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CONTENTS

Politics		Thirty Years of Bolshevism	
J. Shields: The Struggle of the Irish Masses Against Fascist Reaction	781	W. Knorin: The Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and the International Social Democracy	791
The Revolutionary Upheaval in Cuba	782	In the International	
J. R.: England's Fight Against the Dominions	783	G. Smolyansky: What is the Greatest Hindrance to the Work of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia at the Present Time?	793
Germany		The Youth Movement	
Fritz Heckert: Altona!	784	Decision of the Presidium of the E.C.Y.C.I. on the Change of the Date for International Youth Day	795
Wilhelm Pieck: Wrest Ernst Thaelmann from Hitler's Bloodhounds	785	Organisational Questions	
Into the Mass Struggle for the Rescue of the Heroes of the Anti-Fascist Fight!	785	Dexter: Some Experiences of the United Front in Great Britain	796
J. Meyer: The Second Stage of German Fascism: The Full Capitalist Dictatorship	786	Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
The Labour Movement		L. F. Boross: The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity	797
J. B.: 20,000 Strikers Build Barricades in Strassbourg	788		
Appeal of the Communist Party of France for a General Strike	789		
J. Berlioz: The Break Up of the I.F.T.U.	790		

The Soviet Union Shows the Way Out of the World Crisis

Not "National Self-Sufficiency" under the Yoke of Capitalism, but the Expropriation of the Means of Production by the Workers of All Countries

I. On the Edge of the Precipice.

With the end of the summer the end of the usual seasonal improvement on the labour market is coming to an end. Together with the tremendous increase of armament orders this seasonal improvement provided the basis for the deceptive prophecies of the beginning of a new trade improvement. This, however, does not mean that we are faced with a simple repetition of what happened last autumn and winter. We must be prepared for something far worse.

Following on the fiasco of the World Economic Conference, which aimed at removing by international agreement certain inter-State hindrances to a general improvement of trade, far-reaching attempts in exactly the opposite direction have been made. "Each must first put his own house in order." These words of the American Secretary of State, Moley, have become the new slogan. By means of State intervention in the national economic system and by deliberately limiting this interference to national boundaries, the capitalist countries are attempting to bring about a trade improvement and to open up a new period of prosperity. Germany and the United States are taking the lead in this new economic policy of "national self-sufficiency," but their example is being

followed in all capitalist countries. However, all such attempts are doomed to complete failure.

The state of trade and industry is determined by the given possibilities for the utilisation of capital and by the available rate of profit. To put it roughly: when production has been tremendously increased, when the prices of labour power and raw materials are rising, and when credit is tight and therefore dear, the moment arises when production brings in the capitalists but little profit, and when it is no longer a paying proposition for them to continue production. Then comes the crash. There is a catastrophic fall in prices. Many undertakings go to the wall. Capital and commodities are destroyed. Cheap prices permit the employers to renew their buildings and machinery, etc. The stocks then gradually become depleted and the new period of improved trade begins. The opening up of new foreign markets plays a tremendous role with regard to the possibilities for the utilisation of capital. Therefore, the statement of the youthful Marx in "The Communist Manifesto" remains true: "How does the bourgeoisie overcome the crisis? On the one hand by the forced destruction of a mass of productive forces; and on the other hand by capturing new markets and by exploiting all markets more thoroughly."

Roosevelt's advisers point to the example of the Soviet Union

and declare: "If socialism in one country is possible, as in Russia, then surely, capitalism in one country, in our country, which has far greater resources than Russia, is possible, that is to say, capitalism can be made again profitable." However, these gentlemen forget one thing, namely, that in the Soviet Union the laws of capitalism have been broken down and production has been made the servant of society, whilst in the United States Roosevelt and production serve capitalism. This being the case, all experiments which ignore the laws of capitalism, for instance, the starting up of production again before the available stores of commodities have been used up, the acceleration of production without aiming chiefly at the renewal of fixed capital, the substitution of the policy of national self-sufficiency for the abolition of international hindrances to the extension of markets as the principle of the new economic policy, mean an attempt to get out of the crisis along the lines of Baron Muenchhausen's classic performance, who, it will be remembered, extricated himself from the bog by raising himself with his own pigtail.

Roosevelt is ignoring the warning given by the last bank smash. He is anxious that his experiment should develop fully under all circumstances. The wage rates he is fixing (from 12 to 15 dollars a week) are poor enough compared with the great increase in the cost of living in America and cannot contribute much to increasing consumption, particularly as up to the present only about one-fifth of all manufacturers have signed the agreement. Nevertheless the whole American bourgeoisie is exploiting these wage increases in order to send prices soaring up. The result is that the stocks of commodities are increased, whilst at the same time prices are increased tremendously also. The lack of markets has not yet led to the paralysing of production because the State is providing the manufacturers with large credits and even subsidies. As, however, the old stocks are still very great, there must soon be such a glut of commodities that further production will be impossible. And, in fact, the directors of this Roosevelt policy are already being troubled with unpleasant forebodings. Mr. Johnson, Roosevelt's chief assistant, declared a little while ago: "We are sailing in a fog!"

Hitler's experiment, the so-called provision of labour scheme, bears the signs of collapse still more clearly written on it. As far as workers have really been put to work, both in America and in Germany, particularly in the armament industries, this has not been done on the basis of the investment of real capital, but has been financed by inflation. However, this piece of deception will not lead to a real improvement in the economic situation, but to a smash, compared with which all that has gone before will be child's play. Bankruptcy on the grand scale will take over the role of practical critic as far as these schemes are concerned. It is not possible to prophesy to-day where the smash will come first, whether in Germany, where the value of the mark is hanging by a thread, and where it would, apart from creating internal disturbances, drag the Dutch gulden and the Swiss franc with it, and pull the British and American creditors into the abyss, or whether it will come first in some other land. In any case, the tremendous international consequences of the next big smash will demonstrate the unity of the world market and the indissoluble connection of the capitalist countries with each other in a way that will thoroughly open the eyes of the apostles of "national self-sufficiency."

And in any case, we need not take this "national self-sufficiency" business literally. In its milder form it is nothing but another way of referring to the activities of monopolist capital to surround a national economic unit with high customs barriers, to harness the national State completely in its service, but by no means to limit its activities to national boundaries, but on the contrary to conduct a wild struggle with its competitors on the international market and to aim persistently to subjugate other nations. The inflation brought about by Roosevelt is also no mere internal measure in order to lower the terrible debt pressure, to increase the prices of raw materials and finance the measures for setting trade going again, but just as much, if not more, a measure to beat the foreign competitors of American capitalism on the world market. "National self-sufficiency" is being supplemented by a powerful world armament race. Because, if all the experiments fail there still remains the typical capitalist way out of the crisis, even if it is a desperate remedy—war, imperialist war and war of intervention.

This idea was expressed by one of the leading American financial journals, "The Annalist," in the following words:—

"It is difficult to deny that there will be a big possibility for the outbreak of a European war in the immediate future. The outbreak of a great war in 1914 freed us from a business depression. It would be a peculiar repetition of history if another European war should again bring us industrial relief." ("New York Annalist," 17th March, 1933.)

All that remains to be added to these remarks is that it need not necessarily be a European war, and not necessarily an inter-imperialist war; it might also be a war of intervention.

Finally, the policy of "national self-sufficiency" is the best economic policy for harnessing the proletariat to the chariot of capitalism and for furthering fascism. This was shown at the congress of the French Socialist Party, where it was frankly stated that the dictatorial repressive measures of capitalism, i.e., national capitalism on the economic and political field must be supported by the workers. This, naturally, is the policy pursued by all socialist parties.

All this indicates that the coming winter, the fifth winter of the crisis, will be fraught with great dangers for the exploited and oppressed in all countries. The bitter poverty caused by intensified unemployment will be still further tremendously increased by the threatening scourge of fascism, already at work in many countries, and the horror of a murderous war. No prophecy can be made with regard to the speed of this development, but one thing is certain, the fifth winter of crisis will put all its predecessors into the shade.

II.

Which is the Path to Salvation?

Is it inevitable that the whole of working humanity should be hurled into the abyss? Is there no way by which the working masses could win their way into the open?

As long as the modern working class movement has existed it has pointed the way out of the impasse, namely, the breaking down of the monopoly of capitalism, the expropriation of the means of production and their utilisation in the interests of all. The rate of profit would then no longer determine whether production should go on or not, but simply and solely the needs of the community. Superfluity of production would then cease to be a source of poverty and misery for the broad masses; on the contrary, it would increase their well-being.

Thanks to the Russian proletariat and its glorious Bolshevik Party, this way out of the crisis, the way out of capitalist slavery, is no longer mere theory. This way has been taken, and as a result we have a free people of 165 million souls occupying one-sixth of the world's surface and finally freed from crisis and from the dominance of capitalism in all its forms; a free people building up a glorious present existence on free ground.

To achieve that was in all conscience no easy matter. After overthrowing the rule of the capitalists and rich landowners, the proletariat and the peasantry of the new Socialist Soviet Republics had to conduct a long and bloody war, supported only by the best elements of the international proletariat, against internal and external enemies. But they were victorious. And then the proletariat had to set to work with inadequate tools and inadequate technical knowledge to rebuild the ruined industries of the country. Within a few years this gigantic work was achieved victoriously with the forces at its disposal. And then came the world wonder of the first Five-Year Plan. With what mistrust was this plan received by the economic experts of the bourgeoisie, both the bourgeois and the social democratic? And, nevertheless, the impossible was made possible and became a fact. A stage of development which had taken decades and decades in other countries was gone through in four years in the Soviet Union. The first Five-Year plan turned the Soviet Union into an industrial country and laid a firm basis for its military defence. But one thing, and that the most difficult, was still missing—a socialist agriculture as the necessary basis for a socialist industry. In a country where formerly 30 million backward small-scale agricultural undertakings existed, this great wonder was also achieved; thanks to the policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin. And with this the last great difficulty was overcome, so that to-day the Soviet Union presents itself to the world not only as a country in which free people live, but as a country in which the productive forces in town and country are

developing to an extent unknown in the rest of the world. And, what is the most important point of all, this development of the productive forces will guarantee well-being to all.

To-day the Soviet Union stands as a shining example for all the oppressed and exploited all the world over.

It is not true that the profit interests of the bourgeoisie represent the only driving force of production. It is not true that humanity must always remain the slave of the productive forces. It is not true that the development of the productive forces must proceed in a constant series of economic crises. It is not true that the people of any country must inevitably be divided into capitalists and wage-workers, into rich landowners and poor peasants, into rich and poor. And finally, it is not true that the working masses of the various countries must wage bloody and destructive wars against each other in order to secure "Room to Live."

The capital monopoly of a small section of the population is the source of the class differentiation, of class and national oppression, of oppressive poverty and bloody wars. Therefore, the exploited and oppressed of all countries must not fight against each other, but unite in a struggle against their exploiters and oppressors.

Not capitalism in one country alone, but socialism in all countries must be the slogan. All forces must be concentrated on this, for this is the one and only way out of the crisis.

Politics

The Struggle of the Irish Masses Against Fascist Reaction

By J. Shields

Alarmed at the fast developing growth of struggle which is manifesting itself on the part of the Irish masses, the big capitalists and ranchers in Ireland, with the backing and support of British imperialism, are driving ahead with the development and organisation of fascist activity.

By means of the latter they are seeking to crush the revolutionary working class and republican movement in Ireland, and also further the war preparations of British imperialism in which the question of Ireland and its position figures as being of the utmost strategic importance.

The growing discontent of the Irish workers and poor farmers who are feeling the heavy brunt of the economic crisis, and the rapidly increasing mass disillusionment regarding the policy of the De Valera government, is causing the Irish toilers to sharpen their fight in support of their social and economic demands.

Evidence of this is to be seen in the increasing number of strike struggles which are taking place, and the sharpening character of the fight now going on in the Irish rural areas. Outstanding in this connection have been the recent strikes of the railwaymen, teachers and seamen, and the pitched battles which are taking place between the small farmers and the police and the bailiffs in various counties in the Irish Free State.

It is because of this situation that the forces of reaction in Ireland are strengthening the development of fascist tendencies to the utmost. For some time past the Irish clergy have been waging a bitter campaign against the "menace of Communism." Added to this we now see the growing reactionary activities of the recently-formed "National" Guard, the Blueshirt fascist organisation.

Made up in the main from members of the former so-called Army Comrades' Association (ex-army pensioners, ex-army officers), the National Guard, which is under the leadership of General O'Duffy, the former Cosgrave Police Chief, has been launched by the bankers, ranchers and big capitalists who are lined up with the camp of British imperialism. The sponsors of the Blueshirt fascist organisation have already made it clear that their principal aim is the crushing of the working class and the Irish revolutionary movement which is directed against British imperialism.

When O'Duffy addressed the delegates who were present at the opening convention of his organisation, he declared:—

"One of the principal objects of the Guard is to combat Communism. We stand for an aggressive attitude towards Communism."

At the same time O'Duffy and the leading figures of the Cosgrave Party, such as Mulcahy, Blythe, etc., who stand at the head of the Blueshirt organisation, make it clear that they are out to

destroy the revolutionary republican movement and to impose the methods of fascist terror upon the Irish people. According to its leader, who, it is very significant to note, is provided with a pension of £520 a year by the Fianna Fail Government, the National Guard Blueshirts is a movement which strives to obtain "the best that is in fascism."

These Blueshirts, whose total strength is estimated to be round about 30,000, are being aided by members of the British Intelligence Service and have been provided with large quantities of machine-guns and ammunition from British capitalist sources. They are constantly being encouraged and supported quite openly in the columns of the British capitalist press.

That the Irish labouring and republican masses recognise the menace which this fascist organisation constitutes with regard to themselves and the struggle for Ireland's national and social liberation, is shown by the widespread mass hostility which they are displaying towards it. This has been very forcibly demonstrated during the course of the past week.

On the evening of August 8, for example, the masses in Dublin gave a very rough handling to members of the Blueshirt organisation who had gathered to attend the annual dance of the Army Comrades' Association in the Metropole Ballroom. On this occasion thousands of workers and rank and file members of the Irish Republican Army demonstrated against the Blueshirts in the Dublin streets, and despite repeated attempts made by the police to scatter them, in the course of which a number of arrests were made, forcibly expressed their hostility against the Blueshirt leaders.

It had been the intention of O'Duffy and his organisation to hold a parade in Dublin on Sunday, August 13, in memory of Michael Collins and others, who signed the Treaty of surrender in 1921. Big preparations had been made for this parade, which was to demonstrate the strength of the Blueshirts, and the capitalist press of Britain was openly speculating on the possibilities of it resulting in an armed conflict in the Dublin streets.

At the last moment, however, De Valera announced that the parade was banned, whereupon the Blueshirts cancelled their arrangements. Thousands of Irish workers gathered in the streets at the time when the parade had been specified to take place, and one or two groups of Blueshirt members who made their appearance were immediately set upon and beaten up by the angry workers. Only the intervention of the police, who made a baton charge on the crowd, prevented a worse fate from befalling them.

Since these events have taken place the growing tenseness of the situation in Ireland has become still more pronounced. O'Duffy has issued orders for local Blueshirt parades to be held throughout the country on August 20, in connection with which it is significant to note that British capitalism, through the columns of the "Daily Telegraph," has made the following declaration:—

"Against the danger of sporadic disturbances it is almost impossible to make adequate provision if the National Guard are prepared to brave the wrath and vengeance of the I.R.A." ("Daily Telegraph," 14/8/33.)

In other words British capitalism openly urges the Blueshirts to embark upon the adoption of terroristic measures against the Irish people.

Against the growing menace of fascism in Ireland, the Irish Communist Party is leading and organising the fight. In this task it is meeting with a big response and ever-growing mass support.

The C.P. of Ireland has drawn the attention of the Irish workers to the nature and character of the serious danger which confronts them. It is pointing out that the growth of fascism is an open challenge and menace to the working class and the national independence movement. Both in the Party's organ, "Workers' Voice," and leaflets which have been widely distributed, the effects of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and how it was made possible, have been explained, and an urgent call issued for the building up of the broad united front of the Irish working masses so as to destroy the danger of a similar happening in Ireland.

In analysing the development of fascist activity and organisation in Ireland, the Irish Communist Party shows how the ground for O'Duffy and his National Guard has been prepared by the Fianna Fail Government, a fact which De Valera's own organ, the "Irish Press," has been compelled to admit, as the following statement in reference to the National Guard, taken from one of its leading articles, shows:—

"No interference came from the Government, which reliev-

upon the good sense of responsible citizens to prevent that organisation becoming a national menace." "Irish Press, 12/8/33.)

Indeed, the attitude of De Valera's Government with regard to this question and its refusal to "interfere" with O'Duffy's organisation is all the more significant when it is known that it has been for some considerable time in possession of a report submitted to it by O'Duffy himself, while he was still Police Commissioner, which declared of the Army Comrades' Association (from which the Blue-shirts have been formed) that it was "a heavily-armed body, extremely dangerous to the State," which "can, without doubt, lay hands on a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition to render it a very formidable insurrectionary force and a source of extreme danger to the peace and stability of the country."

In view of the above facts, and taking into account the strong reactionary social policy which the De Valera Government is pursuing, it becomes clear that the Fianna Fail Government is not, as its gesture of banning the Dublin Blueshirt parade would seem to indicate on the surface, showing any real opposition to the advance of fascism in Ireland, but on the contrary reveals itself as an agency engaged in holding back the masses from the struggle and facilitating the process of fascist development.

Only by the rousing of the Irish working masses, by the most intensive building up of the anti-fascist movement with deep roots among the workers in the factories, trade union organisations, and the ranks of the Irish Republican Army, will it be possible to withstand the growing fascist menace and defeat it. To achieve this, however, it is essential that there should be the utmost clarity on the question and the most decisive stand taken against all weakening and splitting tendencies which may manifest themselves.

In this connection attention must be drawn to the extremely dangerous and harmful viewpoint which has been expressed by the petty bourgeois leadership of the I.R.A., when they declared in a recent number of the "An Phoblacht" with reference to the Blueshirt movement that:—

"This fascist organisation proposes to regain power for the imperialists by force. . . . There need be no alarm. The character of the leaders of this movement will ensure its failure."

Such an attitude will only be productive of the most terrible harm unless it is fought against uncompromisingly. The same also applies to the policy which the I.R.A. leadership is pursuing of expelling Communists who are members of the Republican organisation. Any disruption or splitting of the ranks of the masses can only serve the purpose of playing into the hands of those who are pressing forward the attack against the Irish revolutionary movement. The terrible fruits which have shown themselves from the treacherous activities of the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders make this only too clear, as the Irish workers are aware.

The Irish toiling masses have a hard and stubborn fight confronting them. Through the development of the widest mass united front struggle and activity under the leadership of the Irish Communist Party, that fight can be carried to complete success, and the day brought rapidly nearer when a free and independent Ireland shall be established in the form of the Irish Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

It is the task of the British working class, whose own exploiting bourgeoisie is at this moment engaged in fomenting and encouraging the most vicious reaction in Ireland in furtherance of its imperialist aims, to render the widest solidarity support and assistance to the Irish toilers in their fight and to raise and struggle more sharply and insistently for the granting of complete Irish independence.

The Revolutionary Upheaval in Cuba

The first news of the street fighting in Havana, the capital of Cuba, was represented by the bourgeois press as a bloody revolt of plundering street mobs, as a fight without any political background. But soon afterwards they were obliged to publish reports of a unanimous general strike of the whole of the working population. A part of the bourgeoisie were also drawn into the fight. When, however, the military who were sent against the strikers refused to obey orders and went over to the side of the rebels, the bourgeois press agencies were compelled to recognise that the fighting in Cuba represented a very serious political struggle.

Formally Cuba is an independent republic, but in reality it is a colony of the United States. The island of Cuba is 114,500 square

kilometres in extent and has a population of four million. Cuba is the biggest supplier of agricultural raw material—chiefly cane sugar—to the American market. Over 90 per cent. of Cuba's exports consist of agricultural products, chiefly sugar and tobacco. American capital investments in Cuba amount to 1,500 million dollars, 800 million dollars of which are invested in sugar plantations.

There are in all about a million workers in Cuba, about 70 per cent. of them being agricultural workers. These workers are terribly exploited both by foreign imperialism on the one hand and by the national bourgeoisie and the landowners on the other. Since the outbreak of the world crisis the conditions of the workers on the sugar plantations and in the sugar refineries have worsened tremendously. Despite the limitation of production of sugar cane (which fell from 5.2 million tons in 1929-30 to 2 million tons in 1932-33) sugar prices continue to fall. In order to secure a further limitation of production the Cuban government has ordered that the harvest period shall not exceed two and a half months. In this connection the number of unemployed landworkers has still further increased. Six hundred thousand of the four million population of Cuba are unemployed. According to official statements the wages of the workers have fallen by from 30 to 40 cents a day.

Under these circumstances the revolutionary movement in Cuba has been developing rapidly during the past few months. Broad masses of the workers in town and country have been drawn into the struggle. In March, 1933, a general strike took place on the sugar plantations and in the sugar refineries. This strike spread over all the six provinces of Cuba and was organised and led by the revolutionary trade unions. This strike demonstrated the very considerable growth of the influence of the revolutionary unions and the Communist Party.

During the past few months the situation of the working masses of Cuba has become desperate. American finance capital has always taken the fruits of the labour of the inhabitants of Cuba, but in recent months it has made their bare existence almost impossible. A tremendous wave of protest arose which then rapidly developed into an insurrection, thanks to a very great extent to the activity of the Communist Party of Cuba. The New York "Daily Worker" writes that during the insurrection the influence of the Communist Party of Cuba increased tremendously. It writes: "The streets are full of people and everywhere one hears cheers for the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party." It was the Communist Party which printed and distributed a tremendous number of leaflets calling for a political general strike. The strike committee which was then formed placed a number of demands before the government, including one for the legalisation of the Communist Party. It also called for the granting of a series of economic demands on behalf of the workers and for the independence of Cuba from American imperialism.

The insurrection was directed above all against the dictator *Machado*, who gained power nine years ago with constitutional means and then broke the constitution and maintained himself with dictatorial means, smashing every working-class movement with the most brutal terror. On account of his murderous brutality *Machado* was generally known as the slaughterer. *Machado* was in fact nothing but a puppet of American imperialism which has been the "protector" of the island since the days of the Spanish-American war in 1898.

The movement was therefore in reality directed against the United States which is the political and economic ruler of Cuba. It is therefore not surprising that after the arrival of the first news of the fighting in Havana it became known that America would intervene, naturally, first of all in favour of *Machado*, although even earlier the American imperialists have shown a tendency to drop him. When the revolutionary movement took on a tremendous mass character Washington did intervene, but this time against *Machado*. However, the suggestion that this was done by the United States government in order to respect the will of the people of Cuba is pure humbug. For years Yankee imperialism has not thought of respecting this will. On the contrary, it gave the slaughterer *Machado* a free hand. But when Washington observed that the will of the people of Cuba was well on the way to forcing respect, Roosevelt suddenly discovered that he was at heart a democrat, particularly in view of the fact that Cuba is one of the most exposed points of American imperialism near

the eastern entrance to the Pacific Ocean and represents a valuable naval base. Washington therefore dropped Machado, but not before getting him away to safety in order to save him from the wrath of the Cuban population.

However, with the flight of Machado and the appointment of a new satrap *de Cespedes* order has by no means been restored in Cuba, for the removal of Machado was not the only demand of the workers who came out in the general strike. They have not fought a revolutionary battle and shed their blood merely in order that one general and agent of American finance capital should be replaced by another general and agent of Yankee imperialism, and no word is mentioned in the reports about the granting of any of the demands of the workers.

The insurrection in Cuba, the revolutionary movement in India, the serious situation in Ireland, the permanent unrest in Latin-America, the intensified class struggles everywhere, are all links in a chain leading into a whole period of powerful struggles against the imperialist exploiters and oppressors, struggles which will finally break the back of imperialism.

England's Fight Against the Dominions

By J. R. (Moscow)

England and her Dominions (with the exception of Ireland) have published a common declaration in which they assure everyone, that they are "satisfied" with the Ottawa agreement. The declaration was published at night immediately after the conclusion of the London Conference. On the day before its publication the whole English press had brought forward the fact that the differences of opinion between England and her Dominions had become very great. It is self-evident that within a single day the situation could not have changed so swiftly for the better, all the more as nothing happened which could have any influence on the attitude of the parties in question. Therefore it must be taken that the public declaration of "satisfaction" through the Ottawa agreement was dictated by some other considerations. The declaration was directed clearly against the United States. Its initiators, turning to the U.S.A., say, so to speak: Do not reckon on being able to use in the course of a monetary and economic war our differences of opinion to your advantage, or to hasten the splitting of our unity and to take possession of the markets of the English Dominions; we are pleased with the Ottawa agreement, have no illusions, please!

This declaration will, however, have little influence on the United States. In the U.S.A. they are well aware that the fight between England and her Dominions is becoming sharper. The ruling circles in England have discarded the traditional free trade policy and begun to seek refuge behind a wall of protective tariffs. Since the English bourgeoisie lost positions on the world market, they have taken every measure at least to keep the market of their Dominions. For this purpose in 1932, an imperial conference was called at Ottawa at which a number of treaties were made between England and her Dominions. These agreements, on the one hand, guarantee a number of favours to the Dominions on the English market and on the other ensure a position of advantage to English manufactured goods in the markets of the Dominions. In a word, at Ottawa a marriage of convenience was solemnised. With the help of this marriage the English bourgeoisie hopes not only to ensure for itself a market, but also to prevent a betrayal by the Dominions which show a particularly strong inclination to a love affair with the American uncle. The Ottawa agreement is to bind England to her Dominions with a strong ring, and for the sake of this the English bourgeoisie not only sacrificed a number of countries closely bound to her economically, but even the interests of their own farmers. This latter circumstance plays no small role at present in the differences of opinion between England and her Dominions.

It is not only a question of the English farmers suffering great losses because the Dominions are carrying on a dumping policy. Under the influence of the crisis and the shrinking of the extent of the foreign market, the tendencies in the leading circles of the English bourgeoisie towards an extension of its food supply basis have been strengthened. The government of England has taken a number of measures in this direction. The English bourgeoisie consider that with the extension of agriculture they will be able to

transfer a part of the unemployed on to the land, and by giving security to this economy with the help of tariffs, to raise purchasing power slightly at home. The dumping on the part of the Dominions has brought all these plans to nought. In its conversations with the Dominions, the English government strove to change the Ottawa agreements in the interests of English farmers, but encountered sharp resistance on the part of the Dominions.

Also the calculations of the English bourgeoisie with regard to exports to the Dominions proved wrong. Exports did not increase; on the contrary, to some Dominions they even decreased. The reason for this is above all that the Dominions are ruined by the agrarian crisis and are not in a position to maintain their imports at their former level. As long as the U.S.A. kept to the gold standard, England could use the Ottawa agreements as well as the advantage of inflation dumping in the markets of the Dominions. But now the situation has changed sharply. The U.S.A. dollar is catching up with the depreciation of the British pound sterling, and this means a noticeable sharpening of U.S.A. competition, which cannot in any way be prevented by the present customs tariff. Particular attention is being paid to this situation in England, all the more as England, by giving a number of advantages to the Dominions has brought a number of countries into an unfavourable situation, which in turn deals a blow at the interests of English export. Apart from this, it weakens the political standing of England in a number of countries which are supporters of English imperialism. Therefore, it is not due to chance that in the declaration the question of the "sterling block," i.e., the creation of a firm relation between the currency of England and the Dominions, is brought up.

The talk of such a "block" and about a united empire currency is not new. These plans were brought forward by England at the Ottawa conference, but nothing came of it. With the help of the "sterling block" or a united empire currency, England would like to bind the Dominions still closer to the mother country. But these plans, too, encountered the resistance of the Dominions. At the present moment, since the U.S.A.—the chief competitor of the Dominions in the agricultural produce market—is driving its currency down ever further, the Dominions cannot link their currency with that of the English pound, for if the U.S.A. dollar catches up the English pound in its devaluation, the agricultural exports of Canada and Australia will get a crushing blow. That is why the Canadian Prime Minister Bennett came out so strongly against the equalisation of the pound with the French franc, i.e., with a stable currency, and insisted that the pound must follow the dollar, i.e., a depreciating currency.

The declaration of the 28th of July, in spite of its outspoken "satisfaction" with Ottawa, cannot hide the fact that a stubborn fight is breaking out between England and the Dominions over the Ottawa agreement.

Preparations for Asiatic Anti-War Congress

Tokio, August 11.

Since June interest has been increasing in Japan in the Asiatic Congress against imperialist war. The Amsterdam World Committee has proposed that this Congress be convened in Shanghai in September. Numerous organisations have declared their readiness to follow the initiative of the Japanese committee; these include: the Peasants' League, the reformist trade unions and the trade union opposition, the League against Imperialism, the Proletarian Culture Association, the Association of Workers' Co-operative Societies. A number of well-known persons, too, have joined the movement, among them the writer Akita, Fuyimori, Kinoshita, Sasaki, Kokota, and others.

A local committee is being formed in Tokio. The national initiative committee records the affiliation of large groups of workers from the factories of Fonkagaba, Jonan, Jasei, etc. Other affiliations are the sport organisations, and the association of the small tradesmen of Tokio.

The National Committee is now preparing to receive two delegates from the World Committee: Lord Marley and Dr. Marteaux, who will arrive, in Yokohama about August 25.

Germany

Altona !

By Fritz Heckert

Accursed, accursed be he who forgets this day, who does not avenge this blood!

The leading article of the "Pravda" of April 12, 1912, giving the news of the horrible shooting down of the Lena workers, concluded with these words of Demian Bjedny. The blood of the Lena workers was the seed from which grew up the victorious proletarian revolution of 1917. From out the bodies of the slain there grew the weapons which killed the murderers.

I, too, begin my article, which is devoted to the four Altona proletarians who were hanged on August 1, 1933, on the orders of the wild beast, Goering, with the prophetic words of Demian Bjedny. The day of the murder is past, the day of retribution is approaching.

The Hitler regime in Germany chose the 1st of August, our day of international fight against war, in order to strike the working class of the whole world a fresh blow in the face. This same band of capitalist hangman's assistants which has stolen the 1st of May from us workers in order openly to mock this fighting day of the working class, continued its cynical work on August 1. The fascist murderers, the capitalist warmongers in Germany, love to profane great symbols. They deliberately chose the 1st of August, our Anti-War Day, in order to carry out the death sentence against the four revolutionary fighters and to mock the whole of the working class.

In July, 1932, the national socialist party, in continuation of their provocation of the working class, decided to march through the proletarian district of Altona. In those streets the inhabitants of which were nearly all Communists, the hirelings of finance capital wished to show the workers that they were ready at any time, on the orders of their pay-masters, to attack the working masses. The social democratic police president, Eggerstedt, who was eager to win the laurels of a Noske and a Zoergiebel, permitted and facilitated these provocations.

The fascist bloodhounds did not march through the working class streets of Altona like harmless pedestrians. They wanted thoroughly to intimidate the workers and terrorise the workers' quarters. The Altona proletariat defended itself. The workers, in an heroic fight, cleared the streets in order to protect their class, their wives and children. The social democrat, Eggerstedt, however, with his armed police, sided with the fascist thugs. A savage blood-bath was carried out. Eighteen workers were killed and two fascists also lost their lives. A wild cry of indignation rose from the working masses throughout the whole of Germany. That which has happened in Altona must not occur again, was the slogan on the lips of the proletarians in every German town. But the social democratic allies of the fascist murderers attempted with every possible means to shift the blame onto the workers, in order to absolve themselves from their responsibility for the fascist acts of murder. Even after the Altona events the words: "Rather ten times with the fascists than once with the Communists" remained the guiding principle of the social democrats.

After Hitler had come into power with the help of the social democrats, he immediately considered how he could take revenge on the revolutionary workers. The revolutionary workers of Altona were arrested and brought before a special court. In defiance of every principle of law and justice, this court, on July 2, sentenced four of the Altona workers to death and six to severe terms of imprisonment. These savage sentences called forth a great outcry throughout the civilised world. Nobody abroad, however, believed that this unprecedented judicial murder would be actually carried out. In the morning of 1st of August, however, the incredible happened. It could not be otherwise. The bestial Hitler regime needs fresh victims every day in order to proclaim its bestial character to the whole world.

Four proletarian lives have been taken. On this day four workers were murdered in cold blood by means of the executioner's axe on the orders of Hitler's justice and according to Hitler's law.

Murdered! There is no other word for this deed. The mur-

derers murdered their victims quite openly. Whose blood did not freeze in his veins when he read in the papers of the German bourgeoisie that the Altona workers received a just sentence?

When, on June 2, the sentences were pronounced on our Altona comrades, not one of these heroes turned a hair. The bourgeois journalists had to bow to these undaunted revolutionary fighters. Has there ever stood before a class court a braver proletarian than August Luettgens? who replied to the public prosecutor:—

"This motion to sentence me to death is the greatest honour that can be paid to a revolutionary. Even the death sentence which is demanded against me and my fellow accused will not turn the anti-fascist workers from the path of struggle against fascism. Whatever may be the result of this trial, the revolutionary workers will fulfil their duty in the revolutionary fight against fascism."

August Luettgens, Walter Moeller, Karl Wolff and Bruno Tesch will not be able to see the fulfilment of their words by the German working class. But the German workers will fulfil this pledge. A year ago a court in Beuthen, in Upper Silesia, condemned four members of the national socialist party to death. These sadistic brutes had murdered two revolutionary workers in Potempa in a most bestial revolting manner. The world was horrified by this foul murder, but not so Hitler, who hailed these murderers as his brothers and promised them freedom. Hitler has kept his word. The Potempa murderers have become highly-paid employees of the Hitler regime. But what honest man in the world would venture to name the Potempa murderers in the same breath as the Altona workers? Between Potempa and Altona there is as big a difference as there is between Hitler and Communism. The fascist murderers of our Altona comrades have committed this bloody deed not only out of sadism. They murdered out of fear of Communism. They see the writing on the wall. The economic crisis is becoming more acute; the financial bankruptcy is increasing; the small peasants and petty bourgeois are disappointed with the fascist deceivers, as are also all who expected from Hitler the socialist revolution and who now see how he delivers the oppressed and disinherited over to Thyssen and Krupp and the financial sharks. The mutinies among the Nazi Storm Troops are sapping and destroying the forces of the Hitler party just as galloping consumption eats away the lungs.

In all the confusion and disorder that the Hitler system has brought about, there is only one thing that stands firmly on its feet and becomes stronger every day, and that is the Communist Party which Hitler set out to exterminate. And the working masses are beginning to rally round this Communist Party. That is what strikes fear into the hearts of the fascist rulers and turns the Hitler party into a mob which has run amok.

It is intended by the bloody deed in Altona to spread fresh fear among the workers. The Hitler party intend by this deed to prepare the trial of Torgler and Dimitrov and also the trial of the leader of the Communist Party, Ernst Thälmann. The Hitler party is beginning to lose its head. Hence this mad revenge coupled with cowardly provocations. The prisoners in the concentration camps—a hundred thousand—were deprived of their dinner for three days because, it was alleged, a Hindenburg oak had been torn up in the Tempelhof Field. Not even the world war saw such bestial acts as the Hitler regime commits every day.

That which happened to our brothers in Altona on 1st of August is indelibly printed on our proletarian hearts like the day of the Lena goldfields. The Thyssens, the Krupps and all the wire-pullers of the Hitler party will soon come to learn this to their cost. As the Lena massacre was followed by the 25th of October, so Altona will be followed by the German October.

You present rulers of Germany! We write on our account with you for the 1st of August the words of the old German ballad:—

"The dead, the dead, they ride so fast."

Wrest Ernst Thaelmann from Hitler's Bloodhounds

By Wilhelm Pieck (Berlin)

The leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thaelmann, was tracked down by Hitler's bloodhounds in the first weeks of the dictatorship and flung into prison. For nearly six weeks he has been exposed to the torments of prison life. Kept in strict isolation, deprived of every legal protection, he is to be rendered a mental and physical wreck. That is the intention of the Hitler government. Comrade Thaelmann, as we all knew he would, is standing steadfast and defiant in face of all the chicanery and hardships. But his life is threatened every day by the Hitler bloodhounds. There is no doubt about that, and the public must not be deceived by the reports of journalists, to whom the Hitler government presented Comrade Thaelmann, that he has not been mishandled or tortured up to now. The Hitler government intend by means of this farce to deceive the public regarding the fate of Comrade Thaelmann. They are holding him as a hostage in order that they can at any time make him pay with his life for the growing fights of the working class against the Hitler regime. The Hitler government now announce that they intend to have Comrade Thaelmann tried for high treason. The trial is to be carried out by means of forged evidence, suborned witnesses and phantastic stories about Communist plans for a revolt. By such means a pogrom mood is to be created against the leader of the Communist Party which will render it easier for the Hitler government either to murder him in a "legal" manner, or to have him put out of the way by hired thugs. It is high time that the working masses of Germany and all other countries and the intellectuals allied with them united in a common protest action to enforce the release of Comrade Thaelmann. Far too much time has already passed without having been utilised. The Hitler government cherish the belief that they can do what they like with Thaelmann. Their murderous plans are becoming more and more obvious. **The death sentence carried out on the four workers in Altona are a shrill, rousing signal.** Hundreds of proletarian and intellectual fighters have been already murdered by the Hitler bloodhounds. The Hitler government is now proceeding to "legalise" murder. Shall the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, also fall a victim to this gang of murderers? No, that must not be! An unceasing fight must be conducted for his release. He must be torn from the grip of these bloodhounds. All opponents of this Hitler regime, which is dripping with blood, must unite for action and by a world-wide mobilisation of all toilers enforce the release of Ernst Thaelmann.

Thaelmann accused of "high treason"! Why? Comrade Thaelmann has come from the lowest strata of the proletariat. As a poorly paid casual labourer and dock worker he himself experienced the misery suffered by the working masses. But he did not bear this misery in dull despair. He recognised more and more clearly that this misery, which is rooted in the capitalist system, can only be abolished if the masses unite in a common struggle against it. Every day shows, however, that the capitalists, who endeavour to maintain this system by employing every means of force, can be overcome only by the class struggle and the proletarian revolution, and that the revolution and the establishment of socialism is possible only under the leadership of the Communist Party. Thus Ernst Thaelmann became a class-conscious worker, an active functionary in the workers' movement. By hard work, strenuous study of Marxist-Leninist literature, and by organising the struggles of the workers he rose to be leader of the Communist Party. Under his leadership the Party developed into a revolutionary mass organisation. As in the Council of the Communist International, so he endeavoured by connections with the other sections to organise and continually to increase the fight against hunger, war and fascism. Comrade Thaelmann saw in the grandiose successes of the Party of the Bolsheviks, which under Lenin's leadership emancipated the Russian workers and peasants from Tsarism and by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat put them on the high road to socialism, the highest aims of the Communist Party of Germany, in order to unite also the German workers and peasants, artisans and intellectuals in the common fight, to free them from the mass misery of capitalism and to establish socialism in Germany. Therefore he fought against the social democracy and the Second International, because by their policy of alliance with the bourgeoisie they secured the bourgeois rule and sought to hold back the work-

ers from the revolutionary way out. Therefore he also fought with all his passion against the Hitler party, which talked about socialism, but only defends capitalism. Therefore he fought against national oppression by the Versailles system and for the national and social emancipation of all toilers. Therefore he wanted to see set up the united fighting front against cuts in wages and salaries, against the heavy taxes and customs duties, against high prices and extortionate rents, against the cutting down of unemployment, sick benefit, pensions and social services, against any worsening of the standards of living of the working masses. Therefore he called for struggle, for strikes and mass actions against the capitalist system and against the Hitler government. Therefore he is charged with "high treason." Therefore he is pining in prison. Therefore he is to be tried for high treason and murdered!

The blow of the Hitler government against Comrade Thaelmann is a blow against the working masses of Germany, against all workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals, against the Communist Party. The Hitler government is unable to alleviate the misery of the toiling masses. On the contrary, Hitler carries out the behests of heavy industry and high finance, whose profits are to be increased by lowering the standards of living of the masses. Therefore he forbids interference in the capitalist economic system and will not hear of any expropriation of the big landlords. His "plan to provide work" is to render universal the misery of the unemployed; is work at the lowest conceivable wages and with complete lack of rights; is preparation for inflation, with a monstrous plundering of the toiling masses. Disappointment on account of the non-fulfilment of the promises made by the Hitler party is general. The resistance of all sections of the working population to the Hitler regime is growing. Indignation is growing even among the old followers of the Nazis. All opposition is to be suppressed by means of brute force. But Hitler knows that his policy is bound to lead to a general rebellion of the working people. The resistance is to be prevented or broken by means of wholesale arrests, concentration camps, torture and hangman's justice. In vain. The Communist Party of Germany is organising the resistance-actions with increasing success; it is succeeding more and more in arousing the fighting spirit! The confidence of the masses in the Communist Party as the only fighting organisation is growing from day to day. Here is the guarantee that the Hitler regime will be swept away by the insurgent masses. But with the growth of the movement of resistance, with the outbreak of smaller and larger struggles, the danger threatening the lives of our incarcerated comrades, especially Comrade Thaelmann, also increases. The repeatedly announced "St. Bartholomew's night" will be carried out by the Hitler bloodhounds against the defenceless prisoners if the working masses do not forestall them by enforcing the release of their comrades.

The international anti-fascist action initiated by the European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress must be carried out with increased energy in every capitalist country. As part of this action the demand: "Release the leader of the Communist Party, Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, release all political prisoners," must become a mass movement which shall force open the prison gates and sweep away the bloody Hitler regime. Every worker, peasant, artisan and intellectual must join in this anti-fascist action, must promote it by every means, must be an active fighter in this movement. It is a question of the lives of our imprisoned comrades, of the life of our comrade, Ernst Thaelmann. It is a question of the freedom of the working people and socialism!

Into the Mass Struggle for the Rescue of the Heroes of the Anti-Fascist Fight!

To the working youth of the whole world!

To the working youth of Germany!

Young Workers! Comrades!

The fascist bandit government of Hitler and Goering, which is stained with the blood of workers, the best government of the German factory owners, bank magnates, junkers and monarchist generals, **incapable of giving bread and work** to the workers and the toiling masses, is resorting to methods of wholesale murder, which are converting Germany into a country of legal mass murder, into a land of the gallows.

Up to the present more than 100,000 workers, young workers, intellectuals, including the leader of the German working class and

one of the best leaders of the international proletariat, **Ernst Thälmann**, have been thrown into prison and concentration camps.

Hundreds and hundreds of Communists, Young Communists, social-democratic workers and anti-fascists have already been openly and secretly tortured to death in the most bestial and brutal manner. The sufferings of the German working class and its youth are indescribable.

But the Hitler-Goering government have not succeeded and will not succeed in achieving their aim, which is to crush the revolutionary movement and annihilate the heroic C.P. of Germany and German Y.C.L.

Goering himself is forced to admit that "Communism is raising its head in Germany with increasing insulence."

Yes, the C.P.G. and the German Y.C.L. **not only live but are fighting heroically in spite of everything!** Numerous demonstrations, various strikes in the factories, and especially in the labour service camps, are a splendid proof of this.

The anti-fascist fighting movement in Germany is growing under the leadership of the C.P.G. and the German Y.C.L.

It is against these that the new Goering decree (under which every worker, including every young worker, who fights for work and bread because Hitler and Goering give neither the one nor the other; or defends himself against the brutal attacks of the fascist bands will be brought to the gallows) is chiefly directed. The Hitler bands want to commit a mass murder against the German working class.

Shortly after the issue of the Goering decree, six Young Communists in Cologne and two in Berlin were sentenced to death; and a few days ago four Communist workers, including two Young Communists, who had defended themselves against the provocative attack of the Storm Troops on the workers' quarter of Altona in 1932, were executed.

Young workers, these four Communist workers died the death of heroes on the scaffold for the revolution. They have died, but nevertheless they live! They live in the hearts of the million-army of the working class and the toilers.

Their heroic death must increase a thousandfold your youthful élan, courage and determination in the fight against the fascist dictatorship!

Write to you, young workers, no matter what your political opinions; develop at once a powerful protest movement to save the young workers who have been sentenced to death in Cologne and Berlin. They can be rescued, but only by means of a powerful mass fighting movement of the international proletariat. Organise everywhere, in the factories and workshops, in the labour service camps, offices, villages and in the frontier districts, big protest demonstrations and mass meetings for the rescue of the anti-fascist workers who have been sentenced to death, and also all arrested anti-fascists, with Ernst Thälmann at the head.

Make use of every demonstration in order to protest! Flood the German consulates with protest telegrams! Send mass deputations from the factories, from the labour exchanges with protests to the German consulates.

Set up united front committees of the youth for the rescue of the anti-fascists who have been condemned to death! The life of the leader of the German working class, Ernst Thälmann, is in the greatest danger!

Be indefatigable in the fight for his release! At every meeting and demonstration demand his immediate release!

In the factories, in the labour service camps, everywhere where there are masses of youth, set up fighting committees for his release.

The heroes of the anti-fascist fight of the German proletariat who have been sentenced to death, the hundred thousand of arrested, with Ernst Thälmann at the head, can be saved!

Therefore, join in the mass struggle for their rescue!

Down with the fascist dictatorship!

Release the anti-fascists who have been arrested and sentenced to death!

Release Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitrov and all others!

Long live the international solidarity fight for their release!

West European Bureau of the Young Communist International.

Central Committee of the German Young Communist League.

August 4, 1933.

The Second Stage of German Fascism :

By J. Meyer (Berlin)

(Conclusion)

In the creation of the "full state" the point of view of the preparation of war plays just as decisive a role as in the whole economic policy. Looking at the position from the angle of war preparations gives the key to the understanding of all those unproductive works which have been undertaken for the "creation of work" (building of roads, extension of factory plant, although the railways lack the goods to be transported and industry cannot use the factory equipment that is already there), as well as to the understanding of the special interest that is devoted to the "incorporation" of the youth organisation as the suppliers of "human material" for the coming war.

Naturally it is no accident that the swindle of creation of work is concentrated in East Prussia, in that province which has the greatest importance for the war planned against the Soviet Union and against Poland.

Why was it necessary, not only to remove the other bourgeois parties from the government, but also to dissolve their organisations, "to incorporate" the mass organisations, i.e., to destroy them?

These measures, too, in no way witness to the strength and firmness of the fascist regime, but, on the contrary, they indicate the growing resistance of the masses, which fascism itself encounters in those organisations whose leadership from a class point of view is capitalist and reactionary. It sounds like a joke when the German Nationalist and the different organisations of the Stahlhelm, that is to say open fascist organisations are dissolved because of "Marxist disintegration." But for fascism it is just as bitterly earnest, as the warning given by Fricks quoted above, of Marxist elements inside the national socialist organisations.

In a State which cruelly suppresses every legal activity of the working class, which absolutely forbids any independent movement of the toiling masses, which, nevertheless, by its capitalist policy of impoverishment necessarily arouses growing indignation among the masses, every organisation must, to the extent that it does not stand under the firm control of the fascist hierarchy, become a gathering point of mass anti-fascist resistance.

The German National fighting corps in fact grew from small groups to powerful fighting cadres only because thousands of workers streamed into this organisation in order to protect themselves from the fascist terror. It is possible that at first many of these workers were influenced by the social-democratic ideology of the "lesser evil"; they may, at first, have believed that in this way they could conform to the fascist dictatorship without directly submitting to the hated swastika; nevertheless, under the pressure of the growing mass rebellion against fascism, the anti-fascist movement led by the Communist Party of Germany, these "German National" organisations took on really, to a certain extent, an open "Marxist," i.e., "class struggle" character.

All the same, not all sections of the bourgeoisie were in agreement with this way of creating the "full state." The heavy pressure which was necessary in order to "convince" the Bavarian People's Party, the German National Front and the Centre of the need for them to disappear from the political stage, shows that the sections of the bourgeoisie represented in these parties are not satisfied with the methods used at the present time in Germany for the salvation of bourgeois class rule. To be sure, this competition for the monopoly of the political representation of finance capital is nothing less than a fight against fascism, but yet most of the representatives of the dissolved parties express only the wish to be taken into the ranks of the victorious fascist party in one form or another.

How ridiculous to-day seems the illusion still spread by the social democrats that Hitler's dictatorship could be shipwrecked by the resistance of one or another of the bourgeois parties, of Hindenburg or the Reichswehr.

The resolution of our Central Committee some weeks ago correctly warned against the illusion that the inner conflicts of the bourgeoisie would of themselves lead to the collapse of the Hitler dictatorship, and formulated the principle in opposition to this:—

"Only to the extent that the working class itself under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany is successful in developing mass struggles will these conflicts in-

crease, will the fighting power of fascism against the proletariat be weakened."

In fact, when a new wave of proletarian mass struggles will first arise, under Communist leadership, when the petty bourgeois strata, already very disappointed and extremely dissatisfied, will be drawn more and more into the anti-capitalist class front, through the weight of the proletarian class struggle, then there will be the first proof how dangerous the experiment of the "full" fascist state is for bourgeois class rule. The bourgeoisie has to a great degree weakened, although not destroyed, the **reserve positions** which they otherwise had at their disposal. If the anti-fascist mass movement acquires such force that the fascist dictatorship shakes, even then the transformation from fascist to proletarian dictatorship is not an automatic process, which is accomplished by the necessity of fate itself. If we were to awaken such opinions in the working class it would mean that we were belittling the great task of the revolutionary party.

We must reckon that the bourgeoisie, if their rule begins to weaken through the inevitable bankruptcy of the Hitler regime, will **once more make an attempt to push forward their "Left" wing as a bulwark against the proletarian revolution.** That is the **one hope of Wels and Co.** Also the Centre, which through its religious organisations keeps a certain cohesion under all conditions, as well as the Bavarian People's Party, will not vanish completely from the world. One should not forget that **counter-revolutionary terror is a two-edged weapon.** While it destroys every organisation which is incapable of any serious illegal work and compromises those of its enemies which openly and unconditionally capitulate, it at the same time creates new authority for such organisations and leaders as in some way or other—be it only in a weak, demagogic, dishonest form—offer resistance. Even the most shameful capitulation is wiped out in the eyes of the masses when fascism helps even the most miserable capitulator to an undeserved martyr's role.

To believe that after the destruction of all non-national socialist legal organisations the class struggle is turned into a duel between Communism and national socialism would be the most dangerous mistake, **which would prevent us from solving our most important task, the winning of the social democratic workers.** The more fearfully the fascist terror rages, the sooner can new illusions about bourgeois democracy as a desirable state of affairs arise in the masses, if we do not prevent it. The more brutally the social-democratic organisations are destroyed, the sooner can the remnants of social democracy cause their role as assistants and preparers of the way for fascism to be forgotten, if we do not keep the recollection of the shameful deeds of social democracy awake. If in the present stage of the class struggle our chief task lies here, in destroying social-democratic ideology in the masses, in winning social-democratic workers for the anti-fascist fight, on the other hand the open capitalist declarations and measures of **Hitler** offer favourable opportunities for our fight to win adherents of fascism from among the working population, for drawing them into the daily struggle for their own immediate interests.

Hitler himself clearly sees that the new phase of the fascist dictatorship, which was introduced by the open renunciation of the "socialist" demands of the adherents of the "national socialist revolution," makes necessary a corresponding change within the fascist organisations. Hitler loses no opportunity to extol "**blind**" obedience, "**blind**" belief in his authority as the cardinal virtue of national socialism; obviously he is afraid too many of his followers might recover their sight. It must not be forgotten that not long ago it was Goering and Göbbels themselves who declared that the national-socialist revolution was not finished by a long way. Side by side with a few hundred thousands for whom the "revolution is finished," because they have got a post, there are many millions who cannot be contented with the results of the fascist seizure of power, because it has not satisfied and cannot satisfy their social needs. In spite of the melody, repeated daily in the press in Coué fashion, "Things are getting better" millions of toilers of all strata notice that things are not getting better, but worse. And, therefore, for them the solemn announcement "the revolution is finished" is a blow in the face.

Just as the social-democratic parasites on the revolution in 1918 made the appeal "the revolution should not become a wage movement," so now the leaders of the fascist counter-revolution declare the "revolution" means "sacrifice" for the idealistically-

minded national socialists. This preaching of sacrifice can impress the toilers who follow national socialism all the less, since those who are preaching sacrifice have ensured the fat livings for themselves, out of which the republican competitors have been ousted. "The revolution must not be a permanent state of affairs" declares the "leader" at a moment when the smallest social demand of his followers has not yet been satisfied. Thus Hitler helps us to make the masses who up till now have followed fascism understand that they are not helped by a revolution which only abolishes class differences in phrases. Thus he helps us to win them for revolutionary socialism, for Communism, for which the revolution is also not ended with the formation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which regards this rather as:—

"A necessary point of transition for the abolition of class differences in general, for the abolition of all the relations of production, on which they rest, for the abolition of all social relations which correspond to these relations of production, for the revolution of all those ideas which arise out of these social conditions."—(Marx: "Class Struggle in France.")

Hitler's open declaration of war against the revolutionary illusions of his followers has strengthened the **ferment** which already existed **among the national socialist masses.** In the Storm Troops it gave rise to fierce conflicts, a number of groups had to be dissolved (in Frankfurt-on-Maine, Neuköln, Stettin).

We are only at the beginning of this development. What will be the awakening when suddenly heavy blows, as they arise out of the sharpening of the crisis, as they are necessary in the interests of the capitalist class, strike the toilers, when wage and salary reductions take place along the whole line, when the bankrupt state treasury can no longer pay unemployment and sick benefit, when inflation leads to a general soaring of prices!

The less possibility there is for making demagogic manoeuvres, the more the fascist dictatorship will go over to the **sharpening of their terror.**

But there is the question, how far Hitler and Goering will be in a position, in the coming months, in the extreme sharpening of class contradictions which lie ahead, to develop such a mass terror as was possible in February and March. The Storm Troops to a certain degree can no longer be counted on as sufficiently reliable for the fascist rulers. The carefully selected Protective Corps have already been drawn into responsible functions, they **must exercise a control over the Storm Troops.** For the N.S.B.O. (Nazi factory organisation) Göbbels and Engel some time ago announced a general cleansing, after they had forced hundreds of thousands into the organisations by force. Such a cleansing will be necessary also in the **party and the Storm Troops,** if the fascists want to get rid of the "grouzers" and "mischief-makers," whom Goering denounced in a special statement as "disguised Marxists." As a matter of fact, it is just the old, convinced national socialists whom one now hears "grousing."

The fascist rulers therefore must not only keep down the masses of anti-fascists, millions strong, by continuous watching, spying and terrorisation; they must more and more turn these same measures against their own organisations, if they do not wish to risk their own apparatus collapsing under a serious trial of strength. That is the reason why the national socialist leaders now especially collect the "old guard," entice them with jobs, appeal to their "long proved courage of sacrifice" and so try to sort out an "elite," a cadre which shall ensure the party and the Storm Troops against threatening disintegration. Göbbels spoke of an "inner reorganisation" of the party:—

"From the many hundred thousands who came to us since the seizure of power, the useful part will be gradually absorbed in the party; the other part, as far as it is not useful, will be once more separated off from it."

And in this connection he gives a warning of the danger that "Marxism in the N.S.B.O. can find 'a new ideological battleground.'"

"The Party is the State," Hitler declared in that speech in which he forbade any independent action by national socialist organisations. Again and again he and his people emphasise that the national socialist organisations at the present time have only **an educational task.** The aim which these people have in mind is the following: They want to separate out a **select body of a few hundred thousand reliable fascist menials, who, armed with the**

whole force of the state, will repress any resistance. Side by side with this there should be broad mass organisations led by these people, which must not be allowed to express any life of their own, but be recruiting depots for the fascist state; hence, the special importance attached to the fascist youth organisations. Apart from the fascist state apparatus and the fascist recruiting schools, there should be no other organisations at all. The creation of political parties is threatened by a special law with the highest penalties as high treason.

That is the ideal of the "full national socialist state" as it is envisaged by these saviours of capital. The terrorist character of this regime must make itself the more blatantly apparent the more its demagogic swindle is exposed by facts. The Communist Party of Germany, starting from this appreciation of the situation, foresees a new stage of sharper and broader class battles. A government which threatens "talk of revolution" with the strongest punishment only betrays how much it fears the approaching socialist revolution. With all the greater stubbornness will the cadres of the Communist advance-guard, undismayed by terror, fulfil their task of the organisation of the revolution.

Trial in the Reichstag Fire Affair Postponed for the Eighth Time

Leipzig, August 12.

For the eighth time the Supreme Court has postponed the trial in the Reichstag fire affair. Before the last postponement, the trial was fixed for the "beginning of September." This was cancelled by the state Minister of Justice, Frank, who announced the trial for the "end of November or beginning of December." This again was promptly repudiated, and the statement made that the trial was to take place at the beginning of September after all.

This eighth postponement of the trial adds one more to the countless proofs that even now, after the "indictment" has already been drawn up, the fascist government continues to be in a dilemma. The fascist court of justice has not yet ventured to reveal the names of those indicted, or to state whether the accused are to be allowed the defending counsel of their own choice in addition to the counsel placed at their disposal by the fascist court.

In view of the tremendous pressure placed on the fascist government in this matter, in view of the fact that up to the present over 500 persons have been sentenced by German emergency courts for stating publicly that it was not the Communists who set the Reichstag on fire, but the national socialists, and in view of the fact that not only the proletarian public of the whole world, but large numbers of the bourgeoisie, especially in England and France, are following the preparations for this trial with the utmost expectation and mistrust, the fascist German government requires a further pause for breath, in order that it may falsify its "evidence" more efficiently, and may continue its attempts to break the spirit of the prisoners by the sharpest mental torture.

The Labour Movement

Twenty Thousand Strikers Build Barricades in Strassbourg

By J. Berlioz

In the week from the 1st to the 6th August Strassbourg was the scene of events of great political significance. Twenty thousand workers came out in a sympathy strike in support of the building workers who were fighting to maintain their standards of living. Day after day they resisted the attempts of the armed forces of French imperialism to break the strike. The strikers showed a tremendous fighting spirit against the brutalities of the police. On numerous occasions the police were compelled to beat a retreat and barricades were erected by the strikers to ward off their attacks. Not since 1920-21 has the capital of Alsace seen any such enthusiastic and determined struggle, a struggle with such a definitely political character. The government and the social-democratic leaders did everything possible to break the strike, and finally they succeeded as the result of the fact that the mass basis of the united front was not sufficiently consolidated.

Since the 23rd June 2,000 building workers in Strassbourg have been on strike in order to secure a wage increase of 50 centimes an hour in order to counter the continual attempts of the

employers to violate the agreement of 1924. The C.G.T. (the reformist trade union federation) were in favour of a strike of the bricklayers only, but the C.G.T.U. (the revolutionary trade union federation) insisted on a strike of all building workers, and the slogans of the C.G.T.U. were taken up by at least 90 per cent. of the organised building workers.

The employers refused to give way and let the matter develop into a trial of strength. In order to break the obstinacy of the employers the strike committee of the building workers proposed a general solidarity strike of as many workers as possible. On July 29 the C.G.T.U. held a meeting of its supporters and declared itself unconditionally in favour of this general solidarity strike. On the following day the C.G.T.U. got into touch with a conference of reformist trade union officials and persuaded them to adopt the strike proposal. A joint strike committee was elected, in which the revolutionary, reformist and Christian unions were represented in equal strength.

On the 1st August the first 10,000 workers came out in support of the building workers, including wood workers, clothing workers, and the workers of the gas and electricity works. By the next day the ranks of the strikers had increased to 17,500. Not a single tramway was at work and the street cleaning was abandoned. On the 3rd August over 20,000 workers were out. The municipal workers and the workers of a number of breweries had taken their places in the ranks. A strong ferment grew up amongst the railwaymen and the post office workers, and their entry into the strike was only a matter of days. Enthusiasm reigned in the town amongst the workers. The quick spread of the strike front and the splendid spirit of solidarity were the result of the outbreak of the suppressed hatred of the Alsatian proletariat against the double oppression, against the oppression practised by the Alsatian employers on the one hand and by French imperialism on the other.

The "Left-wing" government, supported by the socialists, realised that the 20,000 strikers were not fighting merely for wage increases, but for the emancipation of the people of Alsace-Lorraine. The government therefore decided to suppress the movement by sheer brutality, and strong forces of police and garde mobile were flung into Strassbourg. On the 2nd and 3rd August the police and the garde mobile attacked the strikers peacefully assembled on the Boersen Platz and met with energetic resistance. The police cordons were unable to hold back the workers, who penetrated into the interior of the town. The members of the garde mobile were in many cases dragged from their horses and were bombarded with any missiles that came to hand.

In the night from the 3rd to the 4th August a pitched battle took place in a number of streets. Thousands of strikers, angry and embittered at the brutality of the armed forces during the day, assembled at the street corners excitedly discussing the events of the day. Those street lamps which were still burning were extinguished and when the garde mobile attempted to disperse the assembled workers they met with resistance at several points in the town. In order to ward off the attacks of the garde mobile the workers erected barricades out of any material which came to hand and repulsed the attackers with blows from café chairs and other weapons and by bombarding them with beer bottles, glasses and stones. The mercenaries of French imperialism replied with revolver fire and dozens of workers fell wounded. For over three hours a bitter struggle raged in the dark streets between the Boersen Platz and the Gutenberg Platz.

The next day martial law was declared in Strassbourg. The assembly of three or more persons on the streets was prohibited and pedestrians were searched for arms. Scores of workers were arrested and maltreated. Any mass strike meeting was prohibited. In certain streets the shops and cafés were closed down. The "defenders of the last bulwark of democracy," as the socialists refer to French imperialism, established a reign of terror.

Not only these methods of crude brutality, but also other and finer methods were used to break the strike. Two Germans were arrested in a motor-car, and arms are alleged to have been found in the car. A vile campaign was opened up in the press, in which of course the social-democratic newspapers took part, to persuade the masses that the strike agitation was being organised by agents of Hitler, to stir up nationalist feelings and draw the attention of the masses away from the anti-imperialist class struggle.

The moment then came for the reformist and Christian trade union leaders to play their usual role. Under the pressure of

their own members they had been compelled to take part in the strike and join the central strike committee. They now came forward and declared that "the reactionary prefect" was alone responsible for the brutalities of the past few days; the government, on the other hand, was quite innocent, and they proposed that the government should act as an "impartial mediator" to settle the strike. This proposal was supported by **Jouhaux** and by the socialist deputy **Weill**. The social-democratic leaders and the renegades in the municipal council of Strassbourg did their best to deny the political character of the strike. They abused the Communists who stressed the anti-imperialist nature of the struggle, and declared that they were "mischief-makers." All of them fought bitterly against all attempts to extend the strike, declaring that a general solidarity strike was unnecessary and could only prejudice the negotiations. They also opposed the intentions of the striking workers to put forward their own wage demands, and they opposed all attempts to broaden the basis of the central strike committee by co-opting delegates from the factories who would have put forward the view of the striking workers themselves. They utilised the prohibition of meetings, which prevented the Communists and revolutionary trade union leaders from putting their slogans before the masses effectively, in order to carry on their cunning manoeuvres to disrupt the strike front.

The fact that the building employers were compelled to meet the representatives of the strikers at a meeting in the ministerial buildings was presented by these social traitors as a sufficient victory, although the employers showed themselves implacable and demanded as the preliminary condition for negotiations that the solidarity strike should be called off. In this way the agents of the French Government succeeded in sowing confusion in the ranks of the workers. The revolutionary trade union leaders and the Communists did not succeed in their efforts to secure an extension of the strike. However, they did draw out several hundred building workers in Muehlhausen, with the result that these workers won their strike and forced through their demands almost immediately. On the other hand, the reformist leaders succeeded in persuading the tramwaymen, the municipal workers and the street cleaners to resume work on the 11th of August. Only the building workers and certain groups of wood and metal workers remained on strike. The reformist strikebreakers encouraged these workers to take part in the negotiations in the Ministry and preached "order and dignity."

However, the workers of Alsace have given a splendid example of fighting spirit. They were betrayed because they did not lead their strike themselves and because their desire for the united front was not backed up by committees of workers democratically elected in the factories which could have sent delegates of the rank and file into the central strike committee. This central strike committee represented no more than a united front from above between the revolutionary trade union leaders and the hypocritical reformist saboteurs of the struggle, whose role consisted in throttling the movement when it became dangerous to the employers and to French imperialism. If the struggle had been led by delegates elected by the masses as was the case in the strike of the dockers in Dunkirk, and of the metal workers in the Citroën factory, then the strike would have achieved success quickly.

The C.G.T.U. and the Communist Party did their best to make good these weaknesses and to create securities for victory. They proposed to put forward demands on behalf of the various categories of strikers, to have a central strike committee elected by the workers themselves, and to extend the strike, but it was already too late. The preparation of the workers for this development had been insufficient. They succeeded in getting broad sections of the French workers interested in the strike, but this interest expressed itself only in resolutions of sympathy and in financial support.

Nevertheless, the barricades in Strassbourg will have important consequences. Thousands of Alsatian workers have succeeded in freeing their minds of patriotic poison injected into them by the Social Democratic Party and the C.G.T. They have had a chance of looking straight into the real features of French "democracy," so much praised by the socialists, and their hatred of the oppressors has intensified. They have given a new proof of revolutionary proletarian enthusiasm and they will learn the lessons of this struggle and organise their united front better next time, as the basis of the victory of to-morrow. French imperialism is uneasy; it knows that it cannot rely on the population of Alsace-Lorraine as a trustworthy supporter of the war it is preparing, and the

chauvinist machinations nourished in Paris have received a heavy blow. In this sense the strike in Strassbourg, which developed from a wage conflict involving 2,000 workers into a powerful political solidarity strike embracing 20,000 workers, is of great international importance.

Appeal of the Communist Party of France for a General Strike

To the French and the Alsace-Lorraine Workers!

More than twenty thousand of your fellow-workers are conducting a heroic fight in Strassbourg.

The strike of 2,000 building workers for an increase of their starvation wages was the signal for the fighting united front of a great part of the working class of the capital of Alsace.

Why has this movement spread so rapidly? What is the reason for this splendid solidarity, this powerful outbreak, whose character causes our bourgeoisie to tremble and which can serve as an example to the whole of the working class?

Because the whole of the working class of Strassbourg and Alsace-Lorraine are filled with a justified hatred against the double oppression of which they are the victims. They are fighting simultaneously against the employers, who are enforcing on them the lower wages which are paid in the interior of France, and against French imperialism, which wishes to Franco-cise them by means of force, which hampers their free national development, which imposes on them an alien administration, which rules the Alsatian people in a language and with methods which are strange to them, and, in addition to the Alsatian taxes, imposes on them taxes demanded by the French bourgeoisie.

French imperialism intends to suppress this movement with the greatest brutality. The Daladier government has, in fact, established a state of siege in Strassbourg.

French imperialism wants under all circumstances to prevent the whole problem of the emancipation of Alsace-Lorraine, which was annexed in 1918 regardless of the rights of the population, from being raised.

With the aid of the mobile guard which has come from France, it wishes to maintain the peace of the graveyard in Alsace, which is to serve as the jumping-off ground in the new war.

Workers of Strassbourg!

In view of the enormous extension of this fight the agents of the bourgeoisie will undoubtedly resort to every possible manoeuvre. In order to counter them beforehand you must weld your united front into a broad strike committee. You must clearly realise that all negotiations behind the scenes mean the death of your movement. Victory can be achieved only through the mass struggle.

Comrades! French workers!

To remain passive in this fight means to be party to the crime of French imperialism which is oppressing your brothers on the other side of the Vosges. Do not render any help to the bank magnates, to the imperialists of all shades who have forcibly annexed this province! Show everywhere your solidarity with the working population of Strassbourg! Demand the withdrawal of the police, the mobile guards, the French troops. Everywhere demand the right of the people of Alsace-Lorraine to self-determination!

Circulate everywhere collecting sheets and collect signatures to protests!

All against the state of siege! Release of the arrested functionaries!

Working people of Alsace-Lorraine!

The fight of the Strassbourg workers is your concern!

It is your fight, Alsatian peasant, minor official; your fight, small shopkeeper and artisan!

The workers of Strassbourg are fighting against your enemy, French imperialism, which does not allow you to use your own language in the public offices, which is ruining your agriculture and trade, which imposes taxes on you, sends your sons into the army far away from Alsace into the working-class towns of France and into the colonies, in order to incite them against the workers of France and the colonies.

Your place is also on the side of the advance-guard which is fighting in Strassbourg!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

The Break-Up of the I.F.T.U.

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

What a difference there was between the Paris congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1927, which I attended, and the congress which has just taken place (from the 30th July to the 3rd August) in Brussels!

At the Paris congress a strong delegation from Germany dominated the debates. The German trade unions, strong in numbers and influence, seemed shining examples for the other countries. The leaders of the German unions led the general chorus of praise in favour of economic democracy. At the Brussels congress, however, there were no delegates from Germany, apart from the delegates of a few thousand workers in the Saar district. There is no longer an international. The General Secretary *Schevenels* admitted that the catastrophe suffered by the A.D.G.B. (German trade union federation) had caused horror amongst the reformist trade unions. He declared: "*On account of this catastrophe confidence in our tactics and in our ideal has lessened.*"

They did not dare to stay too long considering this collapse because it was the logical result of the policy of the lesser evil and the disruption of the working class by the social democracy. No word of condemnation of Leipart, Tarnov and company was uttered at the public sessions! "Why should we condemn them?" asked one of the delegates at the congress, "*we could not have done any better ourselves* if the same situation had arisen in our countries." But despite this, a heavy weight rested on the congress and caused acute discomfort owing to the feeling, expressed by Alter (Poland), that the workers of the world "*condemn the path taken by the Germans.*"

A very important result of the destruction of the A.D.G.B. is financial. During the last three years the contributions of the A.D.G.B. to the international treasury represented from one-third to a half of the total income of the I.F.T.U. The loss of this source of income necessitates a radical reduction of expenses, and the serious financial situation of the I.F.T.U. was discussed in a secret session.

The ideological collapse of the reformist international has further general causes. In 1927 capitalism was in a period of relative stabilisation and the bourgeoisie could afford to talk about international co-operation, pacifism and reforms. The reformist organisations echoed this talk in order to create illusions and at the same time they rendered invaluable aid in the rationalisation and development of the national economic systems. In the meantime, however, a long and deep crisis has come and the theoretical structure of the I.F.T.U. has been set rocking. In Stockholm the congress was still able to talk about planned capitalist economy and disarmament whilst at the same time facilitating the offensive of the employers in all countries. Since then, however, there have been the breakdown of the Geneva discussions, the breakdown of the London economic conference, the march towards national self-sufficiency, or autarchy, the intensification of the contradictions between the imperialist countries, the drive of fascism, etc. As Jouhaux put it, "*Events are marching over our heads. The world is taking another direction than the one we have always held up to the workers.*" And, further, the workers are beginning to realise that they have been deceived.

It is necessary for the reformists to change their tune, to lull the workers with some other melody in order to enable capitalism to make an attempt to save itself at their cost. The congress was seeking for this new tune when it discussed the report of Jouhaux on the economic policy of the I.F.T.U. and the report of Mertens on its social policy. However, the search is not an easy one. For the moment the old slogan of planned economy (now referred to as production for use) is being in part retained. Citrine and Jouhaux declared both that Roosevelt is putting the demands of the I.F.T.U. into practice, and that the working class must support the American attempt, during the course of which so far a number of striking miners in Pennsylvania have been murdered. Let us admit, declared several of the delegates, that the mobilisation within national frameworks is a fact to which we must subordinate ourselves. In order to support this thesis the leaders of the congress continually pointed out that nothing can be done internationally and that "an action along national lines" would be more effective, for instance, by the securing of favourable trading

agreements. This is a means to cloak the abandonment of the former appearance of internationalism caused by the intensification of imperialist contradictions.

A new note was brought into the congress deliberations by the Polish delegation, which sees itself faced with a quicker advance towards the revolutionary crisis and with a proletarian advance which goes over the head of the social democracy. This delegation demanded new departures in the shape of increased demagoguery. "All our formulas are antiquated," it declared. "The workers no longer understand us. We must declare to them that capitalism cannot be improved. We must recommend the seizure of power, the workers' and peasants' government." The Polish delegate Alter let the cat out of the bag when he declared that this manoeuvre should be carried out "in order to capture the attention of the workers and direct it to the future," in other words, to draw their attention away from the question of immediate action.

This proposal embarrassed the other reformist leaders. Where would such pseudo-revolutionary phrases lead, having regard to the ferment already existing amongst the masses? It would be as dangerous to destroy the idea of a neutral State standing above the classes as to destroy the great illusion of democracy. They tried compromises in which contentions of all sorts rubbed shoulders, such as the impossibility of finding a way out of the crisis under a capitalist regime, the necessity for a radical re-organisation of the whole productive system, the necessity of the workers emancipating themselves by their own strength, and finally, the oldest of all reformist contentions, namely, the possibility of "a development into a new economic order within the framework of the existing regime" whereby the contention was made that this development was already taking place! And then, labour protection by means of better State control of industry, and, above all, unconditional support of the work of the International Labour Office. One thing is certain, a new stress is being laid on radical declamations. Now that the I.F.T.U. is freed from "the spirit of Germany" its leaders would like to create the impression that the international is raising its head again and that its policy has nothing in common with that of the A.D.G.B.

The ruin of the trade union international was shown most clearly in the debates on war and fascism. Action against war? No, but propaganda, the control of the production and sale of armaments by the governments, the same governments who are working day in and day out to improve their armaments, pious wishes for the reopening of the Geneva talks, a proposal for the formation of a mixed commission of the I.F.T.U. and the Second (Labour and Socialist) International to watch diplomatic relations and "at the psychological moment" to give the order for the General Strike against "the aggressor State." By the way, the resolution which was adopted on the point pretends to know already who the aggressors are going to be, "the countries of dictatorship" who alone threaten the peace of the world, "the peoples who have failed," as Jouhaux put it.

"Dictatorship in all its forms" is meant, that is to say, the Hitler dictatorship, the only one mentioned by name, and the Soviet Union, although its name was not mentioned at all. The resolution against fascism declares itself in favour of a general boycott of all German goods, even, as the reporter *Schevenels* put it, if it hits our comrades in Germany and they fail to understand us.

There was no mention of the enemy at home. The democratic States are all forces of peace. The aggressor State will be certified and "the defence of the Fatherland" will be pleaded for the "attacked" State. On two occasions it was pointed out that the working-class movement "with all supporters of peace and freedom, no matter to what social classes they may belong," must rally to "the defence of human rights." Everything is thus being prepared for the great class peace to put the Paris edition of the I.F.T.U. in the service of the so-called democratic imperialist powers for the defence of the Versailles system and for the crusade against the Soviet Union. In his speech of greetings to the congress Vandervelde declared that everything must be done to defend the democracies with all possible means. Just as in 1914 the remaining sections of the I.F.T.U. will support their "good governments" against the "bad governments" of the other nations.

The I.F.T.U. is in a difficult situation. It has become smaller and it no longer has so much room in which to manoeuvre, but one must not precipitately conclude from this that if necessary it will be unable to redouble its empty demagoguery and hurriedly place

itself at the head of a working-class movement in order to deflect it from its aim and throttle it from within, thus again rendering capitalism great service. The I.F.T.U. still has eight million organised workers in its ranks. It was able to open its congress with a great demonstration of Dutch and Belgian workers in Antwerp, a demonstration in which 40,000 workers took part, including a great number of young and enthusiastic elements who seriously believe that in this way they are fighting against fascism and war. The I.F.T.U. will not collapse of its own accord.

The workers must be won for revolutionary solutions and drawn more and more into daily actions. A systematic united front policy from below must be pursued, the revolutionary oppositions in the reformist organisations must be consolidated, the Communist Parties must be strengthened in the factories, as also must the revolutionary trade union factory groups in the countries in which revolutionary trade union federations exist, the reformist trade union leaders must be constantly exposed as the social main prop of capitalism on the basis of facts, as also must their chauvinist zeal; this is the only way in which the reformist "international" can be rendered innocuous.

Thirty Years of Bolshevism

The Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and the International Social Democracy

By W. Knorin

The great world historical importance of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party consists in the fact that at this congress Bolshevism finally consolidated itself as an independent political idea, that at this congress the basis of the Bolshevik Party was founded, a party of a new type, the party of proletarian insurrection and proletarian dictatorship. The creation of such a party arose as an absolute necessity out of the whole international situation and out of the situation in Russia itself; it arose out of the fact that the period of calm was at an end and a new period of revolutionary storm was opening up, a period which was to have its beginnings in Russia.

"History is now presenting us with our next task, which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks facing the proletariat of any country. The carrying out of this task, the smashing of the most powerful protective dam, not only of the European, but also of (we can say to-day) the Asiatic reaction would make the Russian proletariat the advance-guard of the international revolutionary proletariat. And we are justified in believing that we can win this position of honour."—(Lenin in "What is to be Done?")

With Lenin at their head the Bolsheviks set to work to solve this revolutionary task with the theory, tactics and strategy which secured them victory; they were the theory, tactics and strategy of **Marxism**.

Bolshevism grew up on the firm basis of Marxist theory, and it was Marxism which gave Lenin the key to the understanding of the necessity for a strictly centralised Marxist party with clear aims, a party of revolutionaries. Only such a party could win the hegemony for the proletariat in the approaching bourgeois-democratic revolution, secure victory for the armed insurrection and permit the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, the conquest of the State power by the proletariat and the setting up of a **dictatorship of the proletariat**. The Bolsheviks, who learnt their Marxism under the yoke of "the unparalleled brutality of the Tsarist reaction," recognised that "only he is a Marxist who extends his recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Lenin). Therefore the history of Bolshevism is the history of an uninterrupted, persistent and hard struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, a struggle which represented the germ and the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the development into the struggle for the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the consolidation and the final victory of this dictatorship, and for the establishment of a classless socialist society on its basis.

A firm basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, the dictatorship of the

proletariat and a strictly centralised party of revolutionary Communists to guarantee the victory of the armed insurrection, the establishment, consolidation and victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the carrying out of the great plan of socialist industrialisation and collectivisation laid down in the first Five Year Plan—this was the basis of Bolshevism which was laid down at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1903, a basis which still exists to-day. That was the basis of this new party which grew up under the leadership of Lenin thirty years ago, which gained a decisive victory over the Russian bourgeoisie, and which, under the leadership of Stalin, gained a decisive victory in the work for the building up of socialism. It is the party which became the shining example for the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed peoples of all countries.

* * * * *

The Bolshevik Party was formed and developed in the struggle against the opportunism of the Second International and against all deviations from its own general line. The Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was the first heavy blow at the Second International on the organisational and political field, and this blow was delivered by Lenin.

Even at the time of this Second Congress the Second International was completely under the sway of rank opportunism. The essence of Marxism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, had been flung overboard by the leaders of the Second International. The Social Democratic Parties were developing more and more into mere organisations for the conducting of parliamentary elections, although the Second International still recognised the class struggle and the necessity of the struggle for the conquest of political power by the proletariat. A few weeks after the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, in September, 1903, Bebel delivered a thunderous attack on Bernstein and the Revisionists at the Dresden Party Congress, but the resistance to the attacks of the Revisionists became weaker and weaker. The Party Congresses in Breslau in 1895, in Stuttgart in 1898, in Hanover in 1899 and in Dresden in 1903 all declared themselves opposed to Revisionism and announced that it was "defeated," but, in fact, the spirit of the German Social Democratic Party and the character of its work and struggle were being steadily undermined and degraded by the growth of the influence of this opportunist theory and by the growth of a conciliatory attitude towards Revisionism.

The efforts of the Right-wingers to turn this proletarian mass party into a party of the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie and into an instrument exclusively for the parliamentary struggle, were intensified noticeably towards the end of the 'nineties. The resistance to Bernstein and his theories grew perceptibly weaker. The orthodox, who were in any case never logical Marxists, developed more and more into Centrists and adapted themselves more and more to co-operation with the open opportunists, until finally Bebel delivered his swan song at the Dresden Party Congress and that relation of forces developed in the party under which the party leadership was formally still in the hands of the Centrists, but actually in the hands of the Right-wingers, for

"Centrism is the ideology of adaptation, the ideology of subordinating the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie within the framework of a joint party" (Stalin).

The Economists were the reflection of German Bernsteinism and French Millerandism under Russian conditions. The struggle of the Russian Marxists against Struivism and against the Economists was at the same time a struggle against Bernsteinism. And to the extent to which Bebel and Kautsky developed into Centrists there arose amongst the Russian Marxists certain elements whom Marxism did not suit and who failed to understand the great tasks with which the Russian revolutionaries were faced. These elements began to adopt the distorted Marxism of the social democrats in the Second International and to establish a rapprochement with the Economists, a proceeding to which the time was particularly favourable in view of the fact that the approaching revolution raised the question of the political struggle with all possible insistence. The essence of the position of the group which centred around the new "Iskra" in the period which followed the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was the attempt to create a new party of the Bernstein type, a party like the capitulating German Social Democratic Party, in defiance of

Marxism and in defiance of the experience of the Russian proletariat. This was to be a party of the constitution and not a party of revolution, as Yegorov declared at the Party Congress, and certainly not a party which would declare war on the Russian bourgeoisie, as Lenin put it.

The great world-historical achievement of the Bolsheviks at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party was that they laid the basis for a party of a new type at a time when the best Marxist party of the Second International was turning in the main to Centrism, that they laid the organisational basis for the development of Marxism and Leninism, and thereby saved Marxism.

"The most important principle of Leninism is the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Stalin).

The greatest victory of Marxism and Leninism was that the Second Congress adopted a programme which clearly formulated the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in contradistinction to the programme of all other European parties, and in particular to the programme of the German Social Democratic Party.

At the Second Congress the Economic Akimov declared: "When I began to study the draft programme I looked first of all for the corresponding theses in the Gotha, Erfurt, Hainfeld and Vienna programmes, and I searched the statutes of the Belgian, Italian and Swedish parties and the statutes of the International itself, but I discovered that the draft programme differs in almost all points from all the other programmes."—(Minutes of the Second Congress.)

The abandonment by the German Social Democratic Party of the dictatorship of the proletariat reflected itself in the 'nineties in the ranks of the Russian social democracy and affected, above all, Plechanov. As early as 1894, when he published a pamphlet on the anarchists, Plechanov avoided the question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this pamphlet he adapted himself to the ideology of those who were instrumental in persuading him to write this pamphlet, the German social-democratic leaders and the editorial board of the "Vorwaerts." In another work he published on the use of violence, which was also written at the instance of the leaders of the German social democracy and the editorial board of the "Vorwaerts," Plechanov again carefully avoids these questions. Later on he declared that he was very pleased to hear that the opinions he had expressed in this pamphlet on violence were held also by the German social democrats, and that he was "no less pleased to hear that Lenin did not approve of them." The vacillation of Plechanov at the time when the programme of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was drawn up were therefore not at all fortuitous. The fact therefore that Lenin's persistence succeeded in including the clear formulation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the programme of the Russian Social Democratic Party which was adopted at the Second Congress represented a great victory for revolutionary Marxism and its chief protagonist Lenin over the vacillations of Plechanov and the growing opportunism of the German Social Democratic Party and the whole of the Second International. But Lenin and the Bolsheviks could not content themselves with this theoretical victory, because even at the Second Congress itself the opportunists began to interpret this basic thesis of the lessons of Marx and Engels in their own way. Organisational guarantees had to be created against the opportunist bloc of Akimov, Martinov, Martov and Trotsky, because only such organisational measures would be able to guarantee the actual carrying out of the revolutionary programme adopted by the party congress, and to guarantee that the party would really take the revolutionary path mapped out for it.

The organisational principles of Bolshevism resulted from Lenin's analysis of the situation in Russia, from his realisation of the closeness of the revolution, from the fact that the Russian proletariat was faced with the greatest of all revolutionary tasks, and from his recognition of the fact that this task of the Russian proletariat could only be performed successfully with the necessary ideological and political weapon, with a real fighting organisation capable of leading the masses. Similarly, the organisational principles of Russian Menshevism resulted from an acceptance of peaceful development in the parliamentary struggle, from the denial of the necessity of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the approaching revolution, and from the denial of the necessity of the struggle for the dictatorship of the prole-

ariat. They reflected the opportunist policy of the Second International.

The essential significance of the struggle at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was that it was conducted between **two separate political tendencies and two separate organisational principles.**

For the Bolsheviks the party is the organiser, the propelling power, the motor of the revolution. For the Mensheviks the party is the organiser of the parliamentary struggle for democratic freedoms, after the conquest of which the epoch of constitutional development must come. In the struggle between these two organisational principles, in the historical struggle around Paragraph I. of the statutes there developed **two political lines, two tactics** which showed themselves in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917, and **two political parties, the Bolshevik and the Menshevik.**

When Lenin was fighting against the Martov formulation of Paragraph I. he was at the same time fighting against the organisational principles of the Second International and in favour of a party of a new type, a party of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. The Russian Mensheviks, on the other hand, wanted a social-democratic parliamentary party, the type of all the other parties of the Second International.

On the side of the Bolsheviks this struggle meant the recognition of the great leading role of the party and the conscious activity of the revolutionaries in the party as the organisers of the masses. On the side of the Mensheviks it meant the lowering of the significance of conscious proletarian struggle, the subordination of the party to the elements of spontaneity, and the abandonment of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the approaching revolution. "**The proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power than its own organisation,**" declared Lenin in his great work, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward." The Bolsheviks have made this truth their own in their struggle to carry out Lenin's plan. And it is clear that this truth applies not only to Russia, but to the whole world. The proletariat must create for itself a powerful organisation. "Without a powerful centralised organisation the proletariat cannot seize power, or, having seized it, cannot utilise it for its own ends."—"Iskra" No. 63. Letter of the Ufa, Central Ural and Perma Committees.)

And what Lenin was saying abroad Stalin was writing in the strictest illegality in Transcaucasia in 1905. In his pamphlet, "Concerning the Differences of Opinion in the Party," Stalin stressed the significance of consciousness in the struggle and opposed the theory of spontaneity whilst stressing the necessity for a powerful revolutionary organisation. Stalin wrote:—

"The working-class movement must unite for socialism. Its practical activity must be closely connected with its theoretical knowledge. The spontaneous working-class movement must be given social-democratic character and form. The spontaneous movement which is developed in this way into a social-democratic movement will then advance rapidly along the quickest way to the winning of a socialist system."

Stalin wrote further in the same pamphlet that the task of the revolutionary social democrats was:—

"To prevent the spontaneous working-class movement from taking the trade unionist path, to guide it into social-democratic channels, to give it a socialist consciousness, and to organise the most advanced forces of the working-class movement into a centralised party. Our duty is to lead the movement everywhere and always, and to fight energetically against all those who oppose the achievement of our aims, no matter whether they call themselves 'friends' or enemies. That is, generally speaking, the position of the 'majority.'"

"To lead the movement everywhere and always," declared Stalin in 1905, and this was the language of Lenin and Stalin throughout the whole of their activity at the head of the Bolshevik Party, for "the proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power than its own organisation." The proletariat has also no other weapon with which to maintain its power and with which to win a complete socialist society than a powerful centralised organisation; in other words, the Bolshevik Party, the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The leaders of the Second International were naturally unable to "sympathise" with this abandonment of all the "old principles" of the social democracy. The development of a party of a new type represented a blow at the whole political

and organisational system, at the political and organisational principles of the Second International. The leaders of the Second International therefore opposed Bolshevism from the first days of its existence as a political tendency; they have always fought against the Bolshevik Party and against Lenin. But the party of Lenin and Stalin is striding from victory to victory while the social democracy has developed into the main social prop of the bourgeoisie and is going down to decay.

Two tendencies, two plans; the one led to the victory of the proletariat and the other to the victory of fascism. The one led to the creation of a powerful Bolshevik Party, to the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the victory of socialism, and the other to the complete destruction of the most powerful party of the Second International, the German Social Democratic Party, and to the development of the Russian Mensheviks into the agents and dependents of the foreign bourgeoisie.

* * * * *

The party of a new type founded by Lenin has developed into a powerful international force. Its organisational principles and theory, the theory of Leninism, have been adopted by millions of workers in Russia and by great masses of the workers under the leadership of the other Communist Parties in the rest of the world. The Bolshevik Party holds the State power over a sixth of the world's surface on which it is building up socialism. It has now become obvious to everyone that the proletariat can be victorious only if it possesses such a powerful centralised party. It is now clear that for the final and complete victory of socialism in the Soviet Union only one thing is necessary—to organise and lead the masses still more effectively. For this purpose a still stronger struggle must be conducted for the consolidation of the powerful centralised party, the party of Lenin and Stalin, for the increase of its fighting capacity, for its purity and for its unity, and for the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. **That is all we need to guarantee the complete victory of socialism, to defeat all our enemies, to build up the classless socialist society, to liquidate the remnants of the exploiting classes completely, and to abolish the causes which lead to the formation of classes.**

In the International

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

By G. Smolyansky

Almost a year has passed since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The development of the class struggle during this period has fully confirmed the analysis of the Twelfth Plenum with regard to the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and to the transition of the capitalist world to a fresh cycle of revolutions and wars. Contrary to all prophecies of the opportunists, who have followed up the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic adherents in their repetitions of the legend of the beginning of the end of the world economic crisis, and who have failed to observe the arithmetical growth of certain branches of production in many capitalist countries as a result of inflation and war boom, or to grasp the enormous increase and entanglement of all imperialist antagonisms—the world economic crisis has reached a point of acuteness during this past year at which these antagonisms, in the opinion of the bourgeoisie itself, can only be solved on political lines—that is, on militarist-imperialist lines. In spite of the counter-revolutionary theories of the Trotskyists and of the Right renegades and capitulators, and the assertions of the opportunist elements which emulate the social democrats in spreading the shameful defeatist legend of the “crushing of the German proletariat,” of the commencement of a “new epoch of fascism,” and of the “triumph of Bonapartism and reaction,” the tension in the class conditions of all the capitalist countries has reached an extreme pitch, and the capitalist world, especially fascist Germany, is pregnant with the proletarian revolution. The curve of proletarian revolution is not proceeding downwards, as the opportunists and capitulators maintain for the purpose of finding a justification for deserting their flag; on the contrary, it is mounting upwards, if in the zigzag line caused by the temporary victory of the bloody

fascist dictatorship in Germany, and by a number of individual set-backs on various sectors of the revolutionary proletarian front. “The party of the revolution welds the party of the counter-revolution together.”—(Marx.)

The fight is in full swing. It is assuming ever-greater dimensions. And those who do not take their place at the barricades this time will find themselves inevitably on the other side of these barricades—in the muddy ditch of capitalism and social fascism. Therefore the Communist vanguard is set the imperative task of giving the toiling masses a precise **revolutionary perspective**, of advancing determinedly and definitely, on Bolshevik lines, to the work of accelerating the solution of that fundamental strategic task set by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in view of the impending decisive struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat—the task of winning over the majority of the working class on the basis of the **resolute use** of every form of economic and political struggle available to the proletariat, on the basis of the ceaseless raising of the level of this struggle to keep pace with the concrete revolutionary maturity of the objective conditions, on the basis of the determined realisation of the **united front from below** and of the demonstration to the broad masses of the toilers that the Communist vanguard is a **revolutionary vanguard**, and on the basis of the shattering of the mass basis of social democracy.

Czechoslovakia forms no exception to the general aggravation of the crisis, of capitalist contradictions, and of the class struggle of the proletariat. On the contrary, the temporary victory of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, which has once more placed on the agenda the question of the imperialist re-division of Central and Eastern Europe, threatens to convert the whole of Central Europe, including Czechoslovakia, into a scene of collisions among the imperialist powers. These foreign political developments represent a new factor further aggravating the crisis in Czechoslovakia accelerating the rate of the fascisation of the state apparatus and intensifying the offensive of capital on the standards of living and political rights of the toiling masses in town and country. In April, 1933, the number of unemployed had reached a figure unheard of in Czechoslovakia—even the official statements admitting 780,000 unemployed, or 27 per cent. more than during the same period last year. In the whole of the great branches of production in Czechoslovakia—in the mining industry, in machine building, in the chemical and textile industries—there has not even been that “transition boom” which so many big capitalist pirates have been able to enjoy on the basis of inflation and war preparations. Hence the fierce pressure on the toiling masses, and especially on the Czechoslovakian proletariat.

The characteristic feature of this offensive is the mass dismissals of the workers and the direct wage cuts, especially among the miners, agricultural labourers, and office workers. The government is already preparing a law for the reduction of unemployment benefit, and ensuring that one-third of the persons now entitled to benefit will be deprived of it. All this is accompanied by unceasing persecution of the workers' press and repressive measures against the workers' organisations. The pressure exerted by Czech imperialism on the national territories is becoming steadily stronger. Between 1st January and 15th May, 1933, 125 political trials were held. The latest emergency order gives the government unrestricted powers for the “regulation” of workers' wages, of social insurance, of taxation, and of the activities of the workers' press and organisations.

This fascisation differs from that in Germany in that it is not being carried out merely with the collaboration of but **directly by the social democrats**, for their representatives are in the coalition government. The aggressive imperialist efforts of German fascism have aroused a counter-aggression on the part of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie—this outpost of French imperialism in Central Europe—and this is being carried on under the flag of protection for the “Czechoslovakian island of democracy in the midst of fascist revisionist encirclement.” In reply to the unbridled terror of the fascist dictatorship against the toiling masses in Germany—a terror which forms a very essential constituent of the preparations for imperialist war adventures by the fascist government—Czech imperialism and the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie tighten the screw of national and social oppression, as a very essential factor of their own preparations for imperialist war. Here social democracy is accomplishing the fascisation of the bourgeois State in the interests of the capitalist way out of the crisis, flying at the same time the flag of the “defender of the peace,” that is, of the peace of Versailles, and of the “defender of democ-

racy," that is, of the open and immediate carrying out of this fascisation along a broad "democratic" front from Massaryk down to the last Czechoslovakian social democrat. The social democrats take part in the manoeuvres for the realisation of fascism, and endeavour to line up the proletarian masses in the "national front" against German fascism, in order to hide from these masses the fact of the fascisation process going on in their own bourgeois State. This procedure is characteristic to-day of the social-democratic parties of all anti-revision countries, and of the parties living at the expense of such countries (as, for instance, the Russian Mensheviks), for they are all exploiting the historical treachery of the German social democrats and the monstrous German social-democratic desertion to the side of the fascist dictatorship for the purpose of consolidating the "national front" of their own bourgeoisie. "It is not true"—writes the White Guardist emigré Schiffrin in the Menshevik "Socialist Messenger," which is now being supported by French "socialists" instead of German social fascists—"that the English, French, Swedish, Czech, and other workers cannot carry on the struggle against German fascism, a struggle occupying the foreground of their foreign and home policy. The slogan 'The enemy is always at home' cannot be applied to every enemy. In politics the enemy in our neighbour's house may at times be even more dangerous. Under certain circumstances Hitler can threaten the freedom of the English workers to a much greater extent than Austin Chamberlain or even Churchill."

Therefore the question of a clearly defined revolutionary perspective for Czechoslovakia is of decisive importance for the work of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and for the winning over of the majority of the Czechoslovakian proletariat. The working class of Czechoslovakia does not accept with indifference the fascist decrees and measures showered upon it so generously by the "sole democratic government" of Central Europe, but is offering ever-increasing resistance. This is shown by the growing strike movement, the doubling of the number of strikes in April as compared with the previous month, the series of short protest strikes in the metal industry of Central Bohemia, the one day general strike of the printers on 24th June, and the numerous "hunger" strikes recently organised in Czechoslovakia. And it is shown by the mass demonstrations of the unemployed: 101 demonstrations with 76,000 participants in six weeks in spring. It is shown again in the widespread ferment and discontent in the national territories, in the undoubtable increase of the political and organisational influence of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions, and, finally, by the forced demagogic manoeuvres of the social democrats.

It would, however, be boastful optimism to suppose that these achievements of the Czech C.P. and the revolutionary trade unions are sufficient. The Plenum of the C.C. of the Czech C.P., held last December—the first Plenum since the Twelfth Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I.—admitted with Bolshevik candour, through the mouth of Comrade Gottwald, that the Communist Party was seriously lagging behind, both in view of the growing antagonism and of the political advance of the class struggle. An earnest warning had already been given to the Czech C.P. and the Red Trade Unions by the fact that the Czech C.P. had not yet succeeded either in mobilising the broad masses of the toilers and calling into existence an active mass movement for the protection of the Party and of the revolutionary proletarian organisations, or in putting any bar to the further development of the fascist mass organisations in the national territories, especially of the Swastika organisation in German Bohemia. The Czech C.P. adopted a correct course towards concentrating its work on the slogan of the defence of the Communist Party, impressing upon the consciousness of the broad toiling masses of Czechoslovakia that what is here at stake is the fate of the sole class party of the proletariat, of the sole protector of the toiling masses against every form of exploitation, and that the task to be accomplished is the organisation of the resistance against the capitalist offensive, so that the bourgeoisie may be deprived of the possibility of making undisturbed preparations for the next attack.

Since this time nearly six months have passed. And it must be stated candidly: the disparity between the objective development of the crisis in Czechoslovakia, between the aggravation of class antagonisms and all other inner and outer contradictions in Czech imperialism on the one hand, and the increasing mass defensive action against the fascisation of Czechoslovakia and the growth of

the Communist Party itself (all its undoubted achievements admitted) on the other, has not lessened, but has, on the contrary, increased. And it must be stated with equal openness that the blame is not merely to be attributed—or rather, should not be attributed so much—to the increasing objective difficulties of the revolutionary struggle as to the entirely subjective factor of the extent to which the line of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and of the C.C. of the Czech C.P. has been adhered to in actual practice by a number of important units of the Communist Party itself and of the revolutionary trade unions.

Let us take the most important facts. It is only just lately that the Czech C.P. has been successful in summoning proletarian mass demonstrations against the emergency orders in some industrial centres. The strike movement, though increasing numerically, is becoming more and more split up, and not only fails to develop into a political mass strike movement such as the strikes last year in Brüx and Freiwaldau, but is actually sinking to a lower level, and degenerating in many cases to passive "hunger strikes." Even in the workers' districts the fascist mass organisations are spreading alarmingly. The mass basis of social democracy has not been even touched fundamentally, though a number of successful united front actions have been organised on our initiative. This is shown by the factory council elections, which proved a great failure for us among the leading stratum of the proletariat—the metal workers. And more than this, social democracy is endeavouring to induce a large section of the Czechoslovakian proletariat, the printers, to let themselves be palmed off with the proclamation of a general one-day "demonstration strike" instead of a real struggle against wage robbery; hereby they face the C.P. and the revolutionary trade unions with an accomplished fact. And finally, the rate of the organisational growth of the C.P. and the revolutionary T.U. lags more and more. The Czech C.P. increased by 9351 members between December, 1932, and March, 1933, but in April the increase was only 926. It is an actual fact that among the Red trade unions the growth of the metal workers' union is stagnating, and the miners' union has increased only very inconsiderably.

The achievements of the Czech C.P. (and such achievements have been gained, and are by no means slight ones) are therefore in no way commensurate with either the objective conditions or the objective possibilities. At the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Schwerma, the responsible leader of the Red trade unions, declared that the miners' strike at Brüx, which indubitably possessed international significance (this was emphasised by the Twelfth Plenum):—

"Signifies above all a weakening of reformism in the Brüx district, and all over the country. It signifies that the great miners' strike has awakened fresh forces among the masses of the proletariat. The miners' strike has become the starting point of great struggles all over the country. . . ."

One year after the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Czech C.P. must admit that it has not succeeded in leading these fresh forces, which have actually been aroused in the masses of the proletariat, into the channels of real mass action. And above all it has not succeeded in arousing the anger of the toiling masses of Czechoslovakia against the ever-accelerating speed of fascisation of the Czechoslovakian State.

Whilst six months ago the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie was somewhat slow in taking action, testing the forces of the Czech C.P., wishing to see the extent to which the Party is able to mobilise the broad masses and to offer active resistance to the fascisation process, at the present time this process, and the offensive against the Communist Party, will intensify progressively, especially if the bourgeoisie should feel itself encouraged by the aggressiveness of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, should encounter too little resistance, and should therefore get the idea that the working class of Czechoslovakia is too weak and scattered to make any such resistance.

The C.P. of Czechoslovakia must draw a number of very serious conclusions from this.

First conclusion: The working class of Czechoslovakia must be given a clear revolutionary perspective and a clear idea of the distribution of class forces in the country. We only need remember the kind of directives which Lenin gave to the Bolshevik fraction of the Fourth Duma with regard to the nature of the first speech of the social-democratic deputies. This was at the end of 1912.

during the new revolutionary upsurge after the revolution of 1905. Lenin wrote:—

“The second thesis, indispensable for the first speech of the workers' representative, is **socialism**. This actually includes two themes. One of these is that the social democracy of Russia is part of the international army of the socialist proletariat. . . . But there is another factor, extremely important at the present juncture—the factor of the **present situation and the present tasks of socialism all over the world**. This situation is characterised by: (a) the acute sharpening of the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie (high prices, mass strikes, **imperialism** of the Powers, their savage competition for the markets, their preparations for the impending war); (b) the **nearness of the realisation of socialism**. The working class of the whole world is not fighting for the recognition of its right to a socialist party, but for **power**, for the reorganisation of society. It is of the utmost importance that this should be stated from the platform of the Duma, and to announce to the workers of Russia the **beginning of the great struggles** for socialism in Europe and America, the **nearness of the triumph** (the inevitable triumph) of socialism in the civilised world.”

This flaming revolutionary directive of Lenin's can be applied trenchantly to the present situation in Czechoslovakia. We must not adapt our level to that of the backward proletarian strata, or hide the revolutionary countenance of the Communist vanguard before these strata, especially the social democratic workers, in the hope of being thereby better able to penetrate into the social democratic masses. On the contrary, we must not merge in these masses. We must make these backward proletarian strata familiar with the idea of the nearness of the realisation of socialism, so that the concrete application of this perspective to the day to day struggles will actually enable the winning over of the majority of the proletariat by the Communist vanguard to be accelerated. It is not our task to concentrate the attention of the Czechoslovakian proletariat on the fact that as yet there is no open fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia (a point which must, of course, be pointed out), but to make it clear to every Czech proletarian, to every social democratic worker, that the process of fascisation is proceeding rapidly in Czechoslovakia, and must be combated. It is not a question whether the present coalition government, under Malpetr, is a Czech version of the Brüning period, or is a “transitional government”; what is important is that precisely this government is a government of the fascisation of Czechoslovakia. The masses must be told the direction in which this fascisation is developing, they must be shown that the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is forcing the C.P. into illegality. It is imperative that the Party itself should be armed at any moment, and not taken by surprise. The illusions gathering around the constitution, still strong among the masses of the Czechoslovakian proletariat and even in the C.P., must be exposed, must be exterminated root and branch.

“Constitutional illusions,” said Lenin, “are a political error, consisting of the belief that the existing order of things is the normal one, the ordered, lawful, correct—in a word—‘constitutional’ order, although in reality this is not the case.” (Vol. 16, 1st edition, Part II, p. 19.)

And finally, it is not only our task to proclaim, as Comrade Schwerma did at the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., that “economic struggles and mass strikes form the main weapon in the struggle of the proletariat, in the struggle against fascism,” but to show that the carrying out of even the smallest strike struggle of the proletariat, as very rightly pointed out by Comrade Schwerma, is to be utilised for the whole forward movement, for raising the revolutionary level of the class struggle, and for showing the toiling masses that the strike in itself is not yet the highest form of the revolutionary struggle. The consciousness of the toiling masses must be impressed with the fact that in periods of revolutionary crisis even the “general political strike” is to be regarded

as an auxiliary to the insurrection, and not as an independent weapon, so that consequently the choice of the time of the strike, the choice of the districts and branches of production which it is to embrace, must be subordinated to the time and the conditions of the central core of the struggle, that is, of the insurrection.” (Draft of the resolution of the Bolsheviki at the Stockholm Party Congress.)

It need not be said that at the present time there is no insurrectionary situation in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless the Czech C.P. must make the revolutionary perspective clear to the workers. This is specially important in order that the events in Germany may be understood, for the panic-mongers and capitulators have lost their faith in the development of the inner forces of the proletarian revolution in Germany, and reproach the C.P. with not having called the proletariat to insurrection before Hitler came into power (and this although the prerequisites for such a step did not exist, either with regard to the objective influence of the C.P. or with regard to the comparative forces of social democracy), thereby maliciously lessening the importance of the three appeals of the C.P.G. for the general strike, whose failure is solely attributable to the greater influence of the S.P.G. over the masses.

(To be concluded)

The Youth Movement

Decision of the Presidium of the E.C. Y.C.I. on the Change of the Date for International Youth Day

The Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. in December, 1932, decided in advance the question of changing the date of International Youth Day from the first Sunday in September to a working day, and handed over the question of the new date for I.Y.D. to all sections of the Y.C.I. for discussion.

The Presidium notes that the decision of the Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. to change the date of I.Y.D. was unanimously approved by all sections of the Y.C.I. which discussed the question.

In their decisions the revolutionary youth point out that the international revolutionary nature of I.Y.D., which is celebrated in all parts of the world, is in plain contradiction to the date on which it is held.

The first Sunday in September, on which I.Y.D. used to be held, like any other Sunday, is not a revolutionary day, and, moreover, for the toiling youth of very important countries—U.S.S.R., China, India, Japan, etc.—this day is not distinguished in any way whatever from other days.

As many Y.C.L. organisations correctly point out, the celebration of I.Y.D. on a Sunday interferes with the possibility of carrying on concrete militant measures, strikes, etc., directly in the factories and estates.

In view of this, and taking account of the opinion expressed by the Young Communist Leagues of U.S.S.R., Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, China, Japan and the South American countries, the Presidium of the E.C.Y.C.I. decides to change the date of I.Y.D. from 1933 onwards.

As I.Y.D. in the course of eighteen years has been held at the beginning of September, and as in the majority of capitalist countries I.Y.D. as an anti-militarist day coincides with the time of conscription for the army, which makes it still more necessary to mobilise the youth in the struggle against militarism and imperialism, most of the sections of the Y.C.I. express themselves in favour of fixing a definite date—namely, September 1st—for celebrating I.Y.D. every year.

The Presidium of the E.C.Y.C.I. on the basis of the powers given to it on this question by the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I., hereby confirm September 1st as International Youth Day, as the yearly review of the revolutionary forces of the youth and the mobilisation of the broad masses of toiling and oppressed youth for the struggle against capitalism, against imperialist war, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism.

Presidium, E.C.Y.C.I.

Organisational Questions

Some Experiences of the United Front in Great Britain

By Dexter

An examination of the position in some of the leading districts in Great Britain with regard to the development of the united front during the first three months following the March Manifesto of the Comintern shows that while there are certain achievements to be recorded, yet the significance of the call of the E.C.C.I. is not yet fully understood by all the members of the C.P.G.B.

It is true that one does not often meet such an open opposition to an approach to the social-democratic organisations as was expressed by leading comrades in Pontypridd (South Wales), who claimed there was no use in approaching organisations and officials who were opposed to the class struggle, but it is clear that very often, even where such open opposition has not been expressed, some such feeling exists, that, in consequence, leads to a slowness in getting down to the task which is completely out of relation to the demands of the situation.

This feeling is, of course, stimulated by the line which has been pursued by many of the I.L.P. organisations. For instance, we meet with numerous complaints by our Party comrades that "in our district the I.L.P. was not active in connection with the Anti-Fascist Congress," that "in our town the I.L.P. representatives are not attending the joint meetings arranged," that "the local leaders of the I.L.P. fear that their membership will become submerged in the united front with the C.P." We have cases where the members of the Communist Party report that "for over two months the I.L.P. representatives have refused to meet us," and in one case where an open attack on the Party by I.L.P. leaders is reported.

How do our Party comrades react to this? A leading comrade in one district states that "in nearly every case we have complaints from the Party comrades about having to do all the donkey work" (our emphasis), and this attitude seems to be fairly typical.

What is wrong here? It appears that our Party comrades very often imagine that the united front is some kind of new job that we are only now undertaking, following negotiations with the I.L.P., the benefits of which, we are told, are going to the I.L.P., who are passive while we "do the donkey work."

Such comrades fail to appreciate that in such a situation we are by no means at a disadvantage, fail to appreciate that what the social-democratic leaders, both of the Right and "Left" variety, are anxious to achieve is to discredit the united front which the Communist Party is really striving for—and if our comrades give way to this and begin to look on their united front work as "having to do all the donkey work," they will help the manoeuvres of the leaders.

For while the Labour Party and trade union bureaucrats openly declared their refusal to associate with the Communist Party in the building of the workers' united front, the I.L.P. leaders at any rate declared their willingness to have a united front.

What many Party members have failed to realise is that the support of the united front by the I.L.P. leaders indicated in actual fact a growing demand on the part of the masses of the working class (particularly of those in and around the I.L.P. who can already see clearly the anti-working-class part being played by the Labour Party leaders) for unity of action against the attacks on their bread and butter, against the fascist menace, and against the danger of war, and that, therefore, where sabotage is manifested in connection with the building of the workers' united front, it is to the workers that we must immediately turn with a merciless exposure of such sabotage. It is this failure to see the masses, and to direct the main work of building up the united front among them, that is the outstanding feature of the first experiences of these united front activities.

In spite of the categorical injunction in the Comintern's Manifesto that the Communists "have not to await the results of these negotiations and agreements regarding the joint struggle with the social democracy, but must immediately proceed to the

organisation of all-inclusive committees of struggle, to include social-democratic workers and workers of all other political tendencies"—we find on the contrary, on the part of many of our Party organisations, an attitude which ties up the fate of the united front with the antics and delaying tactics of I.L.P. leaders. Much precious time is lost, almost begging and praying of these individuals to come to meetings, to translate joint decisions into life, etc., but there seems little appreciation that it is the united front of the masses which is awaiting attention, and that the masses should be constantly kept aware as to how the united front is being built up, as to who is active in building it, and who is for the united front in words, while in deeds, very much on the line of the Labour leaders, is actually boycotting it.

Typical of this is the statement of the South Wales D.P.C., published in the "Daily Worker," July 24th, which almost pleads with the I.L.P. Divisional Council for a continuation of the United Front—instead of boldly directing itself primarily to the workers in general with an exposure of the fact that the I.L.P. leaders in South Wales have all along been opposed to joint action with the C.P.

And in this regard we should not forget that although in many cases the I.L.P. organisations are not strong, yet there are many workers who are still infected by the old I.L.P. traditions and outlook. Typical of this is the report from Rhondda (South Wales), which states: "The I.L.P. has gone out of existence, although there are large numbers of workers with I.L.P. ideas."

The basic task of the united front activity, then, is to build it up among the masses themselves. How, generally speaking, has the question been approached till now?

The Communist Party locals have approached various organisations (Labour Party, I.L.P., trades councils, etc.) with proposals to develop united front activity in connection with fascism, the war menace, etc. In the majority of cases only the I.L.P. has responded, and accordingly joint committees have been established to organise joint activities in various directions. In Glasgow, according to a report, there are twelve "united front committees," consisting in most cases of two or three representatives each from the C.P. and I.L.P. In some cases, following a local conference, this committee is enlarged by the inclusion of representatives of, say, the local N.U.W.M., some T.U. branches, etc. In one or two cases trades councils have declared themselves in favour of the united front.

What is the main character of the work of these "united front committees"?—mainly the organisation of propaganda meetings, occasional joint demonstrations (such as May 1st), the distribution of leaflets dealing with the united front in general; in some cases we see forces joined in connection with a local "hunger march" or demonstration to a town council (though these latter appear to be exceptional). In one or two cases (such as in connection with the strike at Dundee Bolt Works) there is joint activity in regard to local struggles—but in general the question of building the united front in connection with the attack on wages, etc. in Britain still remains very largely on paper.

It is true that now there appears to be a realisation that a turn must be made to the factories, and this is none too soon. For there was and still continues to be a very serious danger that the united front is taken to mean only the meeting of the representatives of the C.P. and I.L.P. to plan joint work. The conception that the united front means the actual mobilisation and organisation of the masses themselves for struggle seems to have been completely missed in the minds of so many comrades who have regarded the united front as something new and concerning only the C.P. and I.L.P. organisations. It is true that in some areas, particularly South Wales, the method of calling local conferences (raising in this connection much discussion in trade union branches) was resorted to, with varying success. For instance, outstanding is the case of Ammanford, where the second local conference (which was a "bigger success" than the first) was attended by seven miners' lodges, two tinplate union branches, two trades councils, two N.U.W.M. branches and one Communist Party local, and where a proposal was adopted to request the unofficial Combine Committee of Miners' Lodges to tender fourteen days' notice for a one-day strike against the war menace, fascist terror and the capitalist attack on the workers.

In Ammanford, we are told, "it can be said that the mass of the workers has been won for organised united front action," but it is characteristic that there were apparently no delegates present directly representing the workers of any pit nor of any united front committee elected by masses of workers themselves. One after another these conferences show an attendance of not more than twenty delegates representing organisations (T.U., etc.), but there is no indication that an effort was made, by approaching the workers themselves, particularly at the pits, etc., to get them to attend the conference, even as visitors, and to draw them into the building of the united front.

But it is precisely here where the main activity has to be directed where the united front between the Communist, I.L.P., Labour Party and other workers has to be built up, linking it up always with corresponding work inside the trade union branches. The Twelfth Plenum resolutions passed last year already contain, like a red thread running through them, the call to the C.P.s to build up the united front from below, and for years now it has been the line of the Comintern to build up "the united front from below at all times." What has still to be understood by many comrades, in connection with the approach to the Labour Party and I.L.P., is that the application of this line lies at the base of

the concrete proposals put forward in the Comintern's Manifesto, where the stress on the necessity of "organising committees of action in the factories, Labour Exchanges and working-class quarters" is in the forefront.

An examination of the position shows that these vital points have still to be made clear to the mass of Party members, for we see very little result in the shape of the actual organisation of the masses following the united front work engaged in hitherto. That the possibilities for the building of the united front of the masses really exists is shown by the increasing number of cases of resistance to wage cuts, etc., where concrete assistance from the Party in building up an all-round united front of struggle has been gladly accepted, and by the response to the campaign against the fascist terror in Germany, and against the war danger, particularly in connection with the recent Moscow trial of wreckers.

It is up to us, comrades, to get down to the task, in each local, selecting factories, unions, etc., on which first to concentrate attention, and with the achievement of results in the shape of the actual organisation of the masses for struggle, to spread over a wider and wider area, displaying initiative and perseverance in independently building up the organised united fighting front of all the working class.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

A Journey Through the Volga German Republic

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

WHO IS IN NEED?

On the left bank of the Volga, south of Saratov, lie the collective farms of the Seelmann canton, one of the districts of the Volga German Soviet Republic. Here I stayed for some time during my tour of the collective farms of the central and lower Volga region. Here I looked for the "misery suffered by our German brothers in Russia," about which the German fascist press is making such an outcry.

I found that this cry for aid was not unjustified from the standpoint of the German fascists. For certain "brothers," the class brothers of the German exploiters, the political brothers of the German fascists, are certainly in a serious plight: the spring and the summer of 1933 have destroyed their last hopes of being able to stop the advance of the Soviet village to socialism and general prosperity.

We read in the "Berliner Tageblatt":—

"The terrible reports coming to Germany regarding our lost kinsfolk far away in the East have never been so numerous and harrowing as in the last few months."

I was able partly to discover the causes of this panicky terror of the German fascists already before I personally visited the villages. I glanced through the stenographic reports of the congresses of the Volga German collective farmers which took place shortly before my arrival in Engels, the capital of the Volga German Republic. On the first page at which I happened to open the report I read the following record of the speech delivered by an old collective farmer from the village of Laub:—

"Comrades. It is a great pleasure for me, as one of the oldest shock-brigaders of the Volga German Republic, to be among you. (Applause, clapping and cries of Hurrah!) I find pleasure in the fact that it has been my fortune to see already now the fruits of our work, the fruits of our struggles in which I took part in the years since the revolution and even before. (Applause.) Yes, comrades, to-day we can be

proud and speak so that it is heard not only in Russia, but over the frontiers as far as fascist Germany, where at the present time our brothers are persecuted and imprisoned. I detected this feeling of pride in all the speeches. . . .

"Fifteen years ago our little handful (the Volga German Communists—L. F. B.) was faced with a whole army of enemies. To-day, however, we are thousands of fighters. When Hitler talks to-day of the extermination of Marxism and Bolshevism, he lies. He does not really know how powerful this idea is; he does not know how in the Soviet Union this idea has seized everybody, even the children; he does not know that this idea has already penetrated the very blood. The idea of Communism can no longer be exterminated. We shock-brigaders say to-day out loudly so that it is heard right over the frontiers: 'We are thousands of Communists, of Red Army men, Bolsheviks, shock-brigaders, and we shall take up the fight against you capitalists and exploiters! And, comrades, make no mistake, we shall be victorious!' (Prolonged applause.)"

This was the note that dominated all the speeches of the delegates at this congress.

The village of Jost, where the German collective farm "Frisch voran" ("Go Ahead!") is situated, like the other German Volga villages, differs from most of the Russian villages we have seen, in that it is constructed more according to plan. The neat, clean houses stand in even rows in almost military order. Also in the administrative offices of the collective farm the greatest order prevails. The well-organised, exact book-keeping enabled me at once to get an idea of the economic position and the economic development of the kolchos, which was confirmed by later visits and talks with collective farmers. The undertaking embraces 382 peasant farms and has a cultivated area of 5,000 hectares. In the first financial year (1930) the collective farm had a total income of 73,000 roubles; in the year 1931 this had increased to 132,000

roubles, and in 1932 to 263,000 roubles. Thus, in the first three years of its existence the income of the collective farm has nearly quadrupled. The amount of that part of the total income which is divided out for individual consumption is increasing at an equally rapid rate. This share is paid out, according to the amount and quality of the work performed—partly in grain, vegetables, fruit, etc., and partly in cash. The current year will witness a particularly big step forward in the personal prosperity and well-being of the collective peasants: 150 per cent. more in farm products and 300 per cent. more in cash will be distributed per unit of labour than last year. A similar development is taking place on all the other German collective farms I have visited. This, however, represents only part of the income of the collective farm peasants, as in addition each possesses his own cow, his own pig, poultry, etc., so that he can supply himself and his family with milk, butter, eggs, etc., and also add some hundred roubles a year to his cash income.

This rapid progress has finally secured the victory of the collective farm idea among the peasants.

A collective farmer named Adam Preis in the village of Jost said to me:—

"We should lock up in a lunatic asylum anybody who tried to persuade us to-day to return to the individual farm.

"And that is saying something when you imagine with what hesitation and anxiety for the future we entered the collective farm three and a half years ago."

"And what induced you, then, to join the collective farm?"

"I thought, capital must be overthrown and we must commence to live a proper life. As individual peasants we had not much to lose, it is true, but nevertheless it was not easy to accustom ourselves to the new. To-day we cannot imagine a life outside of the collective farm. That is the proper life; only those who work shall eat, and those who work more and better for the community also receive more from the community. We have carried out this principle and this has led us forward. We see how right Stalin was when he said that we only need to work honestly in order to become prosperous. He showed us how we can become prosperous in the course of the next two to three years. We here in Jost will hardly have to wait so long. Those of us who have worked diligently this year will in a few months, at the distribution of the harvest, be better off than almost any working individual peasant in our district has ever been."

Adam Preis is also well on the best way to becoming prosperous. Last year he and his son, who is a tractor driver, worked 735 labour units; and this year he has been no less diligent. The remuneration for his labour will be 40 to 50 double centals of grain, generous quantities of vegetables and melons, and 1,000 to 1,200 roubles in cash. Those who earn less have only themselves to blame, for it means that instead of working industriously they have been idle.

Comrade Meissner, the chairman of the collective farm, proudly showed me the economic and cultural arrangements and equipment of the kolchos. As we left the office premises he turned round and gazed silently for some time at the house, and then said with a smile:—

"The kulak Schleidevitz used to live in this house. A few years ago I worked here for this blood-sucker as a farm hand, and now I sit in the same house as chairman of the collective farm. It often seems to me as if it were a dream."

On the way Meissner told me of the struggle he and his comrades conducted in order to develop the collective farm. It was a

struggle which he had at times to wage also against himself. The collective farm was founded in the autumn of 1929. At the foundation meeting great uncertainty prevailed among a part of the peasants. They wanted a change from the old life, but they did not know what the new life would be like. Some of them anxiously asked: It often happens that even two brothers cannot get along well together, then how can a whole village be expected to work together? Others, mainly the younger and the poorer, said: "We will try it at any rate, and then see how we get on." Thirty farms decided to join the collective farm. Some of them soon left it again. "I must confess that I myself for a time succumbed to the wiles of the kulaks. Shortly before the collective farm was founded I received a horse from the Soviet Power, which enabled me to set up a little farm of my own. The kulaks said to me: 'See, you have got a horse and now you are going to part with it?' And I, who as a farm hand, had always longed to have a little farm of my own, could not resist the longing to attempt to be a peasant myself. As you see," he added with a smile, "the attempt did not turn out very successful."

When the peasants saw that the collective farm was not working at all badly, there commenced a new influx. In 1930 70 per cent. of the village population were in the collective farm, and to-day there are only five per cent. who are still in individual farms; they would willingly enter the collective farm but they are refused admission because they have been previously punished on account of counter-revolutionary agitation.

In the few years of its existence the collective farm has carried on considerable building activity. It now has four new pigsties, three new poultry yards, a new carpenter's shop and a smithy. In order to be able the better to sell its products in the town, the collective farm has obtained a small freight steamer. Comfortable quarters with a small club corner and library have been built for the various field brigades, in which the collective peasants can stay overnight during the busy season of field work.

In addition to the fine school with six teachers, the village has a people's house for meetings and entertainments, a house of culture with library and reading room, a peasants' home for the accommodation of visitors, and also a crèche and several playgrounds for children.

Just as in the Russian villages, the development of the collective farms encountered the fierce resistance of the kulaks, whom the new collective farming deprived of every possibility of exploiting the labour of other people. Most of the collective farms I visited had already got rid of the remnants of the class enemy already before the spring sowing. But there were also collective farms, such as the collective farm in the village of Stahl, in which, right up to recently, the class enemy had managed to get hold of important positions in the management. The following case is typical of their methods of sabotage. The management of the kolchos triumphantly reported that the repair of the farm implements and machinery had been completed in readiness for the spring sowing. But it transpired that this repair work had been only apparently carried out, and one machine after the other fell to pieces. When the matter came to be investigated it was found that the management of the collective farm consisted of former members of counter-revolutionary white bands who posed as "active collective farmers" and who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the kolchos peasants and retarding the development of the collective farm in every way. They have now been exposed and expelled from the collective farm, so that while there is an addition to the number of "brothers in need," there is also a big collective farm which can now advance to prosperity unhampered by the class enemy.

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