

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 13 No. 45

13th October 1933

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# The Soviet Union Shows the Way Out!

## The Sixteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

The sixteenth anniversary of the great October Revolution is approaching, the revolution which tore the power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and gave it to the proletariat on the boundless territory of the late Tsarist Russia. The victory of the **Soviet Power** which embodied the great behests of Marx on the **Dictatorship of the proletariat**, opened a new page in world history—the epoch of the **World Proletarian Revolution**.

Under the brilliant leadership of Lenin and his Party, the Soviet Power in the first days of its existence carried out all the slogans which had been proclaimed by the Bolsheviks on the eve of the seizure of power. It proposed immediate peace to all the peoples and governments of the warring countries. It confiscated all the land of the landlords and handed it over to the peasants. It nationalised the banks, the railroads and the big factories, announced the equality of all the peoples who inhabited the country and their full right to self-determination to the point of separation. It passed new laws ensuring the liberation of women, took most important steps for the successful development of the cultural revolution, and separated the school from the church and the church from the State.

In the severe conditions of war, economic crisis and devastation, defending itself in the three years of bloody civil war, driving back imperialist intervention and destroying internal counter-revolution, strengthening its position inside the country and beyond its borders, the Soviet government concentrated its entire attention on the **great task of the construction of socialism**, which was begun

under the leadership of **Lenin** and which achieved its victory of world importance under the leadership of **Stalin**.

The sixteen years of the October Revolution are sixteen years of unceasing struggle, sometimes more open, sometimes less, but always stubborn and irreconcilable, between **two worlds—the world of dying capitalism and the world of rising socialism**.

**The verification of the results of this great struggle is a matter for the entire world proletariat.**

Even by the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution the **construction of the mighty economic foundations of socialism** had been completed, as the result of a gigantic struggle throughout the first socialist Five-Year Plan, the Five-Year Plan of the wide socialist offensive and the technical reconstruction of the country. The introduction of the 7-hour day, the complete **liquidation of unemployment**, the continual increase of wages, the many milliards in the budget of social insurance and cultural construction—such were the main achievements of this Five-Year Plan for the broad masses of workers. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture on a new technical basis ensured an increase of productive forces in agriculture and laid the path towards the elimination of pauperisation and the building of a well-to-do life for the collective farmers.

The U.S.S.R. has become strong in the positions of socialism and has begun to carry out the plans of the Second Five-Year Plan, the Five-Year Plan of struggle for the construction of classless socialist society, the Five-Year Plan of further enormous construc-

tion work, the mastering of technique and the rapid growth of the well-being of the masses.

The victorious completion of the first socialist Five-Year Plan, the successful course of the fulfilment of the first year of the second Five-Year Plan, the growth of collectivisation and the decisive successes on the grain front, successes in the sphere of technique and the increasing independence of the country from the capitalist world, the strengthening of the defensive powers of the country, the growth of the cultural revolution, new big successes in the peaceful policy of the Soviet government, a further growth of the importance of the U.S.S.R. in the world arena, the increase of its popularity as the impregnable fortress of socialism and the fatherland of the toilers of all countries, the revolutionary upsurge which is taking place throughout the world under the slogans of the October Revolution, the growth of Bolshevism throughout the world, the new victories of the Soviet Revolution in China—such are some of the results with which the world proletariat arrives at the **sixteenth anniversary of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

But there is another side of the picture—the further intensification of the crisis, the fifth winter of starvation in all the countries of the world, the victory of fascism in Germany, and the spread of the influence of fascism in other countries, the inevitable breakdown of the “recovery plan” for crumbling capitalist economy, the plundering of the wages and social insurance of the workers and the unemployed, the organisation of forced labour for the working youth and the unemployed in military camps under the pretence of the struggle against unemployment, “labour service” for the unemployed on the estates of the landlords, the daily murder of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in the countries of fascism and in the countries of democracy, the orgy of chauvinism and nationalism, the unleashing of all the forces of counter-revolution, the fascisation of social democracy and the beginning of the disintegration of the Second International, the growth of all the contradictions of imperialism, the frantic growth of armaments and the open preparation for war and anti-Soviet intervention, feverish armaments and the open preaching of war against Bolshevism by German fascism, the impudent provocations of Japanese imperialism on the eastern frontiers of the U.S.S.R., the seizure of part of China by Japan, the beginning of the partition of China.

In these conditions the October campaign in all countries will be marked by the militant mobilisation of the masses **in defence of the U.S.S.R.** by the united front of the toilers and oppressed of all countries, in the struggle **against fascism and war, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Soviet Power.**

The October Revolution made an incurable wound in world capitalist rule. It took away from capitalism one-sixth of the world, established on it the **dictatorship of the proletariat** and inscribed on its banner the winning of socialism in the Soviet Union and the struggle for the world proletarian revolution. In the October period, the rule of the bourgeoisie in a number of countries was threatened with the same fate as in the late Russia. In Germany, Hungary, Austria, Italy, everywhere the attack of the proletariat on the fortress of capitalism took place under the slogan of winning the **Soviet Power.** In the irresistible attractive power of this slogan the world importance and real essence of the October Revolution was clearly shown in all the revolutionary fights of the October period as the **first stage of the world proletarian revolution.**

**“The world importance of the October Revolution is not only that it is the great initiative of one country in making a breach in the system of imperialism and establishing the first centre of socialism in an ocean of imperialist countries, but also that it constitutes the first stage of the world revolution and a powerful basis for its further development.”** (Stalin: Questions of Leninism.)

The Soviet Power conquered in October. It beat back all the attacks of external and internal enemies and became strong as no other government during the entire post-war period.

But the Soviet Power did not conquer in the other countries of Europe. The parties of the Second International, which betrayed and split the working class in August, 1914, once more betrayed the proletariat in the hour of danger for the bourgeoisie, in 1919-1920. Owing to the weakness of the Communist Parties, which were still young, the social democrats were able to deceive the broad masses of the social democratic workers and secure their support, covering their defence of the **bourgeois dictatorship** with the banner of **“democracy.”**

Later, the renegades of socialism, Kautsky, Otto Bauer, and their followers, used this banner against the Soviets. Under the flag of “democracy,” during the entire post-war period, they were in the first ranks in the anti-Soviet campaigns of the bourgeoisie: they promised to lead the working class to socialism along the path of “democracy.” Under this banner the parties of the Second International and the reformist trade unions forced on the working class all the sacrifices demanded by the bourgeoisie, transferring all the burdens of the post-war crisis onto the shoulders of the toilers and drawing the broad masses of social democratic workers into the struggle for capitalist stabilisation. Under this flag the social democratic leaders became the hangmen of the proletarian revolution in Germany, Hungary, and other countries, and headed the struggle of the bourgeoisie against Communism. Under this banner social democracy took part in the bourgeois governments, in words fighting against fascism, but in reality helping its development, clearing the road for it and preparing for the victory of Hitler in Germany. The theory of the “lesser evil” was used by social democracy in full against the working class, and proved that of the two prospects, fascism or Bolshevism, social democracy preferred fascism.

The leaders of the Second International, pouring out slander and filth on the dictatorship of the proletariat and contrasting it with “democracy” (which is nothing but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie), claimed, and continue to claim, that in the U.S.S.R. there exists not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the dictatorship of “a handful of Communists over the proletariat.” The revolutionary workers of the whole world sweep aside this foul lie with scorn.

The Soviets, elected by the **broadest masses of workers and peasants**, played a tremendous role in the 1905 revolution and in the February revolution of 1917. At the time of the October Revolution, they became the organs of revolutionary power, the only power in the world which **works under the real control of the broad toiling masses, in the interests of the masses, and carries out its decisions by the hands of these masses.**

The Soviets have become the organs by means of which the **proletariat** is taking the lead of its chief ally—the basic masses of the toiling peasants. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviets organised resistance to counter-revolution and intervention, built up the united front of all the forces of the proletarian revolution in the struggle for socialism, precisely because they represent the **vast majority** of the country and protect the interests of **tens of millions of toilers against an insignificant minority of exploiters and parasites.**

The Soviets are an open form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the process of the revolution, carrying out a most important task of this dictatorship—the task of mercilessly crushing the resistance of the bourgeoisie who have been overthrown, and at the same time carrying on the **most consistent democracy** which ever existed in history. The Soviets are **real democracy**, the democracy of the revolutionary initiative of the millions, the democracy of socialist labour and mass revolutionary action. Only **this democracy** had the power to cope with the task of converting a backward and devastated country into a mighty fortress of industrialisation and collectivisation, of organising the new socialist life and culture, and carrying out a series of other great tasks for which many generations of the working class have fought.

But the “democracy” of the Kautskys and Otto Bauers not only failed to lead the proletariat of the capitalist countries of Europe and America to the promised socialism, but condemned scores of millions to all the calamities of the crisis, to unemployment, starvation, homelessness, and led them under the power of the fascist dictatorship, drove the flower of the revolutionary workers into Hitler's concentration camps, sent the youth and the unemployed in Germany, U.S.A., Great Britain and other countries into the convict “labour camps,” completely liquidated all the achievements of the working class in Germany, Italy, Hungary, all its organisations which had been formed by the struggle of generations and created the tremendous danger for the working class movement of being thrown back to the dark past of the **Middle Ages**, a danger which can only be overcome by the **united revolutionary front of the world proletariat**, a front of struggle not only against fascism but also against social fascism.

(To be concluded)

## Politics

### Dynamite in the Far East

By Karl Radek

The world press reported very little about the trial, which took place before the military court in Tokyo, of the murderers of the Japanese Prime Minister Inukai. The mere fact of the murder of the Prime Minister of one of the big Powers ought to have aroused the interest of the whole world in the trial, the more so as this murder followed on the murder of the Finance Minister Ijano and on the murder of Dana, the head of the big Japanese concern Mitsui, whilst, in addition, it has transpired that the murderers are a group of Japanese officers. One would have thought that all this would have caused the trial to be followed with the keenest interest by the whole world. But this was not the case.

The trial is over. The chief accused have been sentenced to death, and others to terms of imprisonment, and the documents concerning the trial can be filed away. But these documents constitute a description of a dynamite cartridge of enormous force which can at any time explode and blow the world to pieces. The accused admitted that, among other things, they had considered the question of murdering the Ambassador and the Consul-General of the United States in order thereby to hasten the outbreak of the war between the United States and Japan, for they were of the opinion that this war would be conducted under more favourable conditions for Japan now than in some years' time. It is probable that only the intensification of the inner struggles between the imperialist groups in Japan, which caused the young officers to assassinate the Japanese Prime Minister, postponed the carrying out of the assassination of the United States Ambassador, which assassination, in view of the development of events in the Far East, could have played the same role as did the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in the summer of 1914 in bringing about the world war.

At the present time Japan is simply swarming with conspiratory organisations which have representatives in the army, among the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and officials, and the threads of which extend to very influential cliques. The way in which certain Japanese circles are playing with dynamite constitutes a world danger, and it is the duty of the public opinion of the world to consider attentively what the trial of Inukai's murderers has brought to light.

The murderers of Inukai are young officers coming from families of officers, landowners and officials. They have already expressed, in a number of appeals which were published at the time of the assassination, the ideas which induced them to join conspirative organisations and to carry out the assassination. In a leaflet published on the 15th of May, the "National Federation of Young Officers," in the name of the Mikado, called for the destruction of the existing political parties. They called for the murder of the capitalists and attacked the weak diplomacy and dangerous ideas.

Japan is a country of the greatest class antagonisms. The peasants, who form 91 per cent. of the total number of landowners, possess but little more land than the 5,000 big landowners and 200,000 small landowners, and are therefore compelled to rent land from big landowners, in return for which they have to pay in money or in kind almost half of their harvest. These peasants are burdened by debts amounting to seven milliard yen. Japanese agriculture has for years been suffering under a very serious crisis, which has become increasingly acute since the war. When, however, the murderers of Inukai raise an outcry about the sufferings of the peasants they are thinking in the first place of their fathers, the big landowners.

The Japanese landowning class are a set of parasites who, when Japan went over to capitalism, not only retained their land but made use of the whole power which remained in their hands in order to continue the semi-feudal exploitation of the peasants. In return for the pieces of land they had to give up to the peasants they demanded the payment of a big lump sum, which they employed in speculation and money lending and in part squandered on luxuries. Hence a considerable part of the aristocratic small landowners soon found themselves without any land, and as the constant presents they received from the government and the jobs they were given in the State apparatus did not suffice

them, they urged Japan on to seize Formosa, Korea and later China. The nobility who had starved the Japanese peasants and were not satisfied with the crumbs which fell from the table of the young capitalists, became the chief exponents of imperialist expansion in Japan long before Japanese monopoly capitalism with its modern imperialist tendencies arose.

The development of monopoly capitalism did not save the landowners. To the feudal exploitation of the peasants it added exploitation by the trusts and concerns. The whole of the trade in rice and raw silk is concentrated in the hands of some big firms, headed by the Mitsui undertaking. The double yoke of the landowners and the financial capitalists and the increase in taxes intensified the misery of the peasants. This circumstance was bound to react on the landowners. The peasants were unable to pay their rent. The drop in the price of the agricultural products as a result of the last crisis reduced the income of the landowners by almost a half. In the year 1932 it came to plundering and setting fire to houses and estates of the big landowners, to beating up the bailiffs, while at the same time the price of land fell.

The big landowners who derive incomes from participation in industry and the banks and receive high salaries as members of the upper bureaucracy are able to get rid of their tenants and conduct agriculture on large-scale capitalist lines by employing landworkers and Koreans. This course, however, is not open to the small landowner. The small landowner demands subsidies from the government and calls for a predatory policy which will enable him, as officer or official, to exploit the workers of other countries. When the black-hundred organisations of landowners promise the Japanese peasants land in China or Siberia, they know very well that this is a fraud, for the peasants have no money even to pay their debts, still less to start new farms on the Asiatic mainland. But war offers the landowners a way out of their own personal crisis. From the high salaries which the officials and officers who are sent to Manchuria receive it is possible for them to pay their debts, but the debts of the big landowners amount to 2,500 million yen. The young officers who rail against the feeble diplomacy and are aiming at a war for the "freeing" of Asia, give expression to these strivings of the big landowner-class.

Another part of the young fascist officers express the sentiments of the ruined petty bourgeoisie. Including their relatives they represent a powerful strata of ten million people, to which must be added the 3½ million employees and intellectuals. This urban petty bourgeoisie, which represents almost a third of the Japanese population, is suffering as a result of the increasing burden of taxation, the swallowing up of the small industry by big industry, and rising prices. As regards the intellectuals, in the Tokyo district alone there are 55,000 intellectuals who have formed a society the members of which declare themselves ready to undertake any work for 20 yen. These people constitute very fertile soil for military-fascist tendencies. They see the enormous riches which have accumulated in the hands of big capitalist concerns. In the year 1929, according to official Japanese statistics, there were 3,000 people who possess more than a million yen, among them being many multi-millionaires.

The petty bourgeoisie and the aristocratic small landowners view the Japanese finance capitalists with hate and envy. They set up ridiculous programmes for the State control of the big capitalists.

The leaders of the fascist military organisations realise the danger inherent in the rottenness of Japanese monopoly capitalism. They therefore conduct a demagogic agitation against the trusts and rings and against the bourgeois political parties.

So far as the great bulk of its followers is concerned the fascist movement in Japan comprises the ruined masses of the petty bourgeoisie and of the aristocratic small landowners, but is a tool in the hands of a part of the higher bureaucracy, the big landowners, the military and various groups of finance capital, who have arrived at the conviction that the old Japanese State institution, with parliament and political bourgeois parties, are no longer suitable for the policy of imperialist expansion. These fascist elements are endeavouring, by organising a fascist mass movement and fascist terrorist groups, to accelerate the concentration of the whole power in the hands of the military and the most determined groups of finance capital who are allied with it.

Very influential groups of monopoly capital, however, fear a dictatorship of the military which by a clumsy policy might lead

to the isolation of Japan. Therefore, the strivings of the military-fascist groups for a dictatorship encounter resistance and obstacles among the highest heads of the bureaucracy. Both the fascist mass movement and the terrorist organisations are a weapon of the military-fascist groups against these obstacles which stand in their way in the fight for power, which they need as a means for accelerating war in order to achieve conquests on the Asiatic Continent. The demonstrations of the fascist organisations, which to-day are a means in the fight for power, can tomorrow be the means for letting loose the forces of a war which would naturally accelerate the concentration of power in the hands of the military. It was precisely this aspect of the matter which was obscured in the old trials against the terrorist organisations and also in the recent trial.

The trial of Inukai's murderers not only signals the danger of great upheavals which threaten Japan, but also the danger of explosion in the Far East which would involve the whole world. Those who perhaps cherish the hope that an explosion in the Far East could be localised are profoundly mistaken. The world constitutes a uniform whole, and if an avalanche starts at one point it will call forth avalanches in the whole world.

## Germany's Armament Demands

### Strained International Situation

The Bureau of the Disarmament Conference met on 9th of October in Geneva. After Arthur Henderson had reported on the difficulties which stood in the way of an agreement on armaments, it was decided to keep to the date fixed for the opening of the Conference, namely, the 16th of October, although there exists no prospect that an agreement will be arrived at.

As is known, during the whole of the summer great activity has prevailed in the chancelleries of the imperialist Powers—according to the unanimous opinion of the bourgeois press—such as has never been witnessed since 1914. Its result, so far as the former allied Powers were concerned, was the proposal to Germany, which was handed over at the beginning of the autumn meeting of the League of Nations by France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States. Of course, there was no talk of disarmament. This word is no longer employed by hypocritical diplomacy. The proposal aimed only at an agreement on armaments. Its chief points were: the Reichswehr should be converted from a professional army into an army of 200,000 men recruited on the basis of general military service. Other military bodies should disappear. If, after a four years' control, it was found that Germany was actually not arming, then the other Powers would proceed to cut down certain types of weapons.

Germany promptly answered. The essence of its reply is the sentence: "In future the prohibition of certain weapons to Germany must be done away with." That is to say, Germany shall be permitted to produce heavy artillery, tanks, and military aeroplanes. Instead of the **secret arming** carried on hitherto, there shall be **open arming**. The question of German armaments is thus bluntly put: It is impossible to evade it any further.

The official attitude of England and America to Germany's reply is already known. America is said to see in it a breach of the German-American Peace Treaty. The "Times", speaks of the employment of sanctions. Italy will, of course, again seek to act as mediator, but here there is no possibility of an agreement. The immediate effect will probably be the breaking up of the so-called Disarmament Conference and, perhaps, also of the League of Nations. And after that? In any case increased competition in armaments.

Fascism, as the sharpest form of capitalist reaction, which aggravates to the utmost all the inner and outer antagonisms, has in the first place brought about this situation. But contrary to the social democracy, which will now hypocritically come forward only against Hitler, we must again insist here that the so-called Disarmament Conference, even if Hitler had not seized power, would not have led to any result so far as disarmament is concerned. Armaments and war are inseparable from capitalism. Comrade Litvinov, the representative of the Soviet Union at the Disarmament Conference, stated this plainly and clearly. It is interesting to read in the "Neue Vorwärts" of October 8, that between Göbbels and Stresemann there existed only a big difference in regard to tactics but no difference in regard to their aims. This organ of the German social democracy, appearing in Prague, writes:—

"Was Stresemann perhaps not in favour of equality for Germany? So much was he in favour of it that, in spite of the sharp opposition of the social democracy, he was also for armaments. But he did not wish to have this carried out to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets, as is being done at present. He—a member of the People's Party and no pacifist—wanted to achieve quietly in ten years that which the national socialists wish now, with the greatest noise, to achieve in one year."

This statement is not only instructive but also correct, with the exception of what it says about the social democracy. Everybody knows that the social democracy fully supported Stresemann's policy, always spoke for and voted for him in Parliament, and even in the League of Nations, through Breitscheid, supported that policy which aimed at achieving in ten years that which Göbbels wished to achieve in one year. For the rest, did not the social democracy expressly support the policy of Hitler both on March 23 and May 17?

That things have come to their present pass is largely due to the social democracy, which supports capitalism, no matter what its form of government. The present situation can drag on for a time, for the question of the responsibility for the failure of the Disarmament Conference plays an important role. None of the great Powers therefore wishes to act too hastily.

## You Can Silence Us—But You Cannot Escape the Final Reckoning!

The following is taken from an article written by Comrade *Gottwald* and published in the special edition of the "Rude Pravo" of September 30, 1933.—Ed.

"Democracy" has now developed into a complete fascist dictatorship.

Here I should like to say a few words to the honest social-democratic workers: See what your leaders and your parties are doing. In what way does that which they are doing here differ from what Hitler is doing in Germany? Hitler obtained full powers through the Enabling Act and sent Parliament packing. Your parties have done the same thing. Hitler is governing with the aid of emergency decrees. Your parties are doing the same. Hitler suspended elections and deprived the municipal bodies of their powers. Your parties suspend elections and remove the burgomasters who are inconvenient to them. That is to say, they are doing practically the same thing as Hitler. Hitler cut down the unemployment benefit. Your parties have done the same. Hitler ruthlessly worsens the whole system of social measures. Your parties are doing the same. Hitler gives the banks, industrialists and big landowners gigantic subventions from the public funds. Your parties are doing the same. Hitler organises various capitalist trusts, syndicates and monopolies. Your parties do the same. Hitler increases the prices of all the daily requirements of the people. Your parties do the same. Hitler dismissed from the civil service all those who were not his followers. Your parties do the same. Hitler silenced the whole oppositional press. Your parties do the same. Hitler suppressed the Communist Party with the aid of provocations. Your parties do the same. Hitler let loose a chauvinistic wave, rattles the sabre, arms and prepares for imperialist war. Your parties do the same.

Now what does this mean? It means that the policy of your parties is a fascist policy. It is necessary that you look this fact in the face. What have the Communists said? They said that the policy of your parties was bound to lead to this. He who once enters the service of the bourgeoisie, he who has once begun to work together with the masters and rulers, he who has once sold the cause of the workers for his own benefit—and all your parties have done this—has sold himself to the devil. He must go with him to the end. If the bourgeoisie wishes to reduce the wages of the workers, your parties agree to this. If the capitalist masters wish to rob the unemployed of their benefit, your parties agree to this. If the capitalists require huge subventions from the public funds, your parties give them. Does the bourgeoisie find it necessary to shoot down the workers, your parties do so. Does the bourgeoisie require a fascist dictatorship, your parties will jointly introduce it. Does the bourgeoisie require a new imperialist war—your parties are driving you into a new fratricidal slaughter. What, therefore, is to be done? The following: Give up the vain hope that your leaders and your parties will one day conduct a

working-class, a socialist policy. Recognise that bourgeois democracy is one of the forms of the rule of the bourgeoisie, and that as such it grows into an open fascist dictatorship, and with us in Czechoslovakia has already to a considerable extent grown into fascist dictatorship. Realise that the capitalist State is an instrument for suppressing the working class. Realise that the capitalist brute, which knows that its end is approaching and is therefore fighting all the more desperately to prolong its life, must be killed. Clearly realise that the sooner the working class acts, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the more quickly and sooner will there be an end to the unbounded suffering which the ruling capitalist system causes to all sections of the working population. Recognise that the only way to this is via the dictatorship of the proletariat, which the working class can only achieve under the revolutionary flag of the Communist Party. In other words:

Forsake the socialist parties, leave the camp of the class enemy, go over to the other side of the barricade, into the camp of the revolution, into the camp of the Communist Party.

You will silence and destroy the Communist Party? No, gentlemen, you will not silence us, nor will you escape the final reckoning!

## The Change of Government in Spain

After the overthrow of the Lerroux government in Spain, several politicians were entrusted one after the other with the task of forming a new cabinet, but their efforts remained without result. Finally the President, Alcalá Zamora, entrusted a radical, Martínez Barrios, who belongs to the party of the former Prime Minister Lerroux, with the task of forming a cabinet. Barrios first sought permission from Lerroux, which the latter gave him. There then commenced negotiations. At two o'clock in the morning, Martín Barrios, Azana, the Prime Minister who was overthrown before Lerroux, and Alfredo Domingo, woke up Lerroux in order to implore him in the "interests of the Republic," not to agree to the exclusion of the socialists from the new cabinet which was to be formed. Lerroux gave way, but the negotiations which followed came to nothing. Finally, Martínez Barrios submitted to President Alcalá Zamora a list of Ministers, in which the "republican" parties are represented, but not the socialists.

The newly-formed cabinet includes representatives of the radicals, the radical socialists, the Republican Action, the group "In the Service of the Republic," the progressives, the Catalonian Lefts and the radicals of Galicia, as well as an independent radical socialist and an independent republican. The socialist fraction is prepared to support this cabinet, although it is against the dissolution of parliament which is advocated by the cabinet. The elections are to take place on November 10, and the new parliament is to meet on December 8.

The overthrow of the Lerroux Cabinet was the result of a vote in parliament. The same parties which had supported Lerroux in forming his government, the same parties which had paved the way for him and placed their members as Ministers at his disposal, passed a vote of censure in parliament. The socialists, Azana, the radical socialists, Domingo, etc., now started an opposition to the fascist Lerroux government. Lerroux has submitted to parliament the following programme: "To put an end to anarchy in the rural districts, to restore order and to apply the whole powers of the law against the insurgents," i.e., against the starving workers and peasants, against the militant revolutionary fighters. Neither the social-fascist Prieto nor Azana have uttered a word of protest against this programme.

The government, which counted upon the support of the "democrats," has been overthrown. Why? The socialist workers, who still have confidence in the Left politicians, the mass of the people who follow them, the workers and peasants of Spain are in constant revolt against the "Left" and socialist leaders; they are freeing themselves from their tutelage and openly fought with revolutionary methods against the Lerroux government.

The support of Lerroux by the socialists and their secret agreements with him were too obvious. The fraud in connection with the amnesty, which was intended to benefit only the monarchist Sanjurjo, was not calculated to create the necessary basis for a policy of ruthless suppression. The leaders of the "Left" parties realised the mood of the masses who revolted against Lerroux, and wished to paralyse this movement; hence the overthrow of Lerroux.

The discontent of the masses with the regime which only

offered them starvation and misery, prisons and bullets, leads to the overthrow of the governments, disintegrates the parties and renders it very difficult for the bourgeoisie to manoeuvre against the masses of revolutionary workers and peasants.

In view of this situation the Communist Party puts forward the following slogans:

Raise high the banner of the workers' and peasants' government! Raise high the banner of the Soviets! Against the rotten democracy! Against hateful fascism which is stretching out its bloody claws!

The Communist Party is of the opinion that the workers' and peasants' government can only be achieved in the fierce struggle against the exploiters and their bought agents. Only the revolutionary united front leads to the workers' and peasants' government. Hence the Communist Party advocates the setting up of factory committees and peasant committees.

## The Austrian "Brown Book"

By Peter Graumann

Göring's Torchbearer of Group 16

When during September the faithful Catholics of Austria, led by a troop of cardinals, poured into Vienna to celebrate the deliverance of Vienna from the wicked heathen Turks in the year 1683, men selling programmes of the celebrations pressed into their hands a brochure bound in brown. A pamphlet bearing an official, governmental character, printed at the State Printing Works and issued by the "Office of the Federal Chancellor, Bureau of the Federal Minister for Public Safety." The little book bore the title: "The Brown Book: Swastika against Austria."

In February, 1933, a few days before March 5, the Reichstag burnt in dozens of places. With this act of provocation, the greatest of all times, Goering, the prison governor of Prussia, had solemnly initiated his bloody campaign against the revolutionary working class. In one respect the provocation had succeeded: the Reichstag had burnt and the wave of terror went through the land. Yet for months on end Goering's and Hitler's lackeys strove hard to shatter in some way or other the conviction of the world that it was Göring's own torchbearers who had carried out that terrible deed on that 27th day of February.

The trial, which is part of the vain effort to whitewash Goering and his Heines, is now in progress. After only a few hours the trial of Torgler, Dimitrov and his comrades became a trial in which a pitiable defence was raised against the knife-edged accusations and proofs of the "Brown Book on the burning of the Reichstag," became, instead of a trial of the Communists, a trial of Hitler, Van der Lubbe, and Göring.

In June, 1933, a few months later, Hitler and Göring once more gave their torchbearers a secret sign. And again there were fires, crashes, explosions, not only in one building, but in a whole country.

Chancellor Dollfuss' "Clerical-Fascism" was to be "incorporated" (gleichgeschaltet) by the Nazis. Austria was, from within outwards, to become a province of Hitler's Germany through the agency of the Austrian National-Socialist Party, the "Austrian Group No. 16" of the whole party. The Dollfuss-fascists defended themselves against incorporation. They wished, and to-day still wish, to enslave their proletariat themselves in "independence," with the support of Italy and France.

It was necessary to break the opposition of the little Dollfuss, and this was to be done by the methods of Goering, of Van der Lubbe.

The official Brown Book of the Austrian government gives a short summary of the activities of Göring's torchbearers at that time.

It began at the end of December, 1932: with tear gas outrages in warehouses. As early as the beginning of January an enormous national-socialist store of explosives was discovered.

In June, 1933, the national-socialist wave of murder and terror began to roll forward properly. The Brown Book of the Austrian government gives the following horrible list with regard to it:—

12th June, 1933.—Bomb outrage on the jeweller, Futterweit, in Vienna, District 12. Perpetrators and instigators: Germans from the Reich and Austrian national-socialist, storm troop group leaders; 2 dead.

Discovery of a national-socialist explosives factory in Geberbach, near Innsbruck.

Explosions and windows of editorial offices in Vienna shattered.

Attempted bomb outrage in the Café Produktenbörse, in Vienna. Perpetrators and instigators: S.S. group leaders and members of the S.S. and S.A. in Vienna.

**June 13.**—Bomb outrage on the "Haus aller Kleinigkeiten," Vienna IV; attempt to blow up a Vienna pawnbroker's; burning of hoardings in Vienna; discovery of tear gas at the Graz University. Perpetrators and instigators: Members of the S.S. and partisans of the National-Socialist Party in Austria. Cutting of the telegraph wires at Mautern, in Styria, numerous detentions and arrests of national-socialist partisans.

**June 16th.**—Attempt on the telegraph wires at Mautern, in Styria; explosion in Mürzzuschlag in front of the house of the commandant of the local police. Perpetrators: National-Socialist Party members.

**June 17th.**—National-socialist excesses in Aflenz; damaging of the telephone cable Schwarzenau-Matinsberg; bomb thrown in Leoben. Perpetrators: National-Socialists.

**June 19th.**—Hand grenade thrown at an auxiliary police station near Krems, 1 dead, 3 seriously wounded, 27 slightly wounded. Perpetrators and instigators: 3 National-Socialists.

**June 21st.**—Attempted arson in Vienna (Variete Leicht in Essterhazi Park, etc.); perpetrators arrested; National-Socialists.

**June 22nd.**—Attempted arson in Vienna; perpetrators arrested; National-Socialists.

**June 23rd.**—Hydrochloric acid thrown into letter boxes in Vienna; perpetrators arrested; National-Socialists.

**June 24th.**—Bomb in Höhenfeuer, in Oberwölz; perpetrators arrested; National-Socialists.

**June 25th.**—Attempt on the electric light cable at Herzogenburg, Lower Austria.

**June 26th.**—Fresh attempt on the electric light cable; tear gas bombs in Berndorf in Lower Austria; bombs found in Kufstein in front of the local district military premises, perpetrators escaped, National-Socialist; a German pistol, with inscription: P. D. München (Police Headquarters, Munich), left behind at scene of crime.

**June 27th.**—Bomb explosion in Vienna, 18. Perpetrators: National-Socialist Party members, 1 death.

**June 28.**—Discovery of explosive material at the bridge of the Nordwest Railway in Vienna; attempt to blow up the Vienna District Railway Station, Hietzing (Vienna 13); railway lines blown up on the line of the local railway between Vienna and Baden. Instigators and perpetrators: Members of the National-Socialist Party, S.S. leaders and group leaders.

**July 4th.**—Attempts on the telephone cable near Eisenerz.

**July 14th.**—Destruction of a telephone box by explosives in Vienna 13.

**July 16th.**—Discovery of six infernal machines in the neighbourhood of Vienna. These were of German make.

**July 19th.**—Arson in Erl, in the Tirol, in vengeance on the part of National-Socialists; the Passion Play Theatre burned to the ground. Perpetrators, according to indications found: National-Socialists.

With regard to the result of the official investigations of these outrages, the government says:—

"According to the enquiries and conclusions of the Austrian police it is established that the attempts, both in Vienna and outside Vienna, have been made and carried out according to a plan drawn up in advance.

"A number of circumstances and the facts established clearly point to the fact that the attempts and acts of terror must be ascribed to the agency and collaboration of German National-Socialists.

"From the fact that the perpetrators, in so far as they were surprised in acts of sabotage or arrested on account of attempts to murder or other attempts, exclusively belonged

to the National-Socialist Party (Hitler movement), as well as from the documents discovered, the confessions of the arrested perpetrators and other indications, it follows with certainty that the remaining perpetrators, as yet unknown, of acts of terror of exactly the same kind can only be sought in these circles."

The facts of the Austrian government Brown Book positively represent an enormous mass of fresh material for accusations against the criminal provocateurs in the palace of the Prussian Premier.

The burning of hoardings, the burning of public places, the burning down of the Passion Play Theatre in Erl, in the Tirol. And everywhere Nazis as convicted perpetrators—are these not the comrades of the incendiaries of the Reichstag? Is not this precisely the same method? The incendiaries of February 27 were sent by Göring as instructors to Austria and raged there in June, July, and August.

In Austria, too, the Nazis endeavoured, after the first dynamite outrages, to represent the Communists as the perpetrators. This endeavour failed. The gentlemen were already known from the burning of the Reichstag. The Austrian authorities, the implacable enemies of the Communists, themselves established the Nazis as the perpetrators without any ambiguity. The attempt which is being vainly made in the Reichstag trial to represent the Communists as being responsible for the fascist acts of provocation, has failed in Austria, and Göring's method is unmasked anew.

Herr Göring's torchbearers employ all possible means; whether in Germany or in Austria; burning and bombs, dynamite and murder. The series of murders and acts of terror in Austria, this is the "Reichstag" school; not only have the Austrian authorities established this; it is proved by the German origin of the material that has been used to murder and burn. Herr Göring's hot water pipes reach as far as Austria.

In one of the protocols of the Austrian Council of Leadership of the Nazis of September 6, which was found by the police, the following is stated with regard to the further programme of the Göring bandits:—

" . . . 5, measures of violence

(a) Minor street terror;

(b) Dispersal of all meetings;

(c) Intensification of ideological agitation until stage of ripeness for 'everything' is reached. . . ."

The Nazi terrorists have carried out the programme to the letter in the months that have followed.

"Intensification of ideological agitation until stage of ripeness for 'everything' is reached"—this was the national-socialist motto when they hurled their bombs into shops and cafés, and placed their dynamite under cables and bridges, 'until the stage of ripeness for everything is reached'—that was the motto of Göring's torchbearers on February 27. The act of provocation on February 27 was to stir up the millions of masses of the German people to such a degree that they would accept the barbaric, bestial terror that then set in as a kind of 'divine retribution.'"

The official defending counsel of the accused in the Reichstag fire trial work with the Brown Book in their hand. They are defenders of Göring against the Brown Book. And now Herr Dollfuss' Brown Book has appeared, an official production, with fresh, unheard-of accusations against Herr Göring.

Do you want to know where the incendiaries of February 27 are? The incendiaries of Group 16 give you a clear answer, for they are only travelling in the tracks of their German employers and teachers.

#### Protest Demonstrations in Vienna against the Travesty of Justice in Leipzig

Vienna, 8th October.

On Saturday two great protest demonstrations against the Leipzig trial were held in the Lembach Dreher Halls in Vienna, attended by thousands of persons. The social democratic writer, Birkenfeld, spoke on the Reichstag trial.

## Germany

# Letters from Berlin

## I. Process of Disintegration in the National Socialist Party

In middle-class circles and before all among the small business people, the indignation of the disappointed Nazi followers is assuming increasingly dangerous forms. The ruthlessness with which the taxes are everywhere being collected is leading to an increasing number of business people giving up their businesses. In order to distract attention, increased incitement is being conducted against the Jews, and, contrary to the instructions of the central Nazi authorities, an intensified propaganda made against the big stores.

The Nazis, however, as a result of this policy, frequently find themselves in a very embarrassing situation. Thus the district leader of the Nazis in Kassel, together with the leader of the national-socialist artisans' and traders' association, published a declaration in which it is stated:

"In all circles of the population there is a rumour current at the present time that the Tietz Stores is incorporated and that purchases can now be made at these stores. The firm of Tietz has changed its name and now calls itself 'The West-deutsche Kaufhaus A.G.' This, however, is only a piece of camouflage, and does not mean that the firm is incorporated in the national-socialist State. A big stores can never be incorporated in the Nazi State, as our attitude to the big stores is laid down in point 16 of the party programme. This attitude remains unaltered; it is only in view of the general economic situation that the party leadership considers it inexpedient at the present moment to take action aiming at doing away with the big stores and similar undertakings. . . ."

At the same time the retail traders' association of Hessen-Nassau Nord inserted the following notice in the Kassel newspapers: "People who spend their money at the big stores thereby contribute to the proletarianisation of large sections of the population and act against the programme of the national-socialist party." This notice was also displayed in the form of big placards in nearly all the shops and posted up on the hoardings, where they remained until a telegram arrived from the Reichs Minister for Economy demanding that these placards should be removed by the same evening. This order was carried out. This action of the government has only called forth further indignation.

A master baker in Fürstenhagen, near Kassel, who supplies bread to a camp kitchen of the Storm Troops has not received any money for three months. When he threatened to take proceedings he was informed that in that case he would be interned in a concentration camp.

The new terrorist measures and also the increased anti-Jewish incitement are unable to check the growing disintegration in the Hitler party. Thus there exists a strong rivalry between the new "Kameradschaftsbund" and the Schupo (Police) section of the national-socialist party in Berlin. The leader of the Kameradschaftsbund is police inspector Luckner, who at one of the recent meetings of the police officials threatened to send Special Troops against the Schupo if they did not approve all measures. Luckner, who draws an income of 1,200 marks a month, namely, 400 marks from the Bund, 300 marks to cover his expenses, and 500 marks as deputy, lives in an opulent style in one of the most fashionable parts of Berlin. He has no contact with the rank and file of his organisation. Indignation among the police on account of the long hours of duty is general.

The shameless manner in which the newly-appointed Nazi bureaucrats have hastened to enrich themselves is arousing great resentment among the Storm Troops. Dr. Meder, the State Secretary in the Air Ministry, and Ministerial director Jahn have each of them bought a big plot of land at Nikolsee, near Berlin. Granzov, a brother-in-law of Göbbels, has just rented a villa in the West-end of Berlin. These people are all Nazis who have secured well-paid positions in the last few months.

The growing discontent of the Storm Troops is indicated by an order issued on August 25, according to which only Storm Troop officers are allowed to carry weapons. There are big discussions in some Berlin Storm divisions on the swindle of the provision of work, because Storm Troopers who have come to Berlin from the provinces for the purpose of training reported that it is not true that unemployment has been abolished in East and West Prussia, while they in turn were astonished to learn that there is still unemployment in Berlin, as they had read in the provincial press that there is no unemployment in Berlin.

Great indignation prevails on account of the new military penal law for the Storm Troops, which was published on October 1. It is reported from all Storm divisions that rebellious Storm Troopers are being sent to concentration camps. Even deputy Storm division leaders are arrested for telling jokes about the notorious homo-sexualist and Nazi leader Captain Röhm. In several Storm divisions only 40 per cent. of the troopers report for duty. There exists widespread indignation on account of the job-hunting of the younger members, as well as on account of the continual begging for the air defence, for which special contributions have to be paid.

Storm division 24/8 in Berlin has been dissolved. Some of the members of this division had posted up placards with the inscription: "Hitler, give us bread or we shall turn red.—The revolutionary Storm Troopers."

The following incident, which occurred at a meeting of the Görlitz railway station local group of the national-socialist party in Berlin, is significant. When the speaker declared that all those who had first joined the party at the beginning of the year had no right to call themselves party comrades and were not allowed to wear party badges, and that anyone disobeying these instructions would be sent to the concentration camp in Oranienburg, there was great indignation, as most of the members are elderly people, ex-servicemen, etc., who have only joined the party this year.

An interesting sidelight on the feeling existing in the country is given by a member of the national-socialist party who was present at the Nuremberg party congress. According to his account, there were great difficulties in the suburbs of Nuremberg because the inhabitants refused to display flags. Jewish businesses and private houses only displayed black, white and red flags, the colours of the German nationalist party. It was publicly announced that during the whole of the party congress the special troops would be invested with absolute police powers.

That the leaders of the Storm Troops felt anything but safe is shown by the fact that during the whole party congress the Storm Troops were forbidden to leave the camps which were situated outside Nuremberg. In spite of this order hundreds of Storm Troopers left the camps at night. It came to outbreaks of rowdiness on the part of drunken Storm Troopers who endeavoured to make their way to the town. Thereupon the Special Troops put barbed wire round the camps of the Storm Troops and placed sentries with carbines, who were given instructions to shoot in the event of the slightest resistance. According to the report of the ambulance section more than 8,000 persons had to be given first aid.

Owing to the large consumption of beer the general mood was exceedingly lively. "The greatest firework display of all times" aroused less enthusiasm. There was only one opinion regarding this, namely, that the 400,000 marks squandered on the fireworks could have been better expended in providing food for the poor. Altogether the Nuremberg party congress cost not less than 22 million marks.

The general feeling prevailing among the participants in the party congress can be judged from the way in which a speech delivered by a district leader in a Nuremberg hall was received. The speaker declared amidst loud applause:

"Up to now national socialism has not carried out any of its promises. We are waiting in vain for the social programme. But to-day's mass parade shows us that we have the strength to achieve anything we want against the will of

capitalism. The government must see where its strength lies: with the army of the working millions or with bankrupt capitalism."

Neither the increased terror against the workers nor the furious incitement against the Communists in connection with the Reichstag fire trial will be able to check the growing disintegration in the Nazi camp.

## II. The "Agrarian Reforms" of German Fascism

By Ergo

The nearer the winter approaches, "the worst winter for a century," the more hard pressed are the bloody despots in Hitler's Germany by the unrelieved economic crisis and also by the growing fermentation amongst the betrayed masses.

At the moment the discontented masses of the *peasantry* are the chief concern of the ruling incendiaries. The peasants have up till now both in the political and military sphere formed the nuclear troops of fascism. Should their faith in the Third Empire waver, should the spirit of rebellion gain ground amongst them, then—and Hitler, Goering and Company know it—(supposing, of course, that the Communist Party succeeds in the meanwhile in gathering the majority of the proletariat under its flag) there will be no further holding back that terrible red flood which is dammed up in the proletariat of the towns and the industrial districts, then the final dam protecting their blood-bespattered throne will be burst.

This is the most fundamental reason why the Hitler-Goering cabinet has, almost simultaneously with the opening of the bloody court at Leipzig, passed a large group of agrarian laws which they have christened "*the new agrarian policy*." These are intended, as Herr Darré bombastically declared in his speech to the large peasants and junkers of the Mark, to usher in "a new century" and "to make the peasantry the basis of all thought and action."

Capitalism, Darré expatiated in the above-mentioned speech, has degraded the peasant to the level of tradesman "whose purpose it is to earn as much money as possible with the help of his land." So far as the large peasants and junkers are concerned, Darré is perfectly right. He is only repeating a part of what Marx and Lenin established long before him, while he preserves a careful silence, of course, with regard to that part of the Marxist theory which teaches us that simultaneously with the transformation of the large peasants into capitalists the greater part of the former peasantry will be expropriated, "ousted" and proletarianised.

What is to become now of the "peasant who has been degraded to the level of a tradesman," that is, with the large peasants and junkers, whom capitalism to-day grants only meagre profits or none at all? Darré declares that they are to be freed from capitalism, or as his State Councillor Meinberg expressed it at a frontier demonstration of the Young Land League in Oppeln: "*extricated from the entanglements of the capitalist finance system*." Not of course by means of the power of the victorious proletarian revolution, which will shatter the entire system of capitalism and incorporate the working peasant in the socialist structure, but—and herein consists the magic trick of Hitler and Darré—within the framework of finance capitalism which has been once again strengthened in every other sphere.

Also a part of this theatrical farce is the dismissal of State Secretary von Rohr who was taken over into the new Ministry of Agriculture at a time when the "national revolution" was still in the Hugenberg period, and who is hated by the working peasants as a full-blooded junker and was actually a representative in the cabinet of that section of German agrarian capitalists, which fared tolerably well under the former regime in spite of all the cries of distress and which therefore did not agree to the necessity for the abolition of free competition, of speculation in land and dealing on the exchange.

There is another, far more numerous, category of German agrarian capitalists among the friends and beneficiaries of the national-socialist agrarian reform. They are those 250,000 or so small junkers and large peasants who in the old State lost their breath in the race for the spoils, who are hard pressed by their mortgagees, whose capacity to have their finances restored has been hopelessly lost and who have every reason to-day to cry for "a break with capitalism," that is, the restoration of their finances by the State without regard to the capacity of their estates to pay.

In what then does the "rescuing of agriculture from the entanglements of the capitalist financial system" consist?

Herr Darré has explained the matter more precisely in an article in the "National-Socialist Landpost." To begin with it is laid down that all former government measures for subsidising estates, for the support of home prices, for the maintenance of the tariff wall are retained in their entirety. "The new agrarian policy" continues the policy of Brüning, Papen and Hugenberg. To this are added three decisive points: "The corporative reconstruction of the peasantry, the system of "fixed prices" and the compulsory introduction of syndicates for both corn production and the manufacturing industry, i.e., the mills.

The bankrupt large peasants and junkers in Germany—just as their brothers in America and France—have long been crying out for minimum prices guaranteed by the State. Darré is, however, not wrong in maintaining that in an economy where a free market exists this would mean nothing else than that the State would have to pay the differences in some form or other when prices were falling, somewhat as in the U.S.A. where a special tax is collected from the first buyer of corn, which the latter then adds to the price.

It was impossible for German fascism to take this path, because it was extraordinarily risky. The masses of the urban unemployed and short-time workers can hardly pay the existing prices for bread. How much the consumption of bread has diminished in Germany, the statistics of the Institute for the Investigation of Market Conditions prove, according to which the share of home production in "supplying" the country's needs has risen from 70 per cent. in the year 1926 to 99 per cent. in the year 1932. That this is only to be explained by a diminished consumption—contrary to the contentions of the institute—follows from the statistics of the harvests, according to which neither the total area sown with corn nor the yield per hectare have seriously increased, and further from the statistics as to the utilisation of corn, which establish the fact that far greater quantities of corn have been used for feeding the cattle than formerly owing to lack of foreign supplies which have been shut out.

The large peasant, therefore, had, in addition to the minimum prices guaranteed to him by the State, to receive other privileges, which seem to him to be as valuable as a raising of prices, which is for the moment impossible, and the State itself had to find means to preserve at least the current prices without paying a bounty, and to raise them cautiously in the course of the year. As early as the beginning of June, Darré carried through the "law for land inheritance" to apply to begin with to Prussia, in spite of the most violent opposition on the part of Hugenberg, at that time still in office, but with the hearty support of Goering, who wished to bring about the fall of Hugenberg. This law creates a privileged "peasant caste"—only farmers with an average of 7.5 hectares of land come under consideration, but only the large farmers benefit from the law. It is now to be extended to the whole of the country.

To this first privilege is added a second: the "corporative reconstruction" or, as it is formulated in the law: the creation of a "free right to self-administration." The existing peasant organisations, which have in any case already been centralised under Darré's leadership, form—the "principle of a leader" always, of course, being preserved—an organism, the chief task of which is to be: "to create the prerequisite for the smooth delivery of corn to the manufacturing trade." Darré calls it a "corporative market organisation"; the former agricultural co-operative societies serve, of course, as the nucleus.

In the case of this "corporative reconstruction" it is, therefore, a question of the "agrarian trust" propagated for decades by certain large landowners, of a corn syndicate the nature of which is State compulsion.

The compulsory syndicate of landowners entails, as a necessary corollary, a compulsory syndicate of purchasers of corn, that is primarily of the mills. Consequently the new agrarian reforms of national socialism include a law, whereby a definite quota is laid down for every mill. The directors of the exchanges supervise the trade in corn in so far as the mills themselves do not provide for it. The corn trade is combined with the agricultural co-operatives in the agricultural trading association. All dealings on the exchange are forbidden on the coming into force of the new laws and made subject to severe penalties.

What about the fixed prices that are to be assured by these organisational measures?



The fascist State removes from the shoulders of its "peasants" their concern for their profit. But it should not be thought that it restricts this profit for them in the interest of the starving working masses. Herr Darré has announced the Berlin "fixed prices" for the coming economic year, which are higher than current prices and correspond roughly to the pre-war level in 1914. They are, therefore, prices that guarantee to the farmers a considerable *increased profit* in relation to the pre-war period, since in the meantime the most important costs for large-scale corn cultivation in Germany, the cost of fertilisers and machines has fallen to about 80 per cent. of that period, and since too the wages bill, thanks to the progress in mechanisation, the officially sanctioned system of wages robbery, and the "system of supplying help for the harvest," the fascist "provision of work," is to-day lower than before the war. They are at the same time prices that eat up a considerably greater percentage of the workers' reduced income. In short, fascism guarantees the large landowners "adequate" profiteering prices.

Quite superfluously these profiteering prices are supported by draconian penalties.

The prices must not be "abused" as premiums for the extension of the area of corn cultivation by speculative farmers. Starvation consumption is the norm at which fascism aims. Indeed, Herr Darré, who has this year financed a brisk dumping of German corn (German wheat is quoted at 87 shillings in England), counts on a further decrease in consumption.

Yet that is not enough. It might happen that a trader or a mill might agree with the farmer to cut the minimum price, it might happen that a mill might sell cheap flour to a bakery. What a crime! Precautions have been taken against this too. Darré said to the press conference:

"Anyone contravening these legal provisions will have to count on severe penalties, fines up to 100,000 r.m. and imprisonment."

Imprisonment for cheap bread! It was reserved for national socialism to prescribe imprisonment of this kind for cheap bread before the beginning of a starvation winter.

The new agrarian legislation of the Third Empire only covers for the moment, as Darré expressly emphasises, corn. He, therefore, intends to establish profiteering prices, too, for cattle and dairy produce, which to-day are 60 to 70 per cent. of the pre-war price. And there begins the second part of his swindling of the peasants; feeding with hopes for the future the middle and small peasants who to a large extent sell cattle and dairy produce. They too are to obtain one day "an adequate and just price." With this object in view, the area of corn cultivation, indeed, may not be extended.

Many large landowners will, if the prices of fodder do not seem to them to be high enough, as has already happened in the case of mast for pigs, go over to a greater extent to intensive cattle breeding and milk production. That signifies for the small peasant, either pay or let yourself be ousted completely from the market. Whichever way it is looked at, the "new agrarian policy" is no salvation for the small nor even for the middle peasant. The hope, however, that cattle and pig prices are shortly going to rise like butter prices is a sheer illusion, for in the case of fats there has existed and still exists in Germany a state of sheer famine, ever since the frontiers were closed and margarine production was strangled, since Germany itself can only produce 45 per cent. of its fats. In the case of meat, nevertheless, Germany produced as early as 1932 about 90 per cent. of its diminishing needs itself. The most strict closing of the frontiers can in this case lead to no rise of prices.

Why is it the intention of national socialism to privilege the peasantry in particular in capitalism? Why is finance capital in agreement with such agrarian reforms? Darré let the cat out of the bag in Gransee when he said:

"In this case (the creation of a peasant caste) the question should not be put whether the road to the creation of a vital and deep-rooted peasantry is economically to be justified or not. One would not ask whether an army was profitable for

a nation, for it is necessary for its defence. Hence everyone must comprehend that special legal rights must be granted to the peasant."

In the early days of capitalism the urban bourgeoisie developed, as Marx showed, by profiteering out of, and getting the better of, the peasant masses. In the period of the decay of capitalism the peasantry is to obtain a sinecure at the expense of the urban proletariat. Because it is necessary for the defence of the bourgeoisie like the army—there Darré is right.

The peasantry as the recruiting ground for the white bourgeois army for the protection of the profits of monopoly capital—that is the essence of this "new agrarian policy." But there is a flaw in the reckoning and it has besides been made without the host. The flaw is the fact that even by the employment of the most violent measures only a very superficial strata of the peasantry can be satisfied; fascism can offer nothing to the middle peasants, let alone the small peasants. The host, however, without which the reckoning was made, is in this case the proletariat, for it is to pay the costs. And the proletariat will, the more ruthlessly it is oppressed, learn the better to make use of the flaw in Hitler's reckoning. These disappointed small peasant masses are the breach through which the revolutionary advance guard of the working class will penetrate into the rural fortress of fascism.

## Ernst Putz Murdered

By R.

Terrible news has reached the outer world through the prison walls of the Third Empire: Ernst Putz has been cruelly murdered by the fascist bloodhounds. They captured him only a few weeks ago. A vile traitor delivered him into the hands of his deadly enemies, who tortured him to death. And then the cowardly murderers issued the usual report that he had "committed suicide."

With the death of Ernst Putz the German proletariat loses one of its best champions and the revolutionary peasantry one of its immediate leaders. With him there has been removed from our ranks a comrade who devoted his whole strength and energy to the cause of the workers.

Shortly after the war, when he was still a simple farmer in South Germany, he joined the Communist Party. He soon stood in the foremost ranks of the revolutionary peasant movement as a member of the agricultural department of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. and as a member of the Communist fraction in the Reichstag. Every day he could spare from his work in the central organisations he employed in carrying on propaganda in the country districts and villages in all parts of the country in order to mobilise the rural toilers for the common fight on the side of the revolutionary workers against exploitation, slavery, fascism and war.

He quickly won the hearts and the minds of the working people. The toiling peasants, the small-holders loved him. Wherever he spoke in the villages he always had crowded meetings. Everywhere his rousing words called forth approval and enthusiasm.

He spoke as a peasant to peasants. No one knew better than he, from his own experience, their cares and worries. The peasants rallied round him in masses for the revolutionary fight. They made him their leader, elected him chairman of the Reichs Peasant League and of the League of Working Farmers. And when the working peasants in Germany recognised the necessity of forming peasant committees of action and struggle in order to conduct a fight against rural poverty, extortionate interest and rents, oppressive taxes, forced sales and expropriation, and thereby at the same time to erect a wall against fascism, they confidently placed the leadership of their peasants' fighting front in his experienced hands. More and more the working peasants and small-holders gathered round the flag bearing the sign of the red sickle and became comrades in arms of the fighting revolutionary proletariat in the towns.

By foul murder fascism has put a terrible end to the fight which Ernst Putz waged for the emancipation of the German peasantry. The fascist bands cannot, however, prevent that the millions of working peasants who have been betrayed by fascism will carry on this fight with increased determination.

# The Proceedings at the Leipzig Trial

## NINTH DAY OF TRIAL

German Frontier, 4th Oct.

To-day, Wednesday, the trial in Leipzig was resumed. During the next few days it will be seen what change will take place in the juridical procedure in consequence of Goebbels' early return from Geneva and Hitler's presence at the Leipzig Judicial Congress.

At the beginning of to-day's session, Lubbe immediately denied ever having seen or spoken to Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, or Tanev before the Reichstag fire. This wipes out one of the most important points of the indictment, which maintains that the five defendants held joint consultations.

The next question was regarding the time at which Torgler left the Reichstag building on the day of the fire. Torgler declared that he left the Reichstag at about twenty minutes past eight, carrying two portfolios, one containing newspapers, the other papers referring to Reichstag sessions. He was accompanied by Fraülein Rehme, secretary of the Communist Reichstag fraction, and the Communist Reichstag deputy Koenen. Torgler further states that he had an appointment at half-past eight in Ashinger's restaurant, at which he was punctual. The President endeavoured to find contradictions between Torgler's statements and those made by various witnesses as to the time when Torgler left the Reichstag. Torgler replied that of course he had not had a watch in his hand, but since he arrived punctually for his appointment, it must have been about twenty minutes past eight when he left the Reichstag. He denies energetically having left the Reichstag in panic-like haste, as reported at the time by the Nazi press. On the contrary, he walked very slowly, on account of being accompanied by Fraulein Rehme, who suffers from varicose veins.

The public prosecutor then demanded information regarding the telephone calls made by Torgler on the day of the Reichstag fire. He laid special stress on the telephone conversation with Eric Birkenhauer, with whom Torgler made the appointment. The public prosecutor then gave a lecture on the "Right and Left tendencies in the C.P.G."

Three alleged visitors to the Reichstag were next cited as witnesses for the prosecution. They are three Nazis. How little accurate their statements are may be judged from the fact that one of them asserts Torgler to be a head shorter than Lubbe. The contrary is the fact. With regard to these witnesses, Torgler states that when he met them in the Reichstag on the afternoon of the day of the fire, they stared at him fixedly. The President here found it necessary to warn Torgler to tell the truth, to which Torgler replied that he had nothing to hide. Torgler further declared that he had never known the three Bulgarian defendants, and had seen them for the first time at the judicial confrontation.

### The Resumption of the Trial is the Resumption of the Fiasco of the Prosecution

German Frontier, 4th October.

The proceedings at the resumed trial to-day have made even more evident than before, if this is possible, the utter fiasco of the indictment against Torgler and the three Bulgarians. Now, when Göring's bloody judges can no longer postpone adducing their "proofs" of the participation of the four revolutionaries, the utter baselessness of the charge is more obvious than ever. Utter absurdities are raised to the position of "serious grounds for suspicion." The fact that Torgler left the Reichstag buildings carrying two portfolios, that he had consulted with Party friends in a certain room in the course of the day, that he did not remember at once at his first examination that the Reichstag member Koenen had visited him that day, and that he had turned up his collar on leaving the building, as it was a particularly cold evening—this is the "evidence" brought against Torgler. It was an easy matter for Torgler to show the miserable absurdity of such "evidence."

At the same time Dimitrov, full of energy, kept driving the court into tight corners with his inexorable questions. Again the judges found no other way of meeting him beyond renewed threats of having him removed from the court.

To-day the court room was unusually crowded. Many of the participants in the national-socialist Judicial Congress were

present, obviously anxious to learn at first hand from the Supreme Court of Germany how judicial crimes can be carried out in the most unscrupulous manner.

Before the actual proceedings commenced, the President found himself obliged to make a reference to the brutal treatment of Dimitrov at Saturday's session, this incident having aroused international indignation. The judge's declaration was, however, rather provocative than otherwise, as he would not admit that the police officials who dragged Dimitrov back had exceeded their authority. Dimitrov again protested against this treatment, and then immediately proceeded to an attack on the indictment, stating once more that he had never been confronted by Lubbe during the preliminary examinations. He now asked Lubbe if he had ever seen him before the fire.

Lubbe: "No." Buenger: "Did you know him?" Lubbe: "No."

Lubbe answered again with "No" when asked if he had ever seen Popov or Tanev before the fire. The judges sat with icy countenances whilst Lubbe's unexpected and extremely undesired denials destroyed the assumption of any relations with the C.P.G., an assumption upon which the indictment is to a great extent based.

With regard to the question of the time at which Torgler left the Reichstag on the day of the fire, the attempts of the indictment to bring witnesses showing that Torgler left between half-past eight and a quarter to nine were confuted by Torgler's incontestable assertion that he had been at Ashinger's Restaurant in the Friedrichstrasse at half-past eight. He was able to bring equally convincing evidence that he had not left the Reichstag in hurried flight, but slowly.

The President, aware that the indictment is crumbling point by point, attempted to make capital out of the fact that in 1923 Koenen had been involved in the Cheka affair, implying that Koenen, and therewith Torgler, were therefore fully capable of the Reichstag fire. Torgler confuted this assertion convincingly.

How little value the witnesses' depositions in the indictment possess, may be seen from the assertions of witnesses that they had seen Torgler with Lubbe in the ante-room 38 of the Reichstag in the afternoon of 27th February. Torgler declared that he had spoken with a number of people in Room 38 on this day, which was not a place one would choose for secret consultations, being filled with people going to and fro, and having the telephone boxes in it. That he had not made any particular statement about being in this room was due to his attaching no importance to such a harmless fact. The President would not, however, abandon his attempts to induce Lubbe to say that he had met Torgler or the three Bulgarians previous to the fire. But on this point all stage-managing is of no avail. Lubbe cannot be prevailed upon under any circumstances to give the desired declaration; in reply to the repeated questions of the President, he repeated only that it was entirely impossible for him to have met Torgler in the afternoon of 27th February. It is true that he was in the vicinity of the Reichstag at about 2 o'clock, but not inside it. He knows nothing about a packing-case which Torgler is said to have brought into the Reichstag.

Lubbe's statement, his express declaration that he was never in the Reichstag building until he set fire to it, is especially important. If this is the case, then there is only one explanation possible, and that is that he must have had assistants to show him the way to the most suitable spots, otherwise anyone unfamiliar with the corridors and lobbies could not possibly have managed to fire the place in so short a time.

It is characteristic of the utter feebleness of the prosecution's case that it is regarded as a suspicious circumstance that Torgler had his overcoat and hat brought from the cloakroom to his room on the evening in question. Torgler explained that he did this because the cloakroom attendants had complained that they had to stay on overtime because the Communist members remained so late in the Reichstag building. Therefore he had asked the fraction secretary to fetch his things to the room at five minutes to eight.

Again and again the President endeavoured to construct some meeting between Torgler and Lubbe.

"I had never seen or spoken to Van der Lubbe in my life. I was confronted with him for the first time on Tuesday, 28th Febru-

ary, at 11 o'clock in the morning, by Commissioner Heisig," declared Torgler. And then another section of the indictment crumbled. When Torgler was confronted by the statement that one of the three persons with whom he is alleged to have met on the Monday was Popov, Torgler replied:

"I first heard of the existence of the three Bulgarians from the newspapers. I was confronted by Popov for the first time on 27th April. I saw Dimitrov for the first time in Leipzig."

It may be concluded from the statements of the witnesses on this point that the alleged Popov was the Communist member of the Reichstag Neubauer, who is very similar to Popov in appearance, as has been definitely ascertained. The same defeat of the prosecution occurred in the matter of the witness's allegation that he had seen Torgler in Lubbe's company. Here it was demonstrated that the ready witnesses for the prosecution has "confused" Lubbe with the Communist deputy, Florin, who had consulted Torgler on that day on a legal matter.

The gradual collapse of the indictment strongly affected the session. The President and the Public Prosecutor became increasingly nervous. There was very little of the tone of a victorious accuser observable when Werner stated resignedly that an attempt was being made to make the court believe that Popov had been confused with Neubauer and Lubbe with Florin.

This nervousness spread to the lawyers. Neither Teichert nor Sack could restrain himself from calling upon Lubbe once more to name his accomplices. They were safe in making this "objective" gesture, for they obviously feel perfectly secure of Lubbe's silence.

President to Lubbe: "Did you set the Reichstag on fire?" Lubbe: "Yes." President: "Alone?" The whole courtroom noticed the cynical smile with which Lubbe replied "Yes." President: "Then how do you explain that two or three experts have declared that you could not possibly have accomplished it alone?" Lubbe: "I don't know."

Here Dimitrov once more intervened, and asked in an ironical tone—for which he was at once "called to order" by the irritated judge—"How is it you were unable to set a small wooden Welfare Office on fire if you were able to set the great stone Reichstag on fire in a quarter of an hour?" The President demanded that Dimitrov should remain silent, and once more threatened to exclude him from the proceedings. Lubbe attempted no reply to the question.

Proceeding then dealt with Tanev and Popov. Tanev was told that he had been seen in the Reichstag with Lubbe, and that they were carrying a box. This wild imagining of some imbecile struck all present in the court-room as so ridiculous that the laugh with which Tanev replied to it appeared perfectly in place. Tanev declared that the first time he had seen Lubbe was in the Reichstag, it is true, but at the confrontation after the preliminary examinations. Nor had he ever known Torgler. He saw Torgler for the first time at the confrontation in July.

With regard to Popov, the prosecution states that he was seen with Torgler at half-past three on the afternoon of the fire. It had, however, already been demonstrated that this alleged Popov had been the Communist deputy, Neubauer. Popov himself declared that he had never been in the Reichstag and had never known Torgler.

The session was then adjourned till to-morrow. Buenger and Werner, and their employers, Göring and Hitler, will be bound to admit even to themselves that Wednesday was a bad day for them.

## TENTH DAY OF TRIAL

### Torgler Shatters the Indictment Combination

German frontier, October 5.

At the beginning of to-day's session Torgler's examination was continued. Among the foreign journalists the impression becomes continually stronger that there is not a shred of serious evidence against Torgler.

The President, after suffering such a lamentable fiasco with the evidence hitherto adduced, now hopes to have discovered a new "suspicious factor" in the fact that Torgler had made an appointment for 28th February with the "Vorwärts" editor Stampfer, a social-democratic member of the Reichstag.

President: "This is an important question, for you preserved silence about this appointment at the preliminary examination. In this fact the prosecution sees reason to assume that joint actions were agreed upon between the C.P.G. and S.P.G."

Torgler replied that he had admitted having this appointment

with Stampfer at once, the first time he was asked about it. He had seen no reason to mention it on his own initiative, if not asked about it specially, as little as he had thought it necessary to refer to the numerous other appointments which he had made for the day following the Reichstag fire, and having nothing whatever to do with it. The interview in question with Stampfer had not been of any particular importance, at least not from the standpoint of the wishes of the prosecution. It is utterly absurd to speak of a conspiracy between the C.P.G. and the S.P.G. Had a great joint action of the German proletariat been planned, this would not have been a matter to be arranged by an appointment between two individual members of the C.P.G. and the S.P.G.

The President returned once more to the question of whether Lubbe had not had an interview with Torgler on 27th February in the Reichstag. Obviously the prosecution still hopes to influence Lubbe by some means into making a statement to this effect.

Torgler: "For a man of Lubbe's appearance, it was totally impossible to get into the Reichstag unobserved. And this was the less possible that the watchmen had been increased two days previously on account of the persistent rumours that attacks on public buildings were planned. During those few days it was extremely difficult to get into the Reichstag. It was entirely impossible for Lubbe to have an interview with me without other people knowing of it, because I had instructed the attendants to send me previous notice of every visitor wanting to speak to me.

The President finds it highly suspicious that Torgler was in possession of a number of admission tickets to the Reichstag. In reply to a question on this point, Torgler replied that all the Reichstag members of all parties had these cards, and his had been given him at the time of the Conference of Commercial Employees on 4th February. Torgler further observed that large groups of sightseers had been conducted through the Reichstag by attendants every day from two o'clock in the afternoon.

Here the President asked Lubbe if he had joined one of these groups of sightseers going through the Reichstag.

Again the mysterious smile so frequently observed on Lubbe's face during the last few days flitted over his countenance, as he declared: "No."

Counsel for the prosecution, Parisius was particularly insolent, saying to Torgler in a challenging tone: "The Communist deputies received questionable and disreputable-looking people in the Reichstag."

To this Torgler answered very sharply: "No doubt we received many unemployed. Even if they did not wear white collars you have no right to refer to them as questionable and disreputable-looking people. They were poor."

Parisius continued in his provocative tone: "Torgler has advanced a new theory with the attempt to confuse one of his visitors with Lubbe."

Dr. Sack, obviously with the feeling that it was time he showed some sign of life, said to Parisius: "If you make such assertions, we shall never get at the truth!"

Since it is impossible to induce Lubbe to say that he met Torgler before the Reichstag fire, the President now made an attempt with Koenen, and asked Lubbe if he had met him. **But Lubbe denied this, too.**

Next followed a discussion on the "International Press Correspondence," described as a "highly treasonable correspondence," in which Dimitrov had collaborated. Dimitrov and Torgler energetically denied that this correspondence was "highly seditious," the less so as the Inprecorr circulated among wide circles, and was not merely sent to C.P. members.

A point of importance is the statement of the President that a window pane was broken in the room of the C.P. fraction, and marks of a ladder were observable outside the window. Torgler declared definitely that when he and the secretary Rehme left the room there was nothing to be seen of a broken pane. Assuming that the statement of the president is correct, it is extremely important to investigate when, why, and by whom the window of the room of the Communist fraction was broken.

Torgler was then questioned as to his rendezvous at Ashinger's restaurant, where he went after leaving the Reichstag. Torgler gave exact information. At about nine o'clock Petersen, a Party friend, had come, and had observed jokingly: "The deputies are at least still able to afford something decent to eat." Shortly before ten o'clock a guest entered the restaurant, announcing: "The Reichstag is on fire!" At first everybody took this to be a bad joke,

but when it turned out to be true, Torgler and Keonen boarded a tram to ride to the Reichstag. They were prevented from alighting, as the tram was stopped by an armoured car. A Storm Trooper informed them that the Reichstag was burning in several places, and that the Communists had set it on fire.

Torgler then reported further that he had proceeded to the restaurant Stawitzki, where he often met Party friends in the evening. On this evening he found Kühne, Koenen, Wundersee, and Birkenhauer there. Torgler remarked that he was surprised to see what a fuss the indictment makes of the fact that lively discussions were carried on here. After such an event as the firing of the Reichstag, this was a matter of course among politicians, the more so that the Telegraph Union had already issued extra editions asserting that Torgler and other Communists had been the last to leave the Reichstag, which threw heavy suspicion on them.

In reply to a question from the President, whether Ossietzki and Renn had not also been in the restaurant, Torgler replied: "No, I did not see them till afterwards in the prison at Spandau."

The President insisted that the meeting at the Stawitzki restaurant at so late an hour was something remarkable, to which Torgler replied ironically: "I often went home later than that."

### Attacks on the "Brown Book"

German frontier, October 5.

When proceedings were resumed after a brief interval, the "defending counsel," Drs. Sack, Teichert, and Seuffert, joined in a united front with the public prosecutor Werner in an attack, obviously agreed upon beforehand, against the "Brown Book."

For the first time Dr. Sack brought his famous "defensive temperament" to the fore, which he does not exercise on Torgler's behalf, but concentrates the more energetically on a campaign against the "Brown Book." Sack asserted that the Inquiry Commission, now again meeting in Paris, is spreading false reports abroad. One of the members of this Commission, the American lawyer Hays—Hays is present in court—had declared to the press that the defending counsel adopt a remarkable attitude, since they are not attempting to discover the really guilty parties. Sack then made the demagogic declaration that he could not enter into the accusations of the counter-trial for the reason that there is not sufficient evidence supporting them. He then made a brief resumé of the Brown Book, stating that where this book treats of the Reichstag fire it accuses Goebbels of having drawn up the plan for the burning of the Reichstag, and Goering of having had the plan carried out. He, Sack, then read the protocols of the London counter-trial "with great care," without finding any statements sufficient to substantiate their being regarded as evidence. This must be stated emphatically to the public.

Every child knows that Dr. Sack, with the ridiculous assertion that as defending counsel he cannot refute the assertions of the indictment of the counter-trial because the evidence is insufficient, is merely concealing the fact that he has undertaken the "defence" of Torgler with the consent and agreement of the real incendiaries, in order to shield these last.

The second ally to speak was the public prosecutor Werner, who made an equally energetic attack on the Brown Book and the counter-trial. The material brought forward by the counter-trial is, however "valueless." The disagreeable fact that neither Goebbels nor Goering has ventured to bring any proceedings abroad against either the Brown Book or the counter-trial, for fear that the fascist incendiaries might have to defend themselves before a court outside of Germany, was set aside by Werner with the clumsy pretext: "He would have taken proceedings at once if the International (?) had provided material for them. But the material is valueless, as will be shown at a later stage of the trial."

Teichert then concluded this counter-action against the London trial, stating that he, Teichert, had not neglected his duties as defending counsel in the least, and that no material had been advanced incriminating his client Dimitrov.

Sack then again took the floor, showing himself this time more clearly than ever as the barrister selected for the defence of Goebbels and Goering. He declared that he had completely confuted two of the points raised by the counter-trial: the fact that the Reichstag staff had been given leave to go home earlier than usual on the day of the fire, and the delay in the arrival of the fire brigade. Sack, in stating that these two points have been

confuted, tacitly admits that the other concrete items of the counter-trial indictment have not been confuted. Sack concluded with polemics against the well-known French barrister Moro Giaferi, attacking him viciously on the grounds that at a great meeting in Paris he designated the Premier Goering as the real incendiary.

Dr. Seuffert, Lubbe's "defending counsel," felt himself bound to contribute something, to maintain the general rôle. Therefore he protested energetically against the demand of the Defence Committee that Lubbe should be examined by two Swiss specialists. Laying repeated emphasis on his German birth, his German conceptions, and so on and so forth, Dr. Seuffert declared that it was beneath his dignity to discuss such a proposition at all. His duty and his conscience prescribe for him his line of action in the defence. The whole campaign—and this is the light in which the Supreme Court, the public prosecutor, and the defending counsel regard the Brown Book, the counter-trial, and its world echo—has only been set going for the purpose of damaging Germany in the eyes of the world.

Dr. Sack then moved that the lawyer Hays, a member of the Commission of Inquiry, should be examined. Hays was present in court. The Senate withdrew to consult on this proposal, but then announced that it had decided not to examine Hays. The fascist court cannot venture to let Hays speak, for it fears he might state aloud in Leipzig the proofs collected by the counter-trial. The court had the impudence to designate the defence and the prosecution as "above every suspicion!"

Torgler's examination was then continued. First the deposition of a witness named Kunzak was read. Kunzak was not present, but is to be heard later. This deposition, too, turned out to the disadvantage of the prosecution. This Kunzak is said to have once been a Communist. During the preliminary examinations Kunzak retailed a variety of fantastic inventions on terrorist plans of the C.P.G., though very unskillfully. He asserted, for instance, that in 1926 Lubbe took part in a meeting at Düsseldorf, at which terrorist actions were discussed. Among those present were: Torgler, Heinz Neumann, and two Dutchmen. Lubbe, questioned, stated that at that time he had never been in Düsseldorf, but was still going to school. At that time he was not sixteen years of age, a fact which, however, has not prevented the "witness" Kunzak from stating that Lubbe had that time, at the age of fifteen, offered to lead the terrorist acts in Holland. Torgler designated these assertions as fantastic and incredible.

The court suffered another failure in the examination of the "witness" Grothe—admittedly a fascist spy who assumed the rôle of a Communist at one time, and states that he worked for the Red Aid. Grothe maintains that the whole plan for setting the Reichstag on fire was worked out in the Karl Liebknecht House on 24th or 25th February. Torgler refuted this spy's invention by reminding the court that the Karl Liebknecht House was already in the hands of the police on 23rd February, 1933. Parisius, representing the prosecution, attempted to save the witness by stating that he had given the date of these meetings as a day or two earlier at the preliminary examinations.

Popov was then examined; he declared that the statements made by the witnesses Kemper and Grothe, who assert that they saw Popov in the Reichstag in Torgler's company, are pure inventions.

Dimitrov again put a number of questions, including several to Torgler. Torgler replied that the policy of the Reichstag fraction of the C.P.G. was determined and led by the C.C. of the C.P.G., in accordance with the programme of the Party. The President, as usual, was determined to prevent Dimitrov from speaking, and declared that these questions were irrelevant. After all the evidence has been heard, Torgler will have the opportunity of speaking on the policy of the C.P.G. With this action the judge practically admits that he imputes terrorist tendencies to the C.P.G., and will not permit this imputation to be refuted so long as evidence is being given; that is, till the court has already drawn its "conclusions."

### ELEVENTH DAY OF TRIAL

German frontier, October 6.

The new tactics of the court, thought out during the adjournment, for the purpose of saving the already damaged prestige of the court as far as possible and the actual collapse of the whole structure of the indictment, appear to aim principally at provoking

the defendants to the utmost, and at rejecting even the most obviously convincing declarations of the defendants.

#### **The Impotent Rage Against the Brown Book and the Counter-trial**

The public prosecutor started to-day's proceedings with a fiery speech, directed this time especially against the International Defence Committee for the defendants in the Reichstag affair. Since neither the court nor the prosecution have any arguments at their disposal they resort to invective. The public prosecutor protested against the objections raised by the Paris Defence Committee against the violence used in the treatment of Dimitrov last Friday. Werner declared that the committee "had had the impudence to send a protest telegram on this subject to the Supreme Court, a proceeding against which he raises the sharpest protest on behalf of German justice."

#### **The Failure of the "Proofs" of Torgler's Alleged Intention to Flee**

The examination of Torgler was then continued. First the question was put by the President:—

**President:** Where did you go on the night of the fire, after leaving Stawitzski's restaurant?

**Torgler:** I left the restaurant at about two in the morning, and spent the rest of the night at Kuehne's flat. The last suburban train to my home had left half an hour before I left the restaurant. The fact that I spent the night at Kuehne's was stated by me in the preliminary examination without my being especially questioned. Kuehne was arrested in the forenoon of 28th February in his home in my presence, and was about a fortnight in preventive custody.

**President:** Do you know that Kuehne has fled the country?

**Torgler:** How could I know that, since I lost all contact with the outer world after my arrest?

Torgler then described how he went to police headquarters in the forenoon of 28th February, accompanied by two lawyers, Drs. Rosenfeld and Kirchensteiner, in order to refute the accusations brought against the C.P.G. in general and against him in particular with regard to the setting on fire of the Reichstag.

**Parisius**, representative of the prosecution, here observed derisively that there was nothing very voluntary about Torgler's appearance at police headquarters. Torgler knew very well that he was about to be arrested. The police had been on watch outside his home since the early hours in the morning, ready to arrest him. Parisius did not, of course, venture to remind the court of the fact that the evening papers of 28th February reported unanimously that Torgler went voluntarily to the police headquarters to explain and refute the accusations which had been brought, and that it was not till 1st March that the papers declared—in accordance with orders from above, as any child could see from the similar wording—that Torgler had not delivered himself up voluntarily. The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" was even so unskilful next day as to deny its report of the evening before in the clumsiest possible manner.

Torgler replied: If he had feared arrest, he would certainly not have spent the night in the house of a Party friend well known as a Communist. This is shown especially clearly in the fact that at the moment at which, according to the statements of the representative of the prosecution, Parisius, the police had already been waiting in front of Torgler's house and were looking for him everywhere, the police who arrested his Party comrade in his presence on the morning of 28th February did not arrest him. The assertion that his wife had meanwhile warned him of his threatened arrest is not in accordance with the facts.

Several police officials were then examined, and made statements on the arrest of Kuehne and the search for Torgler. Their statements, without exception, give the impression that Torgler made no attempt to avoid arrest.

#### **Dimitrov Exposes an Attempt to Foist Documents Upon Him**

Comrade Dimitrov was then again examined. The President, basing his assertions on the protocol, stated that large quantities of "highly seditious material" has been found in Dimitrov's apartments. Among this was the appeal of the Communist International for the struggle against fascism, issued 3rd March. This the presiding judge read aloud in a solemn voice.

To this Comrade Dimitrov declared: This document is no secret. It was published in all the Communist newspapers in Europe.

The President, seeing that this "sensation" was pricked, now read a further document, allegedly a manifesto of the Comintern, designating Goering and Goebbels as the real incendiaries.

**Dimitrov:** I have never heard of this document. It was not mentioned in the first protocol.

**President:** On the contrary, it is mentioned in the protocols.

**Dimitrov:** Then it has been foisted upon the protocol from outside!

**Judge:** I forbid you to insult German officials.

**Dimitrov:** But if those officials are liars?

A general tumult ensued. The President prohibited Dimitrov from speaking further, and broke off the examination—as he invariably does when Dimitrov's questions become inconvenient—in order to pass on to other points.

#### **Buenger Appears to be More Interested in Proletarian Internationalism than in the Firing of the Reichstag**

He then proceeded to read extracts from documents said to have been found in Dimitrov's apartments. He gave himself very little trouble to maintain any appearance of a connection between his readings and the Reichstag fire. He showed more and more clearly that the court is a "world court against international Communism," not only because no connection can be proved between the accused Communists and the Reichstag fire, but because this trial has to "prove" to the capitalist world that Hitler alone has saved the world of capitalism from ruin.

The president read extracts from an appeal issued by the anti-fascist workers' congress of Europe. Dimitrov declared that he had occupied himself only with preparations for this congress in Bulgaria, and replied to an interpolation of the President: "We have fascism in Bulgaria, too!" It became increasingly apparent that the President was working deliberately to provoke Dimitrov into utterances giving a pretext for excluding him from the proceedings. The court fears Dimitrov like the plague, for he drives it from one tight corner into another. Therefore the judge again called Dimitrov to order for this last exclamation.

The prosecution hoped to throw great suspicion on Dimitrov by the assertion that he had perhaps borne the name of Hellmut as a cover name, but even the fascist court did not regard this as established.

Reference was then made to the book "The Armed Insurrection," by Neubers, found in Dimitrov's possession. Dimitrov declared: "This book is in the library of every revolutionist. It is the duty of every revolutionist to educate himself further. When in prison on remand I have always studied books, and am doing so here." The President observed: "That is of no interest to us."

The President was, however, bound to admit that the book "Armed Insurrection" was not prohibited till 1932, whilst Dimitrov had bought his copy in 1931. The President remarked that "books used to be sold which would have been better prohibited."

The President then read aloud various passages from the book, arousing repeated "Hear! Hears!" from Dimitrov. The judge took the opportunity of warning Dimitrov again. Dimitrov replied at once: "Not I alone, but Hitler, too . . ." The judge interrupted him with a wrathful: "Be silent!"

#### **Dimitrov Exposes Falsifications of the Fascist Detective Force**

The examination now dealt with a map of Berlin said to have been found in Dimitrov's possession. Detective brains, reared at best on Edgar Wallace, actually asked the court to believe that the revolutionist Dimitrov, after years of training in revolutionary activities, a man whose intelligence and readiness of thought makes the whole court tremble, would do anything so childishly foolish as to mark with red crosses on this map the Reichstag, the Royal Palace, and the Dutch embassy. These red crosses are to serve as evidence that Dimitrov had selected these buildings for burning.

Dimitrov declared: "I maintain that the police have made these crosses themselves." A detective named Raaben naturally came forward with the declaration that he had found the map with the crosses, and two other witnesses supported him. But even the President seemed to find this "evidence" somewhat too scanty, since the detectives are not likely to admit having forged anything. Therefore Buenger came to the support of the detectives by stating shortly that "Dimitrov simply denies everything which might incriminate him," and by a sounding phrase to the effect that he "did not regard it as possible that the police could have done such a thing." When Dimitrov attempted to reply again, the President stopped him by adjourning the court for an interval.

Dimitrov, examined as to his literary work, stated: "My articles on Bulgaria were also intended for Communist papers in Vienna, Prague, Basle, etc." The judge commented: "Your work is therefore international, as we have said all along?" Dimitrov replied:

"We Communists always stand for internationalism." This statement aroused the rage of the presiding judge again, and he again called Dimitrov to order.

Further extracts were read from a notebook alleged to be Dimitrov's. At one point Dimitrov exclaimed: "That is another police fake!"

**President:** Your excitement is a sign of a bad conscience.

**Dimitrov:** No, not of my bad conscience, but of my innocence.

**President:** Who is K? Who is Ghm? Who is J? All initial letters, then 160, then 260, etc!

The judge was obviously very unhappy that he does not know this.

**Dimitrov:** Even if I knew, I should refuse to say, for those are the cover designations of Bulgarian emigrés.

**President:** But who, for instance, is Schmid?

**Dimitrov:** Not Schmid, but Schmidoff, a Bulgarian. I sent him some money.

Next came a fresh piece of police conjuring. One of the various telephone numbers allegedly found in Dimitrov's notebook, if its figures are all transposed, is alleged to be one of the telephone numbers of one of the publishing offices conducted by Comrade Münzenberg. Dimitrov declared on this announcement: "The police are frightfully incompetent and incapable!" At last Buenger considered the moment to have come for which he had been striving all day. He rose and announced that the Senate would withdraw to consult as to whether Dimitrov could be permitted to remain in court.

In eight minutes Buenger stated the decision of the Senate: Dimitrov must leave the court room on account of his constant insults against the officials and the police.

A number of police constables led Dimitrov away. Dimitrov shouted loudly into the court room: "Monstrous! My sentence has certainly been pronounced already somewhere else!"

Dimitrov was taken back to his cell.

A number of detectives were then examined with regard to evidence for the prosecution. The only witnesses this court can produce are detectives who come forward with falsifications, spies like Panknin, who tangle themselves in contradictions, and at best Storm Troopers, who prove that they are mercenaries by admitting their former activities as provocateurs in the C.P.G., like Hamann or Karwarhne.

**Where no proofs can be adduced, Buenger can at least slander.**

The court then proceeded to examine the "evidence" against Popov. Here the President let slip the betraying observation that this material had been "worked up" (!) by the detective secretary Raaben. It is stated that a number of receipts for large and small sums were found in Popov's possession, signed by different names.

Popov declared that these sums had been expended in part for books and newspapers, whilst other sums were used for the support of Bulgarian emigrés abroad, especially in France. The President declared that Popov had had "considerable sums" at his disposal, "of which he had apparently not been required to give any account." Popov at once refuted this by showing that the receipts in themselves proved that his Party demanded accuracy in the accounts. Since the President was unable to prove anything criminal on Popov's part, he at least did his best to calumniate the Bulgarian revolutionists. It is characteristic of the poverty of the "arguments" intended to prove at any price the connection between the Bulgarians and the Reichstag fire, that the court draws express attention to the circumstance that some of the sums were paid out shortly before the fire. Popov stated that there was not the slightest connection between this money and the Reichstag fire.

## TWELFTH DAY OF TRIAL.

German frontier, October 7, 1933.

**Court has to beat a retreat. Dimitrov permitted to appear again**

The atmosphere in the court room was extremely tense this morning before the session began: would the court maintain its monstrous measure of excluding Comrade Dimitrov from the proceedings? The commencement of the proceedings was delayed over an hour, increasing the strain of waiting. The Senate consulted behind closed doors, and not the Senate alone. Nobody may enter the room, not even the attendants, in which the consultations are going on. The fascist German government does not want the foreign press to know who is imparting Hitler's orders to the "independent court." But the news spreads rapidly that a protest communication from the lawyers Grigoroff and Detscheff (Bul-

garia), Hays (U.S.A.), Gallagher (U.S.A.), and Villars (France) has forced the Senate to reconsider its decision to exclude Dimitrov. This letter demands for the defendants the right to designate as unworthy of credence the depositions of all witnesses, even if these are officials and police. The letter emphasises in particular that precisely Dimitrov has been deprived of the possibility of free defence.

It was nearly half-past ten before the defendants were brought into court. Dimitrov was one of them, arousing a sensation in the court room. The President first stated that proceedings would be resumed next Tuesday in the Reichstag building in Berlin. He then gave Dimitrov leave to speak. Dimitrov declares that he frequently found it difficult to speak in German. He had not had the intention, when speaking the day before, to insult personally any person of the court, the examining authorities, or the police: "And I have no intention of doing this now. But I demand one thing: I must be able to express myself freely about every charge brought against me. I need neither sympathy nor mercy. But as a Communist and an innocently accused defendant I must be able to defend myself."

According to his usual custom, the presiding judge interrupted Dimitrov. He then stated expressly that Dimitrov had not been guilty of any intentional insults. But the presiding judge did not venture to mention by as much as a word the letter which so greatly influenced the fascist Senate and induced it to beat this retreat.

**Vain Attempts to Prove Dimitrov's Connections with the C.P.G.**

Next came a brief interlude between Torgler and the public prosecutor. The public prosecutor continued his tactics of petty questions and suspicions in order to harass Torgler, as already commented on by a number of foreign papers as senseless and ridiculous. Werner threw doubt on the statement that when Torgler was visited by the Reichstag member Florin in the Reichstag, this was for the purpose of consulting on matters connected with a Supreme Court case.

Dimitrov then referred again to an accusation of a very far-fetched nature made against him with regard to telephone numbers found in his possession:—

"The prosecution seeks to prove by this that I have interfered in internal German politics. But in order to do this they must produce some document, some letter or paper to some German Party centre or person in Germany. But this is just what they cannot do!"

The counsel for the prosecution, Parisius, interjected: "I must remind the defendant that he has himself admitted having spoken twice with Münzenberg. Besides this, a number of Communists met in Münzenberg's flat in Berlin on 30th January, the day on which Adolf Hitler became national chancellor. Münzenberg's former housekeeper, when shown a photograph of Dimitrov, recognised Dimitrov as one of the persons taking part in the meeting at Münzenberg's on that occasion. She also thinks she recognises Popov as being one of the visitors."

To this Dimitrov declared: "Gossip!" He had met Münzenberg twice personally, once in 1931 and a second time in 1932. On both occasions he spoke to Münzenberg only with regard to furthering his, Dimitrov's, campaign for the Bulgarian amnesty, in the papers under Münzenberg's leadership.

Popov, too, emphatically repudiated having known Münzenberg personally.

The President then summed up the results of the examinations as far as the three Bulgarians are concerned. He referred in detail to the various previous convictions of the Bulgarian Communists. He did his utmost to make the most of the penalties to which they had been sentenced, exclusively for political "crimes," with the attention of making it appear likely that "such Bulgarians" might be quite capable of committing such a crime as firing the Reichstag. He laid special stress on their being members of the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria, Dimitrov in particular being at the same time a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Without attempting the slightest proof, Buenger made insinuations with regard to alleged contact with the Trade Delegation of the Soviet Union. Here Dimitrov interrupted him with: "The Trade Delegation is not a department of the Communist Party!" Buenger further asserted that the three Bulgarians had frequented the premises of the Red Aid. The presiding judge promised that the "details" of the alleged relations between the

three Bulgarian Communists and the C.P.G. would be confirmed by the hearing of witnesses in Berlin.

Comrade Dimitrov intervened again, referring once more to the assertion of the prosecution that a cyphered telephone number found in his notebook was that of the Reichstag member Stöcker: "I never had anything to do with Stöcker, and therefore I did not need his telephone number. This cypher is a different one. The officials must learn to decypher better. The fact will not be unknown to the court that there are different systems of cyphering, since the national socialists in Austria and Czechoslovakia are illegal and have their special cyphers." The presiding judge here stopped Dimitrov from speaking, in order to refer again to the sums of money found in Dimitrov's and Tanev's possession when they were arrested. Dimitrov had 50 marks and 10 dollars, Tanev 20 marks and 70 dollars. Tanev declares that he received this money from the treasurer of the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria.

#### The Fantastic Imaginings of the Fascist Spy Hellmer

The President then described the arrest of the three Bulgarians: On 7th March the police received information from a head-waiter named Hellmer, employed in the Bayerischer Hof restaurant in the Potsdamerstr. This fascist spy had informed the police that suspicious people frequented the Bayerischer Hof. The police then arrested the three Bulgarians in this restaurant.

That Hellmer is not only a fascist spy, but is ready to tell any lie desired of him by the prosecution, is shown by his statement that Lubbe was among the visitors frequenting the Bayerischer Hof, and meeting the Bulgarians there. This is, however, contradicted by the evidence of all the other waiters, who state that they never saw Lubbe there. Lubbe himself declares that he was never in this restaurant in his life. Besides this, a man of Lubbe's disreputable appearance would never have been permitted to enter such a restaurant; he would have been shown the door at once.

Dimitrov here interrupted the President with the words: "On the day of the Reichstag fire I was in Munich, but this favourite witness of Dr. Parisius declares that he saw me in Berlin. I have, however, a witness who can depose that I was in Munich on that day: the Austrian author Jacobus Rosner."

The President asked Parisius where this witness was. Since this is a witness for the defence, it has of course been impossible to find him. Parisius declared that he had been sought for, but unsuccessfully up to the present. Dimitrov interrupted: "It must be possible to find this witness, even if he is in a concentration camp!"

Popov, too, declared that he had never seen van der Lubbe in the Bavarian Hof.

#### CONCLUDING REPORT (SUPPLEMENTARY)

German frontier, October 7.

##### Witness Against Dimitrov Mysteriously Disappears

Dimitrov is able to prove his alibi on the day of the fire down to the smallest details. In the preliminary examination he was able to demonstrate so incontestably that he had been in Munich on the day of the fire that he dealt a serious blow at the prosecution. Before the prosecution knew that Dimitrov was in a position to prove an absolute alibi, it had trumped up a woman witness ready to declare that she had seen him on the night of the fire, in a restaurant in Berlin, in company with van der Lubbe. For the prosecution has invariably "witnesses" on hand who have seen the defendants at any desired spot. But on this occasion the prosecution has seen fit to let this woman witness fade out of the picture. The obvious falseness of her evidence would have been too compromising, and questions might easily have been raised as to the other witnesses who swear to having seen Torgler in the Reichstag with Lubbe, or Popov entering the Reichstag with heavy packing cases on his back, and the like.

Popov and Tanev then stated their alibis. These are equally clear and without gaps.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the day of the fire Popov and Tanev were first in a restaurant in the Friedrichstrasse, where they sat till four o'clock. They then went to the café Mokka Effti in Leipziger Strasse, remaining till six o'clock. From there they proceeded to the Ashinger restaurant at the corner of Bülowstrasse/Potsdamerstrasse, staying there till about nine o'clock. From there they went to the Ufa cinema at Nollendorf Square, only a few steps away. Here the last performance, from nine till eleven, was going on. They remained in the cinema during the whole performance. On leaving the cinema, Popov noticed that he had left one of his gloves; he went back, and actually recovered the glove from one of the attendants at the cinema. When the

two left the building for the second time, the first extra editions reporting the Reichstag fire were just being sold.

The President did his utmost to find gaps in this complete alibi. The examining magistrate had already endeavoured to do this in the preliminary examinations, but in vain. The attempt was made, for instance, to prove that Popov could not have been in this cinema, and did not even know the way to it. He was conducted in a police car through Berlin and called upon to show the way to the cinema, which he was, however, able to do. The President did his best to hide this painful fact, but it has come to light. The examining authorities have, however, gone to greater lengths than this in order to deprive the defendants of the possibility of proving their alibi. Popov's demand that he be taken to the various restaurants, and confronted by the staff, was refused by the examining magistrate. The President now declares that the staffs of these restaurants and the cinema were unwilling to appear as witnesses for the defence. It is easily imaginable what methods of intimidation have been employed against these staffs.

In investigating these facts, the examining magistrate Vogt has simply resorted to the customary downright lie. He told Popov that Tanev had already confessed to him, Vogt, that he had not been in Popov's company at all on that evening. When Popov at once demanded a confrontation with Tanev, the examining magistrate was, of course, obliged to refuse to accede to this, as his lie would have been discovered at once.

Popov then put a number of separate questions to Tanev. For instance: What did we have to eat in this or that restaurant? All Tanev's replies completely confirmed the statements made by both men in the preliminary examinations. Popov declared further that when he was taken back to the cinema in the company of a detective, a young man employed at the cinema said to him in the presence of the detective that he was prepared to bear witness to having seen Popov in the cinema at the time stated. The detective had told this witness to report at police headquarters the next day, but Popov has never heard anything more about him. The President replied that the man in question was "probably" the witness Heinrich, who had already been cited.

Popov declared further that when at the Nollendorff Square cinema with the detectives he had pointed out the exact position in which the two ticket inspectors had stood on the night of the performance. These employees confirmed his statement in the presence of the detectives. It is characteristic of the "defence" that Teichert, the fascist counsel for Tanev and Popov, has made no move to follow up these important clues. We do not know whether he has even made a pretence of trying to find these witnesses for the defence.

Dimitrov, once more examined, described in detail how he spent his time on 26th and 27th February. The reason why he travelled to Munich was to meet a Bulgarian refugee who was staying in Munich on his way from Paris to Bulgaria. He wanted to consult with this refugee on questions connected with the Bulgarian amnesty. In reply to the question of the President as to the identity of this Bulgarian friend, Dimitrov declared: "I shall not give his name. He and his family in Bulgaria would be in frightful position within 24 hours if the Bulgarian government were to hear of his having met me."

The President was obliged to admit that the visitors' book in the "Roter Hahn" hotel in Munich contains entries showing plainly that Dimitrov actually was in Munich at the time stated.

Dimitrov stigmatised the methods of the examining magistrates, once again exposed in their true colours by the sudden disappearance of a woman witness for the prosecution; another deliberate falsification lies in the fact that six or seven picture post-cards were found in his possession, but the police caused all these to disappear, with the exception of one of the Royal Palace and one of the Reichstag, in order to throw suspicion on him. The President, anxious to avoid further revelations, turned this off by stating that the detective involved in this matter would be re-examined.

In conclusion, Dimitrov dealt in detail with the "International Press Correspondence." This Correspondence was not by any means utilised solely by Communist newspapers and editors; it was employed as a source of material by numerous journalists and editors, dealing with social questions, by national socialist editors.

Proceedings were then adjourned till Tuesday, when they are to be resumed at ten o'clock in the morning in the Reichstag building in Berlin.

## The Paris Session of the Counter-Trial

Paris, 4th October.

To-day the Legal Commission of the London counter-trial met in Paris for a renewed official session. Those present were: **Branting** (Sweden), **Hays** (America), **Moro Giafferi**, **Bergery** (France), **Vermeulen** (Belgium). Mrs. **Bakker-Nort** was prevented from appearing punctually, but arrived later. The English member of the Commission, **Pritt**, was unable to be present, and his place was taken by the London lawyer, **Lawson**, who is at the same time the secretary of the Legal Commission.

Moro-Giafferi was the chairman of the session. He pointed out in a brief speech that in Leipzig there was no guarantee of a just verdict as in civilised countries.

In the course of the forenoon witnesses were heard who cannot be heard in Leipzig.

**Bergery**: "In Leipzig the guilt of accused has not been even partially proved up to now."

Bergery gave the report on the fresh facts since the close of the London session of the counter-trial. Up to the present the Leipzig trial has fully confirmed the findings of the London parallel trial. This renewed session of the counter-trial has been made necessary by these new facts and by new witnesses.

Bergery referred to Lubbe's condition. Formerly Lubbe was talkative and lively, but during the trial he has been remarkably apathetic, replying "Yes" or "No" to the same questions, and laughing for no reason to himself. The medical expert, **Bonhöffer**, asserts that Lubbe is in the best of health, and his behaviour is merely his tactics. Hence three questions must be put: Is Lubbe's mental condition normal, artificially caused, or simulated?

In the cases of **Torgler**, **Dimitrov**, **Tanev**, and **Popov**, the public prosecution has as yet not even made a serious attempt at proving their guilt even partially. In London it was assumed that Lubbe would probably state that he had been in connection with the C.P.G. But on the very first day he replied with a direct "No" to the question of whether he was a Communist. And again, on the sixth day of the trial, when the President asked the Criminal Commissioner, **Heisig**, who had been the first to examine Lubbe after his arrest: "What made you conclude that Lubbe was a Communist?" **Heisig** replied: "The general impression which his statements made on me." The judge then repeated his question: "Did he say himself that he belonged to the Communist Party?" **Heisig** replied to this: "No, I cannot say that." Bergery further referred to the fact that the statements made by the Criminal Commissar, **Markovski**, also show definitely that Lubbe did not designate himself as a Communist. And yet the Prussian Press Service, using as a basis the results of the first examination by **Heisig**, spread abroad the report that Lubbe's membership of the C.P. had been proved.

In summing up, Bergery declared that the proceedings in Leipzig have entirely confirmed the conclusions of the London counter-trial as follows: That Lubbe is not a Communist but an opponent of the C.P., so that the ground of the indictment against the C.P.G. and the defendants **Torgler**, **Dimitrov**, **Tanev**, and **Popov** is destroyed.

The three Bulgarian defendants had also been accused of being involved in the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral. The examining magistrate, **Vogt**, has been obliged to admit at the trial that this assertion, circulated by him, is untrue.

### Lubbe Cannot Possibly Have Set Fire to the Reichstag Unaided.

The conclusions drawn by the London counter-trial showed the utter impossibility of Lubbe's having set fire to the Reichstag alone. But this is asserted in the records of the pre-examination. A number of fresh facts have now been brought forward on this point.

The correspondent of a great American press agency, who inspected the scene of the fire at eleven o'clock that night, saw numerous traces of combustible material, including liquid fuels. This statement is confirmed by other journalists.

On the seventh day of the trial the examining magistrate, **Vogt**, declared repeatedly that it was perfectly impossible for Lubbe to have committed the arson alone. It has been admitted by Lubbe that he had previously made three attempts at arson, but all these were extremely amateurish and failed, whilst the Reichstag fire was successful.

Finally, it was made known on the eighth day of the trial that

Lubbe had spent the night before the fire in the police shelter at Henningsdorf. It is not unlikely that Lubbe met his accomplices on this night.

### Strengthened Suspicion of Direct Relations Between Lubbe and the National Socialists

Up to the present the Leipzig proceeding have not dealt directly in detail with the Reichstag fire itself, so that the question of Lubbe's accomplices has not been really taken up.

In this connection, however, it is of paramount importance to note that the prosecution is endeavouring, during the examination of witnesses with regard to Lubbe's sojourn in the Saxon village of Sörnwitz, to prove that it was not Lubbe, but a man named van Bergen who stayed there overnight and was confused with Lubbe. The "**Völkischer Beobachter**" of 28th February states, however: "In Lubbe's pocket a passport in the name of van Dergen was found." The similarity of these two names permits the counter-trial to observe, without drawing a final conclusion, that the strange coincidence of the similar names at least justifies the hypothesis that van Bergen, or van Dergen, was the name under which Lubbe maintained his relation with national socialist circles.

Although the Leipzig trial is not yet concluded, still I am of the opinion—stated Bergery—that I am expressing the opinion of my colleagues in stating that our task is not only to prove the innocence of the defendants, which is perfectly obvious to-day, but to find out who are the really guilty parties. On this point the conclusions drawn by the London session have not only not been shaken, but "there are further reasons for the assumption that the Reichstag was fired by or on the orders of highly positioned personages belonging to the National Socialist Party."

The first new witness examined was the Bulgarian, **Kolarov**, who was a member of parliament from 1912 to 1923. **Kolarov** declared: "I am a Communist, a member of the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria, and a member of the E.C.C.I. since 1922. I am familiar with Dimitrov's political and private life down to the last detail. I have known him for thirty years. Dimitrov has always identified himself with the programme of the C.P. of Bulgaria and of the Comintern. Therefore he has always been, and continues to be, an inexorable opponent of individual terror."

These three Bulgarians have been accused of a terrible crime, and the fascist Bulgarian government has not only not taken any steps for their defence, but has disbanded a committee formed in Bulgaria for their defence. It was the Bulgarian Embassy in Berlin which gave the examining magistrate, **Vogt**, the false information that these three Bulgarians had been involved in the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral. As a matter of fact, neither Dimitrov, nor Popov, nor Tanev was involved in this provocation, and they were therefore neither accused nor sentenced. Dimitrov, Tanev, and Popov are entirely incapable of committing such crimes as the blowing up of the cathedral of Sofia or the burning of the Reichstag.

In reply to questions from the French lawyer, **Moro Giafferi**, **Kolarov** declared once more expressly that Dimitrov's sole reason for being in Berlin was to work for a Bulgarian amnesty. Besides this, it is utterly absurd to suppose that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria would send almost half its members to Berlin to commit such a crime.

Tanev does not speak a word of German, and Popov very little. For this reason alone they could not take part in any conspiracy in Germany. That Dimitrov was actually working only for the Bulgarian amnesty while in Berlin is shown by the fact that from Berlin he entered into communication with such well-known personalities as **Romain Rolland**, **Karin Michaelis**, **Barbusse**, **Andersen Nexoe**, etc., for the purpose of bringing about the Bulgarian amnesty.

Dimitrov's private life, which the examining magistrates have endeavoured to calumniate, has always been exemplary. Dimitrov has been forced to live under a false name, because he has always been pursued abroad by murderers sent by Bulgarian fascism to make an attempt on his life.

The next witness was **G. Blagov**, former Macedonian deputy in Constantinople. He also stated that he had known Dimitrov for thirty years. Dimitrov has always been a believer in the revolutionary mass struggle, and a declared opponent of all acts of individual terror. Dimitrov, who comes from a workers' family, has always been a real tribune of the people. Everywhere where the witness has met Dimitrov abroad, in Berlin, in Vienna, and Amster-



dam, he has found him occupied with activities for the Bulgarian amnesty. Neither in Germany nor in Austria has he ever taken part in the politics of these countries. In reply to Moro Gjafferi's express questions, Blagov confirmed the fact that neither Dimitrov, nor Popov and Tanev, were sentenced, or even charged, in connection with the Sofia Cathedral affair. Popov and Tanev had not even been named in connection with this affair.

The next and last witness in the forenoon session was **Oboff**, former attaché, and later, secretary to the Bulgarian Embassy in Paris. Oboff declared that he himself had been accused in the cathedral affair, and sentenced in absence to death. Dimitrov was not a defendant in this case, nor Popov and Tanev. He could swear that Dimitrov was not in Bulgaria at the time of the cathedral explosion. On the occasion of negotiations in 1923, among the emigrés, Dimitrov had expressly combated isolated or terrorist action.

Proceedings were then adjourned till the afternoon.

## Four Revolutionaries before the Fascist Tribunal!

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany on the Leipzig Judicial Farce**

*The illegal Special Information of the press service of the C.C. of the C.P.G. on the Leipzig Trial, published in its third issue the following statement of the C.C. of the C.P.G.:*

The commencement of the trial of the alleged Reichstag incendiaries has exposed to the whole of the proletarian public the true meaning of this unprecedented juridical farce. This trial, which in fact was intended to be directed against the Communist Party and at the same time was to be used as a large-scale campaign of slander against the Communist International and against the Soviet Union, is staged, with the employment of all the well-known methods of Göbbels, the Minister for Lies, at a moment when the fascist dictatorship in Germany has every reason to divert by a fresh increase of anti-Communist incitement the attention of the betrayed and deceived masses of the working people of Germany from the shameful deeds of the fascist dictatorship. The commencement of the trial coincided with the meeting of the General Economic Council, consisting of the most notorious capitalist exploiters. This meeting of the General Council openly revealed the exploitation programme for the approaching winter. New and enormous burdens are to be loaded on to the shoulders of the poorest of the poor; a compulsory robbery of wages and salaries is announced in the form of so-called voluntary gifts; an unexampled robbery of the recipients of unemployment benefit and poor-law relief and at the same time the introduction of a policy of currency inflation are announced. The working masses of Germany, who have waited in vain for seven months for the fulfilment of Hitler's socialist promises, are experiencing at the present moment, instead of the promised socialisation of industry, the banks and big landed estates, instead of the fight against the parasites and profiteers, the worst social reactionary policy of exploitation, which the fascist dictatorship is carrying out on the orders of the financial capitalists.

At this moment the trial of the Reichstag incendiaries is intended as a means to check the great movement among the masses of the deceived Nazi supporters and among the broad strata of the German working class, who are turning more and more to the Communist Party, which is the only honest and incorruptible friend of the starving people, and to discredit the Communist Party, which in spite of all persecutions is unswervingly and courageously conducting the fight against the fascist dictatorship, in the eyes of the German and the world public as a party of criminals, incendiaries and murderers.

The trial further aims at justifying all those shameful deeds of the fascist dictatorship, the incarceration of 60,000 anti-fascists, the murder of more than 1,500 revolutionary fighters, who were kidnapped by the Storm Troops, tortured to death, shot while attempting to escape or driven to suicide, the unexampled suppression of all political freedom in Germany, by urging the necessity of the fight to save Germany from Bolshevism and its "horrors."

The trial is only formally a trial of persons; it is in fact a trial of the Communist Party, a trial of the Communist International.

And it is intended by it at the same time, by unbounded calumny of Communism, to prepare the gallows verdict against our imprisoned leader Ernst Thälmann.

Thirdly, however, this trial pursues the aim of preparing by means of propaganda a new stage of the imperialist intervention policy of German fascism against the Soviet Union. By calumniating the quite innocently accused Bulgarians as a terrorist group acting on behalf of Moscow, war feeling against the socialist Soviet Union is at the same time to be stirred up among the masses. What a bad conscience the stage managers of this trial have precisely in regard to this question is shown by the exclusion of the Soviet-Russian and also a large number of socialist and left bourgeois papers from official attendance at the trial. This provocative measure stands in glaring contradiction to the hypocritical declaration of the Court about the complete openness of the proceedings.

If this trial were really a trial of the persons guilty of setting the Reichstag on fire, then not Torgler and the three Bulgarians would be in the dock, but the most prominent members of the German government, Göbbels and Göring (who according to the findings of the London Commission of Enquiry and the memorandum of the chairman of the former German national Reichstag fraction Dr. Oberföhrer, are shown beyond doubt to be the initiators of the fire) the leaders of the Special Troops and Storm Troops who were directly entrusted with the work of firing the Reichstag and, finally, the paid subject van der Lubbe, who was misused by them. In the eyes of the world, Göbbels, Göring and consorts are the accused. In the eyes of the world the Communist Party is the accuser in this trial.

Already the first days have clearly shown what role is being played by the so-called chief accused van der Lubbe. Van der Lubbe is no longer a pathological feeble-minded person and in the last resort an irresponsible man who has been made use of by the national socialists. Van der Lubbe is also not a Communist; he has nothing whatever to do with the Communist Party of Holland, and still less with the C.P. of Germany or with the Communist International. Not only that, van der Lubbe is a member of the so-called group of "international Communists"—a tiny handful of people who have for years fulfilled the sorry role of renegades of the Communist movement on behalf of international fascism, and employed all means of calumny and provocation against the Communist movement—a direct and fanatical enemy of the Comintern. The little group of "international Communists," led by Gorter, which has no mass following, but consists of a handful of hopeless provocateurs, has always fought with the most criminal methods against the Comintern, and thus by its provocation and calumnies renders the best service to the counter-revolution. There can be no better proof that van der Lubbe has nothing to do with the Comintern than the fact that he is a member of this group of renegades. This is also confirmed by the fact that he was excluded from the Communist Party of Holland already in 1931 on account of his provocative actions.

Already in the first days of the trial both **Dimitrov** and **Torgler** have clearly shown what methods were employed in the preliminary inquiry, which, immediately after the Reichstag fire, it was announced would be perfectly open, but which in fact has been carried on for seven months in the strictest secrecy. The fact that the accused have been kept for weeks and months in heavy iron fetters, the fact that foreign lawyers have not been permitted to defend the Bulgarian accused, although numerous foreign lawyers have declared themselves ready to defend Torgler and also the Bulgarians, and also the fact that up to the present time no essential details of the indictment have been published, characterise the barbaric methods of treatment of the accused revolutionaries and the real character of this judicial farce. It has also been rendered impossible for the accused Torgler to have the services as defending counsel of German lawyers who sympathise with his political views. His defence by Dr. Sack, who according to Torgler's declaration before the court is only prepared to defend him personally and not the Communist Party, which is actually accused, has only been permitted on condition that no foreign lawyers should be allowed to plead for him. The fact that, already during the preliminary examination, the accused Tanev was driven by the barbaric methods of treatment to attempt to commit suicide, proves how much faith is to be placed in the "impar-

tiality" and "humanity" of the Supreme Court of German fascism.

The wonderfully courageous behaviour of the accused Dimitrov, who has given to the world a heroic example of how a Communist revolutionary must conduct himself before the bloody judges of the class enemy, has converted the scene of the fascist judicial farce into a real trial of the fascist incendiaries and hangmen, a burning indictment by the oppressed revolutionary proletarians against the blood-stained fascist dictatorship. Dimitrov's brutal treatment by the Court has torn aside the hypocritical mask of impartial justice assumed by the members of the Court.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, in the name of the Party, in the name of the millions of anti-fascists, send their warm brotherly greetings to their comrade, the revolutionary Dimitrov.

The course of the first four days of the trial has already brought to light a number of contradictions and has torn the tissue of lies constituting the indictment. Thus, for instance, the sworn deposition of the criminal commissioner Heisig that he examined the accused Lubbe already at 9.45 p.m., stands in glaring contradiction to the statement, likewise made on oath, that van der Lubbe was first brought to the police headquarters at 12 o'clock at night, being previously detained at the police station at Brandenburg Gate. The explanation of this contradiction is, that the fascist government has every interest in giving an earlier hour as the time at which Lubbe was first examined than is really the case, in order thus to represent the measures of persecution adopted by the national-socialist instigators of the fire already long before midnight as being the result of the confession of van der Lubbe. As a matter of fact the persecutory action, in particular the wholesale arrests in Berlin, is one of the most irrefutable proofs that the Reichstag fire was prepared by the same circles which wished to use it as a pretext for this repressive action, which was commenced prematurely, against the Communist Party. The further course of the trial will reveal a number of other contradictions of this kind.

At the proceedings on Monday, September 25, during Lubbe's examination, reference was made to a conversation which van der Lubbe is said to have had with some workers outside the Public Welfare Office in Neukölln, at which there was first talk of the necessity of a fire in the Reichstag and the late Kaiser's palace, and secondly the proposal was allegedly made to capture some Storm Troopers, smother them with benzine and set them on fire. Van der Lubbe expressed his agreement to this proposal with the words "That is the way to do it," and the workers are said to have declared, "The fellow is right, we can make use of him."

The Communist Party is in possession of statements of people who were present at this conversation outside the Public Welfare Office, from which it is clearly evident that the workers who took part in it, according to their own statements, right from the outset were very mistrustful of van der Lubbe, and in view of his provocative proposals regarded him as a spy.

Regarding the attitude of the Communist International and the Communist Parties of the various countries which are affiliated to it and subject to its discipline, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany declares, in agreement with the statements of Dimitrov and Torgler on this point, that the Comintern—as to be seen from its programme—has always opposed on principle the employment of the weapon of individual terror as inexpedient. The aim of the proletarian revolution can never be achieved by acts of individual terror, but only by the revolutionary action of the masses. The C.C. of the C.P.G. expressly confirmed this attitude against individual terror in a declaration, published during the election campaign preceding the election to the Reichstag in September, 1931, and emphasised this as binding instructions for the whole of the membership. Precisely on this point there is seen the ideological gulf which exists between the views of the Communist International and its Parties and the views of the anarchistically inclined group of "international Communists."

The C.C. of the Communist Party will, during the further course of the trial, continue to do everything to stigmatise openly the methods of calumny and forgery of the fascist court.

September, 25, 1933.

**Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany**  
(Section of the Communist International).

## Greetings of the C.C. of the C.P.G. to Dimitrov

Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria

Berlin, September 25, 1933.

The illegal press service of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany publishes in No. 3 of the special bulletin issued by it on the Reichstag fire trial the following greetings:—

In the name of the Communist Party of Germany, which is inexorably fighting for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, in the name of the millions of its supporters, of the millions of class-conscious anti-fascist workers, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany sends to you, Comrade Dimitrov, its warmest revolutionary greetings. Your courageous stand before the bloody fascist Court, by which you have heroically defended the honour and prestige of the German and international working class and its leader, the Communist International, has kindled glowing enthusiasm in the hearts of the class-conscious German workers for the revolutionary emancipation from the yoke of fascism.

In the name of the enslaved and oppressed masses of the working people of Germany we thank you for this stand, which will remain indelibly in our memories as a heroic example of how proletarian revolutionaries have to answer the class judges of the fascist bourgeoisie. The whole of the German working class greets you, Comrade Grigori Dimitrov, through us with the greeting of all revolutionary proletarians of Germany, with a thundering, threefold "Red Front!"

**Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany**  
(Section of the Communist International).

## The Lives of Nine Düsseldorf Workers in Danger

There exists the great danger that the excitement and interest aroused by the Leipzig trial may cause the masses of workers to lose sight of the numerous "minor" trials in Germany.

The trial at which, at the beginning of September, the court of justice at Düsseldorf sentenced nine workers from Gerresheim to death possesses special importance. Nine revolutionary workers, whose sterling worth has been proved in many struggles, are to lay their heads on the block. The Public Prosecutor demanded twelve death sentences. The court gave him nine. The verdict of the Düsseldorf court has been referred to the Supreme Court for ratification.

Gerresheim is a working-class suburb of Düsseldorf, in which Communism has always had its strongest points of support. Even during the terror elections held in March, 1933, the Communists polled here over 60 per cent. of all the votes cast. This is the district where the accused lived, with the exception of two who come from the neighbouring district of Erkrath. The workers of Gerresheim often make outings and rambles to Erkrath. In the summer of 1932, while making such an outing, some workers from Gerresheim were attacked by a crowd of heavily-armed Storm Troopers, who fired with their revolvers at the fleeing workers. Two workers were wounded. The court in Düsseldorf sentenced each of the Storm Troopers to one year's imprisonment for attempted manslaughter!

Some weeks after this cowardly attack it came to a fresh collision. This time the workers were prepared. The Storm leader Hilmer, the son of a well-known factory owner, was mortally wounded by a bullet. As he had many enemies among the proletarian elements of the Storm Troops it was suspected by some that he had fallen victim to a cleverly concealed *fehme* murder. It was thought by others that he had been accidentally shot by his own friends in the melee. Weeks were spent in trying to find the culprits. Suddenly ten Gerresheim workers were arrested on the charge of having fired at Hilmer from an ambush.

The accused were kept under arrest for several months, during which time the most cunning methods of investigation were employed against them. But all in vain. In the autumn of 1932 all the accused were released and the warrant for their arrest was withdrawn. The proceedings were abandoned on the order of the Public Prosecution itself. There exists no doubt that the accused were innocent, otherwise bourgeois justice would never have allowed them to be released.

After Hitler's seizure of power, Düsseldorf was purged of

"unruly elements." Only Gerresheim remained spared for a time: The Nazis did not care to venture into this stronghold of Communism. Then one day, in the early morning hours, the police invaded the working-class quarters, where they behaved like vandals, and in addition to numerous other workers, arrested also the workers who had been formerly charged in connection with the murder of Hilmer. There now commenced for them a fresh period of indescribable suffering: police headquarters, cold cellars in the Brown houses, torture in remote dungeons according to all the rules of the sadistic fascist inquisition. The result was joyfully announced to the public: with few exceptions the former accused and some other workers had submitted "confessions." These "confessions," which are extorted by the most cruel tortures, are only too well known.

The accused had no possibility of choosing a defending counsel in whom they had confidence. They had to be satisfied with an official defender chosen by the court.

The verdict and sentence were only a matter of form. Three of the accused were acquitted, but on the orders of the Public Prosecutor were immediately placed under preventive arrest, while the remaining accused were sentenced to death.

The fate of these nine workers must not be forgotten amidst the numerous other events which are occurring in Germany. A powerful international protest movement must stay the arm of the executioner and secure their release.

## Japan

### The Political Structure and Political Parties of Japan

The following article is the first of a series we are publishing on conditions in Japan.—Ed.

Japan is, outwardly, a "constitutional" monarchy. In fact, the monarchy is absolute. Parliament (the Diet) consists of two houses. Members of the lower house are elected by the "people," while different procedure decides who sits in the upper house. Some are appointed by the emperor, some elected from among the peers, the rest are elected from among the big tax-paying families. On the surface, it might appear that the Diet plays a rather decisive role in the government. Actually, it does not.

Only one-fifth of the people have the right to vote. Parliament, even from this viewpoint, far from represents the people. Women are excluded. Then, above the Diet sits the cabinet, appointed by the emperor, responsible only to the emperor, but not at all to the Diet. The Diet can interpellate (question) the cabinet, and accuse it, but actually do nothing. Further, the Diet cannot even discuss the power of the monarchy. What the emperor does, the Diet must accept.

The monarchy does not even regard the Diet as a consultative body. The emperor consults only members of the Privy Council, thorough-going bureaucrats and black reactionaries. As its mainstay, the monarchy depends on the army and police. Thus the power of the Mikado is supreme and the Diet a mere fig-leaf to hide the absolute character of the monarchy. By decree, the emperor can, and does, establish as law proposals rejected by the Diet.

The Diet is the fig-leaf. In the last analysis, the bourgeois-landlord bloc rules through the monarchy. But the Diet is not a "dead" fig-leaf. It serves ruling-class purposes thus far to maintain it; and to keep a number of political parties. Various factions of the ruling classes fight battles, some fictitious, some real, through these parties, for one represents the Mitsui and the other Mitsubishi interests (something like the Morgan and Rockefeller interest in America), and so on.

The two big ruling class parties are the "Seiyukai" and the "Minseitō," the first having about 300, the second about 100, of the 466 members of the lower house. There is little difference in their programmes; and to-day the cabinet is one of national coalition, which both parties support; the pressure of war and crisis, and even more of the rising revolutionary mood of the masses, has induced the ruling classes to form, in so far as it is possible, a united front against common enemies.

A third party, the "Kokumin Domei" (People's League), headed by Kenkichi Adachi, once Minister of Home Affairs, was formed since the war began. It has strong fascist tendencies and

is now trying to form a national labour organisation. There is a possibility, according to the development of class forces—particularly depending on the action of the Communist Party—that the Kokumin Domei may play an important role. There are several other small parties, among them the Seisanto (Production Party), all with their special stripe of fascist programme.

Previously there were a half dozen so-called proletarian parties. But with the outbreak in 1931 of the robber war they mostly dropped all pretence of being working-class parties, declared support of the robber war and a truce in their pretended "war" against capitalism. Prior to the war, there were two so-called "socialistic" parties, the "Shakai Minshuto," headed by Akamatsu, and the "Zenkoku Taishuto," headed by Matsutani. Exactly as the Second International parties became social patriots in 1914, so these two Japanese parties of fake "socialist" name went to pieces in 1931, when Akamatsu left the one to form his own fascist "State Socialist" party, and Matsutani deserted the other, both becoming violent supporters of the robber war against the Chinese people. From the remnants of these two parties there was formed the "Shakai Taishuto" (Socialist Mass Party), which maintains contact, though not official affiliation with the Second International.

The Shakai Taishuto maintains a rather wilted fig-leaf of "socialist" appearance, but restrains the workers from anti-war action with its half-hearted and purely verbal protest against "war in general," while its chiefs, Iso Abe and Bunji Suzuki, openly support the present actual robber war in Manchuria. Because the Shakai Taishuto's support of Japanese imperialism clashes with the interests of their European imperialist masters, the chiefs of the Second International "censured" Suzuki last winter, and tried to disavow the Shakai Taishuto as "not affiliated." But one does not censure non-members, and the Japanese child of the Second International resembles its parents exactly, even though disavowed as illegitimate. It is the party of petty-bourgeois intellectuals and labour aristocrats, with some monarchist tendencies; and it starts its meetings by singing the national anthem and closes them with three cheers for the emperor.

But the proletariat of Japan has a party of its own, not to be mentioned in the same breath as the other, falsely termed, "proletarian" parties. It is the Communist Party, which even from its birth in 1922 has been forced to work illegally by the extremely brutal persecution of the ruling classes. Its aim, following the correct policy of the Communist International, is the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy and the establishment of a Soviet Japan.

Despite years of murderous terror against it by the most expensive police system of any land, the Communist Party lives and grows, though over 2,000 of its members are now in the hands of the enemy, and some of its best leaders have fallen at the hands of the police assassins.

The Communist Party is the only party of the working class of Japan. It leads the struggle of the toiling masses of city and country alike, for the overthrow of the monarchy, radical improvement of working conditions, confiscation of the land of the big landlords, the church and the monarchy for the benefit of the small and middle peasants, nationalisation of banks, heavy taxation of trusts and corporations, against imperialist war, for defence of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese people, for defence of the Soviet Union; to sum up, for the people's revolution, for rice, land and freedom.

#### New Mass Action in Sofia against the Leipzig Trial

Sofia, 6th October.

On the 3rd of October the Bulgarian workers twice demonstrated their solidarity with Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev, and Popov, and their determined opposition to fascism, although these demonstrations had to be carried out in the face of prohibitions, arrests, and beatings.

At half-past 10 in the morning the first improvised platform was erected, intended to symbolise that the Bulgarian workers are bringing up for trial the fascist terror tribunal in Leipzig. The police replied by 40 to 50 revolver shots, and dispersed the assembled workers with the utmost brutality. A woman worker was injured in the neck by a shot from a revolver.

Late in the afternoon another platform was erected in another part of the town.

# Proletarian Youth Movement

## The World Congress of the Militant Youth

By A. K.

The World Youth Congress against War and Fascism, recently held in Paris, marked the commencement of a powerful action to rally and develop the fighting will of all sections of the toiling youth against the catastrophe of imperialist war and the fascist dictatorship. Thirty-four countries represented by more than 1,000 delegates have expressed their will to fight at this Congress. The masses represented by them number millions.

French delegates fraternised with their comrades from Morocco. German and French young workers stood hand in hand on the platform of the Congress.

The fact that 34 young militants had arrived from Germany, two-thirds of them being young socialists and non-party workers who had managed to come through illegally at the risk of their lives, shows that the young workers of Germany are rebelling against the Hitler dictatorship.

The representatives of the youth of all countries enthusiastically welcomed the delegation of the Soviet Youth. All the delegates were unanimous in their admiration of the great world-historical work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and were ready for its defence. The unanimous approval of the speech of Comrade Kossarev, the leader of the toiling youth in the Soviet Union, meant at the same time approval of the policy pursued by the Russian toilers in regard to the overthrow of the rotten system of capitalism and the construction of a new socialist society.

The Congress showed the growing united front of all sections of the toiling youth. Among the 1,100 delegates here were 111 young socialists, 287 young Communists, 553 non-party and a considerable number of members of bourgeois organisations. The toiling youth of all tendencies set up a common platform for the fight against imperialist war and fascism.

The Congress clearly revealed to the masses the growing aggressiveness of the imperialists against the colonial peoples (the wars in Morocco, China, South America, which are nothing else but the preliminary skirmishes of a new imperialist world massacre), the counter-revolutionary wars against Soviet China and against the revolution in Cuba. The Congress warned the youth, pointing to the fact that there is an increasing amount of inflammable material even in the centres of Europe. To the extent to which the antagonisms between the imperialist States are sharpening as a result of the crisis, to the same extent the imperialists are endeavouring to solve their antagonisms at the cost of the Soviet Union, which is the only stronghold of peace. The World Congress clearly revealed the anti-social character of the fascist dictatorships in Germany, Italy and in the other countries, whose aim is to shatter the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and pointed to the growth of the fascist danger in all capitalist countries.

The fighting decisions adopted by the Congress are in accordance with this situation:

War against imperialist war, fight against the imperialism of their own bourgeoisie, defence of the Soviet Union, support of the emancipation struggle of the colonial peoples and suppressed nations, prevention of the transport of munitions and troops by means of mass strikes, struggle against nationalist incitement and the militarisation of the youth, against the slogan of defence of the imperialist "fatherland," development of anti-militarist agitation and propaganda among the soldiers, struggle against fascistisation in the so-called democratic countries, overthrow of the fascist dictatorship by revolutionary struggle. That is the platform of the World Congress of Youth.

A prominent part in the work of the Congress was played by the young socialist delegates who, shoulder to shoulder with the Young Communists, strove to make this Congress a great beginning of an effective struggle. Thus it came that the socialist youth, in the form of a special declaration, settled accounts with the treacherous policy of the leaders of the social democracy and of the Second International, who vote for war budgets, proclaim as their supreme law the principles of the imperialist League of Nations, and pave the way for the open fascist dictatorship.

Some Trotskyists had attempted to commence disruptive work among various delegations and to designate the platform of fighting unity of the toiling youth as "ineffective," i.e., to calumniate it.

They have not succeeded in carrying the germs of disintegration into the fighting front of the youth. The attempts of this group, consisting of half a dozen intellectuals who have no influence whatever, to win followers from among the socialist youth were frustrated owing to the resistance of the latter.

The World Congress of Youth set itself the task, together with the adult workers of all countries, to take part in all actions of the World Committee against war and fascism. For this purpose the broadest sections of the toiling youth in the factories, the mass organisations, offices, schools and universities are to be mobilised. Committees are to be set up everywhere, and an intensive organisational and agitational work carried out in the munition works and in the transport industry.

In view of the fact that a mass struggle against war and fascism is impossible without the participation of the workers organised in the trade unions, the Congress set the task of establishing committees in the trade unions and in all mass organisations of the toilers in order to achieve the collective affiliation of these organisations to the anti-war and anti-fascist movement.

The Congress called upon the toiling youth not to look passively on at the preparation for war on the part of the exploiters, not to yield themselves passively to the enemy armed to the teeth, but to launch a relentless fight, which is the only guarantee of victory.

The World Congress of Youth indicates to all sections of the toiling youth the path leading out of uncertainty, vacillations, out of misery and devastating war and fascism. Hundreds of thousands and millions of young workers will realise this path in the platform of the Congress. The false ideals and slogans of nationalism and fascism, by means of which the ruling class wishes to win the toiling youth for their reactionary ends, will be smashed by the militant united front of the toiling masses of youth.

## Resolution of the Factory Conference

The bourgeoisie is displaying particularly great activity in the factories in order to recruit the young workers for fascism.

The young workers actively participated in the big struggles which were recently conducted in the big undertakings of Citroen, the mining industry of Asturias, etc. This struggle against capitalism is a constant hindrance to the letting loose of imperialist war and fascism's seizing power.

The bourgeoisie is therefore anxious to check this growing struggle by an increased activity in the factories and by preparing the young workers for the imperialist war. The fascist organisations therefore attempt to strike root in the factories (Storm Troops, the fascist young guard, Sokoln, Boy Scouts, various factory sports associations).

The young workers in the factories, and in particular those employed in the armaments industry, play a big role in the struggle against fascism and against imperialist war. Hence it is the task of the young anti-fascists to turn their attention to the factories in order to organise there a broad united front against fascism and imperialist war.

The young anti-fascists have to conduct energetic work against war and fascism in the armaments factories and in those industries which can easily be converted into armaments' industries (coal mines, food industries, textile, fertilisers, etc.) in the sea and inland transport service (docks, railways, etc.) with a view to carry out the following tasks:

(1) To reveal to the workers facts in connection with the manufacture of war material produced in the munition industries, to inform the railway workers and the dockers of the dispatch of munitions and their place of destination, and to mobilise the young workers for the fight for their own demands, thereby preparing them for the struggle against the manufacture of war material.

(2) To organise the struggle against the transport of munitions in the docks and on the railways, refusal to unload vessels flying the swastika flag.

(3) To organise international connections between the various big factories in the various countries (Skoda, Schneider-Creuzot, Citroen, Renault, Krupp, etc.); to organise the common struggle against fascism and imperialist war by means of the international united front.

(4) To organise the patronage of big industrial concerns in the "democratic" countries over those in the fascist countries in order

to assist the young anti-fascists of the fascist countries in their fight.

(5) To organise frontier industrial conferences in order to bring the young workers of the various countries closer together in their common struggle against war and fascism.

(6) To organise the struggle against the spy system and the reprisals in the factories, against the Russian white guardists who are financed by the employers and the State and employed in the big armament factories for spy services, against all fascist and reactionary and sport and educational organisations set up or financed by the employers; to organise the counter-attack of the masses in every concrete case of reprisals or individual or collective provocation. Broad mass self-defence organisations must be set up in the factories for this purpose.

(7) Development of systematic work in the vocational schools against militarisation and the fascist education, linking up this work with the struggle for the vocational demands.

(8) In factories where colonial or immigrant workers are employed, the unity of these young workers with the young workers of the country is to be established in the common struggle against anti-foreign prejudice, and against chauvinism.

(9) Development of work among the young women workers, who are still more exploited than the men and in case of war will be mobilised for the production of war material. The bourgeoisie is attempting to gather them in the various fascist women's organisations and to employ them against the young workers. It is the task of the young anti-fascists to realise the indispensable welding together of all exploited of both sexes for the common struggle against war and fascism.

(10) To link up the fight of the young workers in the big factories with the struggle of the young unemployed who are an easy prey in the hands of the fascists for their drive to war; to organise the struggle of the young unemployed for their inclusion in the unemployment insurance, against compulsory labour, against the hypocritical bourgeois charity of the Salvation Army, which attempts to divert the young unemployed from the path of struggle and to enrol them in the fascist organisations.

(11) To organise the connection of the young workers in the big factories of the capitalist countries with those of the Soviet Union.

(12) To mobilise the young workers for the struggle against military training in the factory associations (Citroen, Renault etc.), in the Scouts' organisation (Schneider), the Sokoln, etc.; to organise the struggle of the young workers against gas-mask exercises and the air manoeuvres.

(13) To organise the struggle for the partial demands in those cases in which these exercises are introduced (payment for lost work time, etc.).

(14) To set up various organisations (sport and educational associations, etc.) together with the workers of the factories in order to maintain the contact with the young workers after their work in the factory, in order to train them in the spirit of the class struggle and thus to prevent the development of the fascist factory organisations.

(15) To establish a close contact between the young workers in the factories and the soldiers by organising the patronage of the factory over the barracks, by setting up the "soldiers' penny" administered by the young workers in all factories, by the collective exchange of letters between the factory workers and their colleagues who have been called up for military service; to organise the struggle for the demands of the recruits.

(16) To link up all these fighting actions against war with the fight for the economic demands of the young workers (against wage cuts, against unemployment, rationalisation, speeding up, etc.); to realise the broadest united front of all young workers of the factory is the first prerequisite for the organisation of these struggles.

In order to carry out these tasks it is necessary to strengthen the trade union class organisations of the young workers, which will support the young workers in their anti-fascist struggles and in their fight against imperialist war, and which will link up this struggle with the struggle for the economic demands of the young workers. The action of the young workers must be closely linked up with the struggle of the adult workers of the factory and with that of the whole of the working class.

It is further necessary to set up in every factory and in every dockyard fighting committees of the young workers against war

and fascism by drawing in all the young workers who are willing to fight.

By striking root in the factories and developing in them the work for the class united front, the anti-fascists will win the broad masses of the proletarian youth for the common struggle of the whole working class against fascism and imperialist war.

## Long Live the United Front!

### From the Declaration of 109 Young Socialists

The members of the Young Socialist International who are present at the World Congress of Youth against War and Fascism declare their complete approval of the report submitted by the Youth Committee against war and fascism.

We promise you our whole-hearted support in the fight against fascism and war. We know the irreconcilable contradictions and the crying injustice of the capitalist regime; therefore we have decided in favour of socialism.

We condemn nationalism and its catastrophic consequences. We energetically combat the policy of national defence, because we know that in practice it means the preparation for war and leads to a fresh world slaughter. But we have nothing in common with empty pacifism, which in reality does nothing to prevent war but permits the bourgeoisie to prepare for it in secret. A striking example of the harmfulness of an organisation of such a kind is the League of Nations, which has never prevented any war, but on the contrary, cloaked over the imperialist wars in South America, North China, Manchuria and Jehol.

We declare further that we shall combat "democracy" with all our forces. Democracy is impossible under the capitalist rule. Social democracy is impossible without economic democracy. This democracy only serves the aims of the bourgeoisie: the suppression of the proletariat; it permits fascism to strike roots.

We likewise stigmatise every colonial policy which is based on the shameful exploitation of the native population, leads to colonial wars and favours slavery.

We stigmatise our international leadership, the Labour and Socialist International, on account of its treachery in Germany, France and in all other countries.

We are combating the reformist policy of the "lesser evil," which is being pursued by the leaders of the Second International in spite of the catastrophic experience of Germany and other countries.

The "Left" policy of some socialist parties consists in mouthing and writing revolutionary phrases. But so far as action is concerned, we have seen no signs of it as yet. In reality their "Left" policy only serves as a cloak for the reactionary manoeuvres of the "Right."

We condemn the whole policy of the Second International because it permanently betrays the interests of the working class and sets up the principle of class collaboration in place of class struggle.

But the young socialist proletarians are awakening; they are realising that the proletariat expects revolutionary activity of them.

We shall fight to the last for the realisation of the united front, the only weapon which can vanquish the bourgeoisie. We pledge ourselves to unmask and combat all those who are opposing the setting up of the united front.

We request the Congress to issue its slogans. We propose to set up fighting committees against war and fascism, and self-defence groups in every district, in every locality, in every trade union, in the works and factories.

We have decided to propagate the principles of this Congress in all our organisations. We shall collaborate with you on an international scale, but at the same time point out that it is not yet possible to bring about organisational unity. Active international unity will be established among the cadres of our socialist organisations.

It is our task to realise the united front everywhere and to lead our brothers in the socialist organisation together with us into the united front: against fascism and war.

Long live the united front of all revolutionary and proletarian youths!

# Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### The Rise of Heavy Industry

The published figures for the month of September and for the first nine months of the year show a progressive increase from month to month in the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan.

In the first nine months of 1933 51,718,000 tons of coal were produced. The Plan was fulfilled by more than 14.8 per cent. compared with the same period in the previous year. In the first nine months of this year 19.4 per cent. more coke was produced than in the same period of last year.

The output of iron ore rose in September by 5.9 per cent. in comparison with August, 1933, and by 34.4 per cent. in comparison with September, 1932. In the first nine months of 1933 51,036,000 tons of pig-iron were produced, that is 13.4 per cent. more than in the same period in the previous year.

The production of cast-iron rose in September by 7.8 per cent. compared with the previous month and reached 122.4 per cent. of the September, 1932, figure.

Steel production amounted to over 100 per cent. compared with last year. In September alone, 39.2 per cent. more steel was produced than in the same month of last year.

Copper production rose by 7.4 per cent. compared with August, 1933, and by 24.4 per cent. compared with September, 1932.

The average daily production of petroleum rose by 10.3 per cent. compared with August and by 26.2 per cent. compared with September of last year. The Aserbejdshchan oil-fields increased their production in September to 4.1 per cent. as against August and reached 167.5 per cent. of the figure of September of last year.

In the past nine months the locomotive works have constructed 694 locomotives, 95 more than in the same period last year.

### Splendid Scientific Results of the Stratosphere Flight

#### Preparations for the Construction of a New Balloon for a Fresh Flight

The chairman of the scientific committee for the inspection of the apparatus of the stratosphere balloon announced to the press that the first investigation shows the great scientific significance of the very clear records made by the apparatus.

The People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry awarded prizes to a number of engineers and workmen of the institute for scientific investigation into the rubber industry, as well as of the Moscow factory in which the rubber is manufactured, for their brilliant work in the construction and manufacture of the cover of the stratosphere balloon.

A second stratosphere balloon called "Ossoaviachim" is being built for the furtherance of flying.

### Successful Winter Sowing—71 per cent. of the Plan Already Carried Out

By the 30th of September 27,054,000 hectares of winter seed were sown in the Soviet Union; that is to say, 71.1 per cent. of the Plan. In the previous year only 26,476,000 hectares were sown.

A number of districts have carried out the winter sowing in accordance with and beyond the Plan. Among those are the Tartar district, the Ural district, West Siberia, the Baschkir district, the Middle Volga province, the Moscow district, the Leningrad district, and others. The most important districts of the North and East and the Central districts of the Soviet Union have finished the winter sowing. The winter sowing was successful to an enormous degree in the most favourable periods and on well-tilled and well-manured ground. A new and important step has been taken in the direction of a new central station for wheat cultivation. The winter wheat sowing in the so-called "consumption" districts was increased sevenfold.

### Fresh Successes in the Motor and Tractor Industry

The automobile works of the Soviet Union produced 35,327

automobiles in the course of nine months; that is, 102 per cent. of the Plan. The tractor works of the Soviet Union produced, in the same period of time, 54,624 tractors; that is, more than 101 per cent. of the Plan. The tempo of tractor production was rapidly increased in the Cheljabinsk works, where heavy tractors were built, and where the Plan was fulfilled to 104 per cent.

### Light Industry in the Last Quarter

The Plan for light industry for the fourth quarter of the year has been published. In the fourth quarter of the year light industry will manufacture finished goods to the value of 2,393,400,000 roubles, 429,600,000 roubles more than the third quarter. The production of cotton goods, ready-made clothing, boots and shoes, woollen and woven goods, will be considerably increased. The production, also, of glass and crockery, as well as that of musical instruments, will be increased.

In the fourth quarter light industry will supply to the country 790 million metres of cotton stuffs, to the value of 803,300,000 roubles, 265 million metres more than in the third quarter. It will supply 35 million metres of woollen materials, to the value of 178 million roubles, 21 million roubles more than in the preceding quarter.

Ready-made clothing will be manufactured to the value of 467 million roubles, 96 million roubles more than in the third quarter. Eighteen million pairs of shoes will be supplied, two million pairs more than in the third quarter. The production of woven goods will be considerably increased. There will be 59,800,000 pairs of stockings and socks, 6,200,000 sets of under-linen, and two million woollen suits.

### The Rion Power Station Starts Work

A part of the power station on the river Rion has been set going. The construction of the power station was begun in the year 1928. It is situated on the river Rion, two kilometres from the Kutais suspension bridge. Its total power will amount to 48,000 kilowatt or 65,000 horse-power, this being double that of the "Sages" power station already existing in Georgia. Four turbines, each of 17,000 horse-power, are being installed. The year's output will amount to about 240 kilowatt hours.

As a result of the starting of the first section of the Rion station, the power station "Sages" has already been relieved of the necessity of supplying power to the electrified section of the Trans-Caucasian railways over the Suram Pass, and to the Caspian cement works.

The second section of the Rion station will start working on the 15th October and will supply the ferro-manganese works which will start working at the same time. The third and fourth sections will start working in March, 1934.

### The Automobile Factory "Molotov" in Gorki Sends Specimens of its Production to Ford

The automobile factory "Molotov" in Gorki has completed specimens of its production for dispatch to Ford in the U.S.A. A lorry and a private car will be sent, which will be wholly and completely manufactured out of material from the Soviet Union, as are all automobiles manufactured according to the Plan. The works are sending these automobiles in response to the dispatch of a four-cylinder and a six-cylinder Ford-produced automobile in 1932.

### A New Coal District in the Kusnetsk Basin

After two years of geological exploration work in the neighbourhood of Kemerovo the new coal district has been completely explored. The output of coal is estimated at about 500 million tons. The coal of the Plotnikov district contains only very little slag, sulphur and phosphorus. It yields up to 15 per cent. primary tar. This permits of its exploitation for naphtha production.

### Great Success of the Volga and Caspian Sea Fisheries

The Volga-Caspian-Sea district has carried out and surpassed the plan for the catching of fish for the third quarter. Up to the 1st October the fishing collectives of the Astrakhan Collective Union caught and delivered to the Trusts 260,000 cwt. of fish, instead of the 220,000 cwt. provided for by the Plan. More than 30 collectives fulfilled the Plan by more than 100 per cent.

# Proletarian Mass Organisation

## The Friends of the Soviet Union in the British Dominions

By Gore Graham (London)

In the countries over which flies the British Union Jack five national sections of the Friends of the Soviet Union are in existence, active in the work of spreading enlightenment about the Soviet Union and in organising its defence. That, of these five, the **British Section** leads in size and influence is natural and expected. The remaining four Sections are in the Dominions of **Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada**. No Section of the F.S.U. as yet exists in any part of the British colonies. The first factor in explanation of this is the severely repressive policy of the imperial power in these countries. In **India**, for example, where the very fact of having visited the U.S.S.R. is crime enough to provoke a prison sentence of eighteen months, it could hardly be expected that it would be easy for even an organisation like the Friends of the Soviet Union to exist. Still, the attempt to found a section of the F.S.U. must be made, and if the correct line is adopted by our friends concerned there should be some success in exploiting what possibilities exist.

In the four Dominions mentioned, however, our friends do not by any means find their task unimpeded by the repression of the Governments concerned. The F.S.U. Section in Canada was lost for some time in the wave of repression which has swept over the Canadian workers' and radical movement during the past two years or so. Fortunately it has again found its feet, and is now active. In Australia it is not long since the offices of our movement were raided and the work interrupted. And in all four Dominions the Governments have imposed the most reactionary and obscurantist bans against the importation of "radical and obscene" literature. The Canadian Government regularly confiscates quantities of "U.S.S.R. in Construction" as an "obscene, vulgar and seditious" publication. When all material has to creep through such a hedge of obscurantism as this it can be seen how trying are the conditions in which our friends do their work. Against these bans, of course, campaigns are being waged in all four countries, and in these campaigns the F.S.U. organisations play their part.

During the past years these Dominion Sections have organised and sent **workers' delegations** to the Soviet Union, a difficult task, since the tremendous distance from the Soviet Union makes the fares for these delegates so big and the necessary leave of absence so long. Nevertheless, delegations have travelled and have returned to do excellent work of enlightenment and organisation. At the moment of writing, two Dominion delegations are on their way to this year's November celebrations, one from South Africa and the other from Australia; while in New Zealand our friends are already campaigning for a good delegation next May.

In **New Zealand** the membership of the Section has increased 70 per cent. since last December, and in May alone, the last month we received information about, six new branches were established. Active friends are touring the whole country with lectures and literature, doing excellent work. The sale of the journal steadily increases and pamphlets on special subjects are published frequently. As if suffering from an over-plus of energy, this Section has even taken to publishing a fortnightly anti-Fascist Bulletin, and it has already collected and sent £10 for the relief of the German F.S.U., rather scorning the "low quota of £15" which it was allotted as its task to raise.

From **Australia** we get a similar picture of energy and enthusiasm. Former workers' delegates have been active propagandists, and recently, when one of them (a civil servant) was victimised, a campaign of such volume and influence was waged on her behalf that the government was compelled to reinstate her. Branches in various parts of the country are writing to the National Headquarters complaining that the tasks which have been set them (in the way of recruits, sales of the journal, etc.) are far too small. The monthly paper, "**Soviets To-day**," has a sale of 12,000 copies a month, and thousands of copies of several useful booklets have been published and disposed of during the past half-year alone.

In **South Africa** our friends have not yet established for themselves such a useful asset as the publication of a journal.

But the Section has maintained its activity, and as one result a November workers' delegation is at the moment travelling across the wide stretch of waters between South Africa and the U.S.S.R. in order to return and strengthen the work of the movement with its reports.

The **Canadian Section** has passed through a thin time during the past year, but now has begun a new lease of life, signalled in the publication of the first issue of a Canadian "**Soviet Russia To-day**," which promises to be a splendid means of spreading the truth about the Soviet Union in a Dominion the leading statesmen of which are notoriously anti-Soviet.

There is but one thing, however, which, since it is characteristic of all four Dominion Sections, we can regard as important enough to mention here. And that is that each one of these Sections suffers from a tendency to forget on far too many an occasion the super-Party character of the F.S.U. and its work. Now this we can well understand. In countries like these British Dominions where the workers' and radical movements are weak, and there is such geographical isolation, it is so easy for our friends to think of themselves as not merely guardians of the truth about the S.U. and organisers of its defence, but also as the custodians of socialism. The Australian Section publishes a book on Leninist political theory. The New Zealand F.S.U., in their enthusiasm, run an anti-fascist movement as a bye-product of F.S.U. activities, as well as taking charge of May Day demonstrations, etc. In South Africa the F.S.U. gives lectures on "The Making of Bolsheviks." And in many similar ways tasks are undertaken by our friends which are not really concerns of the F.S.U. at all. And thus our super-Party character is forfeited, the F.S.U. is mistakenly regarded as a Communist or socialist organisation, and the efforts to mobilise and unite every **genuine sympathetic element** in defence of the Soviet Union are gratuitously militated against.

This sectarianism is also found in the **British Section**, where the general movement is far less infantile, and even where also the F.S.U. has a political leadership that is often an example to all other national Sections of the F.S.U. Instances of the same failing have been seen recently in the British Section in (1) a mistaken conception of the F.S.U. as an organiser of merely those who have seen and accepted the Soviet way out of the world crisis, and (2) in local organisations taking it upon themselves to play a leading part in the struggle against the Nazi Reichstag frame-up.

It is when we consider what precisely are the tasks of the F.S.U. that we are able to see how many things that are done are a straying away from the proper work of the F.S.U. In all these instances cited this is the mistake that is made, and by F.S.U. members who are carried away by their Communist or socialist predilections.

What are the tasks to which F.S.U. members should strictly confine themselves? They are the popularisation of the socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the combating of all the slanders of the enemies of the Soviet Union, and the organisation for the defence of the Soviet Union of every genuinely sympathetic person; primarily, of course, but by no means exclusively, concentrating upon the working masses. However interested individual members of the F.S.U. may be in Bolshevik political theory, however strongly socialist or Communist workers they may be, however anxious to draw the moral of socialist construction and Soviet power, to see the application of the Bolshevik way out in their own countries, they are really injuring the performance of the specific tasks they have set themselves as F.S.U. members as soon as ever—in their rôle of members of the F.S.U.—they stray beyond their scope.

In what way does it serve the above aims and objects of the F.S.U. when the Scottish District Committee of the F.S.U. takes it upon itself to play a leading rôle in the struggle against the Reichstag frame-up and give publicity to its approach to the German Ambassador on the question? In what way does this help to popularise socialist construction or organise for its defence elements sympathetic to the Soviet Union? In no way at all.

These are typical examples of sectarian failure to appreciate the super-Party character of a genuine united-front F.S.U. movement. Devoted and enthusiastic socialist or Communist workers should realise that only by the F.S.U. sticking to its job can it at the same time become that really broad united-front organisation which it should be and which it so easily can be.

It now remains for the F.S.U. to penetrate into the British colonies. A start must be made in India, where we have thousands of friends of the Soviet Union ready to join an F.S.U. as soon as they get a chance, and where literature on the Soviet Union is distributed and read, despite the reactionary restrictions. Any Indian friends who read this should get into touch with the secretary of the British F.S.U., 33, Ormond Yard, W.C.1.

## In the International

### Fiftieth Birthday of Comrade Manuilsky

One of the Leading Members of the Communist International

Moscow, 4th October, 1933.

The "Pravda" publishes the following congratulations sent to Comrade Manuilsky by a number of his comrades:

To-day, Comrade Manuilsky completes the fiftieth year of an eventful revolutionary life. With fiery energy and enthusiasm, with inexhaustible initiative and Bolshevik determination, he is fighting in the foremost ranks of the world proletariat, in whose world Party, the Communist International, he has occupied responsible leading positions for a decade.

He has brought rich experience from the revolutionary movement of the Russian and the Ukrainian proletariat, from the theory and practice of the Bolsheviks, to the international class struggle.

Soon after he joined the social-democratic movement in 1904 he took an active part in the fight against Tsarist absolutism. In 1905 he was arrested in Petersburg as one of the organisers of a demonstration against the Russo-Japanese war. After his release he continued his work in the Bolshevik organisation, and in 1906 took part in an insurrection in which he displayed undaunted courage and resourcefulness even in the most difficult situations. After his escape from prison he continued his work in Kiev, but was soon compelled to emigrate abroad.

In the fight against world imperialism and for the cause of the world proletariat, Comrade Manuilsky still displays the same courage and self-sacrifice which characterised his Bolshevik activity right from the first days. After hard years of emigration he returned to Russia and took his place in the foremost ranks of the revolution under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party as commissar of the K.assnoye Selo Red Guard, which at the gates of Leningrad defended the first conquests of the October revolution against Kerensky's troops.

During the armed intervention and the campaign of world imperialism against the Soviet Republic, Manuilsky, who was at that time head of the Red Cross Mission in France, was interned. In the years following Manuilsky was to be found in the Ukraine, occupying most difficult posts in the fight against world imperialism and world counter-revolution. In 1920 he became a member of the Revolutionary Committee of the Ukraine. Since 1920 he has been a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the Comintern, as one of its leaders, Comrade Manuilsky takes an active part in its decisions and supplies splendid examples of how these decisions are to be realised in the fight for winning the majority of the workers and for the victory of the proletarian revolution. Those sections of the C.I. whose complicated problems have been solved under his leadership and co-operation, can testify not only to his Bolshevik conception, his keen political intellect and his vigilant eye, but also his grasp of the concrete situation on every sector of the front, his tact in dealing with inner-Party questions and his warm, comradely attitude to those who are exposed to bloody persecution on the part of the counter-revolution.

We wish Comrade Manuilsky many further years of successful struggle in the foremost ranks of the world proletariat.

Signed: Katayama, Stassova, Weinstone, Rust, Kolaroff, Kostanjan, Belevski, Bela Kun, Heckert, Losovsky, Wan Min, Gallo, Piatnitzki, Marty, Knorin, Kuusinen, Okano, Gopner, Dengel, Chemedanov, Angaretis, Hansen, Mitzkievitch, Iskrov, Manner, Maggi, Romero, Grossmann, Chakaya, Postma.

## Organisational Questions

### New Wide-Spread Forms of Strike-Struggle

Amongst the new forms of strike struggle the number of strikes with occupation of the works has recently risen considerably in a number of countries—a form of strike in which the workers do not leave the works for days, sometimes weeks, on end. This new peculiar form of strike has spread quite considerably in Japan, China, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and particularly in Poland in the course of the last year. **Strikes with occupation of the works are to-day becoming an international phenomenon.**

The form of strike with occupation of the works has been spontaneously created by the masses in the course of the struggle—in the period of heightened intensity in the strike movement, as a result of the sharpening of the class struggle, yet under conditions of increasing difficulty in directing the strike struggles in consequence of the growth of unemployment, of terror and fascism.

It is the purpose of the striking workers, and of our organisations, in employing this more acute form of strike, to deprive the capitalists of the opportunity of calling in strike breakers and to force them to enter upon negotiations, and, out of fear for their machines and of material losses in consequence of the occupation of the works by the workers, to give in more quickly; their further purpose is to prevent dismissals and the closing down of works, to influence the broad working-class public, and to call forth a solidarity movement in favour of the strikers.

Strikes with occupation of the works break out chiefly in connection with dismissals of workers, closing down of works or flooding of mines by the employers. Recently, however, strikes of this kind against, in addition, delays in the payment of wages (Widzewo Mills in Lodz, etc.) and wage reductions (railway workers in Jassy, etc.), as well as for increased wages (strike of the Japanese seamen of the Amogassaki Company, etc.) have been increasing. In individual cases, as, for example, in Rumania, economic and political demands have been combined. There have also been isolated cases in which striking workers have occupied the works in order to stop the machines and to draw those still at work into the struggle (Assachi Suredo chemical works in Japan).

In many cases these strikes have stimulated widespread activity amongst the working masses and have resulted in the victory of the workers.

Strikes with occupation of the works assume, according to the concrete conditions and the leadership, forms that are extremely varied and rich in revolutionary content. It is true that in individual cases it has happened that the workers have, in order to influence public opinion, simultaneously declared a hunger strike, and in so doing have not displayed the requisite activity, but have confined themselves to remaining in the factory and refusing to take food. This form of strike, nevertheless, is not typical: as a rule strikes accompanied by occupation of the works, but not by a hunger strike, demand the setting in motion of immense activity, draw into the struggle, too, the relatives of the strikers and the workers in other works, and sometimes even lead to barricade fighting on the part of the strikers and unemployed against the police, who have usually interfered in the strikes and attempted to drive the strikers forcibly out of the works.

In Poland, for example, the strike at the Krusche and Ender textile mill in Pabianice led to a nine hours' fight on the part of the workers, who barricaded themselves in the factory, against the police. The workers, who had taken up their position in the factory, defended themselves with stones, iron rods, hydrochloric acid, directed fire hoses on the police and called forth, as a result of their self-sacrificing struggle, solidarity movements among the workers in other factories (strikes, demonstrations, bloody collisions with the police). Well known, too, are the strikes with the occupation of the works in the "Hortensia" factory in Petrikau, in the Widzewo and Schlessler mills in Lodz, in the State telephone works in Warsaw, where four workers were murdered and numbers of workers wounded in the fight with the troops and the police.

(To be continued)

Published weekly. Single copies (Britain only), 2d. Subscription rates: Great Britain, six shillings half a year; U.S.A., Canada, five dollars a year. Other places abroad, £1 a year. Remittance in sterling by money order, postal order, or sight draft on London.

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