are the 2,446 machine and tractor stations, equipped with the most up-to-date machines and tools, and the 5,000 Soviet farms, the 120,000 new tractors."

These statements are very characteristic of the attitude of the toilers of the Soviet Union in regard to the loans. They prove that the loans not only yield material means for socialist construction, but also make ever greater masses conscious builders of Socialism.

The World Economic Crisis

Economic Contradiction Between Austria and Germany

By Keller (Vienna)

The present tension between Austria and Germany is due not only to Austria's dependence upon international finance capital, but is also the result of its own economic interests.

Austria is a semi-agrarian country. But the interests of the big agrarians and big peasants are taken into account to a far greater extent than this economic structure would warrant. Hence, Germany's policy of throttling agricultural imports has not remained without influence upon the relations with Austria. How much Austria's exports of agricultural products to Germany declined can best be seen in the case of butter. At a recent meeting of the Lower Austrian Dairy Company, Reither, President of the Lower Austrian Chamber of Agriculture, stated that whilst Austria formerly exported annually 150 waggon loads of butter

to Germany, for this year Germany had granted a quota of only 48 waggons. What this means can be judged if we compare this figure with Germany's quota figures for other countries, for instance for Holland and Denmark the butter-import quotas for which are 1,154 and 1,482 waggons a year respectively.

Another instance is Austria's exports of timber to Germany, which formerly was one of the chief purchasers of Austrian timber. According to the statements of the "Oesterreichisches Morgenblatt," the organ of the Austrian Heimwehr, Austria's total exports of timber amounted in 1928 to 25,878,960 cwt-metres, but dropped to 8,277,661 cwt-metres in 1932. In the same period timber exports to Germany declined from 11,103,815 cwt-metres to 485,675 cwt-metres. Germany's share in Austria's timber exports amounted in the year 1928 to 43 per cent., whilst in the year 1932 it had dropped to 6 per cent. Austria has thus been ousted from the German timber market by other countries.

This ousting of Austria is to be seen in all items of German import statistics, but is most apparent in the case of the German imports of soft-wood timber, obtained from pine trees. Of this variety of timber Germany imported in the year 1932 2,901,245 cwt-metres, of which Czechoslovakia supplied 1,535,141 cwt-metres, the Soviet Union 428,850 cwt-metres, Poland 358,497 cwt-metres, Lithuania 210,887 cwt-metres, and Austria only 144,065 cwt-metres.

A comparison of these figures causes the "Oesterreichische Morgenblatt" to ask, "whether friendly relations exist at all between Austria and Germany."

On the other hand, Austria is attempting to profit by Germany's foreign-political isolation. Austria's opposition to German national socialism, which is greatly stressed, aims at preventing Austria from being drawn into this isolation and enabling Austria's economy to profit by it.

At a meeting of the Presidential Council of the Union of bourgeois Merchants it was stated that Germany's foreign policy had caused many firms in England, Sweden, France, Switzerland, America, Italy and even the Eastern States, to place their orders, which they hitherto had given to Germany, in other countries. It was therefore decided to call on the Dollfuss government to exert all their efforts in order to get orders for textile goods, electrical goods and paper manufactured articles placed with Austrian firms.

These are a few of the palpable economic causes of the antagonism between Austria and Germany, between the Dollfuss government and the National socialists.

The Problem of Indebtedness of Hungarian Agriculture!

The import of the protective measures for agricultural debtors in Hungary is the cessation of forced sales until the end of October next, which is tantamount to a moratorium for agriculture until that time. Financial capitalist circles, however, are now urging that this provision should not be further prolonged and a commencement should be made to deal with debtors individually; that is to say, those debtors who are declared to be insolvent shall be completely excluded from any protective legislation. The government, it seems, is prepared to adopt these proposals which are directed against the small and middle peasants. Preparations are already being made for a wholesale eviction of peasants from their land next autumn. Thus a considerable aggravation of the situation in the agrarian districts of Hungary is to be expected in the coming autumn and winter.

The importance of the agricultural debt problem in Hungary is to be seen from the following figures:

It is calculated that the purchasing power resulting from the sale of agricultural products declined by no less than 48 per cent. in the period from the end of 1928 to 1932. Owing to this disastrous decline the relation between the amount realised from the harvest and the burden of interest has become unbearable for agriculture. Hence in the autumn of 1931, when the ferment in the villages already began to assume revolutionary forms which greatly disquieted the ruling class, it was ordered that the rates of interest charged to farmers must be automatically adapted to the existing national bank discount rate. The consequence was that in the course of a year the maximum interest fell to 8 per cent., whilst formerly 13 and even higher rates of interest obtained. In October, 1932, the interest on amortisation loans was reduced to 5 per cent., and in February, 1933, the payment of redemption instalments was postponed.

The practical result of this reduction of the burden of interest was calculated by the Institute for Economic Research.

The total indebtedness of Hungarian agriculture in the year 1931 was stated to be between 2,100 million and 2,300 million pengö, and the interest and redemption instalments 224,800,000 pengö. This burden has been reduced till 1933 to 146,100,000 pengö, i.e., by 35 per cent. A decree is shortly to come into force providing aid to farmers to enable them to pay their interest charges even on short-term loans, provided that the amount of indebtedness does not exceed 15 times the registered net yield of their land and that the debtor meets his current obligations.

Such and similar conditions were also contained in the preceding measures for reducing the burden of interest. They serve to exclude the heavily indebted and absolutely impoverished farmers from any relief. These will be the first victims when the great battle commences in the autumn. The following table, also taken from the Institute for Economic Research, clearly shows who benefited most from the measures to reduce interest.

The average indebtedness on account of interests and annuities in 1931 and to-day amounts in pengös per hectare of the indebted land:

Size of holding in hectares	0 - 5	6 - 100	100 - 1000	over 1000	average
1931	61.9	38.8	23.2	17.7	33.4
1933	45.0	23.6	14.3	10.6	21.4
Per cent. decline ...	27.3	39.2	38.4	39.6	35.9

Thus we see that the decline is greatest in the case of large holdings and in the case of the small holdings is far below the average. The government, having by means of its interest-relief measures accorded general support to the big landowners, now believes that it can sacrifice the "insolvent" heavily indebted small and middle peasants. It does not, however, realise what a crisis it is thereby calling forth in the Hungarian rural districts.

The White Terror

Act for the Victims of the Terror in Venezuela!

Crowded into a single dungeon in the Rotunda of Caracas, 35 political prisoners, workers, peasants, soldiers, artisans, students and intellectuals, jailed during 1931 and the spring of 1932 on suspicion of being Communists, are now facing death from hunger and disease. Since the 20th of April they have not been permitted to receive food which is passed from the outside. In Venezuela this deprivation of food from outside the prison means slow death by starvation, as it is impossible to exist for long on the "rancho" or ration of the Rotunda. Twice during the past few months, these political prisoners have been subjected to periods of starvation lasting weeks, by the bestial officials of Juan Vincente Gomez. By this method of systematic forced hunger and thirst, combined with the most barbaric feudal tortures, they attempt to force "declarations" from the political prisoners, and actually to kill off the best revolutionaries. As a result of such treatment, the 35 were already completely broken in health and weakened to the extreme through anaemia and fever even before the present complete cutting off of their food. The prisoner **Fuermayor** is dying of tuberculosis, contracted in the dungeon, and is confined with the other 34, while the windows and openings of the dungeon have been sealed, and the prisoners are often at the point of being asphyxiated. **Eduardo Francis**, in irons, is prostrated with a serious case of blood poisoning, and the youth **Jose Antonio Mayobre** is suffering fits of epilepsy. All thirty-five are forced to sleep on the bare floor of the filthy dungeon, and several tin cans on the floor are the only toilet facilities. Some have "grillos" (irons) welded to their ankles, weighing as much as 80 lbs.; these make sleep and relaxation almost impossible, especially when two prisoners have their irons welded together, as a special form of torture.

The thirty-five who are now being starved in the Rotunda are: **Juan Bautista Fuenmayor, Francisco Jose Delgado, Fernando Key, Jose Antonio Mayobre, Jose Antonio Vazquez, Jesus Rojas, Juan Jose Nunes Morales, Victor Lara, Aurelio Fortoul, Mariano Fortoul, Raul Osorio, Victor Garcia Aldonado, Angel Marquez, Eduardo Francis, Manuel Simosa, E. Guevara, Felipe Escobar, Luis Vincente Diaz, Pedro Gonzalez, Petro Cadamo, Ramon Abad, Cipriano Alvarez, Simon Reyes, Claudio Hernandez, Esteban Fernandez, Rupertino Munoz, Isaac Alvarado, Ramon Savino, Juan**

Rodriguez, Ramon Cordoba, Manuel Lorenzo Maldonado, Lorenzo Maggi, Luis Usiche, Horacio Cabrera, Ricardo Alvarez.

None have ever faced trial, and all have been held completely incommunicado since the time they were thrown into the dungeon. In another section of the same Rotunda are scores of other political prisoners, all confined incommunicado, and already rotting away in irons for many years (most of them since 1928). The most savage treatment is, of course, meted out to the workers and those held as Communists. The starving of the thirty-five in the Rotunda at the present time is bound to result in the death of several.

Only the widest international protest can save these heroic victims of the bourgeois landlord imperialist terror in Venezuela exercised by the despot Gomez. They must be allowed to have food passed to them daily from outside the prison. They must have the right to see their families and friends. They must get medical attention and proper sanitary facilities. The irons must be removed. They cannot live huddled thirty-five in a small cell without air or light! Demand the immediate public trial and freedom for all political prisoners in Venezuela. Immediate action is needed in all countries to combat the murderous intentions of Gomez and his bloody clique. Already in the United States such organisations as the International Labour Defence, the National Committee for Defence of Political Prisoners, the National Student League and the International Committee for Political Prisoners, as well as numerous intellectuals and humanitarians have sent telegrams of protest to Venezuela. Protests should immediately be directed to: Gral. Rafael Velazco, Caracas, Venezuela; P. Itriago Chacin, Caracas; local diplomatic representatives of Venezuela and to Juan V. Gomez, Maracay, Venezuela. Demonstrate in masses before all offices of the diplomatic and consular agents of the Gomez regime, which is now in its twenty-fifth year of mass enslavement and savage terror!

For the Release of the Rueggs!

It is already two years since the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, Comrade Paul Ruegg, and his wife Gertrud, were flung into the dungeons of the Nanking prison. The International Defence Committee for the Release of Paul and Gertrud Ruegg, to which prominent men such as Henri Barbusse, Romain Roland, Professor Albert Einstein, Theodore Dreiser, Maxim Gorki and many others belong, and the working class of the whole world have by a world protest saved these comrades from Chiang-Kai'shek's gallows. Under the chairmanship of Madame Sun Yet Sen, the wife of the founder of the Chinese Republic, a Defence Committee was set up in Shanghai, to which, among others, Mr. George Fitch, General Secretary of the American Young Men's Christian Association, and Mr. Thackeray, editor of the English "Evening News," belong. Similar committees have been set up in England, America, Austria and in all important countries of the world.

Dr. Jean Vincent, a Geneva lawyer and defender of the Rueggs, on behalf of the Defence Committee, called upon Wellington Koo, the representative of the Chinese Government at the League of Nations Council, in order to protest against the treatment accorded the Rueggs in the so-called "model prison" of Nanking, where, according to the news published in the foreign press, the Rueggs have again commenced a hunger strike. Mr. Reginald Bridgeman interviewed Quo-Tai-Chi, the Chinese Ambassador in London, and both these statesmen declared that conditions in the Chinese prisons are irreproachable. This statement is contradicted by an article which recently appeared in a Tientsin newspaper, "Ta Kung Pao," from which we publish the following passages:—

"As soon as the prison gates have been closed behind you, you have ceased to be a human being; you no longer enjoy any human rights. . . . Stubborn prisoners are brought into the prison office, bound hand and foot, and belaboured with bamboo rods until they are bleeding from many wounds.

"Underclothing is not changed for many months, so that many prisoners have outbreaks all over their bodies. Sanitary buckets are kept in the prisoners' rooms. In this damp and stinking atmosphere the prisoners can hardly breathe and have frequent attacks of giddiness. If a prison inspection is announced, the floor is immediately covered with lime and sprinkled with carbolic acid in order that the inspector shall not also be overcome with the bad fumes and the prison get a bad name.

"The sanitary conditions are so bad and medical treatment so poor that the mortality rate among the prisoners is exceedingly high. In bad times a corpse leaves the prison every day."

According to a Reuter report, some days ago Madame Sun Yat Sen again interviewed Chiang-Kai-shek and Wang-Chin-wei in Nanking in order to obtain the final release of the Rueggs. Madame Sun Yat Sen's heroic championship of the Rueggs must call forth a lively response in the whole world, and the Chinese government must be compelled by a new wave of mass protests to release Paul and Gertrud Ruegg.

In the International

The 60th Birthday of Henri Barbusse

By Willi Münzenberg

On May 15 last Henri Barbusse, the world-famous French writer, was 60 years old. Any appreciation would be incomplete which did not take into account the work of Barbusse as revolutionary fighter and socialist.

When the flames of the imperialist world war were raging, when German, French, English and Russian workers were being slaughtered in thousands in the interest of the imperialists, there arose from the French trenches a voice which was heard above the roar of the guns and the bursting of shells. "Brother Liebknecht," cried this voice.

These words, "Brother Liebknecht," held hundreds of thousands of German, French, English and Russian workers together under the flag of the international fight against the imperialist war which was raised by Lenin and Karl Liebknecht.

The man who, as a soldier in the French trenches, coined these words was Henri Barbusse. His book, "Under Fire," the first great anti-war novel, expressed in words that which hundreds of thousands had instinctively felt, namely the common interests of all workers against the war profiteers and generals of the whole world. And hundreds of thousands of workers, after reading Barbusse's "Under Fire," became bitter enemies of imperialist war.

For us young people who were in the socialist youth movement at that time, the book was a revelation, and helped to increase the number of those in the Socialist Youth International who fought against the war with revolutionary means.

Henri Barbusse, however, did not rest content with writing his book against the war; he recognised that in order to put an end to imperialist war it is necessary to destroy the causes of imperialist war, namely the capitalist order of society. The fighter against imperialist war became an international socialist, a fighter against the capitalist order of society.

Henri Barbusse is one of the first proletarian writers and socialist champions who enthusiastically welcomed the setting up of the Soviet Power in Russia and pronounced his complete sympathy with it. He has fought wholeheartedly, persistently and without vacillation for the Russian Soviet Power, and will remain true to it right to the end.

Henri Barbusse became a Communist. Filled with brotherly sympathy and solidarity for the poorest section of the enslaved and exploited, he supported the founding of the Workers' International Relief in 1921; he was one of its creators and has remained one of its truest and self-sacrificing helpers.

Henri Barbusse was also one of the conveners of the Congress against imperialist colonial policy and against national oppression which took place in Brussels in the Spring of 1927. He thereby helped to make the fight against imperialism a world movement.

One of his numerous journeys on behalf of the revolutionary workers brought him to the Balkans, Hungary, Poland, etc. The journey served to render immediate aid to the victims of the fascist dictatorships in these countries. His book: "I saw it myself," in which he describes the impressions and experiences of his journey, is a terrible document dealing with the barbaric treatment and tortures to which the proletarian Communist prisoners are subjected in the Balkan countries.

The danger of war against the Soviet Union increased as a result of the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The Japanese generals prepared to undertake the robber war against China which should lead to intervention against the Soviet Union.

In this hour of increased war danger (in 1932) the socialist and indefatigable fighter, Henri Barbusse, together with Romain Rolland, again called for a fighting Congress against imperialist war to take place in Amsterdam in August, 1932.

The Congress became a surprising demonstration at which there were present, besides numerous delegates from all other countries, 900 workers from Germany and 700 workers from France. Thanks to the collaboration of Henri Barbusse, the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress led to a powerful anti-war wave in the whole of the world, and this anti-war movement is to-day one of the most important factors in the anti-war front. Henri Barbusse is one of the few living great writers who have fought tenaciously and indefatigably for decades on the various fronts of the revolutionary class struggle. In him there is combined the courage to proclaim the truth and to fight for socialism, with the rare capacity to express in artistic form what he sees, recognises and experiences.

Proletarian writer and fighter for the proletarian revolution—that is what Henri Barbusse is and will remain.

The Political Situation in Turkey and the Tasks of the C.P. of Turkey

(Conclusion.)

The Agrarian policy of the Kemalists and the Tasks of the C.P. of Turkey in the Peasants' Movement.

The Kemalists do not possess any fascist organisations; their party relies on the police and the army, the overwhelming majority of which consists of peasants. In the rural districts, where the Kemalists are supported by the big peasants, they are carrying out the original capitalist accumulation by violent means, by ruthlessly expropriating the small and middle peasants. As a result, a sharp class differentiation is taking place in the rural districts, which is bound to have an effect upon the soldiers. Hence the peasant question is the weakest spot of Kemalism.

In a number of districts in Turkey we are witnessing a mass movement of the peasantry. In numerous localities the peasants refuse to pay taxes, as a result of which their land and property are seized. In their work the Communists must give prominence to the slogans of the C.P.T. in the sphere of agrarian policy, in particular to the demand for cancellation of all debts. The general slogan of "refuse to pay taxes" would be premature at the present moment. It would be better to attempt to put forward concrete demands on the tax question separately in each district, making use of every concrete case of refusal to pay taxes or of distraint in order to mobilise the peasants against the tax collectors and representatives of the authorities. The Communists, by exposing the peasants' policy of the Kemalists, must sharply oppose the employment of troops and gendarmes for crushing the revolutionary peasants' movement.

Mass Work of the C.P.T. in the Labour Movement.

The main task of the mass policy of the Party is the correct struggle for the **partial demands**, which help to establish **living contact with the masses**. It is very important to react quickly to events which rouse the masses to indignation, and to link up the slogans and demands of the Party with these events in every factory and every locality. The Communists must develop their own strike strategy. The **strike** movement, the **unemployed** movement and the peasant movement are the main forms of the mass movement in Turkey. In addition to the partial demands, the question of **central slogans of action must be put forward**.

It would not be advisable to demand that all workers should join the Kemal trade unions, for this would involve the danger of many workers coming under the influence of the class enemy. We must, however, strive to get these trade unions converted into real **revolutionary trade unions** by setting up opposition groups, which fight for winning the majority of the workers and removing the Kemal leadership of the Kemalists. If, however, we possess a sufficiently strong opposition group in one or the other local organisations, and if we have the prospect of capturing this organisation with the help of the workers, then it is advisable to call upon the workers to join this particular trade union.

In general the Communists must propose to the workers that they set up independent revolutionary mass trade unions.

In striving to win the legal mass trade unions, the Party must not fall into the illusion of legalism. The Kemalists are afraid of the mass organisations of the working class and the conversion of the trade unions into free class organisations. If strong pressure is exerted the Kemalists will probably be compelled to make certain concessions. But the Communists must not neglect the task of setting up their own illegal trade unions or illegal trade union opposition groups. Of course, the illegal organisations will not be able to draw in numerically broad masses. But the most important thing is that they are closely connected with the working masses and develop a constant activity among the masses.

Questions of Party Construction.

The C.P. of Turkey must consolidate its local organisations and the local committees in the most important places in the country. The existing Party cadres must reinforce these Party committees. The local committees must learn to develop their own initiative and to work independently whenever there is no connection with the Central Committee; then the class enemy will not be able to destroy the organisations of the C.P.T.

Particular attention must be devoted to the struggle against **provocateurs** and spies. Conspiracy methods must be adopted. The Communists must not cherish any legalist illusions.

* * * * *

Precisely at the present moment, when we are witnessing a revolutionary upsurge in Turkey which is expressed in a number of mass actions of the workers and of the revolutionary peasants, it is the main task of the C.P.T., in the course of these mass struggles, to prepare the toilers for the great revolutionary fights.

Gregor Zinoviev Appeals for Readmission into the Party

Moscow, May 20.

The Press publishes a declaration of Gregor Zinoviev to the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In this declaration Zinoviev enumerates a number of big theoretical and political errors, which he had committed. His biggest error was the denying of the possibility of socialist construction in one country. Together with Trotsky he has always denied this possibility and has conducted a fight against the Party. He also refers to his errors in regard to the peasantry and admits that his former slogans aimed at the continued existence of individual farmers. He refers to his errors in regard to his wrong estimation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the policy of the Communist International as a Communist World Party. If the Comintern victoriously defeated "right" and "left" opportunism—writes Zinoviev—this is chiefly due to the correct political and theoretical orientation, initiated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of **Stalin**. The accusation against the Central Committee, that it is using "pressure," is a slander on the best proletarian party, which the world knows. To say such a thing means to forget the elementary principles of party work under the condition of proletarian dictatorship.

I was one of those—Zinoviev continues—who repeatedly fought against the Central Committee of the party and against Stalin. I was absolutely wrong. Stalin's name is the banner of the entire proletarian world. He succeeded to guard and to increase the theoretical and political inheritance of Lenin together with the Central Committee of the party and as its leader.

Zinoviev concludes by requesting the C.C. to reinstate him in the Party. He has recognised all his errors and is honestly endeavouring to serve the Party.

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