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Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov and Others in Serious Danger ^{JUL 17 1933} Save Them from the Fascist Hangmen

By A. Komyat

Bloody German fascism is about to "legalise" its murderous terror against the revolutionary working class movement and against everything connected with freedom. Hundreds of workers have already been bestially murdered, thousands and thousands have been cruelly tortured, over 50,000 are being held in the jails of "awakened" Germany. The "illegal" terror is now to be replaced by a "legal," "constitutional" terror. For the benefit of foreign public opinion the brown hordes are said to have acted "in justifiable anger," but now the murders are to be carried out at the orders of the courts, after the solemn verdicts of robed murderers. The four death sentences in the **Altona trial** and the two death sentences in **Chemnitz** are but the preliminary to the killing of bigger game. The examining judge at the German Supreme Court in Leipzig, Herr Vogt, announces that the preliminary examination of the National Socialist provocator, **van der Luebbe**, and his "instigators" in the Reichstag arson, **Torgler**, **Dimitrov**, **Popov**, and **Tanev**, was completed on the 1st June. The trial is to take place shortly. The chief accused, and at the same time the Crown witness, van der Luebbe, will either be hanged or put out of the way in cold blood just as was his accomplice, "the notorious spy, forger and counter-revolutionary," **Dr. Bell**. Dead

men tell no tales. It is of course also possible that they will have "mercy" on the pitiful van der Luebbe and help him to "escape." That is a matter for German fascism. But they also want to sentence Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev to death and hang them publicly as already promised by Hitler in his Reichstag speech of the 23rd March. And that is a very different matter. It is the vital concern not only of the German working class, but also of the international proletariat, for a blow at the German proletariat is a blow against the working class of all other countries.

The history of capitalism is rich in instances which show that when the bourgeoisie has to defend its power against the attack of the rising proletariat it is not squeamish in the methods it uses. The history of capitalism is rich in instances of clumsy, criminal provocations in order to justify an intensified terror against the proletariat. But the achievement of the German fascists with their Reichstag arson coup is about the record. Goering, Goebbels and Co. themselves set fire to the Reichstag (with the assistance of the "Murder Storm Detachment No. 33") in order to whip up the necessary "public indignation" for the letting loose of a murderous terror against the German revolutionary working class, and above all against the Communist Party, in order to smash its

organisations. They presented the paid provocator van der Luebbe, a member of the Nazi storm detachments, and declared that he was a Communist. They presented Comrade Torgler, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, who had given himself up voluntarily to the police in order to demonstrate to the world that the Communist Party and he himself had and could have had nothing to do with the Reichstag arson, and they declared that he was the "instigator" of van der Luebbe. And when even a number of bourgeois foreign newspapers openly accused the present National Socialist rulers of Germany of being the real incendiaries, when the whole provocative web of lies threatened to rend Goering, Goebbels and Co. did not beat a retreat, but instead broadened the "basis" of their charge against the Communist leaders, they "internationalised" it, so to speak. The opportunity offered itself in connection with the arrest of the Bulgarian comrades, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev, in Berlin. These three were revolutionaries who were compelled to live illegally in Germany owing to the persecutions they were subjected to by the Bulgarian government. The German government immediately declared that they were accessories to the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral in 1925 and then connected them up on this basis with the Reichstag fire. The aim of the fascist rulers of Germany was to appeal to the "international solidarity" of the bourgeoisie against Communism, and they showed at the same time that they are neither prepared nor able to refrain from using the weapon of intimidation against the working masses, for violence and deceit—deceit and violence are the whole basis of their rule.

And what of the proofs? The fascist government of Germany is no more able to bring forward any proofs against the Bulgarian Communists than it is to bring forward proofs against Torgler and the other leaders of the German C.P., despite the "cartloads" of confiscated material, despite the "catacombs" of the Karl Liebknecht House, despite the new scares zealously spread by the fascist press during the past few days concerning the discovery of new "plans for revolt," new "arms and ammunition dump" of the Communists, etc. The only "evidence" at the disposal of Goering, Goebbels and Co., is the word of the provocateur van der Luebbe. Their only "proof" is that they declare the accused to be guilty even before they have been tried. The final "proof" of the guilt of the accused is to be created by hanging them.

However, the international proletariat has enough real evidence at its disposal to expose Goering, Goebbels and Co. for what they are, provocateurs, incendiaries, and slanderers. Quite apart from the fact that the Reichstag fire was solely in the interests of the National Socialists, the international working class can appeal to the memorandum of a prominent member of the German Nationalist (Hugenberg) Party, which was published in the columns of the "**Manchester Guardian**," and gives all the details of the preparation and carrying out of the Reichstag arson by the National Socialist leaders. The German Nationalists are the allies of the Nazis; they know the whole truth.

The international working class can also point out that the Communist Parties are on principle the sternest opponents of individual terror, that they regard this weapon as completely unsuitable for the class struggle of the working class, that they regard it as a drag on the mass movement of the proletariat and as a dangerously demoralising factor, and that they have always condemned it strongly. The leader of the German C.P., Comrade Thaelmann, in particular, has always strongly condemned any tendency towards individual terror. And it was the arrested **Comrade Dimitrov**, who wrote in an official declaration of the Bulgarian C.P. (published in the "International Press Correspondence" in the middle of May, 1925) dealing with the explosion in the Cathedral of Sofia:

The Communist Party of Bulgaria has nothing to do either with the attempt on the life of King Boris or with the explosion in the Cathedral. The lying campaign of incitement conducted by the government is nothing but an attempt to justify the mass murders. The Communist Party has always condemned individual terror; it uses only one method of fighting, the mass struggle of the workers and peasants."

This declaration, written by comrade Dimitrov, and published by the Bulgarian C.P., was confirmed at the time by a German democratic newspaper, the "**Berliner Tageblatt**," since sunk to

the level of bootlicking for fascism. On the 5th June, 1925, this newspaper wrote that the notorious "Durot Letter" of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (according to this letter the C.I. had "ordered the revolution" in Bulgaria) was a forgery. Following on the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral, this forgery was taken as the basis for mass death sentences and executions throughout Bulgaria. The "**Berliner Tageblatt**" went even further; it published the name of the forger of this letter, the Russian white-guardist, **Drushelovski**, and openly accused the Bulgarian government of having ordered and paid for the work.

This is how much truth there is in the contention that comrade Dimitrov had anything to do with the explosion in the Cathedral of Sofia. Further, not even the Bulgarian authorities ever filed any charge against comrade Dimitrov in connection with the explosion. Now, however, the German fascists want to exploit his alleged "complicity" in the Sofia explosion in order to support their false charges against him in connection with the Reichstag fire.

Nevertheless, there is a certain "connection" between the fire in the Reichstag and the explosion in the Cathedral of Sofia, and that is the similarity of the provocative methods employed by the bourgeoisie of both countries against the revolutionary movement. Both crimes were the work of provocateurs; in both cases the wire-pullers worked with forgeries (in the one case with the "Durot letter," and in the other case with van der Luebbe's "Communist Party membership book"), and in both cases the aim of the provocation was to smash the revolutionary Communist movement.

And, finally, the international working class can point to the whole lives of the accused comrades, which prove conclusively that none of them could in fact have committed such a senseless act as the burning of the Reichstag.

Comrade Torgler, one of the leaders of the German C.P., and the chairman of the Communist Reichstag fraction; comrade Dimitrov, who has been part of the revolutionary working-class movement of Bulgaria for forty years, a member of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International: these men should have committed an action which would damage the revolutionary movement? That is a criminal accusation which no thinking person will take seriously.

But at the moment, perhaps at the last moment, it is not a question of mere argument. The lives of our comrades are in serious danger. This danger is not one whit lessened by the announcement of the fascist government of Germany that the trial of the leaders of the Communist Party will be held separately from the trial of the "Reichstag incendiaries." On the contrary, the lives of our comrades are even still further endangered thereby, because the German fascist government aims with this manoeuvre at stamping comrade Torgler and the others as common criminals, at lowering their prestige in the eyes of world public opinion, in the hope that it will then be able to carry out its bloody work unhindered. Now is the time to act!

The revolutionary working class is aware that terror has always been one of the methods used by the ruling bourgeoisie to crush the revolutionary movement. In the "democratic" era of the bourgeois class dictatorship this method is used more furtively, with a certain feeling of "shame," but, in a period of intensified class struggle, when the class dominance of the bourgeoisie is threatened, the method of terror is used openly, cynically, brutally. But the revolutionary working class also knows that if it goes forward unitedly it has power enough to stop the hand of the fascist hangmen. Active fighting solidarity with the victims of German fascism is necessary, with the workers sentenced to death in Altona and Chemnitz, with comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev, with the tens of thousands of workers imprisoned by German fascism. Protest meetings and demonstrations must be organised. Protest strikes must be prepared. The struggle against the bourgeoisie at home must be intensified. At the last moment everything possible must be done to save the condemned workers of Altona and Chemnitz, to save comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev from the hands of the fascist hangmen!

Politics

The Reasons for the Attacks on the Treaty of Berlin

By B. K.

A new act of "international reconciliation" is to be accomplished, the new edition of the Four-Power Pact of the leading imperialist Powers of Europe. The two leading fascist countries, Italy and Germany, are to conclude a pact with the two leading "democratic" countries, England and France. The father of the Pact is the one-time leader of the Second International, **James Ramsay MacDonald**, who has been aided in this work by the former social democrat **Mussolini**, and the national socialist **Göring**. The new act of international reconciliation is also a "victory" for the Second International. It is not like the Berlin Treaty between the Soviet Union and Germany. It is not to be concluded between "Stalin and Hitler," as the press organs of the Second International write regarding the Berlin Treaty. It is to be concluded between imperialist Powers in which the financial oligarchy has complete rule. In two of these countries the financial oligarchy exercises this unbounded rule in a democratic form, and in the other two countries in a fascist form. The Four-Power Pact would not mean a non-aggression pact between a socialist and a bourgeois State; it would mean a pact between four imperialist Powers against the socialist workers' and peasants' State.

The reappearance of the Four-Power pact after it had been already buried, explains why the parties of the Second International in all the capitalist countries organised such a savage incitement against the Soviet Union when the documents prolonging the Berlin Treaty were exchanged. The non-aggression pacts which the Soviet Union has concluded—in spite of the fact that it is certain the imperialist Powers will, in case of need, and when they wish to commence military intervention against the Soviet Union, treat these treaties like scraps of paper—are not so much on the lines of the Second International as the treaties of friendship between imperialist countries. The non-aggression pacts entered into by the Soviet Union do not promote the preparation of military intervention against the Soviet Union. They are therefore not acts of "international reconciliation" in the sense of the Second International like the treaties which are concluded among imperialist Powers in order to bridge over, or at least to veil, the intensifying imperialist antagonisms. For the Second International there exists only one correct method of bridging over the imperialist antagonisms, even if only temporarily, namely, agreement between the imperialist Powers directed against the country of Socialism, against the Soviet Union.

To-day it must be perfectly clear even to those who perhaps as a result of the campaign of incitement conducted by the Second International press on the occasion of the prolongation of the Berlin Treaty, harboured doubts, that this campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union was nothing else but preparation for favourable acceptance of the Four-Power Pact by the workers who honestly desire peace.

The meaning of the Four-Power Pact lies not only in the fact that by it the MacDonald government shall succeed in taking a fresh step towards uniting Europe against the United States of America. MacDonald's main intention in preparing the Four-Power Pact is not so much to weaken France's hegemony on the Continent, as to weaken the imperialist antagonisms in Europe, at least temporarily, by uniting the leading imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union. The fiery speeches of Winston Churchill and Sir Austen Chamberlain against Hitler, as well as the empty cry of the parties of the Second International against German fascism, have no other object than to compel the Hitler government to give its consent to the Four-Power Pact more cheaply. Hitler's speech on May 17, which was "favourably" received by the whole of the social democratic press, was meant as the first intimation that fascist Germany is prepared to sign the Four-Power Pact in spite of the fact that the victor countries refused to recognise Germany's demands for a revision of the peace treaties. The "favourable" reception accorded Hitler's speech by the social democratic press was the result of the fact that the leaders of the Second International realise **this meaning** of Hitler's speech. This recognition did not require any great political discernment. One of the most prominent leaders of the Second International, Arthur Henderson,

sits in Geneva in the midst of the European world of diplomats as the chairman of the dying "Disarmament" Conference. Other leaders of the Second International have no less intimate connections with their governments. They are informed of the foreign-political plans of the imperialist Powers, so far as the bourgeois governments deem it necessary. The connection between the anti-Soviet campaign of the Second International and the preparation of the MacDonald-Mussolini-Daladier-Hitler pact is as plain as daylight.

The Second International can only maintain its existence by playing the role of preparer of the way for uniting the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union. The "internationalism" of the social democracy, which prepares the way for fascism and military intervention against the Soviet Union, is the internationalism of imperialist counter-revolution against the Soviet Union.

The Attitude of American Public to the Hitler Government

By R. Youkelson

The news about Hitler's accession to power was received by the American public (as represented by the capitalist press) with a shock, mixed somewhat with suppressed satisfaction. Shocked, because of the collapse of bourgeois democracy and pleased, because of the victory of the reactionary forces over the revolutionary. "Germany is saved from the clutches of the red spectre!" was the echo resounding from the pages of the capitalist press.

It must be stated, however, that that echo was not entirely a jubilant one. In the choice between Communism and fascism the American capitalists certainly choose fascism as the most ruthless weapon against the revolutionary working class and the rebelling masses at large. But while they would like to see it succeed, they feared the outcome. The "**New York Evening Post**," in its editorial, "Hitler's Triumph" (March 7), says:

"Government by dictatorship may be expected . . . but only the course of events can tell how it will affect the Republic. For the time being, at least, the stability which the Hitler triumph means may be welcomed."

Which means that Wall Street, through one of its representative organs (this paper is controlled by the Rockefeller interests), while giving its blessings to the bloody Hitler regime, nevertheless fears the "course of events." This fear is chiefly due to the complete absence of any definite and concrete programme on the part of the Hitler regime.

The "**New York Times**," in its editorial on March 14, speaking about Hitlerism and the "bumptious policies and foggy promises of that cult," comes to the conclusion that:

"Foreign confidence in Germany's present outlook is certain to waver."

Still more outspoken in its doubt as to the possible stability and durability of Hitlerism is the conservative "**New York Herald-Tribune**" in its editorial "The Third Reich," on March 23. Here are some of the citations:

"Normal and inevitable as this reaction is, then the goal reached by Herr Hitler and his ever-parading, ever-whooping Nazis can scarcely be accepted as the end of the German search for a congenial political environment. This feeling pervades the outer world, and it is inspired in part by the absurdities and fallacies in the Nazi's Teutonic revelations, to which no great numbers of the logical German people can long be obtuse. Supporting this feeling is also the patent fact that the driving force of Hitlerism is a kind of mass-hysteria, evoked by spell-binding that, at long range, is far more puerile than impressive. . . . The Third Reich is probably closer to the end of experiment in Germany than the republic was, but it scarcely seems possible that it is the end itself."

A clear and vivid characteristic of the attitude of the American capitalist press is best represented in an editorial in the "**New York Times**" of April 23, commenting on a speech delivered by Mr. Herman A. Metz, an American business man, on April 21, before the American Chamber of Commerce in Berlin. Mr. Metz, in his speech, said:

"If you wish to turn out the Communists, we are all with you. But when you embark on religious persecution, every body is against you."

"The Times," of course, praises to the utmost the statement by Mr. Metz, which reflects the attitude of capitalism towards the revolutionary labour movement, as it is best represented by Communism, the arch enemy of capitalism, on one hand, and its attitude toward religion—one of the most important pillars of capitalism, on the other hand. "The Times" approves hypocritically the following sentences of Mr. Metz's speech:

"In this day and this age the world (the capitalist world—R.Y.) cannot tolerate religious and racial persecution. We, in America, protest against anything that is inhuman."

And what about the lynchings of Negroes in the South? What about the persecutions and deportations of foreign-born workers in the United States of America? What about the shooting down in cold blood of the Negro sharecroppers of Tallapoosa, Alabama? What of the enslavement of a million and half children in the textile mills, canneries, cigar factories, on the sugar beet and tobacco plantations and in other industries?

The "Journal of Commerce," the organ of Wall Street, comes out very frankly for the support of the Hitler regime. In its editorial of March 27, it says:

"Whatever radical social and political experiments may be undertaken within Germany, the Chancellor's speech arouses hopes that, in its dealings with the rest of the world, the Hitler government intends to practise political restraint and fulfil its financial obligations to the limit of the country's ability to pay. (Our emphasis.—R.Y.)"

This friendly, almost affectionate tone and the praising of Hitler's speech, which "arouses hopes," and the mentioning of "financial obligations," is a further indication of the readiness of American imperialism to help Hitler in every way possible, even to the extent of leniency in reparations payments, to establish and strengthen his regime. That this is the attitude of American imperialism was proven without the slightest doubt on May 16, when President Roosevelt addressed his so-called "peace message," which was rightly interpreted as an open bid to assist and extend moral support to the Nazi regime.

This attitude revealed itself vividly in the American capitalist press on May 18, commenting on Hitler's address to the Reichstag on May 17. The "New York Times," for instance, in its editorial, "A Different Hitler" (May 18), says:

"For the outside world, which has been disturbed by the previous warlike gestures of Hitler, he spoke in a more conciliatory tone . . . heartily agrees to the plan proposed by President Roosevelt. . . . Despite the bluster and apparent truculence of parts of his Reichstag address, he took pains, on the essential points, to seek to correct the impression that the new regime in Germany is a menace to the peace of the world. . . . It will gratify America to see the German Chancellor praising and endorsing the world offer made by their President."

This tone is quite a change from the one this same paper held heretofore, when it stated that "foreign confidence in Germany's present outlook is certain to waver." (March 14.) American imperialism is also greatly impressed by Hitler's appeal to the world, that the paramount purpose of his regime and storm troopers is "exclusively for the removal of the Communist danger," and that it is of urgent importance "for the protection of the German nation against the Communist revolution menacing it since November, 1918."

But it seems that, because of the fact that capitalist Germany faces the danger of a Communist revolution, American imperialism, fully appreciating the difficult task of Hitler's "holy mission" and ready to render him all the support possible, is far from certain that Hitler is able to perform that task. The "Times," therefore, goes on further to say:

"So far as words go, Hitler has done much to reassure opinion in other nations. But they will not cease to ask whether the appropriate deeds are to follow."

The opinion expressed by the "Times" is representative of the opinion expressed by almost the entire American capitalist press. Among those not fully satisfied with Hitler's address is the Jewish bourgeois press, including the "socialist" "Forverts," which appeals to France and England to keep a watchful eye on Hitler, thereby reminding them of the injury they caused to themselves by refusing to grant concessions to "democratic Germany."

Another Jewish newspaper, "Der Tog" (The Day), sees in the moderate tone of Hitler's address a retreat from his former position of hostility to the entire world, and a capitulation to the allies.

On May 10, the day Hitler performed his "heroic" burning of books of Marxian and Jewish authors, the Jews in the United States held big demonstrations in protest against the persecutions of Jews in Germany. A huge demonstration, in which probably a quarter of a million Jews took part, was held in the city of New York. The Left-wing workers also took part. This section was the most colourful and the only one that raised the slogan of fight against fascism as the arch-enemy of the workers and the Jews. Instead of "FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM," the bourgeois elements, their slogans and speakers, raised the protest against Hitler personally, cursing him, wishing him all sorts of misfortunes, disassociating Hitler from fascism, the most brutal weapon of capitalism, and painting him as one individual, who happens to be brutal, mad and eccentric.

The American capitalist press, especially the papers published in New York, where there is a population of two million Jews, which previously displayed very prominently the persecutions of the Jews in Germany, tried to minimise the tremendous anti-Hitler demonstration. Instead of stating the actual number of people participating in the demonstration, they gave the number as one hundred thousand, and most of the newspapers displayed it "single column." It was evident that this sudden change has much to do with the general attitude of American imperialism towards the Hitler regime, which was confirmed by the reception in the White House and in the press given Dr. Schacht. This gentleman, by the way, claimed total ignorance of such things as the persecution of Jews in Germany, stating that he "first got to know about it in the foreign press." This friendly attitude of American imperialism toward the Hitler regime found its clearest expression in the affectionate directions hinted in Roosevelt's message, and was further displayed more openly in the reception and comments given Hitler's address in official circles and in the press.

Yankee imperialism is preparing to give its broadest support to the Hitler regime, to save Germany from a Communist revolution. As to the attitude and actions of the American working class and its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party, we shall deal with that in another article.

Further Steps Towards the Fascisation of Czechoslovakia

By F. R.

After the opposition had been already gagged by the new Parliamentary Standing Orders, and the prerequisites thereby created for rushing the other fascist measures through Parliament without disturbance from the Communists, the further exceptional laws for protection of democracy have been completed by the Czechoslovakian Ministerial Council. In the main, these measures provide for: the prolongation of the period of office of the municipal councils from four to six years, thus postponing the municipal elections now due for another two years; alterations in the municipal election law, above all in regard to the list of candidates; election of municipal mayors must be confirmed by the government.

The government obtains the right to declare a state of emergency not only in times of crisis and in times of serious inner disturbances, but also when it is a question of protecting democracy and securing the frontier against unrest prevailing abroad. During the state of emergency correspondence can be opened in the post, organisations and associations, including consumers' co-operative societies, can be subjected to a special State supervision or their activity suspended altogether. State authorities can forbid the holding of any public meetings with the exception of election meetings.

Further, a preliminary censorship is introduced. The issue of printed matter can be prohibited altogether. Other provisions relate to the carrying of weapons, wearing uniforms, use of explosives, etc. The suppression of newspapers is provided for by an extension of the law for the protection of the Republic. Hitherto newspapers and periodicals could be suppressed only on account of crimes, which are clearly defined in the Law for the protection of the Republic, whilst from now on they can be prohibited on account of minor infringements of the law (spreading of untrue or alarming news). There is no right of appeal against the prohibition of periodicals. Papers published in their place can also

be suppressed. Anyone issuing a prohibited periodical renders himself liable to imprisonment for three months. The printer is also liable to the same penalty, and, in addition, can be deprived of his concession. A further order provides for the tightening up of the rules and regulations relating to the work and discipline of all State and public employees. Public employees can be dismissed without compensation and with loss of pension rights for participating in so-called actions hostile to the State. The same measures can come into force when members of the family of State employees participate in such actions.

The social democratic Ministers in the government are taking an active part in working out these fascist measures. Whilst, however, the Czech social democratic press openly admits and comments on these exceptional laws, the German social democratic press systematically maintains silence regarding the measures being prepared against the workers with their active help. Thus, under the cloak of "fight against fascism," the revolutionary labour movement, the proletarian organisations, and in the first place the Communist Party and the whole of its press, are to be completely suppressed.

The Resignation of Arpinati from the Italian Government

The resignation of Mussolini's Secretary of State for the Interior, *Arpinati*, a prominent fascist, has been passed over almost without notice by the international press. This resignation, however, is an event which must not be overlooked. The fascists declared this resignation to be due to personal motives, but we maintain that it is the result of the struggle of the various tendencies within fascism.

Arpinati has great personal influence in the *Bologna* organisation and in all fascist organisations of the province of *Emilia*. In the past he was designated as one of those fascists who (at least indirectly) were responsible for the attempt upon the life of Mussolini in Bologna in the year 1926. The fascist *Zamboni*, who made the attempt upon the life of Mussolini and who was lynched by the fascist militia on the spot, was actually the son of a personal friend of *Arpinati*. It was only due to the great influence which the latter possessed among the fascists that he was not involved in the trial.

As is known, the situation of Italian fascism is not very favourable at present. The economic crisis is raging. Mass movements follow each other, even if they are not yet connected with each other and are not very well organised. Fascism realises the danger arising from the fact that these movements could be co-ordinated and become a broad anti-fascist mass movement led by the Communist Party.

There exists no agreement within the fascist camp as to how this danger is to be met. One fascist wing is of the opinion that the movement of the masses must be choked in blood. Another fascist wing is opposed to a bloody offensive against the working class. This tendency is dominant in a number of towns in which the fascist organisations have—by means of compulsion—absorbed a large number of workers.

In this situation *Arpinati* was the most prominent representative of that tendency which advocates a compromise with the social democracy, at least with a part of their leaders in emigration, as the best means of checking the Communist advance. *Arpinati* was also the most suitable man for conducting the negotiations with the social democrats in emigration. He is a personal friend of *Pietro Nenni*, the secretary of the S.P. of Italy and member of the Executive of the Second International. *Arpinati* and *Pietro Nenni* have in the past conducted a joint struggle against the socialists and the Labour movement.

Quite recently *Silvio Barro*, who belongs to that section of the S.P. of Italy which advocates a compromise with fascism according to the pattern of *D'Aragona* or *Leipart*, addressed a letter to the "*Le Temps*" in which he reminded the readers of how the fascists began their struggle in the year 1919 with armed attacks upon the labour organisations. One of the first fascist acts of terror against the labour movement was the setting fire to the premises of the "*Avanti*" by a detachment of bandits under the leadership of *Ferruccio Vecchi*. This *Ferruccio Vecchi* was a personal and political friend both of *Arpinati* and *Pietro Nenni*, and the latter, who at that time published a fascist paper in Bologna, glorified this setting fire to the "*Avanti*" as the commencement

of an offensive which must be continued right up to the complete annihilation of the socialist labour movement.

The relations between *Arpinati* and *Nenni* were never interrupted, and we have every reason to believe they still exist to-day. *Arpinati* speculated on this friendship when he thought he would succeed in his "pacifist" manoeuvre with the Italian social democracy. This manoeuvre was commenced in November last, when a partial amnesty for political prisoners was granted. Since then, however, many anti-fascists, in particular many Communists, have been arrested, but only a few cases have been dealt with by the Exceptional Courts. *Arpinati* was of the opinion that the Exceptional Courts should be abolished in order to come to some agreement with the socialist leaders in emigration, and that repressive measures should only be directed against the Communists and the revolutionary workers, whilst the social-democratic organisations should be allowed a certain freedom. This plan of the "normalisation" of the situation, however, encountered the fiercest resistance of *Starace*, the secretary of the fascist party, who expressed the fear that the fascist trade unions would be overwhelmed by the social-democratic masses of workers. *Mussolini* vacillated for a long time and then finally dropped *Arpinati*, but this does not mean that *Mussolini* has abandoned the policy of arriving at a compromise with the socialists. It only means that he was compelled to make a concession to the opponents of this policy in the fascist camp.

The most interesting fact is that the letter of the socialist *Barro* was published in "*Le Temps*" immediately after *Arpinati's* resignation, and that *Barro* only defines the conditions under which his social-democratic friends would be prepared to come to a compromise with *Mussolini*.

Mussolini's vacillating policy only reflects the increasing pressure which the masses of workers are exerting upon fascism. This pressure, enhanced by the united front proposals of the Communist Party of Italy, determines the policy of Italian fascism.

The Struggle Against the Prohibition of the C.P. of Austria

By *Keller* (Vienna).

At the moment the Dollfuss government of Austria is hard pressed by a heavy offensive of the Nazis. Its hands are bound. To launch a shattering blow against the Nazis, which would not be difficult, would, however, damage its own basis, because, despite all the differences of opinion, the Austrian Nazis are a part of the social basis of the Austrian fascist government. The Nazis are perfectly aware of this fact, as proved by the negotiations they conducted with Dollfuss two or three weeks ago, with a view to entering the Cabinet. They broke off the negotiations because Dollfuss was not prepared to give them more than two seats in his Cabinet, whereas they demanded four.

The main reason why the Christian Social Party has not exchanged its *Landbund* and *Heimwehr* allies for the Nazis is that this would create a very bad impression in Paris, coming immediately prior to the granting of the Lausanne loan. However, Dollfuss is not prepared to fold his arms and watch the alignment of forces in the fascist camp rapidly changing to the advantage of the Nazis. He is, therefore, exploiting their own agitation in order to accelerate the development of fascism. This explains the rapid succession of far-reaching fascist emergency decrees during the past few days, including also the prohibition of the Communist Party. This latter action has, however, its special reasons.

Dollfuss has taken advantage of his conflict with the Nazis to utilise the social democrats to a greater extent. This does not mean that Dollfuss has taken a step towards the social democrats, but that they have advanced to meet him. This is happening under the old slogan of "the lesser evil," as shown by the enthusiasm with which the social democratic "*Abend*" welcomes the appointment of the Army Generals as "Security Commissars" of the individual provinces, and by the shameless propaganda on behalf of Dollfuss conducted in the social-democratic press, which announces every day that the final destruction of the Nazis by the government is about to take place.

However, this policy of the social democracy spells danger from another side, from the Communist Party. With the prohibition of the Communist Party, the government aims at pre-

venting the C.P. extending its influence over the social democratic workers. This was the main reason for the prohibition. The prohibition in practice also reveals its anti-soviet character. The simplest report of notes concerning the Soviet Union, even maps of the Soviet Union, are immediately confiscated by the police. The police have raided bookshops stocking working-class literature along the Goering-Goebbels line, and have confiscated not only all propaganda and theoretical literature dealing with Communism (including all the works of Lenin), but also all novels and other literature dealing with life in the Soviet Union.

The struggle immediately taken up by the Communist Party against the prohibition was directed, above all, to the **formation of a united front with the social democratic workers.** Immediately after the prohibition became known a conference of the political leaders of the party cells took place in Vienna, and over 100 comrades were present. Reports at this conference showed that practically all the cells had reacted spontaneously to the prohibition by issuing illegal leaflets in the factories and chalking slogans up on the walls and pavements. Further, in the second and tenth districts of Vienna street demonstrations under red flags took place and Communist speakers addressed the workers before the police could arrive in numbers sufficiently strong to break them up. The response met with by these protest actions amongst the social democratic workers was so strong that the central organ of the Social Democratic Party, the "**Arbeiter-Zeitung**," was compelled to write:

"The social democracy stands in a united front with the Communist workers in protest against the dissolution of the Communist Party."

The Vienna district committee of the Communist Party took this statement as its text and sent an open letter to the social-democratic conference in Vienna proposing that protest resolutions should be adopted in the factories and in the trade unions demanding the withdrawal of the prohibition and the withdrawal of all other emergency decrees against the working class, and that specially elected deputations should present these resolutions to Dollfuss. This was suggested as the beginning of a united protest action on the part of the whole working class leading up to mass demonstrations and political mass strikes, and at the same time a demonstration of sympathy and support for the German working class in its struggle against fascism.

However, the delegation which wished to present this open letter to the conference was not even permitted to enter, and the open letter was not read at the conference. However, in order to appease the social democratic workers, a resolution protesting against the prohibition of the Communist Party was permitted to go forward, and it was unanimously adopted.

The situation amongst the rank and file social democratic workers is very different. Numerous united front discussions have taken place in the districts between Communist and social-democratic workers, and a real united front from below is forming as a strong guarantee that the Dollfuss government will not achieve its aim with the prohibition. The "lesser evil" policy of the social democracy will meet with strong opposition; the influence of the Communist Party over the social democratic workers will increase, and the connections between the Communist Party and the masses will not be destroyed—on the contrary, they will grow stronger and more close than ever.

An Important Victory of the Swiss Working Class in the Fight Against Wage Cuts

On May 27 and 28, the population of Switzerland, in a Referendum, pronounced by 503,121 votes against 408,495 against the government's bill to reduce the wages of State employees by 7.5 per cent.

This is a victory for the solidarity and the united front of the working class, the effects of which will be of great importance.

For nearly two years the capitalists have been conducting a wage-slashing offensive in all spheres of economic life. The workers in private industry, especially in the export industries—the metal, watch and clock, shoe, textile, and embroidery industries—had to accept various wage cuts without developing resistance on a broad front.

Not content with the wage cuts already effected, the employers, supported by the government, wish to accelerate the tempo of their offensive and to reduce wages to the pre-war level. In this general offensive against the standard of living of the

working class, the wages of the State employees, which are fixed by law, constituted a firm position which the bourgeoisie had first to storm before it could think of developing its attack further.

On the other hand, the state of the government finances, plundered by the shaly banks, the paralysed industries and the big peasants, rendered it necessary to resort to economy measures, which the bourgeoisie want to carry out at the cost of the State employees.

For this purpose the government last autumn proposed a 10 per cent. wage reduction for the civil servants. This first government bill was revised by Parliament, which reduced the proposed wage cut to 7.5 per cent.

As soon as this was known, the Communist Party and the Red Trade Union Opposition announced that they would organise a referendum in order to compel the government to submit the proposed measures to the vote of the people. In December the proposed law was passed by both Chambers, the Communist amendments being rejected. Thereupon the C.C. and the R.T.U.O. immediately initiated a referendum, and within one month collected over 36,000 signatures (the minimum number required by the Constitution is 30,000).

The energetic action of the C.P. and the R.T.U.O. compelled the reformist leaders on their part to initiate a referendum. The total number of signatures collected by them surpassed 325,000, a record number never reached before in a referendum in Switzerland.

In face of this first success the front of the bourgeois parties crumpled up. In several cantons the bourgeois parties, for instance the Liberal Party, the christian socialist party, etc.—a great number of whose supporters are to be found among the civil servants and even among the working class—declared themselves against the wage reduction, or left it to their followers to vote as they thought fit.

The class solidarity and united front of the working masses succeeded in frustrating the manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie, who wished to incite the unemployed and the workers in private industry against the civil servants. The bourgeoisie did its utmost to exert pressure on the petty-bourgeoisie and the working class. It held up the bogey of inflation, and threatened fresh taxes in the event of wages not being reduced.

The result of the referendum proved that the united front of the working class has grown stronger in the course of the campaign, and that a considerable part of the poor peasants joined forces with the workers and employees in order to fight along with them against the capitalist offensive.

This fact is all the more significant as the fascist movement of the various national "fronts" had displayed great activity in the preceding weeks, and it looked as if they had drawn considerable sections of the petty-bourgeoisie along with them. Nevertheless, the fascist movement, for demagogic reasons, did not venture openly to support the government.

We shall not have to wait long before we see the effects of the vote of May 27 and 28. The bourgeois press had written that this vote would be the touchstone of democracy. Finance capital has to record that the democratic system no longer allows it to impose its will with the aid of its vast organs of publicity and propaganda. The working people are no longer voting against their own interests. The referendum against the wage reduction will therefore accelerate the fascisation of the Swiss bourgeoisie and of the State apparatus. The June session of Parliament will probably pass a law, which was hastily prepared by the government after the Geneva events, for ruthlessly suppressing the revolutionary movement. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie will endeavour to violate the will of the people and to cast the burden of the crisis upon the working population by means of new taxes or even inflation.

An important result of the referendum of 27th and 28th of May is, that the working class has realised what strength it possesses when it opposes the enemy in a united and determined front, and that in this instance it has succeeded in drawing along with it a considerable part of the petty-bourgeoisie and the small peasants.

This solidarity of all working people must be strengthened and given fresh expression at the referendum against the repressive laws, against new taxes, against the reduction of unemployment benefit, for aid for the small peasants who are being crushed by the banks, against the menace of fascism and approaching war.

Germany

Hitler's Policy on the Danube and the Vistula

Foreign political antagonisms on the Danube have reached such a degree of acuteness that the outbreak of an open conflict immediately threatens, whilst at the same time the imperialist antagonisms on the Vistula have become so aggravated that here, too, the danger of warlike complications is very threatening. And this scarcely two weeks after Hitler's "big peace speech" in the Reichstag!

It is scarcely two weeks ago that, in connection with the "disarmament" question, an open conflict threatened between the Franco-British bloc and fascist Germany, and there was open talk in Paris and London about a "preventive war," "sanctions," and a new invasion of the Rhine district. Hitler attempted to check this serious danger by making concessions in his Reichstag speech, such as no German government before him would have dared to do, if it did not wish to risk having its Ministers shot down by Nazi gangsters, as were Rathenau and Erzberger. Hitler's representative in Geneva, Herr **Nadolny**, even went far beyond the Chancellor's declaration and made fresh concessions, which, if they had been announced by any other government, would have roused the whole of "national" Germany to fury. All this in order to avoid the threatening danger of conflict over this one question. The "Disarmament" Conference has, nevertheless, not made any further progress, and Germany's demand for "equality" has less prospect of fulfilment than ever. But, whilst this fire continues to smoulder slowly below the surface, the fires in Vienna and Danzig have flared up quite openly.

The Hitler government, which has always energetically asserted that it cannot tolerate any foreign interference in the inner affairs of Germany, considers it has the right to interfere in the inner affairs of Austria, and displays the greatest indignation when the Dollfuss government threatens to employ force against its national socialist opponents.

If the visit of the German Nazi leaders to Vienna was a provocation, still more was the speeches of these gentlemen, who, on Austrian soil, threatened to reply to the measures of the Dollfuss government against the Nazi movement by prohibiting German tourists from visiting Austria. This threat has now been carried out. The fee of 1,000 marks, which the German government has imposed on visas to Austria, means in fact the ruin of the Austrian tourist industry and a serious threat to the whole of Austrian economy. These brutal measures were "sweetened" by the cynical reference to the "particularly intimate and friendly relations" between Austria and Germany. The national socialist adventurers who are at present at the head of the German Reich seem to be of the opinion that by such brutal methods they can win friends for themselves and the "Anschluss," and become highly indignant when the Dollfuss party, together with the Heimwehr, now develop an anti-German, chauvinistic incitement.

But Hitler-Germany could, in the last resort, afford such a "friendship" if the Austrian government were just as isolated as is the Hitler government. Behind Dollfuss, however, there stands (so far as the Anschluss question is concerned) Mussolini and Italian fascism, and, in addition, France and its vassals. There is one point on which the rivals in Rome and Paris forget their enormous imperialist differences: neither of them wants any union of Austria with Germany, and therefore they do not want a Nazi government in Vienna, whose policy would be directed towards realising this union. Thus the Italian troops are standing ready at the Brenner pass, and the Czech and Yugoslavian troops on the North and South frontiers of Austria, in order, if necessary, to maintain "law and order" by armed invasion.

At Easter Hitler sent Göring, and with him Vice-Chancellor Papan, to Rome in order to seek a compromise with Mussolini. But for Mussolini there is no compromise on this question; he is pursuing his own plan on the Danube, and very energetically for-

bids any disturbance of his plans by his brown apes in Germany. He let the representatives of Hitler see the fascist troops who are ready to advance from the Brenner pass to Innsbruck in two hours; he showed them the Italian Air fleet, which, starting from the Brenner, could be over Munich in two hours. And then he invited the Federal Chancellor Dollfuss to Rome and assured him of his strong support! Just as unsuccessful as this attempt of the Hitler government was Göring's second visit to Rome in May; and the third visit to Rome on behalf of Hitler, the visit of Göbbels on May 27, will probably have no better result.

Whither is this conflict with Austria driving? It is a long way from the plan of a "customs union" to the present economic war; the Hitler government has travelled this way at record speed. From the present economic war to the mobilisation of Italy, the way appears very much shorter. If things go on as they are, Hitler will not require four months to arrive at this point! What remains for him but the alternative, to capitulate again or to plunge into an insane adventure?

The strained situation on the Danube has called forth the greatest concern among leading circles of the German bourgeoisie. The chief editor of the "**Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung**," Fritz Klein, has given voice to this uneasiness. His leading article, "Fratricidal Struggle," published on May 29, in which he gives a very impressive description of the situation, which is so charged with danger, concluded with the appeal:

"If official means fail, then let a man of the people who enjoys the confidence of both governments take in hand the negotiations. Agreement is urgently necessary. If Switzerland, and the Netherlands, were lost to Germany, we must to-day save the South-East Mark. Who will find the way out? It is already the twelfth hour."

This was an undisguised appeal to Hindenburg against Hitler and his foreign policy. Hitler has replied to this article by suppressing the "**Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung**" for three months! By this he has made his case still worse in the eyes of the world public, and at the same time further aggravated the antagonisms within the German bourgeoisie. But he has not facilitated, but only rendered more difficult, the settlement of the Austrian conflict.

Whilst the situation in the South-East has thus become exceedingly threatening, there is also a fresh aggravation of antagonisms in **Danzig**. The Nazis, having, by means of terror against the working class, and especially against the Communist Party, obtained a majority, are now claiming the right to take over the government. Although they will repeat all the declarations of submission to the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations they have made in the last few weeks, this will not prevent a further aggravation of the situation. The chauvinism they have produced is still driving to fresh conflicts with the chauvinism which the Polish bourgeoisie has produced. And Polish imperialism is only waiting for the outbreak of the first conflicts in order to march its troops into Danzig. What will Hitler do then? He will again be faced with the alternative: capitulation or an insane war adventure!

In spite of all the peaceful phrases, Hitler's policy remains a war policy! This feeling weighs like a nightmare on the working masses of Germany. But there is only one force in Germany which is fighting against this crime of war. This force is the Communist Party with the cadres of the revolutionary working class, which is holding aloft the banner of the anti-fascist fight, in spite of the murder-terror of fascism. There is only one possibility of saving the working people of Germany from the horrors of a new imperialist war, into which it is being driven by Hitler, namely, the setting up of the fighting united front of the working class, intensification of the class struggle, the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship government, and the establishment of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' Republic in Germany.

Fascism in the Rural Areas

By F. Brand (Berlin)

Hitler has declared often enough that he regards his peasant supporters as the backbone of his movement, that without the preliminary winning of the rural areas there could have been no Nazi victory in the towns, and that "the salvation of the German peasant" is the basis and keystone of his whole economic policy; the lesser Nazi leaders have repeated these things so often that it is hardly necessary to stress particularly the special importance of the peasant masses for Hitler-Fascism.

In the rural districts even now the terrific campaign of incitement organised by the Nazis and the campaign of terror against the class-conscious workers would appear to be still stronger in their after effects than in the towns. In **East Prussia**, for instance, the Nazis have succeeded in drawing the masses of the rural population into a whirlpool campaign of reckless incitement. And this campaign is constantly fed as a result of the intensification of the foreign political situation, particularly with regard to Danzig, the Polish corridor and Upper Silesia, and as constantly whipped up by the martial fanfares of the Nazis on the one hand and the war threats of Polish imperialism on the other. The murderous crusade of the Nazis against Communism has been more terrible there than anywhere else and most of the strongholds of the Communist Party of Germany in these rural areas have been, for the moment at least, destroyed. At the same time the chauvinist and anti-Communist campaign of incitement has been utilised particularly in these areas to prevent the peasants thinking clearly and soberly about the economic questions which concern them most nearly. The situation is similar in the other eastern frontier districts, in Silesia, the **Grenzmark** (Frankfort on Oder) and Pomerania.

In **Saxony** also the Nazis have succeeded in loosing a cunning and reckless campaign of incitement against the Communists. They utilised the excitement of the Reichstag fire to spread the rumour that the Communists were planning to set fire to peasant farm buildings, and they added colour to this rumour by organising an entirely unnecessary watch on the farm buildings by uniformed members of the Nazi storm detachments with the result that great numbers of peasants actually gave credence to such criminal rumours. The Nazis also published forged "Murder Lists" with the names of all the prominent peasants the Communists were supposed to have been planning to murder. They exploited the memories of the Max Hoelz period in Vogtland in order to spread terror and the fear of alleged Communist putsch plans. And in fact the Nazis succeeded in creating such an atmosphere of incitement amongst the peasants of Saxony that a worker venturing near a peasant farm risked being shot down like a mad dog. And this atmosphere still persists to-day. A comrade who has just made a tour of this district returns and declares that in answer to the question, what then had Hitler actually done for the peasants, he received the answer: At least he has destroyed the Communist danger.

The situation in Saxony is similar to the situation in the other rural areas, where the Nazis have operated with the same methods of demagoguery and forgery. However, there are a great many rural districts in Central, Western and Southern Germany where, thanks to the smallness and poverty of the peasant farms, the fascist terror has not succeeded in developing along quite such lines and its chauvinist incitement has met with less satisfactory results. In these areas the preliminary excitement quickly died down and a steadily growing feeling of disappointment is taking its place. It is in these districts that one can already see the tendency which will gradually spread amongst the peasant masses all over the country.

Hitler has now been in office for four months, but what he has actually done for the peasant masses to whom he promised "salvation" is not very much. His new law regulating the right of succession to peasant farm applies only to those areas in which a similar arrangement was already traditional and customary, i.e., it does not apply to Western and Southern Germany. The situation is now that by law (instead of as previously by tradition and custom) the elder or eldest son has the right to the paternal farm and that the other children are deprived of the right (previously customary) of receiving compensation out of the property where the economic condition of the latter (as is the case with almost all German farms at the moment) does not permit the payment of such compensation. The practical result of this arrangement is that the

younger peasant sons and daughters are robbed of any inheritance rights and must either wander into the towns to swell the ranks of the urban proletariat or stay on as the labourers and servants of their more fortunate brother. The aim of German fascism to dig itself in in the rural areas and form a solid backbone of middle and rich peasants can thus only be achieved by at the same time accelerating the process of impoverishment and pauperisation of broad rural masses. The younger sons and the daughters are traditionally unwilling to let themselves be robbed of their rights and so in the future in Germany a state of affairs will develop such as already exists in certain areas of South Eastern Europe: family feuds and killings on a mass scale, the poisoning of the first-born and so on.

However, this new land inheritance law has still other consequences. It means no less than the creation of hundreds of thousands of new small peasant entailments and provides that such entailed peasant holdings cannot be security for debts. On the one hand this means further that the mortgages and other financial encumbrances must be liquidated. This can be done if the State is prepared to write them off with a few hundred million Marks, or if it does not dare to do this out of consideration for the powerful credit institutions involved, then the State must itself take over the burden of debt involved instead of the peasants. This is the reason why even the arch-reactionary Hugenberg voted against the new law. On the other hand, the new law prevented the peasant from mortgaging his property in any way or raising credit on it as a security. But such a peasant can either not obtain a personal credit at all or only under unconscionably oppressive terms of interest and repayment, so that in practice the new law means that the peasant must get on as best he can without credits, a thing which in the present state of German agriculture is quite impossible.

This new law, of which the Nazis are inordinately proud, is thus full of irreconcilable contradictions and unpleasant consequences, although these consequences will make themselves felt only when the law comes to be put into practice.

The second measure taken by Hitler to assist the peasants is the forcing up of the prices for agricultural produce, particularly the price of milk, and, in consequence, the price of butter and other fats. This is to work the "salvation" of the German peasant. It is a calculation in simple arithmetic, but a closer look at it shows that it, too, is a swindle. Let us take the case of a peasant with two cows, although hundreds of thousands have only one cow, or even none at all. When this man makes his annual accounts he will find that, as a result of the rise in the price of milk by, for him, 2 Pfennig per liter, he has made a gain of about 48 Marks. However, it is an admitted fact that, in order to make money out of his butter, such a peasant is himself compelled to use margarine. As a result of the price policy of the Hitler government, however, the price of margarine has risen by 40 Pfennig a pound. Taking such an average peasant household as consisting of five persons, he will need about five pounds of margarine a week, and will have to pay therefore 2 Marks a week more for his margarine, or 104 Marks a year. As against a gain of 48 Marks at the end of the year he will have to set a loss of 104 Marks. The balance will hardly please him.

Let us take, however, the case of a rich peasant with, say, 100 cows. When not used for working purposes, these cows will give an average of at least 3,300 liters a year (the record yield of prize cows is immeasurably higher). With the 2 Pfennig per liter price increase this means 6,600 Marks a year. The amount of margarine used by such a man would be negligible. He will thus finish the year with a net gain of about 6,000 Marks as a result of Hitler's price policy.

These two examples show clearly in whose interests the price policy of the Hitler government lies. It is in the interests of the rich agrarians, and damages the interests of the poor peasants. And we have not even touched upon other unfavourable consequences for the poor peasant—for instance, that, as a result of the increase in the price of milk and milk produce, the purchasing power of the urban masses decreases; that, as a further result, the demand for meat sinks, and, as a consequence, the meat price also.

The work done for the "salvation" of the German peasant by the Nazis up to the present is thus a very poor effort. The other vital demands of the peasants which Hitler has promised to fulfil have not been fulfilled, and they will not be fulfilled. For instance, the demand for the writing off of all unpaid taxes and

the reduction in the burden of taxation. On the contrary, the Nazi government is compelled to drive in its taxes as ruthlessly as all preceding governments, and, just as they did, it sends in the bailiffs where overdue taxes are not paid. This fact has already caused much disappointment and bad blood amongst the peasants. Further, nothing has been done to lower the rates of interest, or to use the grandiloquent Nazi phrase, "to break the chains of interest slavery." The leader of the Nazi peasantry, Darré, demagogically demanded that all rates of interest should be lowered by government order to 2 per cent., whereupon the Reich's Minister of Agriculture, the German Nationalist leader, Hugenberg, informed him soberly that an attempt to lower them, even to 4 per cent., would spell serious danger to the whole economic system. The result was a tremendous campaign against Hugenberg as "a saboteur of interest lowering." In the meantime, however, the Hitler Cabinet has shelved even the concession Hugenberg was prepared to risk because the big banks and credit institutions declare that an attempt to lower interest rates to 4 per cent. would shatter the whole credit system. The peasants can thus bury what hopes they cherished that rates of interest would be lowered by Hitler.

For the moment the peasants have adopted a waiting attitude. A good idea of their feelings can be gained from a confidential report in our hands concerning a peasant congress which took place in **Meiningen** about the middle of May, under the chairmanship of the Nazi peasant leader, Darré. The square chosen for the public demonstration was not more than a quarter full, and the hall in which a membership meeting of the Landbund was to have taken place, admission by ticket only, was so yawningly empty that, finally, the doors were flung open to anybody and everybody, and the general population were invited to enter. The spirit of the peasants who attended this meeting was by no means enthusiastic. Most of the peasants were prepared to wait a bit and see, but many of them were already openly sceptical. The small group of fanatical Nazis in the meeting secured the adoption of a resolution calling for the resignation of Hugenberg as Reich's Minister for Agriculture, and the appointment of Darré in his stead. The majority of the peasants remained passive and neither supported nor opposed this resolution.

Hitler fascism is already facing a serious social crisis in the towns as a result of the steady rise in prices, and it is about to meet an equally serious crisis in its strongholds, the rural areas, a crisis which will undoubtedly intensify in the coming months. Here are the most favourable points for Communist agitation to work. It is true that the fascist terror has destroyed numerous Communist strongholds in the rural areas. In many districts all those peasants known to be Communists or to harbour Communist sympathies have been arrested, maltreated, and kidnapped. Others have been intimidated, and, in order to save themselves and their families, they have gone over to the Hitler organisation. But, despite all the terror, there are still rural areas where Communist peasant groups continue to exist, where membership dues are still collected, where a regular connection exists with the district committees of the Communist Party, and where regular illegal political work is being carried on. As the spirit in the rural areas changes during the next few months it will be increasingly easier for the Communist Party to restore its broken connections, to fill up the gaps torn open by the fascist terror, and to organise a systematic and widespread revolutionary agitation in the rural areas.

Lübbe and His Fellow-Culprits

By Maria Reese

According to a report of the Conti News Agency, the investigation "in the matter of the Reichstag Fire" is about to be concluded. The Chief Public Prosecutor, Herr Vogt, has announced that the enquiry will be concluded at the beginning of June. We further learn that "the proceedings against Lübbe will not be joined with the other proceedings against the Communist leaders, but Lübbe and his fellow-culprits are to be tried immediately, as soon as the necessary preliminary investigation has been concluded.

From this semi-official report it is to be seen that the fascist murderers and incendiaries, in spite of their continued announcements of a big Communist trial, are not in a position—at least for the present—to carry out this trial. In fact, this trial is becoming increasingly inconvenient and embarrassing to them, because they rightly fear that the accused will become the accusers against the

murderous fascist dictatorship in Germany; that the documents, fabricated and forged by fascist spies and provocateurs, will not stand the test of examination even before the fascist public court. Does this mean that the great danger threatening the leader of the Communist Party, Comrade **Thälmann**, and with him Comrade **Torgler** and other leading functionaries of the C.P., is in any way reduced? There is no doubt that the fascist murder-bands wish by means of the declaration of the Chief Public Prosecutor to create such an impression in order to be able to carry out their criminal, murderous plans with less disturbance.

On the other hand, the report states that the trial of Lübbe and his fellow-culprits is to commence immediately. As to who Lübbe is, whom Hitler threatened with public execution before his guilt was proved and even before he was brought before a court, there is no doubt. But who are his fellow culprits? Hitherto the fascist incendiaries and fehme murderers have again and again declared Comrades Torgler and the Bulgarian emigrants **Dimitrov, Popoff and Tanev** to be the culprits. Judging by the first part of the report, many readers might believe that the fascists have abandoned the accusations brought forward hitherto, and that they no longer venture to connect Comrade Torgler and the arrested Bulgarian Comrades with their agent Lübbe. In reality, behind this change of plan there is hidden a fresh criminal design. Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popoff and Tanev are to be dragged before the class court not as men who have acted from political conviction, but as ordinary criminals. By condemning them as common criminals the fascist murderers hope to deal a decisive blow to the growing international relief action for the victims of bloody fascism in Germany. At the same time, they intend by this "criminal" trial to provide the basis for the planned big Communist trial. **This is what every worker must clearly recognise.**

There is not a single honest man in Germany or in the whole world who believes the fascist version of the Reichstag fire. In the sensational documentary revelations by the "Manchester Guardian," it is stated: it is not the Communists, it is not the miserably Van de Lübbe who stand before the Tribunal of history charged with incendiarism, but the German government. The fascists set fire to the Reichstag in order, at one stroke, to inaugurate the "Third Reich." Not Hitler's election victory, not his appointment as Chancellor, but the fire in the Reichstag let loose the brown terror, which has thrown tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters into the prisons and torture hells of the Storm Troops, which exposes them to the frightful tortures and persecution which to-day immediately threaten the lives of Comrades Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popoff and Tanev and other heroic anti-fascist champions.

By rights there should be in the dock, as the fellow-culprits of Van de Lübbe, in the first place the Prussian Mussolini and Horde **Göring**, and with him the whole clique of Ministers of the Nazi party, who now have well-paid jobs in the government. There should also be placed in the dock the whole of Storm Troop No. 33, which set fire to the Reichstag on the orders of Göring, and the whole system of fascism, dripping with blood, and all who are behind it and all who prepared the way for it. The international proletariat, and especially the German working class, must reply to this fresh criminal plan to condemn Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popoff and Tanev as common criminals by increasing the anti-fascist fight and the action to rescue the victims of fascist terror in Germany. Not a minute more must be lost. The danger facing the arrested leaders of the Communist Party, and with them thousands and thousands of revolutionary anti-fascists, is enormously great. It imperatively demands the inclusion of all real anti-fascists in the fighting united front against murderous fascism.

The "Rote" Fahne Appearing in All Parts of Berlin.

Berlin, May 30, 1933.

Local editions of the "Rote Fahne" are being published in increasingly larger numbers by the sub-district organisations, street nuclei, etc., of the illegal C.P. The contents of these improvised papers, incomplete and scanty in the first days of the Nazi terror, have rapidly improved and can now compare with any other well-informed daily newspaper. These hectographed papers are being sold in great numbers. Even those editions produced by street and factory cells numbering only ten to fifteen members run to 200 to 250 copies. Two editions of the "Rote Fahne" were issued last week in the sub-district of Reinickendorf East.

Hitler-Fascism and the International Bourgeoisie

The seizure of power by national socialism in Germany has tremendously increased the acuteness of the international situation. It has rendered the danger of imperialist war immediately imminent. Hitler-fascism not only threatens its immediate neighbours—Denmark, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, Austria—but through its connections with Italy also Yugoslavia and even Switzerland, where it lays claim to the German-speaking districts. The speeches delivered by **Sir Austen Chamberlain**, **Winston Churchill** and **Lord Grey** indicate that England has not forgotten her old rival. One would therefore think that national socialism, at least in the countries directly or indirectly threatened by it, would be unanimously rejected by the ruling classes of these countries. This is by no means the case, however. Quite the contrary. German nationalism has an exceptionally good press even in the "enemy country."

In the first place this press is very indulgent. German nationalism commits a whole number of crimes every day without the international bourgeois press making a great set-out about them. It was impossible to maintain silence regarding the actual instigators of the Reichstag fire. When, however, Dr. Bell, who knew most regarding the actual facts of the Reichstag fire, was murdered abroad, when it was established that the murderers were equipped in Hitler's Brown House, the press published only short reports on the matter, and after three days one heard no more about it. Then a second person possessing an inside knowledge regarding the origin of the Reichstag fire, the "clairvoyant" Hanussen, a friend of Göring and Helldorf, was murdered. And this time not abroad but in the neighbourhood of Berlin. A short police report was published, and then the matter was ended. A veil of forgetfulness was dropped over the whole affair. The instigators of the murder are still treated by the same press with the politeness which in the bourgeois world is accorded to high State dignitaries.

But sympathy with national socialism is expressed not only in the silence the "enemy" press maintains regarding Nazi crimes and atrocities, but also in what it writes. The French government paper "**Le Temps**" fiercely opposes Hitler's demands for a revision of the peace treaties. Its correspondent **d'Ormesson** has specialised in the fight against Hitler. In no other French paper was Hitler's Reichstag speech of May 17 so sharply attacked as in an article by this writer. Nevertheless this same **d'Ormesson** writes:

"We cannot interfere in the inner affairs of Germany. I go even further and say one cannot condemn nationalism **en bloc**. I fully recognise what is correct and sound in its ideas, namely, that the German people must be given a firmer peasant basis. I admire the campaign that was undertaken to purge Germany of the immoral and pornographic elements with which it was infected (one might ask whether the Nazi leaders, of all people, are best capable of carrying out this purging). **It is excellent the way in which they curb the class struggle and condemn to futility the abominable Communist demagogy.**" ("Le Temps," May 27.)

In this last sentence there is revealed the bourgeois soul in all its glory. **M. d'Ormesson**, however, goes even farther:

"I recognise, finally, that one finds in the Hitler movement certain human and idealistic elements which compel our admiration, our respect, and in fact our sympathy, when one remembers in what a material and moral crisis the German people and especially the youth are involved." (Ibid.)

It is a wonderful thing this bourgeois soul. Workers' dwellings are raided every day by Brown murder gangs, women and men are beaten to death with steel rods and robbed, Members of Parliament who have been elected by workers are "shot while attempting to escape," or hanged in prison, the country is converted into a penal settlement, books conveying enlightenment to humanity are committed to the flames, but **M. d'Ormesson** sees in this human idealistic elements, which call forth his respect and sympathy. What a pity it is that these Nazis not only hold down the German workers but also threaten the French bourgeoisie. What a pity! For then **M. d'Ormesson** is compelled to oppose them.

We find the same effusions, if in other words, in the English, Polish, Danish, and Czechoslovak—and, in fact, in the whole of the "enemy" press. They write against the Nazis so far as they

are obliged to, but they are, nevertheless, aware that between them and the Nazis are not only things that divide but things that connect them.

We must not for a moment forget this inner alliance of the international bourgeoisie with the Nazis, while at the same time keeping in mind the antagonisms which actually divide them. For this affinity can, from one day to another, give a new turn to the whole international situation; it can cause the threatening danger of imperialist war to develop into a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

If even the "enemy" press displays such a benevolent attitude towards the Nazis, what is the attitude of the bourgeois press of the so-called neutral countries? The "**Neue Züricher Zeitung**," the biggest newspaper of the democratic bourgeoisie of Switzerland, cannot do enough in its desire to serve the German national socialists. Morning, noon, and night it publishes sympathetic reports. Here and there a gentle criticism of some minor blemish. Otherwise everything is lovely! What an enjoyable time the thousands of anti-fascists have in the concentration camps! Shot while attempting to escape? What would you have? Of course, shot while attempting to escape! Economic life is flourishing, petty cares are removed, the whole country is engaged in work of construction. And so on ad nauseam!

We should be doing the editor and staff of the "**Neue Züricher Zeitung**" a grievous wrong if we maintained that their attitude is due to the fear that their paper might be prohibited in Germany, and they might lose subscribers and advertisements. No, these are small things. Their attitude is determined by something far higher, namely, by their attitude to capital. Through them there speaks the soul of capitalism.

The international bourgeoisie is more and more exposing its hideous features. For the capitalists all means are good in order to save the capitalist system, which causes the masses to perish in blood and filth. Their spokesmen find human, in fact, even "idealistic," elements in the revolvers, in the steel rods of the Nazis, and all their beastly sadistic tortures. But all this will be of no avail to the bourgeoisie. As it cannot solve the problem of the time, its fate is sealed!

A Sentimental Journey by the "Times" Correspondent Through Germany

Inhuman and Human—All Too Human.

Under the heading, "Ten Days in Germany—The New Revivalism," the London "**Times**" publishes a long article by **Enid Bagnold**, in which she gives the impressions she derived from a ten days' motor tour in Germany. We are presented with the picture of a Germany in a pro-Hitler festive mood. Everywhere there is to be seen the swastika flag. "You would not believe," the authoress writes, "that so many people could find so many uses to which to put the swastika. It sails on flags all over the towns, out of every cottage window, fluttering (price 3d.) from every bicycle." And everywhere one sees Hitler uniforms, and above all everywhere enthusiastic supporters of Hitler, who have no knowledge of the atrocities of which one hears so much abroad. **Miss Bagnold** believes all this; in fact she comes to understand why **Dr. Alfred Rosenberg** was unable to answer the questions put to him by English press representatives regarding the mishandling of the Jews.

"Ordinary people in Germany, even the Nazis, have no conception of the documentation of accusation that lies in wait for them abroad. It is not wonderful that **Rosenberg** did not know how to answer when questioned in London by the press."

That the authoress does not mention a word about the working class quarters, the workers in the factories, nor about the concentration camps and prisons, is not surprising, for all this would hardly fit in with the mood of the "new revivalism" of which her long report is full. The "**Times**" correspondent did not talk with workers, but with big exporters and with people who play a prominent role in the Nazi movement, with one exception, when she makes a little dressmaker testify for Hitler. **Miss Bagnold** writes:

"One more illustration at the frontier, just as I was getting to Holland in the train. In my second-class compartment there was a girl, possibly a little dressmaker, very simple, about 23, dowdily dressed, and going, she said, to join her brother in Canada. She had nothing to gain, there on the

frontier, leaving Germany perhaps for ever—no need for her to pretend.

"I had come in from the corridor where I had been listening to a well-educated Jew manufacturer who had been explaining to me, reasonably and tolerantly, what was false in the Nazi movement and how unreal its support. I entered my compartment, closed the door after me, and stood looking at the quiet young girl, as she gazed out on the landscape.

"Are you a Nazi?" I asked her suddenly. She turned her head and looked at me, then suddenly, half rising, her eyes glowing, tossing her short hair: 'Ich? . . . Ja!' in such a manner. It was a sort of cry of joy."

A little dressmaker travelling second-class in Germany in the day time! It is true, Miss Bagnold is cautious and says, **perhaps** a little dressmaker.

That, for the rest, is the joyful note of harmony with which she concludes her article.

We do not, however, wish to end here, but to go into a few details. It would be a pity to refrain from doing so.

Thus we learn, for instance, that Miss Bagnold met women in Germany who do not use lipsalve and who have given up smoking.

"I met a Nazi, she was a woman. 'I used to smoke,' she said. 'But not now. I have given it up. Hitler is against women smoking!'"

Let us read the article. We are given an original characterisation of national socialism:

"To the Nazis he (Hitler) is almost divine. I don't exaggerate when I say I have seen business men blink with something like tears when they speak of him. Which brings me to another point. I do not know Germany. I do not know how deeply emotional they are in calmer times. But now there is a wave of emotion running through the people which is like a religious revival. It is unexplainable in any other way. Hitler has his programme; but if you ask a true-blue Nazi what it is that makes Nazi-ism he all but cannot tell you. 'It is a feeling . . . it is an emotion'—this particular man touched his breast. He was a big importer and exporter. 'It is not a question of my English, in speaking to you. I cannot explain it even in German, to my brothers-in-law, for instance, who are Catholics. To begin with, it is the most wonderful sense of comradeship. And then again it is a reinstatement of self respect. It is to be again a great nation. Ah, I feel free!'"

It is a religious feeling, says the "Times." But it is only the soul-outpourings of a big exporter, whose business will flourish in a bigger Germany. "National socialism is a matter of feeling" repeats Miss Bagnold, for also other people with whom she speaks can only thus explain it to her. But this is characteristic of nationalism. Hegel wrote regarding such attempts at explanation:

"By referring to his feelings, his inward oracle, he thinks he has a sufficient answer to those who do not agree with him; he must declare that he has nothing more to say to those who do not share the same feelings—in other words, he treads under foot the roots of humanity. For the nature of this is to seek agreement with others, and it exists only in the community of consciousness that has been brought about. The inhuman, the brute consists in being guided only by feeling and being able to communicate only through feelings." (Hegel's Phenomenology.)

But behind the "inhuman" there is hidden much that is human, all-too human, as we have seen in the case of the big exporter who expects an increase in his profits from a victorious war at the cost of the lives and health of millions of Germans. And in the same way we find a human, all-too human, explanation not only for the tolerant attitude of the well-educated Jewish manufacturer, but also for the sentimental journey of the "Times" correspondent, when we read the following passage recording a conversation she had with a Nazi:—

"We are sick of the weak-kneed, all-sidedness of people who see everything and do nothing. Of the middle course, of feeble wisdom. Of a Brüning, for instance. There is a man too good to shoot at. An upright man. But what does he do? He played with the country until the Communists were on the very eve of taking everything in hand.

"Was it as far gone as that?"

"Much further than any one of us knew! That is why Hitler brought the issue when he did, though he knew he must carry Hugenberg with him, instead of waiting for a later

moment when he could have afforded to reign alone. He knew that for the country's sake he could not afford to wait. And he took over the power."

"Hitler? . . ." I dwelt on the name questioningly.

"He is like a prophet!"

And then comes the above-quoted characterisation of the Nazi movement as a religion.

Hitler, the saviour from Communism!—that is the heart of the matter.

The very least the leading paper of the international bourgeoisie could do for this "prophet" was to express its thanks in this manner and surround his movement, which is dripping with blood and filth, with a halo of religion.

Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany

(Conclusion.)

Here, on the contrary, the disruptive effects of the grounds which they have for rivalry with the auxiliary police Storm Troops and the Stahlhelm are at work amongst the rank and file, whose material and political position continually deteriorates under the fascist dictatorship.

In the Reichwehr, too, feelings of this kind exist, and the higher Officers' Corps, and particularly the general staff, is by no means in entire agreement with the government on all questions of internal and external policy. The position of a government, which even after an electoral victory obtained by unscrupulous methods of blackmail is still opposed by the bitter enmity of half the people and above all of the overwhelming majority of the working class, remains uncertain, so that it will not be able to retain its mastery once there is really serious resistance and mighty mass struggles are entered upon. At what tempo all the internal difficulties of the fascist system will work themselves out in its undermining and destruction, depends quite decisively on the revolutionary initiative of the working class and its advance guard, the Communist Party.

VII.

The characteristic of the international development of the class struggle remains the continuation of the revolutionary upsurge, whereby, as the XIIIth Plenum stated, temporary setbacks must be reckoned with in various countries. Precisely because we realise that the revolutionary upsurge does not proceed in a straight line and automatically, we must energetically combat the opportunist theory according to which the Hitler dictatorship will automatically bring about its own downfall. The Hitler dictatorship's capacity for manoeuvring will be the greater, the weaker is the resistance of the exploited classes.

The party will solve the central problem which the XIIIth Plenum set it, of leading the workers on to the mass political strike and the general strike, to the struggle for power, by way of sectional economic and political strikes, only if it remains conscious of the fact that these mass struggles alone provide effective means for the winning over not only of bread masses of the social-democratic and Christian workers, but also of the adherents of the Nazi movement among the working population for the red class front, provide the only means to bring to realisation the revolutionary alliance with the middle strata and the poor peasants for the fight for emancipation of the working class.

VIII.

The complete exclusion of the social-fascists from the state apparatus, and the brutal suppression even of social-democratic organisations and their press, does not in any way alter the fact that social-democracy is now, as before, the chief support of the capitalist dictatorship. Both the Reichstag elections and the factory council elections prove that the decisive elements in the proletariat are still to a large degree under the influence of the Social-Democratic Party and the social-fascist trades union bureaucracy, and not under the influence of National-Socialism.

The social-fascist leaders, true to their former role of binding the working masses to the capitalist system of economics and government, have endeavoured to the best of their powers to facilitate the incorporation of the proletarian cadres in the State system, to cripple the resistance of the proletarian masses, and to

sabotage the proletarian united front (contemptuous rejection of the united front offer, made to the Second International by the Comintern, and of the repeated proposals of the C.C. of the C.P.G. through the executive of the S.P.G. and the central committee of the Trades Union Congress of Germany, Wels' resignation from the Bureau of the Second International and journey abroad at Göring's behest, Tarnow's resignation from the Woodworker's International, solemn declarations of independence of political parties, servile readiness to create a united fascist trades union organisation, further denunciations of oppositional workshops' and trades union officials to the fascist police, etc.).

The brutal, openly-avowed social-fascists, whose most resolute representatives are Wels, Leipart, Tarnow, Grassman, Höltermann and Gellert, are carrying on a policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, welcoming as necessary fascist State control of the workers' organisations, spontaneously demanding the rapid establishment of unified trades unions, urging the affiliation of the workers' movement to the fascist military sports organisation, and voluntarily liquidating the Iron Front organisation. The "left" social-fascists, in so far as they still carry any weight internationally by means of Austro-Marxism and in Germany (Berlin, Saxony, the Ruhr, Silesia), maintain—impregnated by the ideology of penitent S.A.P. (socialist workers' party) leaders and Brandlerists who have returned home—a sham opposition against fascism, in words, but are sabotaging now as before every step towards the proletarian united front, combating the Communists, laming the workers by theories with regard to waiting and allowing the dictatorship to bring about its own end, and finding a thousand and one excuses for the shameful treachery of the party leaders and the A.D.G.B. (Trades Union Congress) leaders.

The influence of these leaders who wear a "left" mask is all the more dangerous inasmuch as they attempt to create for themselves a "martyr's" popularity as a result of the fascist persecutions. While the united front from below with the anti-fascists, social-democrats and A.D.G.B. adherents, Reichsbanner workers and lower officials of these organisations is the basis for a successful anti-fascist mass struggle far beyond the limits of the Communist adherents and electors, nevertheless in certain situations offers for combined action coming from above are indispensable in order to expose the sabotage of every anti-fascist action by the social-fascist leaders before the eyes of the broad masses of the workers, to strengthen their own initiative, and to make those workers who are ready to fight more accessible for the formation of the united front from below. The C.C., therefore, welcomes the appeal of the Comintern issued in connection with the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship in Germany, and confirms the correctness of the measures taken by the C.C. of the C.P.G. along the line of this appeal, and records that the party, with the help of the appeal of the Comintern and our offer to the social-democratic party executive to lead the masses into the struggle against the fascist dictatorship on behalf of the demands of the working class, has succeeded in shattering the demagogic cries about the so-called "pact to cease from attacks," and in influencing the social-democratic workers in the direction of making agreements with regard to pacts for anti-fascist attacks, for the united front. The entire Party is faced with the problem of drawing, to as great an extent as possible, the logical conclusions from the action of the C.I. and the offer of the C.C., and of greatly strengthening the policy of the united front from below, as well as of combating opportunist theories and Trotzkyist-Brandlerist proposals for a "block" policy, and of opposing most energetically the conception according to which the proposals and measures of the C.C., which were taken in a particular situation, in consideration of a particular situation, can be carried out in any situation. Offers from above are special exceptions in a particularly complicated situation. What remains, what is permanent, what is the basis of our mass work for the winning of the majority of the working class, is the tactic of the united front from below.

The fascist coup de main which was carried out on May 2 against the trades union organisations, shows that the fascist dictatorship in Germany wishes to bring to realisation so complete a programme of wages robbery, of destruction of the system of social legislation, of carrying out of forced labour, that it can itself have no faith in the declarations of loyalty of the social-fascist renegades, but, in order to establish the civil war against

the proletariat and in order to create rapidly the prerequisites for new imperialist wars, it wishes to place the free trades unions with all the other trades union organisations directly under the command of Hitler and the government of dictatorship. Secondly, the fascist coup de main demonstrates that the German fascists are determined to carry out their policy of the "community of the people" in still more brutal fashion than Italian fascism; that they wish to annihilate the entire workers' movement, that under the demagogic slogan of "adjustment" they wish to build up a caste state, in which the working class is to be enslaved and gagged, robbed of its independent organisations and elected leaders, and brought directly under the command of monopoly capital, of the industrialists, the bankers and the landowners.

The first prerequisite for the further development of the class struggle is the steadfastness of the sections of our Party, and the increase in their fighting powers. For this, complete political clarity with regard to the situation and the tasks down to the lowest unit is necessary, as well as the independent initiative of all leaders, an iron discipline, serious mastery of conspiratorial methods and the highest degree of courage in finding ways round illegality. The unity of the Party must be preserved more intensely than ever before on the basis of the resolutions of the Comintern and the party leadership. A consistent struggle must be waged against right opportunism, which is expressing itself at the moment in tendencies to capitulate, moods of depression, the waiting for negotiations amongst the leaders, the obliteration of differences on principle with the S.P.G. and in the opinion that "it would be better to go into illegality with an open defeat than without a serious struggle," but also against "left sectarianism," which is expressed chiefly in the denial of the work within the trades unions and of the ideological struggle for the toiling adherents of fascism, as well as in giving up the attempt to break through illegality.

The strictest measures are necessary against the rumours invented by the fascists and the police to disrupt the Party, the discrediting of the Party leader Thaelmann and other leading officials of the Party, rumours with regard to the alleged flight of the leaders, etc., which are hawked around also by sections of the former Neumann group, and which thereby prove what a role they play as channels for the smuggling in of rumours invented by the class enemy in order to disrupt the Party.

IX.

As the analysis of the XIIIth Plenum has been completely confirmed by recent events, so there also remain in their entirety the tasks which the XIIth Plenum set us: by means of the development of partial struggles to lead the workers on to the political mass strike, to the general strike, to the struggle for power, for the workers' and peasants' republic, for socialism. For this purpose the partial economic demands for all strata of the working population, which form the key to a broad mobilisation of the masses (resistance to wages cuts, demands for rise in wages corresponding to rise in prices, defence against mass dismissals, increase in unemployment benefit and annuities, abolition of the taxes burdening the masses, the prevention of evictions and distraints, abolition of the rents and debts of the working peasants, etc.), must be linked up with the political partial demands of the anti-fascist struggle (release of our leader Ernst Thaelmann and all political prisoners, freedom to carry on propaganda, freedom of organisation, of assembly for the workers, the right to strike, freedom of coalition, disarming of the fascists, return of the property stolen from the workers, etc.).

It is precisely under the conditions of the fascist dictatorship that the entire Party must become familiar with the theory and practice of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and turn to account the experiences of the Italian and Polish brother-sections. The illegal press and literature is a mighty factor which not only has the greatest political importance, but also an organising, mobilising importance. For the carrying out of our tasks, therefore, the broadest development of the initiative from below for the issue of factory, unemployed workers', and house newspapers, the securing of a broad circulation of the central organ and the agitational and propaganda literature is an absolute necessity. It is precisely the quickened tempo of the development of the economic and political crisis, the fact that not only the working class and the poor peasants, but all strata of the working popula-

tion immediately meet with the bitterest resistance of the capitalist state power in their struggle for the most trivial of their demands and the fact that in the near future their disappointment with regard to the "Third Empire," which instead of improving their position, plunges them into still greater misery, is bound to gain more and more ground amongst the broad masses of Hitler's adherents in the working population, that lays a duty on the Party to propagate more thoroughly and more clearly the revolutionary way out of the collapse of the capitalist dictatorship and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship as the only possible solution for the working class and the entire working population. The living example of the Soviet Union and its socialist construction must be used in this present moment in our propaganda as an object lesson regarding Socialism and the revolutionary way out amongst all strata of the working population.

In illegality, too, all Communists must energetically carry on the defence of the Soviet Union against lies and calumniations, and against anti-bolshevik atrocity campaigns, and must be conscious of the fact that it is precisely the contradiction between the bankruptcy of all Hitler's fascist "plans to create work" and the gigantic socialist construction, which envisages for the coming year of the second Five-Year Plan fresh milliards of products in industry and agriculture as well as for transport and cultural purposes, will lead to a new mighty intensification of the chauvinist war campaign against the Soviet Union. The offensive of proletarian internationalism against the war danger, chauvinism and the Versailles system, introduced by the E.C.C.I. of the Comintern and in Germany particularly by Comrade Thaelmann, must reach its highest point in the defence of the Soviet Union and the popularisation of its successes in construction as well as of its consistent policy of peace.

For the organisation of partial struggles for such demands as present themselves as a result of the situation or the attacks of the bourgeoisie, corresponding forms of united front organs must be developed (functionaries, committees for wages agreements, factory delegations, committees of action, factory delegate conferences, mass self-defence squads, unemployed committees, peasants' committees, pensioners' committees, middle-class committees, etc.). In this every kind of schematism must be avoided. Such organs can, while all the rules of conspiracy are observed, be best utilised for the breaking through of illegality. This organising of the struggle and breaking through of illegality demands systematic Communist fractional work in all organisations where the masses of the workers are organised. Every Communist and revolutionary worker must belong for this purpose to a trades union organisation, and besides this carry on revolutionary work in another mass organisation (sport, free-thinkers, etc.).

While we concentrate all our forces on the organisation of political mass strikes (against victimisation of functionaries, against the entry of the police and the Storm Troops into the factories, against compulsory incorporation in the N.S.B.O., against the removal of the shop stewards, etc.) we should not neglect political activities at lower levels (protest resolutions, protest delegations, for example of the wives and children of the arrested, demonstrations, etc.). All activities for the warding off of the fascist terror are to be encouraged and supported. Such slogans as lead the workers to higher forms of struggle acquire particular importance: disarming of the fascists, confiscation of supplies and their distribution amongst the unemployed, the quartering of the homeless in the houses of the rich, tax strikes, refusals to pay interest and farm rents, as well as resistance on the part of the peasants to restraints and forced sales, etc.).

The representation of the daily interests of all strata of the working population, particularly also of the office employees, the young workers, the peasants and the middle class, is a decisive prerequisite for the successful ideological struggle for the working supporters of fascism. Without the detachment of broad masses from their adherence to national-socialism, without the breaking down of the preponderant influence of finance capital on the petty-bourgeois masses, which comes to expression in the national-socialist movement, a successful revolutionary struggle is impossible. The enlightenment of the Nazi supporters with regard to the fascist government's complete inability to take a single step towards the social and national emancipation of the working masses, the systematic awakening and converting of the

inevitable disappointment of the masses into revolutionary activity is one of our decisive tasks.

X.

The incorporation of the trade unions in the fascist State with the aid of the leaders of the A.D.G.B. and by means of the coup de main on May 2, compels the C.P. of Germany and the R.T.U.O., as the leading forces in the defence of the trade unions against terror and fascisation, for the trade unions as class struggle organisations, to mobilise the working masses organised in the trade unions.

The defence of the economic interests of the workers excludes any compromise with the deadly enemies of the working class, the fascists.

It is necessary to set up a broad trade union opposition movement against the going over of Leipart, Tarnow and Co. into the camp of fascism, against the endorsement by the National Committee of the A.D.G.B. of the Hitler programme and the proposals of the Employers' Federation. The policy of the A.D.G.B. and its programmatical declaration of April 1, show how the economic-democratic policy of the A.D.G.B. has led to support of Hitler-fascism and its big capitalist economic policy. The "promotion of the consciousness of status," the glorification of the social-imperialist policy during the war and the social fascist policy in the capitalist crisis, the support given to the fascist labour service scheme and the national war-incitement, as well as the advocating of united trade unions, i.e., the subordination of the trade unions to the fascist control of the N.S.B.O. and of the yellow trade unions—that is the consistent continuation and surpassing of the betrayal of the social-democratic trade union bureaucracy in the years 1914, 1918 and 1923. The utter bankruptcy of the "economic democracy" of the A.D.G.B. is revealed in the conditions of an intensification of the economic crisis and of the class struggles at the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. The going over of the trade union bureaucracy into the camp of fascism is but reformist policy carried out to its logical conclusion. It is the tremendous task of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition and of the red trade unions, as the leading force for representing the economic interests of the workers, to lead the rank and file of the trade union members into the fight against the will of the social-fascist leaders and against the orders of the fascist State Power. The indignation of the workers on account of the shameful treachery or the social-fascist bureaucracy must be made use of by the R.T.U.O. in order to mobilise the whole power of the trade unions for the defence of the right of combination, against the destruction of the collective agreements, for the free election of factory councils and the inviolability of the functions of the factory councils, for the fight against the fascist trade union commissaries and factory councils not elected by the workers, for the exposure of their activity with all the means at the disposal of the workers. To this end we are fighting for all elective functions in the trade unions, for proletarian democracy, for the democratic rights of the members, for the readmission of expelled revolutionary workers.

It is necessary to mobilise the power of the trade unions against the capitalist offensive, against rationalisation, wage cuts, shortening of holidays, dismissals, victimisation of factory councils and workers' functionaries. In the factories, in particular where fascist factory councils have been set up, departmental functionaries should be elected, wage and collective agreement commissions set up or committees of workers and employees elected to represent the workers' interests and organise the daily struggles in the factories. Factory fighting funds and defence funds should be created for the better preparation and conduct of the struggles.

All tendencies of oppositional workers to withdraw from the trade unions or cease paying membership dues are to be opposed by systematic enlightenment work under the leadership of the Communist fractions, because such a flight from the fascists and the social-fascists would mean the isolation of the advance-guard from the decisive sections of the proletariat and would facilitate the demagogic work of the fascists. Also tendencies to liquidate the R.T.U.O. or the red trade unions must be determinedly combated in the interests of our strengthening inner-trade union work. The R.T.U.O. must become a really broad opposition movement of all tendencies in the trade unions and gather the rank

and file of the trade union members under the banner of the proletarian mass struggle and lead them into the fight. Also in the N.S.B.O., against which an ideological mass offensive must be initiated, oppositional groups must be set up under our leadership.

The role and the tasks of the R.T.U.O., as the only revolutionary trade union mass struggle organisation, have tremendously grown as a result of the fascist coup de main, against the A.D.G.B. and the reformist employees' federation and the submission of all other trade unions to Hitler's direct command, as well as a result of the setting up of a general State fascist compulsory trade union of all workers and employees. The masses of members who have joined under compulsion must under no circumstances be left over to the fascist commissaries and the social-fascist, Christian and Hirsch-Duncker capitulators and German nationalist bureaucrats. Here the R.T.U.O. is faced with the tremendous revolutionary task of permeating the fascist compulsory trade unions, mobilising a mass opposition, organising and leading these masses in the fight and the strike.

XI.

The greatest importance for the fight against fascism attaches to the mobilising work among the unemployed, against compulsory labour service, against the cutting down of their benefit, by means of reviving the committees of action, the united front organs of all unemployed, by concrete actions at the Public Assistance Committees and Labour Exchanges. Prominence must be given to the ideological exposure of the national-socialist mass deception of the unemployed, the broadest inclusion of national-socialist unemployed in all these actions, in which connection work among the unemployed trade union members is of the greatest importance.

In the rural districts it is necessary to remind the toiling peasants, who for the greater part have voted national-socialist, not only of the promises so lavishly made by the national-socialists regarding the freeing of the land from the burden of rents and taxes, but also to organise the revolutionary fight, under the leadership of elected peasants' committees, for the demands of the toiling peasants.

The exposure of the national-socialist demagogy among the toiling middle-class sections in the cities is of particular importance. All means of agitation are to be employed by making use of the Government's measures in the sphere of customs duties and tax policy, which increase prices and reduce mass consumption, as well as the wage-cutting policy and the measures for restricting social insurance provisions. It is necessary to mobilise the small depositors against the inflation plans of the Hitler Cabinet, by organising wholesale withdrawals of bank deposits, etc.

It is necessary to conduct an offensive struggle for winning the youth, the proletarian and petty-bourgeois followers of fascism in the fight against chauvinistic incitement and militarisation, against exploitation and oppression, against the fascist infection of the youth in the schools, to support most strongly the work of the Y.C.L. in all spheres.

The whole work of the Party must take into account the extremely important role of the toiling women for the further development of the class struggle. It is a fact that in addition to the mass basis created by fascism among the young people, the women, in particular those belonging to the middle classes, are for the greater part in the camp of fascism. On the other hand, it is they who are the first to suffer from the further impoverishment of the working masses, so that the disappointment following the failure of the Hitler policy is the best starting point in order to proceed to draw these strata into the anti-fascist struggle.

The previous experience we have won in the struggles of the factory workers and the unemployed teach us the great importance of our work among the women, who in the strikes which have taken place since Hitler's seizure of power, as for instance in the Thörl works in Harburg, in the rubber factories, but also in the textile industry of the Lower Rhine, have played a prominent revolutionary role. The same applies to actions undertaken before the Public Assistance Committees, where, in particular in the Lower Rhine district, splendid struggles of the women have taken place. The reactionary policy of the fascist dictatorship in the cultural and social-political fields (anti-abortion paragraph, compulsory female labour, Nazi agitation against women's labour), but also the militarisation of the Youth renders it incumbent on

the Party to mobilise to the greatest extent the toiling masses of women for the fight against the fascist policy.

XII.

The greatest responsibility rests upon the Party, upon all its organisations and leading bodies for the development of the class struggle not only in Germany but in the whole world. Fascism in Germany is a serious threat not only to the German working class, but to the international proletariat and the Soviet Union. The German proletariat is supported in its whole fight by the active international solidarity of the workers of all countries and of the first proletarian State.

Our Party must raise the banner of proletarian internationalism higher than ever, set the victorious advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union over against rotting capitalism in its fascist barbarity, and mobilise the masses against the chauvinistic incitement of the peoples, which is an integral part of the imperialist war policy.

The crisis of the imperialist economic and social order is intensifying by leaps and bounds. In the sphere of home politics the development is heading for economic catastrophes, in the sphere of foreign politics for warlike adventures. The fundamental objective factors predicted by the XIIIth Plenum are, as a result of the measures of the Hitler government, developing into a revolutionary crisis.

It is now urgently necessary that the subjective factor, i.e., the power of the Party and thereby of the working class, be fully developed and the loss of tempo in regard to the objective possibilities of the revolutionary struggle made good. Hence it is of the greatest importance to mobilise the resistance against the fascist terror and the employers' offensive in all its forms in order to lead the masses into decisive actions against the fascist dictatorship.

The fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie cannot solve a single one of the actual problems. Only the proletarian revolution can bring the masses social emancipation, and Germany's national emancipation is possible only after the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie and its fascist rule of terror by the armed German working class.

The actual aim of the Party, in its whole mass work, in its agitation and in organising even the smallest resistance (strikes, actions), is directed towards the systematic preparation and carrying out of the social and national revolution, which is possible only by overthrowing the present capitalist-fascist rule by means of armed revolt.

Fascism cannot give bread and work to the masses, it only brings them increased misery, brutal terror, which will develop into more savage orgies as a result of the further intensification of the class struggles, and finally the mass slaughter of a fresh war. Only the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, waged according to the principles of international Marxism-Leninism, can open the way out of the crisis of capitalism, emancipate the toiling masses from social misery and national enslavement, and obtain work and bread for all toilers.

We set the workers and peasants' Republic, the country of Socialism, against "the Third Reich" of starvation and oppression. Our slogan is not back to the bankrupt bourgeois democracy, which consistently developed into the fascist dictatorship, but onwards to the proletarian dictatorship, which guarantees the broadest and freest democracy for all toilers.

If we lead the masses into the decisive struggles, shatter the fascist dictatorship by increasing mass actions, then the revolutionary crisis will soon mature, then the German proletariat will soon follow the example of the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union.

Four Death Sentences in the Altona Communists' Trial.

Berlin, June 3.

Atrocious sentences have to-day been pronounced against those Altona workers who had defended the Altona workers' quarters against the fascist murder gangs. On July 17, 1932, they had stood up against the provocations of the Nazis, who were backed by the social democratic police president, Eggerstedt.

The Communist workers, Lütgens, Tesch, Wolff and Möller, were sentenced to death. The workers, Wendt and Diehl, got 10 years each, Kuhlmann 7 years, Jacob 3 years 6 months, Lünstedten and Uhle 5 years' jail each.

International Solidarity for the Toilers of Germany

In Support of All Victims of the White Terror in Germany!

Against the Splitting of International Solidarity by the I.F.T.U.
and the Matteotti Fund!

For a United Solidarity Action of all the Toilers!

(Appeal of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid).

To the workers of all countries! To all trade unions affiliated
to the I.F.T.U.! To all syndicalist and other trade unions, to all
mass organisations of the toilers!

The world economic crisis has increased tremendously in
acuteness. The misery of the masses is growing in all capitalist
countries. Fascism and the white terror have become the chief
methods of domination of the bourgeoisie. In the year 1932 alone,
1,350,000 victims of the white terror (killed, arrested, tortured to
death, sentenced to imprisonment) were to be recorded in the
capitalist and colonial countries. In spite of this terror the
struggles of the workers and suppressed masses against fascism
are increasing.

In Germany, in the heart of Europe, fascism is holding bloody
orgies. *Sixty thousand workers, Communists, social democrats
and non-party workers, as well as intellectuals are pining in the
prisons and concentration camps, among them being the leader
of the Communist Party of Germany and of the German pro-
letariat, Thälmann. Tens of thousands have been mishandled;
many hundreds have been compelled to flee in order to save their
lives or their liberty. Torgler, the chairman of the Communist
Reichstag fraction, and three Bulgarian political emigrants,
Dimitrov—one of the most popular leaders of the trade and labour
movements of Bulgaria—Popov and Tanev, are accused of having
participated in the burning of the Reichstag, which was staged
by the national socialists in order to hand over the leaders of the
working class to the gallows.*

The war in the Far East, the provocations of Japanese imper-
ialism against the Soviet Union, the economic boycott carried
out by English imperialism against the Soviet Union, signalise
the war danger and the increased preparations for intervention
against the only country of socialist construction. This danger
has been tremendously intensified by Hitler's seizure of power in
Germany.

In this situation the united struggle of the working class and
of the toilers of all countries against the attacks of capitalism is
more necessary than ever.

The International Red Aid, right from the first days of its
existence, has worked everywhere as a non-party organisation of
the united front of all toilers, which renders moral, political and
material support to the victims of the white terror and fascism,
no matter what their political views. In the years 1924-1932 the
I.R.A., its sections and brother organisations in 70 countries
spent 35 million marks in relief work for the victims of political
persecution and their relatives.

At the present moment the I.R.A. is mobilising its 14 million
members and all toilers under the slogan of material and moral
support for the victims of the fascist terror in Germany and in
other countries. The support of these victims is the task of all
toilers, and can be successfully achieved only in a united front of
all oppressed and exploited.

The International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to
initiate the setting up of a "Fund in support of political
refugees." The Committee for the administration of the Mat-
teotti Fund calls upon all workers to hold collections for the
victims of German fascism and to hand over the proceeds to the
Second International. The decision of the I.F.T.U. and the
appeal of the Matteotti Fund are due to the pressure of the
desire of the broad masses for solidarity. But the I.F.T.U. and
the Second International are well aware that the I.R.A. is at
present carrying out a broad relief action for the victims of the
Hitler terror and is mobilising the masses, no matter to which
party or trade union they belong, for this action. The setting up
of separate relief funds therefore does not mean a strengthening
or a promotion of proletarian solidarity, but a splitting and

weakening of the proletarian forces; it means splitting the inter-
national solidarity of the toilers. The appeal of the Matteotti
Fund is intended to cloak over the full responsibility of the social-
democratic party of Germany for the development in Germany,
their betrayal of the workers who have now become the victims of
bloody terror, Wels' and consorts' aid for Hitler, the going over
of Leipart and other social-democratic and trade union leaders to
fascism.

The Second International is attempting to galvanise the
defunct Matteotti Fund and to make a party affair of the social
democracy out of the united desire to help animating the toilers
of all political tendencies.

Comrades, workers, toilers of the whole world! Do not let
your forces be split; set up a united iron fighting and solidarity
front! The I.R.A. calls upon all workers, upon the trade unions
affiliated to the I.F.T.U., upon the syndicalist, christian and
revolutionary trade union federations, on the sport, cultural and
other mass organisations of the toilers, to participate in its relief
action for the victims of the Hitler terror, to participate in all
collections and demonstrations and to carry out an *International
Relief Week from 17th to 25th June, 1933, for the victims of
German fascism.*

Everywhere, in the factories, in the mass organisations, in
the workers' quarters, in the streets of the towns and villages,
collections of money, food, clothing, etc., must be carried out.
The Executive of the I.R.A. proposes to set up *Relief Committees
on the basis of the united front of mass solidarity*, in support of
the victims of fascist reaction and for the carrying out of Inter-
national Relief Week.

The Executive Committee of the I.R.A. further proposes to
all organisations of the toilers to convene *national or local
solidarity conferences* in order to discuss the questions of the
struggle against fascist terror, against the persecution of political
emigrants and for the support of the victims of fascism.

Comrades, toilers! Organise together with the I.R.A., by
means of the Unity Relief Committees, the fight for the right of
asylum, the right of political refugees to work. Hasten to the aid
of the victims of fascism! Strengthen the fight against fascist
terror! Rescue Ernst Thälmann! Save the revolutionaries
Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev, who are threatened with
death! Fight for the release of all political prisoners!

*Long live the united struggle of all toilers against the white
terror and fascism!*

Long live international solidarity!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED AID.

Appeal of the C.C. of the All-Union Society of Former Political Convicts

(Appeal adopted by the Plenum of the Central Council of the All-
Union Society of Former Political Convicts and Exiles on April
19, 1933.)

We members of the Society of Former Political Convicts and
Exiles, the association of the old revolutionaries who struggled for
scores of years in indescribably difficult conditions against Russian
Tsarism, the gendarme of Europe, having in our ranks about 3,000
revolutionaries, men and women, belonging to various generations
and parties which fought against Tsarism and the exploiters for the
last 60 years and who have served altogether 15,920 years in convict
camps and prisons, and 5,016 years in exile, including a number of
comrades who have fought tirelessly against autocracy for 50 years,
we appeal to you, in face of the bloody orgy of fascist terror beyond
our borders, the shameless plunder of the toiling masses, the
torches of war which have been lighted on all the frontiers of the
capitalist world, the groans of the fighters for the proletarian revo-
lution tortured in fascist dungeons, to form a united front of the
proletarian struggle.

Starvation and unemployment rule in the capitalist countries.
Want and poverty are rampant. Wages are being continually cut.
The pitiful remains of social insurance are being liquidated.

In the grip of an economic crisis which is unprecedented for
acuteness, the bourgeoisie, with the energy of despair, are seizing
on the last available means of enslaving the toiling masses—**fascism
and war.**

With a feeling of animal fear and bitter hatred towards the
working masses, the bourgeoisie are quaking before the approaching

day of socialist revolution. They are mobilising the last reserve of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—bloody fascism. With fire and sword they are trying to destroy the flower of the proletariat—its revolutionary vanguard. They are trampling underfoot their own instrument of deception, now no longer needed, the babbling of socialism via democracy, with the aid of which their agent, social democracy, disarmed the working masses. They are using the splitting of the ranks of the working class which was carried out by the hands of social democracy, so as to defeat the proletariat, section by section. Terror and bribery, lies and demagogy, slander and badgering, all the age-long instruments of class rule are put into operation in order to plunder and crush the millions of toilers, in order to support and save dying capitalism.

On the ruins of the November republic in Germany, fascist counter-revolution has temporarily conquered. To-day in Germany, the heroes of "order" of capitalist society are triumphing. This means the crushing of the bones of tortured proletarians. It means tortures, jails, the shooting of revolutionary workers. It means the burning of the houses of the workers' organisations, the smashing up and looting of trade unions, the destruction of the proletarian press. It means organised government terror against the working class. It means a revival of those methods of struggle against revolution by means of Jewish pogroms, which we still remember from the days of Tsarism.

This is the true face of the bourgeois dictatorship. The Weimar constitution was only a temporary mask. The bloody dictatorship of Hitler in Germany eloquently expresses the barbarism and bankruptcy of capitalist society.

Who is responsible for the victory of fascism in Germany?

Who clouded the minds of the workers by preaching class peace and bourgeois chauvinism under the flag of patriotism and the defence of the fatherland?

Who said: "Elect Hindenburg and save yourselves from Hitler"?

Who licks the boots of the fascists, stained with the blood of the tortured German proletarians?

It is the leaders of the Second International.

It is the social-democratic leaders.

Proletarians and toilers of capitalist countries!

This affects every one of you.

The methods of bourgeois Germany are the methods of the bourgeoisie of the whole world. The path of German social democracy is the path of social democracy of every country.

The Second International helped German social democracy to clear the path for the fascist dictatorship, approving of its policy of the "lesser evil."

The policy of the "lesser evil" is the policy of all the international "socialist" and social-democratic parties.

Only in one country, the proletarians and the toilers do not fear fascism.

This is in the country of the proletarian dictatorship, in the U.S.S.R., where the workers themselves have taken the power into their own hands, have driven out the landlords, the capitalists and the Tsarist generals and liberated themselves and all the toilers for ever from the horrors of the white terror.

The country of the proletarian dictatorship does not oppress anyone and is not enslaved by anyone. Scores of millions of proletarians and collective farmers in the country of the proletarian dictatorship know nothing of unemployment, of slavish labour, and are working with enthusiasm to build up classless socialist society.

The country of the Soviets is the country of the victorious Five-Year Plan, the invincible bulwark against war, fascism, bourgeois reaction, the white terror.

We call on you, proletarians and toilers of capitalist countries!

Enough of bending your backs humbly before the fascist murderers, as advised by the social-democratic leaders!

From province to province, from country to country, let the revolutionary call ring out:

Enough of unemployment, enough of starvation!

Enough of the fascist terror and bourgeois scorning of the working masses!

Enough of the trickery of bourgeois patriotism, of bourgeois democracy!

Down with imperialist war!

Raise higher the flag of revolutionary struggle of the oppressed and exploited!

The heroic Red Army of **Soviet China**, by the mighty revolutionary efforts of the workers and peasants, is offering the strongest resistance to the counter-revolutionary hordes of the Kuomintang. The red banner is unfurled on the battleships of Dutch imperialism in the colonies.

In the East and the South-East of Europe, the peasant masses are rising, crushed in the vice of the agrarian crisis. In economic and political strikes, a generation of workers in Poland and Czechoslovakia is being steeled for the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The toilers of the whole world are intently watching the tremendous historic struggle of the German proletariat against fascism. The heavy sacrifices of the German workers in this struggle are a gigantic lever of the proletarian revolution.

The power of fascism will only be overthrown when the fighting unity of the workers comes into existence. Only a struggle, an irreconcilable life and death struggle **against fascism, against imperialist war, against the capitalist offensive** will restore the unity of the working class.

The leaders of the Second International have given cowardly instructions to the social-democratic parties to sabotage the united front with the Communist workers.

They feel their approaching doom.

They split the working class with their great treachery on August 4, 1914.

They split the working class by their criminal treachery during the October Revolution.

They split the working class on July 20, 1932, and January 30, 1933, when they carried the fascist murderers into power on their backs in Germany.

Proletarians, Communists, social democrats, non-Party workers, unite for the struggle!

The chief task is now to rally the proletarians into a united revolutionary force, so as to stamp out fascist reaction.

Whoever is against this task is against the working class.

Remember. Neither the dungeon nor the gallows could stop the proletariat of our country in its revolutionary struggle, or could prevent the victory of the proletariat in the 1917 revolution.

In the same way the fascist terror cannot stop the wave of world revolution. It will sweep away rotten capitalism and will establish the power of the working class and the toilers throughout the world.

Long live the international brotherhood of the workers and toilers against fascism, against imperialist war, against the capitalist offensive! March forward for the power of the working class, for the united proletarian front, for the U.S.S.R.—the socialist fatherland of the workers of the whole world, for socialism!

Signed by the members of the Presidium of the Plenum and the members and candidates of the Central Council of the Society of ex-Political Convicts and Exiles:

1. **Emelian Yaroslavsky.**—5 years in penal servitude, 3 years in prison, 4 years in exile at Yakutsk in connection with the military organisation of the Bolsheviks.
2. **Vera Figner.**—20 years in Schlüsselburg Fortress, ex-member of the E.C. of the "Narodniki Party."
3. **S. Korochnik.**—Ex-member of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, spent 8 years in exile.
4. **Skobeinikov.**—4 years' penal servitude.
5. **B. Breslav.**—Sentenced to 6 years' penal servitude for organising the Prague Party Conference in 1912.
6. **M. Shebalin.**—Member of the "People's Will Party," spent 13 years in Schlüsselburg Fortress.
7. **V. Velman.**—6 years' penal servitude for belonging to the Bolshevik Party as leader of the Reval Committee.
8. **M. Frolenko.**—Ex-member of the "People's Will Party," participated in the attack on Alexander II, spent 24 years 8 months in Petropavlov and Schlüsselburg Fortress.
9. **M. Bramson.**—Ex-member of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (M.). In 1889 participated in armed resistance at Yakutsk. Sentenced to penal servitude for life, which was commuted to 20 years.
10. **M. Constantinov.**—Ex-member of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (M.), served 4 years' penal servitude and 3 years in exile.
11. **G. Schpilev.**—Ex-member of the Menshevik branch of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, spent 8 years in exile.

12. **P. Maslov.**—Ex-anarchist-Communist, spent 4 years in penal servitude and 2 years in exile.
13. **B. Reinstein.**—In 1887 was member of the "Young People's Will" organisation; in 1889 was present at the First Congress of the Second International. In 1890 was sentenced in Paris to 3 years' penal servitude.
14. **L. Starr.**—Ex-member of the S.R. Party. Spent 6 years in penal servitude and 4 years in exile.
15. **E. Rumba.**—Spent 8 years in exile.
16. **G. Sushkin.**—Ex-member of the R.S.D.L.P. (M.). Spent 10 years in exile.
17. **E. Frolenko.**—Andreyeva-Levchenko, ex-member of the "People's Will Party."
18. **M. Bublejev.**—Spent 8 years in exile.
19. **L. Sokolinsky.**—Ex-member of the R.S.D.L.P., 12 years in penal servitude, participated in an armed rebellion. ("The case of the Romanovtsy.")
20. **J. D. Baum.**—Ex-member of the Bund. On the "Bund" case in Warsaw in 1912, was exiled to Siberia for life.
21. **I. Dubinsky.**—Ex-member of the S.R. Party, spent 13 years in penal servitude. In 1905 sentenced to death, which was commuted to penal servitude for life.
22. **A. Vinogradov.**—Ex-member R.S.D.L.P., 4 years' penal servitude and 6 years' exile on the case of the social-democratic fraction of the Second Duma.
23. **A. Bitsenko.**—Ex-member of the S.R. Party. From 1905 to 1917 in penal servitude for a terrorist act.
24. **E. Trifonov.**—10 years' penal servitude for armed rebellion at Rostov on Don in December, 1905.
25. **I. Soloviev.**—Ex-member of the Anarchists-Communists. Spent 10½ years on penal servitude for belonging to the Anarchist-Communist group and for armed resistance when arrested.
26. **Utievsky.**—Ex-member R.S.D.L.P. Spent 4 years in penal servitude and 5½ years in exile.
27. **Epstein.**—Ex-member R.S.D.L.P. Spent 2 years in prison and 8 years in exile.
28. **Freidson.**—Ex-member R.S.D.L.P. Spent 10 years in penal servitude and 1 year in exile.
29. **G. Kramarov.**—Ex-member R.S.D.L.P. (M.). Spent 4 years in penal servitude and 2 years in prison.
30. **Kuzmina.**—Member R.S.D.L.P. Spent 1 year in exile for belonging to the Bolshevik Party.
31. **A. E. Tebenkova-Pirogova.**—10 years in penal servitude in the Nerchinsk penal district on the case of the S.R. Party.
32. **Shein.**—3 years in prison, 7 years in exile.
33. **S. Dimanstein.**—Member of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks). 6 years in penal servitude for belonging to the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks) from 1908 to 1913.
34. **S. Mitskevich.**—3 years in prison, 5 years in exile for belonging to the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks).
35. **E. Stassova.**—Member of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks), 5 years in exile.
36. **Felix Kohn.**—Ex-member of the "Proletariat" Party. In 1885 was sentenced to 8 years' penal servitude, which he served in Kara, after which he spent 4 years in exile.
37. **S. Grigoriev.**—Ex-member of the S.R. Party. Spent 2 years 8 months in penal servitude and 5 years in exile.

Fight Against Fascism

The European Anti-Fascist Congress in Paris

Paris, June 4, 1933.

The European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress, which has been prepared for months by the working class of the whole of Europe, commenced to-day in the Pleyel Hall in Paris, and was attended also by a large number of Paris workers.

The delegates, who have come from all capitalist countries, number over 4,000. To the singing of the International and the cheers of all the delegates the strong German delegation—mostly factory workers, from all parts of the country—marched into the hall.

Racamongd, the secretary of the revolutionary trade unions (C.G.T.U.) opened the Congress with a short speech, in which he particularly welcomed the German delegates, who had crossed the frontier at the risk of their lives in order to take part in the Congress. After referring to the very special feature of this Congress—its composition, which clearly expressed its character

as a united front gathering—**Racamongd** most emphatically stressed the fact that the anti-fascist wave has nothing to do with the chauvinistic hatred of German things characteristic of French imperialism. He went on to observe that the anti-fascist working class of France was waging its fight against fascism by fighting its own bourgeoisie, first and foremost.

A German delegate then submitted, on behalf of the Arrangements Committee, a list of **candidates to the presidium**, which was unanimously adopted: five Germans, including one S.P.G. worker, a young worker belonging to the Socialist Working Youth movement, and a woman worker; seven Frenchmen, including the secretary of the Alpes Maritimes Gazeilles district organisation of the Social Democratic Party of France; Cazaubon, the secretary of the autonomous State employees' union, with a membership of 40,000, and the well-known writers **André Gide**, **Henri Barbusse** and **Romain Rolland**. The official platform further included five Italians, three Britishers and two Poles. A burst of applause greeted the election in their absence of Comrades **Thälmann**, **Torgler**, **Dimitrov**, and several others as honorary members of the presidium.

After these elections to the presidium the chairman of the Central Joint Anti-Fascist Committee of Germany, Comrade **Müller** who was greeted with frantic applause, rose to deliver his report, the first on the agenda. **The Fight against Fascism and the Capitalist Offensive.**

Comrade **Müller** prefaced his report with the declaration that the German toilers had never ceased their struggle against the fascists, and had even intensified it, and were still carrying it on at the present day with all the means that lay to hand in the proletarian class struggle. He declared that if the fascist terror was raging even more fiercely than ever at the present time, it was not a sign of strength, but an indication of fascism's weakness. At the same time, it was also a sign that the revolutionary wave was rising higher. Fully realising that any successful struggle against fascism must be waged on an international scale, the German workers, when asked—as they frequently were—how it was at all possible that fascism could win to power in their country, were wont to answer: Because of the Versailles Treaty, which was, so to say, one of the godfathers at the cradle of fascism's dictatorship, and, owing to the policies of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which had been responsible for the disarming of the workers, had throttled all revolutionary action and split the working class. It was thus that fascism was able to compel the revolutionary proletariat to retreat. And if the "Left" social democrats ask us now, as they are doing in Austria, why the C.P.G. had not undertaken to launch an armed uprising, the answer to that is this: All along the C.P.G., constantly frustrated by the S.P.G., has been fighting indefatigably, but the call for an armed uprising, which, in any case, the same S.P.G. would have turned down even more certainly than it has done the repeated offers to form a united front which the C.P.G. has made time and again, would have been a crime against the working class. After describing the terror, under which 500 workers had been butchered to death, 10,000 man-handled, 60,000 arrested, 40,000 thrust into concentration camps, and more than 100,000 workers instantly dismissed, **Müller** went on to give an idea of the whole situation, especially of the resistance being put up by the masses, and emphasised that the starting point for the struggle to effect the downfall of the fascist dictatorship must lie in the struggle against any and every worsening of the standard of life, whereby, starting from partial struggles, they could pass on to political mass strikes working up to the general strike as their method of offensive, so as to bring about the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The S.P.G.'s slogan calling for a "Return to Democracy" offered no solution of the problem. The only thing that could do so was the struggle for the power of the workers—that is, for a free Socialist Soviet Germany.

On behalf of the Amsterdam movement, **Henri Barbusse** then spoke. He was most heartily greeted by the assembled delegates. He said: We do not separate the struggle against war from the fight against fascism, which is why we wholly and completely identify ourselves with the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress. We lend it our fraternal support, and are anxious to collaborate with it as closely as possible. Unity of action is the one and only guarantee for the victory of the working class, which was identical with the salvation of humanity.

On the motion of the British delegate **Pankhurst**, **Professor Prenant**, **André Gide**, the Czech professor, **Nejdly**, and **Henri**

Barbusse, it was decided by the Congress to telegraph a strong protest to the German government against the death sentences passed on the Altona and Chemnitz anti-fascists. We are informed by the French delegates that the workers of Paris intend to add to the strength of that protest by organising a gigantic demonstration of working-class solidarity.

Paris, June 5th, 1933.—Following the drafting of the telegram of protest, a leader of **Italian anti-fascists** spoke to a joint report. He submitted a crowded picture of the ten years' experiences of the Italian working class under fascist rule, which was unable to provide either bread or work, as it had promised to do, but instead had brought with it a 30 per cent. wages cut, lengthened the working day to twelve hours, allowed practically no unemployment benefit whatever, and so on. Whereas the social democracy was demoralising the masses by preaching defeatism, the Italian proletariat had carried on the struggle unflinchingly for the past decade, and would continue its fight until final victory.

Enthusiastically acclaimed, this speech was followed by a leader of the anti-fascist front in **Poland**, who spoke to the second joint report, which he introduced by describing in detail the position of the workers and peasants, the middle class, and the oppressed minorities of that country. He then went on to describe how, in spite of an incredible terrorism, the struggle of the masses is being continued in increasing measure, with the result that fascism is being forced to adopt all sorts of different manoeuvres. Despite the small number of delegates, their election was preceded by a very big campaign, which achieved an extensive mobilisation of the masses. The speaker closed with the assurance that the iron fist of the Polish working class would yet smash Pilsudski.

After a brief interval, a **Bulgarian** delegate took the floor. Beginning with a detailed account of the fascist regime of blood and fire there, he then passed on to give the Congress some conception of the militant experiences of the working class of Bulgaria, whose majority was already fighting together with large sections of the small and middle-peasants under revolutionary leadership.

The presidium then made it known officially, over the signatures of Bergery, Laugier, Dalsau, Langevin, Mallarte, Et. Cheverry, Cazaubon, and Barbusse that, contrary to the assertion of Chief-of-Police **Chiappe**, that the Congress was nothing but a Communist intrigue, that, as had been duly established, the majority on the French Arrangements Committee did not belong to the C.P.F.

Following the statement on behalf of the **Maximalist Socialist Party of Italy** that it was to affiliate to the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress, there was a speech by the **Spanish delegate Calan** (brother of the well-known militant murdered under the Berenguer regime). Lastly, there was a speech by the **Belgian miners' leader, Lahaut, M.P.**, who received a hearty ovation. He described the fascist menace in Belgium, and stigmatised the special plenary powers allowed to the Belgian Government as a step towards a development of fascism in their country. He also spoke of the progress that was being made by the united front against the efforts of the reformist leaders. The **Belgian Delegation** consisted of 120 members, and included many social democrats, members of the Socialist Working Youth movement, reformist trade unionists, and quite a number who had come to Paris on foot. He reported on the splendid united-front demonstration held in Liege on May 1. On that occasion the swastika flag had been torn down from the German Consulate building. As he described the incident he drew forth the actual flag, tore it up and stamped upon it there and then, the action rousing the assembled delegates to the wildest cheering and shouts of execration against Hitler, the singing of the "Internationale" then following.

At the further sessions of the Congress speeches were delivered by **Marcel Cachin**, in which he clearly exposed the role played by the social democracy in imperialist war preparations and energetically opposed the attitude of Bergery regarding the possibility of a united front with the social-democratic leaders, and also by **Doriot**.

The Congress concluded by adopting a stirring manifesto addressed to the working men and women, the working youth, the oppressed and exploited and all adversaries of fascism.

Combat the Campaign of Lies Against the Soviet Union

Vain Effort to Wash an Ethiopian White

"The Times" Sleuths Expose "Lubyanka Secrets."

By Karl Radek.

When the O.G.P.U. arrested six British engineers, employees of Metro-Vickers, the alarm was sounded throughout the whole of the imperialist press of Britain that the death sentence, no less, was the least that threatened them.

When the Soviet Government intimated to the British Government that the accused would be brought before the courts, the alarm signal was given once more by the entire British imperialist press: Innocent Englishmen are going to be tried by a court meeting behind closed doors and presided over by a second Demetrius Shemyaka, as infamous as his English successor two hundred years later, Judge Jeffreys.

Alas, something rather more unpleasant took place. They were tried by a public court in the presence of a good fifty representatives of the foreign press.

When it became known that the trial was to open on the 12th of April, according to a Reuter statement Sir John Simon, as Foreign Minister, was asked in the House of Commons whether His Majesty's Government intended publishing daily stenographic reports of the horrors of this Bolshevik court which it had so eloquently stigmatised. Sir John Simon, one of England's most celebrated representatives of the Bar, answered that the daily publication by the Foreign Office of full reports of the trial of the Metro-Vickers' employees would be unpractical, as he put it, but that as far as he was informed it might be possible to take steps to ensure the daily publication of a summary of the trial and that this would be done. Readers of the Soviet Press obtained a good idea of what these summaries looked like from the cables from London made public during the trial itself. These London summaries hushed up those passages which revealed the British imperialists in a more disadvantageous light, invented non-existent incidents, and, to cap all, were issued to the noise of a regular jazz band of tosh about "Tibetan herbs" and other terrible things with whose aid the innocent lambs of this English firm were transformed by the Bolsheviks into industrial wreckers and spies.

But Bolsheviks' ideas of what is practical and what is not differ greatly from those held by Englishmen; in fact, what is practicable for the Englishman is death as often as not for your Bolshevik. In the course of a few days a *three-volume edition of the shorthand proceedings of the trial was issued in both Russian and English*,* and as the British Government forgot to include these shorthand reports in the list of goods whose importation into Britain is strictly prohibited, a considerable number of people in that country have got to know what they contain. The shorthand report became a weapon in the fight against all the fabrications of the British imperialist press regarding the trial and an instrument in the struggle against the economic boycott proclaimed by British imperialism against the Soviet Union supposedly for the sake of saving the two unhappy prisoners who are sitting in a Soviet prison to-day for the criminal activities which they themselves have admitted. These shorthand proceedings have lain like a very stone inside the stomach of British imperialism.

The World Economic Conference is coming off soon, the same conference at which British imperialism's representatives will weep tears a-plenty over the obstacles set in the way of world trade by other countries; and here again these three volumes of shorthand notes are likely to turn up as a fresh charge against the policies of British imperialism. They have got to be cleared out of the way at all costs. So in four successive issues we get "The Times," the chief organ of British imperialism, devoting lengthy articles to the Moscow Trial and informing its readers

*"Case of Wrecking Activities at Power Stations of the U.S.S.R." State Law Publishing House, Moscow, 1933.

that they are the result of a special investigation undertaken by the paper itself, an investigation hinging to a considerable extent on explanations by the two engineers, Messrs. Allan Monkhouse and Cushny. This investigation is meant to fill up the gaps in what the British public know about the trial.

From the very start we have got to state that this four-issue serial fills no gaps whatever. On the contrary, it attempts to wipe out from the mind of British public opinion a number of very unpleasant facts admitted by the accused, or at the very least glosses over these facts. Against the wish of the compilers these articles compromise both the English heroes lauded therein and those standing behind them.

Chief witness for "The Times" is *Mr. Allan Monkhouse*. Everybody will recall the noise kicked up by the British press regarding the eighteen hours' interrogation to which Mr. Allan Monkhouse was supposed to have been subjected in the offices of the G.P.U. These same eighteen hours even entered the official statement of British Government's representative as a component part thereof. As is now made known by these articles of "The Times," the eighteen hours in question were taken out of a letter by Monkhouse to Mr. Richards, a Director of Metro-Vickers, and made the round of the world as proof of Soviet barbarity until on the 15th of April the Public Prosecutor submitted documentary evidence to the court most plainly exposing Monkhouse's untrue assertions. By means of an accurate calculation of the hours and minutes in which he was actually subject to interrogation it was proved that it did not last more than twelve hours thirty minutes, not a single question having been put to him beyond that time. Be it observed, further, that this calculation includes all breaks in the way of lunch, dinner, supper, the time taken in being removed from cell to investigator's office and back, climbing from one floor to another, interpretation of prisoner's statements from Russian into English, the writing of the official minutes, and so on. After this, Monkhouse was called up and the following dialogue ensued:

Monkhouse: I do not want to deny the exact figures which have been presented by the Prosecutor, because when I was in the cell I had no watch and did not know exactly how long I was being interrogated.

Vyshinsky: But then, if you had no watch, why did you assert that you were examined for eighteen hours?

Monkhouse: It is quite simple. When I left the cell, I supposed the time was 8 o'clock, and when I returned to the cell in the night and asked the young officer, he said it was about 2 o'clock.

Vyshinsky: You were called up for interrogation at 11.15 a.m. Add it up, it does not come to eighteen hours.

Monkhouse: I see I made a mistake and I tender my apologies.

Vyshinsky: You apologise for your mistake; I am very glad to hear it. (Translation of the Official Verbatim Report, Vol. II.)

In replying to the Public Prosecutor's observation that Mr. Monkhouse had deceived his own Government, Monkhouse declared:

"In addition to the severe charges which are on the charge-sheet against me, in the course of yesterday's summing up by the Public Prosecutor, he added another, which I regard as a very serious charge, may be unofficially, but he added a very serious charge, inasmuch that he accused me of deliberately deceiving the British Government in the communication which I made when I was released from Lubyanka. That is a very unfair statement to me. Because I have made no statements at all which are in adverseness to facts, except the difference in the time, which I can explain, is due to the fact that apparently I was given special consideration when I was in prison. For the conditions I must thank you, but they misled me. Because on the walls of my cell there is a notice about the times meals are served and other regulations observed. That was my only means of judging the time. . . ."

"The Public Prosecutor also stated that time was given me for meals. That those meals were excellent meals brought in from the outside, that is true, but I was not left alone at the meals, and one of the chief men of the Examining Department had his meals with me. And I cannot be persuaded that the conversation which took place was not part of my examination. . . ." (Translation of the Official Verbatim Report, Vol. III, page 215.)

Monkhouse is now in London. The court, the Public Prosecutor, and the witnesses are left behind in Moscow; no interrogation is possible; so Mr. Monkhouse asserts in "The Times" of May 22 that his statement regarding the eighteen hours' interrogation is true to the facts. He adds, further, that altogether he had been incredibly tired, that he had slept only five hours, and could not fall asleep for the first two hours of his allotted rest period as the sentries used to tap on the cell door every ten minutes. In the courtroom Mr. Monkhouse did not say a single word about this sleeplessness of his or of the knocking on his cell door. In fact, he actually thanked the investigating authorities in court for the kind treatment he had received, as we have already mentioned.

As is known, in order to get clear of the charge of wrecking, Mr. Monkhouse submitted evidence in court explaining all the break-downs due to defects in the equipment and machinery installed by the Vickers firm. Readers may be referred to the exhaustive evidence of Mr. Monkhouse on this matter to be found on pages 238 to 248 of Volume II of the English text. We quote here a few extracts from it:

Vyshinsky: In short, these were defects in some cases of greater importance and in others of less importance. Is that so or not?

Monkhouse: You may put it that way if you wish.

Vyshinsky: In consequence of these defects there were break-downs and stoppages of machines?

Monkhouse: There were stoppages. . . .

Monkhouse: There were small stoppages, but at Orekhovo-Zuevo, there was really a long stoppage.

Vyshinsky: Thus we have established that the stoppage at Orekhovo-Zuevo was a considerable one. Is that true?

Monkhouse: Yes, a considerable one.

Vyshinsky: And at Cheljabinsk, in consequence of the defect in the diaphragm, there was even an accident, wasn't there?

Monkhouse: No, in Cheljabinsk one diaphragm was touching the rotor wheel. We stopped the machine.

Vyshinsky: And prevented an accident?

Monkhouse: Yes, so that there was not a serious breakdown there.

Vyshinsky: Not a serious breakdown, but all the same there was a breakdown?

Monkhouse: Yes, but there was no accident.

It is quite evident from the shorthand report that Monkhouse is admitting step by step the defects in the equipment supplied by his firm to the Moscow Electric Power Station, to Zuevo station, to the Ivanovski station, to Baku, that he admits the breaking of the blades, the diaphragms, etc., etc., replying to all questions of the accusation: yes, yes, there were such cases, etc.

In addition Monkhouse admitted that "these were all defects which depended either on the material or on the design, but not on the installation." (Translation of the Official Verbatim Report, Vol. II, page 241.)

It would seem that Mr. Monkhouse's evidence has not been very pleasant reading for his firm, so that he has had to create the legend of his excessive fatigue and nervousness (due to a two days' stay in prison), for the purpose of weakening the effect of his own admissions in court. Putting it delicately, Mr. Monkhouse has not balked at putting his name to this sort of thing:

"Under the pressure of prolonged interrogation he admitted that certain breakdowns were due to faults in material and the manufacture. But by this stage of the examination he was pretty nearly worn out and he states that he would not have signed this part of the proceedings if he had not been exhausted to the point of feeling that his nerve was going."

For the future if public opinion in the Soviet Union has to deal with an Englishman it will demand some definite substantiation of their honour so as not to be led into serious error. Mr. Monkhouse is an engineer of the firm of Metro-Vickers. We advise that firm to be very careful in the way it handles his nerves. Here is a man who has to do a certain amount of work under not very pleasant circumstances, loses two out of his eight hours' sleep, and he lands himself in such a state of nerves that he is ready to accuse his firm of any crime at all. Mr. Monkhouse is an English officer. They say that if Cleopatra had not had such a nice nose the history of the Roman Republic might have taken a different development. Little causes may have great con-

sequences. In the event of world upheavals taking place England must look to the nerves of her officer, Allan Monkhouse; they may affect the course of history.

After an experience like this with Mr. Monkhouse, the head of the Metro-Vickers Moscow department, and his attitude to hard facts we need not here go into the hints made by "The Times" to the effect that the G.P.U. examining judge had told Cushny that "he would be kept in prison until he confessed," while Nordwall was supposed to have been told that "his wife would soon be arrested and that if he did confess the Soviet Government would pardon him." We may just ask, though, why it is that neither Cushny nor Nordwall made any statement regarding this point either to the Public Prosecutor or to the court? Was it not possibly because any such statement from them would have been exposed for what it was worth in exactly the same way that both Monkhouse's and Thornton's statements were exposed? All these tales are merely stories intended to create "atmosphere," else how are we otherwise to explain Nordwall's testimony given in a public court regarding the "fairness" shown to him in the O.G.P.U. after his arrest? (See Volume III, page 170 of English text.)

Strength of an Electric Current and Moral Suggestion

The attempt to get rid of Monkhouse's testimony regarding Metro-Vickers has led to rather unpleasant consequences for Monkhouse, "The Times," and for the people behind them. Yet all these manoeuvres will be mere trifles compared with the tricks they will have to employ in order to eliminate Thornton's evidence concerning espionage. In this case it is not only the firm's interests and the quality of the machinery it produces that are at stake, but those of the Government. Was it not on April 13 that Sir John Simon stated officially that none of the accused had any connection with the British Intelligence Service? Yet in the first volume of the English edition of the trial proceedings we find on page 256 a facsimile photograph of Thornton's testimony concerning espionage. In itself this same facsimile is a most remarkable document which would be of the greatest interest to those making a special study of people's handwriting. Mr. Thornton submits his evidence with regard to spying activities in a clear, careful, small hand requiring most assuredly the utmost quiet and concentration. These two small pages of writing will have to be destroyed at all costs. They will have to be declared as non-existent. They will have to be explained away as a subsequent production or something of the kind. Mr. Thornton was in liberty both before and during the trial, and had every opportunity of communicating with his friends and listening to their advice; yet in spite of that in court he could not explain why he gave and wrote with his own hand the testimony he did give and in which he confessed that he and quite a number of other Englishmen were members of a spying organisation.

What is "The Times" doing? The poor, old "Times" is going to try to wriggle out of it first of all by referring to the statement of the British Government's representative to the effect that none of the accused had any relationship to the Intelligence Service. But even for the gentlemen of "The Times" this is surely asking too much from the gullibility of the public. And what if all the accused were agents of the British Intelligence Service: what then? Would the British Government, in the name of truth and justice, admit this fact in order to facilitate the work of a Soviet tribunal? Where would you find the idiot, no matter what his nationality, who would believe anything like that? Just let "The Times" make an effort, over the signature of one of its editors, to bring out the statement that the British Government would recognise a spy of its own in any British agent before a court of law. "The Times" would never print anything of the kind for the simple reason that the whole world would laugh at its editors as weak-minded fools. More: there are people who urge that the independent nature of the British Intelligence Service may not

have allowed the Government to know who is and who is not an agent of the Secret Service. Then what is there left for "The Times" to do? The only thing left to do is to take Thornton's statement that he was so excited and so very nervous that he declared not only himself, but several other people as well, to be spies.

So we get "The Times" writing: "It can scarcely be doubted that Mr. Thornton was also weakened physically and mentally by interminable questions, harangues, threats, and promises, and that at the psychological moment his interrogators introduced subject matter on which they found his interest was not so concentrated."

That is to say, then, to begin with he was interrogated regarding wrecking activities, bribes and the like, and that later, when this innocent child had not only exhausted his nervous strength but was still thinking of wrecking and bribery suddenly they popped the question at him: "You don't happen to be a spy, do you?" And at that very moment this most innocent Mr. Thornton lost his innocence and wrote in a careful, fine, calligraphic hand the statement he did regarding his work as a spy.

This explanation offered by "The Times" is calculated to rouse the indignation of the reader against the wily tricks of the G.P.U. examining judge and awaken the profoundest sympathy for Thornton's sufferings. We can see it before our eyes: a young maid who loses her self-control in a weak moment. But drop down some ten lines lower in the same column of "The Times" and this is how the old lady of Printing House Square describes this innocent maid of Metro-Vickers:

"In 1928, Mr. Thornton had an electric shock of 1,500 volts direct current which would have killed most men. He was unconscious for over three hours, and only showed signs of life after twenty minutes' intensive life-saving work. Two days later, however, he was back at work."

"The Times" mentions this fact for the purpose of showing how devoted Mr. Thornton was to his work. And this man who is no man, but a very bull for strength, a man who is not killed by an electric shock of 1,500 volts loses his self-control, loses his head, forgets his honour, after two days' detention in prison and with his own hand writes a statement as his testimony in which he accuses seventeen of his fellow-countrymen of spying activities; and does so, be it noted, without even complaining that he has been subjected to an eighteen hours' examination. "The Times" attempt to squeeze a few tears from the eyes of the British public regarding Mr. Thornton can hardly be considered successful. An English engineer, an officer of the British Army, a man who has gone through the experiences of the war, who accuses seventeen of his fellow-countrymen to the examining judge of another country of being spies out of fear of the unknown—that is scarcely the sort of person to be set up as a hero who is bound to call forth sympathy and for the sake of saving from horrors which do not threaten him it is necessary to doom tens of thousands of British workers to unemployment. Aye, that is a rallying standard the friends of the British Empire cannot be expected to be envied.

We have no intention of writing any pen portrait of either Mr. Monkhouse or Mr. Thornton. Neither do we intend to depict them as representatives of either British industry or the British Intelligence Service. Very likely newer Kiplings will come to the fore to write a new "Kim." We do not envy them their choice of heroes. These heroes are as men utterly indifferent to us. If we have had to collate the legends being spread by "The Times" with the shorthand proceedings of the trial (and that worthy paper will never be able to get rid of these proceedings no matter how many legends it may manufacture), we have done so because the prevarications of "The Times" show how difficult it is (even for this experienced, political organ which scorns no means whatever in fighting the Soviet Union) to wash an Ethiopian white, to prove the unjustness of the sentence of a Soviet court, and to find as much as the shadow of any justification for the policy which the British Government has been pursuing on account of what it refers to as the injustice of the Soviet courts.

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