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The XVII. Congress of the C.P. of the Soviet Union

By L. F. Boross

The Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are not only milestones on the path of world development, but at the same time themselves factors opening up new epochs in the historical struggle of two worlds. The revolutionary workers of all countries therefore await with the greatest interest the opening of the Seventeenth Party Congress and its decisions concerning the further path to the building up of socialism, the most important question of the proletarian world revolution.

Three and a half years have passed since the Sixteenth Party Congress opened up the wide-scale offensive of socialism on all fronts in the Soviet Union. The Seventeenth Party Congress will now be able to report decisive victories to the world proletariat on all these fronts. In the period since the last Party Congress the proletariat of the Soviet Union successfully completed the first Five-Year Plan in four years and transformed the Soviet Union from a backward agricultural country into a highly-developed industrial country whose total annual industrial production was in excess of that of the foremost industrial countries of Europe. In the same period fifteen million individual peasant farms were organised into modern collective large-scale farms. This period proved conclusively in practice that the capitalists are not only not indispensable, but that the working class freed from the chains of capitalism is in a position to develop a volume of creative energy far greater than that of capitalism even in its heyday.

This same period freed a people of 160 million souls finally and irrevocably from the scourge of unemployment, from the depress-

ing anxiety for the morrow. It proved to the workers of the world in practice that unemployment is not a necessary and inevitable institution, but merely an adjunct of the capitalist system.

Thus the period between the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Party Congresses was above all a period in which a great practical demonstration of the correctness of the Marxist economic and historical theories was carried out successfully. This period offered the workers of the capitalist countries who are on the verge of starvation from long unemployment, or threatened imminently with this fate, practical lessons as to what the working class can win for itself if it ceases to follow the treacherous and criminal path of the social democracy and rallies to a Party like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, if it rallies to its own Communist Party and follows the Leninist, Stalinist path, the only correct path to the emancipation of the proletariat.

In this period the workers of the Soviet Union delivered a decisive blow to the last capitalist group in the Soviet Union. They not only liquidated the Kulaks as a class in most districts, but they also built up a solid wall against any further counter-revolutionary activities on the part of the defeated remnants of this class, a wall of millions of class-conscious collective farmers already conscious through their own experience that the path opened up to them by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the only path to well-being and culture for the masses of the peasantry. With this proof was offered to the masses of the working peasantry all over the world that their gloomy, miserable and

primitive fate is not inevitable and necessary, but that a carefree future of well-being and progress is open to them if they refuse to listen to the promises and demagogy of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes and parties, but instead form an alliance with the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The past three and a half years were a period of tremendous development of mass initiative in town and country. Not only the eight million Communists and members of the Young Communist League, but scores of millions of workers and collective peasants, both men and women, are exercising practical control over socialist industry and agriculture, over the socialist State. An unexampled proletarian democracy is developing which not only gives the masses the right to control the leadership of the State and the economic system, but also permits them an active part in the construction of socialism, an active part in the work for the defence of the gains achieved, and an active part in the further advance of the whole people. This proletarian democracy means that all the fruits of this unexampled work of construction are enjoyed solely by the working people.

This period proved strikingly that the Soviet democracy is the only real democracy, the only real rule of the masses of the people, the actual rule of the whole of the toiling masses.

In brief, this period was the one in which the economic foundation of socialism was laid, a basis which is so firm that one single new Five-Year Plan can realise the classless society. This period further utterly destroyed, by offering practical proof, the theory of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and of the Second International that the building up of socialism in one country alone was impossible. The building up of socialism in one single country as a bulwark of the world revolution, a possibility pursued by Lenin, was transformed from a possibility into existing reality under the unswerving leadership of Stalin.

By unswervingly following this Leninist, Stalinist policy the Soviet Union has been built up into an invincible fortress of the world proletariat and thereby the relation of forces in the international class struggle have altered tremendously to the advantage of the revolutionary forces. Thanks to the unswerving pursuance of this policy against every opportunist or adventurous deviation within the ranks of the Bolshevik Party the Soviet Union has succeeded, thanks to its own power and thanks to the support of the international proletariat, in carrying out a policy of peace in international relations which has succeeded in preventing again and again the outbreak of a new world imperialist war. The Soviet government has succeeded up to the present in preventing the imperialist powers from solving their antagonisms at the cost of the Soviet Union. The danger of a war of intervention by the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union will exist as long as the capitalist world itself exists, in fact the danger is greater to-day than ever before, but nevertheless the continued extension of the breathing space will be of decisive importance for the outcome of the anti-Soviet war which is being prepared by the imperialist powers. This breathing space has given the proletariat of the Soviet Union time in which to strengthen its economic and defensive forces uninterruptedly. It gave and gives the international proletariat time to mobilise its forces in order that the capitalist attack on the Soviet Union may go down to defeat between the vice of the invincible Red Army and the rebellious working class at home.

The incentive given to the workers of the world by the example of the social achievements in the Soviet Union has led to the conquest of a new tremendous sector of the world by the workers and peasants outside the Soviet Union. At the time of the Sixteenth Party Congress there were isolated Soviet districts in China, but to-day, at the time of the Seventeenth Party Congress, there is a huge area under Soviet control, and although this area is not linked up everywhere territorially, it is uniformly governed and administered by the Chinese Soviet Republic over an area larger than that of any single European State. In this area the social and economic demands of the working class and peasant masses are being energetically carried into action. Nothing demonstrates the depth of the general crisis of capitalism better than the fact that the Soviet power is extending even beyond that sixth part of the earth's surface in which it originated to other parts of the world.

Whilst the forces of the world revolution are strengthening greatly the decline of the capitalist world is continuing. The general crisis of capitalism has developed to such an extent that even certain improvements in the economic situation, chiefly

brought about by the insane armament race, are unable to exercise any favourable effect on the situation of capitalism, but rather aggravate it owing to the fact that they intensify the destructive contradictions of capitalism and accelerate the approaching solution of the imperialist tension in war.

The decisions of the Seventeenth Party Congress will open up the path to a further great increase in the strength of the international proletarian forces and will give the international proletariat new possibilities and new forces in its struggle for the victory of the Soviet idea.

All the questions with which the Congress will deal will range around the chief question, the second Five-Year Plan. After the great victory over the capitalist forces on all the fronts of the class struggle, the Party Congress will now mobilise the forces of the masses for a final drive to destroy utterly the last remnants of the capitalist resistance in the Soviet Union, and also for "the final and complete destruction of all the causes which produce class differentiation and class exploitation, for the destruction of the last remnants of capitalism in the economic system of the Soviet Union and in the consciousness of the masses of the people and to transform the whole of the working people into conscious and active fighters for the establishment of the classless socialist society."

After having abolished unemployment for the working class and having abolished the cut-throat competition between the working peasants, a typical characteristic of the individualist methods of agricultural production, the Seventeenth Party Congress will now mobilise the masses for the uninterrupted increase of the standards of living which even to-day are better for the main sections of the proletariat and for the collectivist peasants than they are for the great majority of the toilers outside of the Union, but which are no more than a starting point for further progress for the working class of the Soviet Union within the framework of the second Five-Year Plan which will lead the masses on to material and cultural well-being.

The Seventeenth Party Congress will also deal with concrete organisational questions concerning the carrying out of this great programme. It will put forward new and concrete tasks for the leadership of the masses by the Communist Party in the approaching victorious struggles. It is formulating the tremendous tasks to be performed in such a fashion that they become crystal clear to every proletarian from the moment of their formulation.

The Party Congress is preparing the whole apparatus of the Communist Party, the apparatus of the Soviet State and the apparatus of the economic institutions for the best possible realisation of the historical tasks which have to be performed. It is strengthening still more the leading role of the Party and the hegemony of the proletariat. At the same time it is strengthening and simplifying the exercise of the proletarian dictatorship. It is abolishing all interfering mediation between the leadership and the masses. In this way the Party Congress will tremendously strengthen the basis of the dominance of the masses. It is transforming the factories still more thoroughly into the decisive centres of the whole economic and social life of the Soviet Union. It is developing that structure of the State and social creative activity in such a fashion that every worker and collectivist peasant who fulfils his social obligations can see concretely better than ever before his own dominance over State and economic system. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union can declare with greater consciousness of victory than ever before: "l'Etat, c'est moi!"

A Swiss bourgeois newspaper is idiotic enough to describe the second Five-Year Plan as "the liquidation of Bolshevism" on the ground that it will bring "well-being and culture to the masses thus contradicting all Bolshevik principles." This mental confusion is a result of the anxiety of the international bourgeoisie at the international consequences of the second Bolshevik Five-Year Plan. The workers in the capitalist countries were in a position to reckon on a piece of paper when the standard of living of the old Czarist coolies would be exceeded, and when the standard of the workers in the highly-developed capitalist countries would be reached and exceeded, but now the second Five-Year Plan will increase the well-being and culture of the working masses in the Soviet Union both qualitatively and quantitatively far beyond all previous standards.

Capitalism seeks to find a way out of the crisis in various artificial measures, by producing less bread, less coal, less clothing, less

boots and shoes, less cotton, etc. The increase of the profit of the exploiters at the expense of increased misery and impoverishment for the working masses, that is capitalism. The reduction of the numbers of those pupils enjoying higher education, as has just been carried out in fascist Germany, that is capitalism. The murder, torture and imprisonment of the best fighters of the working masses who are working for more bread, more clothing, more culture and more freedom, and for the establishment of the rule of the toilers, that is capitalism. The main support of this social order against the proletarian revolution is the international social democracy.

More bread, more clothing, better houses, more meat, more boots and shoes, more books, more newspapers, more high schools for the children of the working class and peasantry, more theatres, more cinemas, more clubs, more sport, an increasing standard of well-being, an increasing standard of culture, more joy in life and more power to the working class and the peasantry, that is Bolshevism. Who is foolish enough to believe that now that this has been proved in practice in a country which extends over two continents, that the working masses of the rest of the world will be content to remain for ever in exploitation, oppression, misery and insecurity? What workers, what working peasants will be so foolish as to permit the imperialist war-mongers, and particularly the fascist murderers of Germany and the imperialists of Japan, to drive them into a war of destruction against their own future? What workers and peasants will refuse to use the weapons placed in their hands in war to fight instead for the same rule of the working masses, the same well-being and culture for themselves that the working masses of the Soviet Union have won? This is the formulation of the organisational and constructive tasks facing the Seventeenth Party Congress translated into the language and feelings of the workers in the capitalist countries. For ten years now the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union has been working and fighting without its leader Lenin. The international bourgeoisie hoped gleefully that the death of the great leader and creator of world Bolshevism would mean the collapse of the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union and with it the collapse of the international Communist movement. The Seventeenth Party Congress will draw up a balance of these ten years. This balance will not show the decline of the Bolshevik Party. On the contrary, it will show an uninterrupted chain of victories for the Leninist idea; it will show the uninterrupted rise of the work begun by Lenin into dizzy heights under the masterly leadership of Lenin's best disciple—Stalin. The Bolshevik Party was never so united, never less liable to vacillations, never more confident in the correctness of the Leninist policy than it is to-day. The masses of the workers never rallied to its banner more enthusiastically and with greater devotion than they are to-day under the Leninist leadership with Stalin at the head. The working peasantry never had more confidence in the Soviet power and in its leader Stalin than it has to-day. The proletarian dictatorship was never more solid, never more powerful, never so feared by its enemies all over the world and never so loved by its friends than it is to-day. In its decisions the Seventeenth Party Congress will express the wishes of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union and of the whole class-conscious international proletariat, of the masses of the peasantry all over the world who are longing for freedom and a decent life, of the millions of colonial slaves who are fighting for their emancipation from the world of capitalism and imperialism. All the workers of the world who are conscious of their own interests hail the Seventeenth Party Congress and the glorious Bolshevik Party as the heroic shock brigade of the world proletarian revolution.

Dutch Trade Agreement With the Soviet Union

Amsterdam, January 20.

An agreement on economic relations has been concluded between representatives of Dutch industrialists and shipowners and the Soviet Union, ensuring special advantages to Dutch ships calling at Soviet Russian ports.

Russia's purchases in Holland are increasing steadily. In 1933 these purchases amounted in value to 14.6 million florins, of which 5 millions were for metals. Russia buys a great deal of zinc in Holland in particular. During the first half of January of this year alone, Soviet Russia bought zinc to the value of 350,000 florins in Holland.

Politics

The Results of the Meeting of the League of Nations Council

The League of Nations Connives at the Bloody Nazi Terror in Danzig and the Fascisation Policy of the League of Nations Commission in the Saar District

The recent meeting of the League Council had to deal with matters which are purely League of Nations affairs, namely, Danzig and the Saar district. Danzig and the Saar are under the immediate control of the League. In both districts bloody Hitler fascism is endeavouring to extend its power. The Second International has for months been imploring the League of Nations to render aid. Up to recently it was by no means certain that the League of Nations would deal with these questions at all. Finally, they were placed on the agenda, and the League Council dealt with them. What attitude has it adopted to these questions? Let us hear a certainly unprejudiced judgment of the treatment of the Danzig question by the League of Nations, namely, the special report from Geneva published in the Brussels "People," the well-known organ of Vandervelde. After enumerating various cases of Nazi terror in Danzig, the paper writes:—

"What did the League of Nations Council do in order to put an end to this intolerable situation? Did it, as many hoped, give its new High Commissioner in Danzig full powers and the necessary means in order to compel the Nazi government to pay due respect to the constitutional liberties guaranteed by the League of Nations? Sir John Simon, the rapporteur on the question, read a report, consisting of rose water, in a juridical and, as far as possible, veiled language. He supported the right of the citizens of Danzig to petition the League and the duty of the Senate to respect the Constitution. That is all. Not the slightest measure against the acts of violence committed in the past and at present, not the slightest guarantee of the liberty of the citizens, not a word to encourage the population of Danzig who, in accordance with the statutes of the League of Nations, are fighting for the principles of democracy, not the slightest promise to protect the victims of the fascist terror. The president of the Danzig Senate, a certain Rauschnig (a national socialist—Ed.) was therefore able to accept Sir John Simon's report without any reservation. After this report it is clear that it is impossible to prevent either Rauschnig or the police or the Brown Bands from continuing to terrorise their political opponents as hitherto. . . . With regard to Paul Boncour, he confined himself to a laconic and unmeaning remark, which disappointed everybody. The Pole who occupied the chair said nothing at all, and concluded the incident with a smiling and happy countenance."

We have quoted at considerable length this gloomy report of an official organ, so to speak, of the League of Nations. We must remark, however, that it fails to mention the most important thing, namely, an additional statement by Sir John Simon, in which he particularly emphasised that his report was careful not to express any opinion whether there was any possible violation of the law in this particular instance. They had to realise that though the Council of the League had a very grave responsibility towards the Free City of Danzig, which it could not surrender, it necessarily could not take up every question which might arise and assume the function of a court of law in regard to it. ("Times," 19/1/1934.)

The attitude of the League of Nations means that the population of Danzig is completely delivered over to the bloody Nazi terror, a terror which will be even more bloody than hitherto, for up to now there were some sort of executive organs attached to the Danzig authorities, which have exercised a certain amount of restraint, as the League of Nations, to whom they are in the last resort responsible, could intervene. But Rauschnig, the bloody Nazi dictator, now returns as victor with the blessing of the liberal Sir John Simon and the democrat Paul Boncour! Vandervelde's paper is also compelled to report that "the Danzig socialists and democrats have been taught a cruel lesson." That is certainly the case. But what conclusions are they to draw from this? Let us see what the "People" writes further: "If they want the League of Nations really to protect their liberties, then

they must first themselves commence a life and death struggle for their liberties!" This means, therefore, that the League of Nations is good, and only the nations are bad; if the latter improve, then the League of Nations, in which "Western democracy," English and French imperialism, dominate, will come to the aid of the fighters for liberty. In the meantime it is aiding the bloodiest suppressors of liberty!

The League of Nations is good, and on the following and subsequent days the same "People" and the whole of the social fascist press lauded it to the skies, namely, in connection with the League of Nations' attitude to the Saar question. The League of Nations unanimously renewed the powers of the existing Governing Commission, against which the Saar agents of Hitler lodged complaints. Strange to say, the matter was all so cut and dried that it was the representative of Mussolini, of all people, who moved that the present Governing Commission be re-appointed. This is now hailed as a tremendous victory over fascism.

"This furnishes the guarantee that the Nazi terror in the Saar will be held in check somewhat, and that the worst excrescences of the Third Reich will be removed from time to time."

Thus writes the "Saarbrucker Volksstimme" (People's Voice), the social-democratic paper in Saarbruck, which most loudly hailed the "victory" in the Saar question. We see that the gentlemen are very modest. They are quite happy when the Nazi terror in the Saar is "held in check somewhat" and the "worst excrescences are removed from time to time." In addition to the reappointment of the Governing Commission, a committee of three was set up which shall make proposals at the May meeting of the Council regarding the carrying out of the plebiscite next year. The chairman of the commission is Mussolini's representative.

At bottom, the decision in the Saar question corresponds to the decision in the Danzig question. Everything remains as it was. But because, in the Saar question, important interests of French imperialism are at stake, Paul Boncour delivered a long speech in which he advocated guaranteeing free expression of opinion, i.e., against the open handing over of the Saar district to Hitler. This is to take place, if at all, only on the basis of bargaining. The Saar question and the Danzig question, particularly the latter, are relatively only subordinate questions in the disputes among the imperialists. That does not mean to say that they could not become the starting point of a world conflagration. The imperialists inside and outside the League of Nations do not care a brass farthing about the interests of the people of the districts in question. The situation is such at the moment that the imperialist Powers do not wish, with the Danzig and Saar question to render still more acute the serious antagonisms existing between them. And thus it came that the present meeting of the League Council, although this time it had to deal with questions lying solely within the competence of the League of Nations, lasted for less than half a week.

Stavisky, or the Rottenness of the Regime

By J. Berlioz

The scandal which was caused at the beginning of the year by the discovery of the colossal swindling, perpetrated by a certain Stavisky, has since assumed enormous proportions. Under the pretext of "countering a political manoeuvre" and "restoring the affair to its true perspective," the authorities tried to hush up the whole affair. However, public indignation was so intense that the attempt to hush up the matter failed. The authorities were compelled to admit that the public was extremely energetic in demanding that the affair should be thoroughly investigated and cleared up, owing to the fact that big losses in connection with former scandals had made it suspicious of any attempt at whitewashing. The authorities were also compelled to admit that public opinion was very nervous, that there was "a rising movement," etc. In other words, that the general radicalisation of the working masses was making itself felt in this connection also.

The following were the most important events of the past week or so:—

(1) The death of Stavisky in a villa in Chamonix on the evening of January 8. No one believed the official report according to which Stavisky had committed suicide. In various circles it was

declared quite openly that the swindler had been put out of the way by the police at the instructions of the government in order that he should make no damaging revelations concerning his accomplices and protectors in high places. It would seem to be proved that after having organised Stavisky's flight abroad—eight days before the issue of the warrant for Stavisky's arrest the Police Prefecture in Paris issued a passport to him—the police after all preferred to close his mouth for ever.

(2) The resignation of Minister Dalimier immediately after (the same evening, in fact) the Cabinet had solemnly declared its full confidence in him and expressed the considered opinion that his good faith was "indisputable." The sacrifice of one of the highly-placed persons who had directly supported Stavisky's swindling by recommending insurance companies and the social insurance institutions to purchase the securities put on the market by Stavisky, was intended to be a sort of safety valve for public indignation and to draw attention away from the attitude of other ministers, above all the Budget Minister Bonnet who was undoubtedly aware of Stavisky's plans to organise a still greater fraud with Hungarian securities. However, this symbolic gesture satisfied no one; on the contrary, it was generally taken as an admission that highly-placed persons had in fact exercised benevolent forbearance towards the swindler.

(3) The passing of a vote of confidence in the *Chautemps* government in the Chamber of Deputies on January 12 with 379 against 196 votes. Chautemps had promised to take "the most energetic measures" to clear up the affair. The two socialist fractions therefore gave in effect their support to the government. The debate developed into an unimportant haggle between the right-wing and left-wing groups in which each side did its best to prove that it was less compromised in the affair than the other. However, the whole debate took place in an atmosphere of joint guilt.

In the end the bourgeoisie did its best to present the scandal as comparatively unimportant and to calm down public opinion. It hoped that the masses would be satisfied with the arrest of a number of the less important accomplices of Stavisky, such as the mayor and deputy for Bayonne, Garat, and his brother-in-law Bonnaure, a Paris deputy whose election campaign in 1932 was directly supported by Chautemps, and with the arrest of such journalists as *Dubarry* and *Camille Aymard*, and with various disciplinary measures against subordinate officials whose "negligence" in the conduct of the administrative inquiry begun against Stavisky had come to light.

All the bourgeois parties manifested the same anxiety to restore the credit of the régime. The burden of their arguments was that the scandal had nothing to do with the officials of the capitalist régime, and that at the utmost the affair had been made possible by inadequate organisation and by the inefficient working of the administrative apparatus, and by personal errors of omission and commission.

In this respect the two socialist fractions particularly distinguished themselves. Their speakers and their newspapers praised the honesty and the energy of the government to the skies and pleaded desperately with the government to take such measures as would be calculated to restore the confidence of the masses of the people in the institutions of the republic. Jouhaux did not hesitate to write in his newspaper: "It would be a dirty business to exploit the affair for political ends." Frossard indulged in a particularly clumsy manoeuvre and hinted that there was treason behind the whole fraudulent business. Stavisky, he declared, was undoubtedly an agent of Hitler. In short, the socialists did all they could to prop up and assist the rotten régime.

The socialists opposed the setting up of a commission of inquiry, not because the commission would, as the Communist deputy *Ramette* pointed out, have had the task of whitewashing the scandal, but because they were afraid that in the course of the investigations revelations would inevitably have been made which would have shown the masses of the people the torrents of filth which are washing away the foundations of bourgeois democracy.

It is a fact that the indignation of the masses of the people cannot be calmed down so easily as was the case at the time of the Oustric scandal. The fascist groups have not hesitated to exploit the whole affair for their own ends. Last Thursday and Friday they even organised demonstrations in which several thousands of people participated in the neighbourhood of the Chamber of Deputies. Thanks to the attitude of the Paris police these

demonstrations created a great deal of public excitement. The Paris Prefect of Police, Chiappe, who is himself involved in the Stavisky scandal up to the ears, did his best to exploit the occasion to present himself as the saviour of the republic. Newspapers and leaflets were distributed calling for the establishment of a dictatorship. The demonstrating petty-bourgeois began to shout, "We want a Mussolini to rid us of all these thieves!"

It must be frankly admitted that our Party, the Communist Party of France, did not immediately realise the full significance of the scandal and failed to place itself immediately at the head of the general dissatisfaction which welled up everywhere. In the Paris district the sale of the official organ of the Communist Party, "l'Humanité," trebled, and for several days the paper sold like hot cakes. A number of Communist meetings which were held in the Bayonne district were unusually successful.

If we utilise the struggle for the immediate demands of the subordinate officials, whose income is to be cut down by 660 million francs, the fact that the insurance institutions have been plundered under the administration of the reformist leaders, the movement of the hungry unemployed workers who are beaten up by the police when they demand bread and work, the numerous attacks on the wages of the working class, the impoverished situation of the poor peasants whose property is being sold up for debt to an increasing extent in order to secure the payment of overdue taxes and other charges, it will be easy for us to win the masses, in view of the general spirit of revolt produced by the discovery of the Stavisky scandal, for the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government, a government which is alone able to abolish capitalism and all its rottenness, to get rid of the unscrupulous profit-hunters and their socialist aiders and abettors.

In view of the fact that the bourgeoisie is preparing, despite the scandal, to adopt new repressive laws it is more than ever necessary that our Party should not content itself with the role of an interested spectator. Bills are being brought into the Chamber ostensibly to secure a reorganisation of the State administration, a greater centralisation and an extension of the activities of the State police and ostensibly to cut the ground from under the feet of the enemies of the government, but in reality to gag the revolutionary press. The "socialist" Vincent Auriol even dared to congratulate the government on introducing these bills. Thus the Stavisky scandal is to be hushed up with the assistance of the socialists in order that the same corruption shall proceed unhindered along fascist lines.

The powerful working-class demonstration which took place last Sunday in the 20th Paris arrondissement which prevented a provocative demonstration of fascists must be the beginning of a wide-scale action on the part of the Communist Party. Fighting took place with the police who were attempting to defend the fascists from the wrath of the workers and lasted several hours. Again and again during the course of the demonstration shouts were heard of, "Down with the thieves and their régime!" "Long live the Soviets!" The Communist Party must redouble its energies in order to direct the mass movement of the workers against the employers, against the government and against the capitalist system.

Japanese Advance in Chachar and Hopei

Shanghai, January 22.

The Japanese troops continue their advance in the East of the Province of Chachar and in the North of the Province of Hopei. Tanks and aeroplanes take part in the operations of the Japanese troops. The Japanese commander-in-chief demands from the provincial government of Chachar the immediate demilitarisation, as also the cancelment of the prohibition against the distribution of the proclamations of the "Manchu government" in the frontier districts. The Japanese commander threatens with the "necessary steps by the Japanese troops" if the Chinese authorities do not fulfil the demands of the Japanese. The conduct of the Japanese imperialists in North China differs very little from their actions in Manchuria.

The Japanese authorities are building a military aerodrome North-West of Peiping, and over thirty military aeroplanes are already stationed here. The "manœuvres" of the Japanese garrison at Peiping are stated by the Japanese authorities to test the powers of resistance to cold of the Japanese soldiers. The Japanese commander calls upon the Chinese authorities to prevent any "misunderstandings" between the Japanese soldiery and the Chinese population.

The Assassination of Duca and its Consequences

By Z. Gregor

The fight of the Nazis for Austria has so engrossed the attention of Europe that for a long time little or no notice was taken of events in Rumania, which is also a storm centre. The assassination of Duca in Sinaia served to remind the European public that here at the mouth of the Danube, immediately on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, a bitter struggle is proceeding between German and French imperialism.

German imperialism, for whom Rumania could serve as an eastern outpost for the purpose of invading the Soviet Ukraine, has exerted all its forces in order to capture this country. Its agents are making use in a demagogic manner, of the economic crisis, which is further aggravated here by the proverbial corruption of the ruling class, in order to win support among the masses. They cast the whole blame for the misery and suffering on to the Jews, and form terrorist bands in order to fight against the workers.

These groups and parties which rely for support on German fascism and imperialism include: in the first place, of course, the German Nazis in Transylvania and Bukovina; the Rumanian national socialists, under the leadership of Colonel Tatarescu (a brother of the present Prime Minister); Guza's anti-Semitic league; Goga's national agrarian party; and, finally, the best and most efficient organisation, the "Iron Guard" of Codreanu. This "Iron Guard" were close comrades in arms of the S.A. of the national socialist party of Germany, who distinguished themselves so gallantly in the anti-Jewish programme carried out jointly in Bukovina in 1933. The liberal dissidents of Georg Bratianu and the People's Party of Averescu also show a certain sympathy for national socialist Germany. To these is to be added the Court Camarilla, which stands in the relation of patron to nearly all these groups.

This pro-German fascism has developed along with the fascistisation of Rumania through all governments since the Maniu government. It has also very successfully taken advantage of and intensified the antagonisms prevailing in the camp of the Rumanian bourgeoisie as a result of the profound economic crisis, for instance, the antagonism between finance-capital and industry, between finance-capital and the big agrarians. Thus Hitlerism gained in influence. And the more positions it was able to capture and the more it was able to penetrate the high and highest circles, the more it increased in strength as a rising, uncheckable movement. When leading elements among the national Zaranists began to flirt with pro-German national socialism, when it gained decisive influence in the court of King Carol, where fear of the coming people's revolution is exceedingly great, there remained within the bourgeoisie as its strongest rival only the old guard of the Liberals, these typical representatives of Rumanian and French finance-capital.

For French imperialism it could not, of course, remain a matter of indifference if the agents of Hitler and Rosenberg captured South-East Europe for a national socialist All-German Reich and thereby at the same time destroyed the keystone of the Little Entente.

Thus Duca, the leader of the Liberals, took the place of the government of the National Zaranists when the fear of the complete collapse of the State finances and the social repercussions which such an event would have, paralysed the opponents of the Liberals. The former Prime Minister, Vajda, had called forth the anger of the French finance-capital not only by his vacillating attitude towards the national socialists but also by his attempt to reduce the interest on foreign loans. It is true, the full interest on the foreign loans demands a sum of seven milliards annually, i.e., more than a quarter of the normal annual income of the State. This is a sum which cannot be raised, which is bound in any event to lead to State bankruptcy, whether open or concealed. In this situation the only possibility was a government of the Liberals which, it is true, will increase the foreign financial control over Rumania, but, with the support of French finance-capital, can avoid open collapse.

In order to strengthen their regime the Liberals carried out fresh elections, previously, however, on the direct instructions of Paris, dissolving the "Iron Guard."

But antagonisms such as are revealed in the fight between national socialism and the Francophile government fascism in

Rumania cannot be got rid of by police measures. The "Iron Guard," rendered illegal, strengthened its character as a terrorist organisation. More than ever it stimulated the activity of its followers by the promise that it would soon capture power. And its first public act after being prohibited was the murder of Duca.

That camp of fascism which directed the hand of the murderer, immediately endeavoured to seize the initiative through the court. It is significant that the chief of the "Cuventul," Nal Joneşcu, who is suspected of complicity in the murder, was already in Sinaia and was arrested just before he was to have had an audience of the king. King Carol, however, immediately made Angelescu Prime Minister without consulting the Liberals. When this appointment proved impossible in face of the resistance of the Liberals and the angry protest of Titulescu, the king, before the election of the new chief of the Liberal Party, appointed the former Minister for Trade, Tatarescu, Prime Minister. Tatarescu is the leader of the so-called "Young Generation" among the Liberals, the representatives of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. Carol hoped that by appointing him Prime Minister he would ensure his election as head of the Liberal Party. However, the choice of the Liberals fell on Dinu Bratianu, the former Finance Minister, an outspoken leader of bank capital.

The crisis, however, was not thereby ended, for Titulescu, the conductor of Rumanian foreign policy, the confidant of Anglo-French finance-capital, the agent of Deterding, a pillar of the Little Entente, made his remaining in charge of Rumania's foreign affairs subject to certain conditions, all of which aimed at weakening German influence in the State apparatus. One of these conditions the king was obliged to accept: The head of the Siguranza, General Stangaci, was given "leave of absence." The supreme commander of the gendarmerie, General Dumitrescu, likewise disappeared. What is even more important however, is that his son, Puju Dumitrescu, the head of the court camarilla and private secretary to the king, was also sent away on holiday from which he will never return.

Titulescu expressed himself satisfied with these measures and took the oath as Foreign Minister. The press thereupon declared that the foreign policy of Rumania would be "firmly continued." that it would know no "alterations or retreat."

Contrary to the expectations expressed in the German and Hungarian government press that the shots fired at Duca would promote the idea of revision of the peace treaties or that they would even be the prelude to a rising and seizure of power by the "Iron Guard," this chapter of Rumanian politics concludes with a strengthening of the power of French imperialism and its representative in Rumania.

The antagonisms which led to the assassination have only increased in intensity as a result of this development.

Pro-German fascism has not lost anything of its influence among the petty bourgeoisie and the middle and big peasants. On the other hand the shaky position of the Liberal government compels it rapidly to increase its dictatorship. State of siege, press censorship, preparation for the general militarisation of the youth are among the measures to this end. All this of course is taking place under the slogan: "Against the pro-German extremists of the Right," and meets with the warmest support of the social democracy. In actual fact, this strengthening of the State apparatus only serves to increase the repressive measures against the revolutionary masses of workers and peasants. The growth of the revolutionary movement is clearly shown in the demonstrations which took place on November 7 and in the miners' strikes in Transylvania and Bessarabia.

Here is the main front on which the fascists of all shades are fighting together with the "democratic" parties.

Just as the struggling economic crisis causes all sections of the Rumanian bourgeoisie to seek a way out in an increased exploitation of the Rumanian toilers, so the common fear of the growing indignation (called forth by the indescribable misery) of the masses, led by the Communist Party, leads them to attempt to overcome their differences by increasing the fight against the Rumanian proletariat. The measures against the "extremists of the Right" must not serve to conceal the fact that new and serious attacks by fascism are pending against the working masses.

The Swedish "Labour Government's" Budget

By A. J. Sm (Stockholm)

The social democratic Prime Minister, Per Albin Hansson, has submitted the budget for the year 1934 to the second chamber of Parliament. He declared that in drawing up the budget he had taken into account the "recovery of capitalist society from the economic crisis" and that "a further improvement in economic life was expected." However, in contradiction to this optimistic appraisal of the situation, he was obliged to admit that the number of registered unemployed was somewhat greater in 1933 than in the previous year. Mr. Hansson further stated that the Labour Government had expended only seventy per cent. of the money granted by Parliament for public works for the purpose of providing work for the unemployed, a circumstance which was due to the prolonged dispute in the building trade.

The Prime Minister thereby admitted that the social democratic government had penalised several hundred workers by depriving them of unemployment benefit in order to turn them against the "stubborn" building workers, who have been on strike since April last. If the building workers would only be reasonable and allow their wages to be reduced 20 to 25 per cent. without resistance, then the Labour Government would be able to employ a larger number of unemployed workers on relief work schemes.

Although, even according to the official statistics, the number of unemployed has increased in the past year, the government intend spending only 154 million crowns on general works as compared with 160 million crowns last year. They are demanding only 17 millions for "combating unemployment" as against 35 millions last year.

The military budget of the "Labour Government" has been increased to 111 million crowns compared with 102 million last year. Further, from the sum to be expended on public works, 10 millions are to be devoted to naval construction, so that the social democratic government have increased the actual expenditure on armaments for the waging of imperialist wars by nearly 20 millions, or about 20 per cent., and this in a year of growing economic crisis and increasing misery. This policy of increasing armaments is being pursued by the same social democracy which, so long as it was in opposition to the Liberal Government, in its press and propaganda, posed as being very anti-militarist and opposed to war and in favour of peace.

Whilst the government sought to justify their support of wage reductions for the workers with the argument that during a time of economic crisis everybody must make sacrifices in the "interest of the whole community," they have increased the king's civil list and are demanding considerable increases in the stipends of the clergy in the State church, as well as 45,000 crowns for religious activity among Swedish subjects residing abroad. The budget of the Foreign Ministry is also being increased by one million. The Foreign Minister, Sandler, has proposed that 1,200,000 crowns be granted in support of the Swedish capitalists who were expropriated by the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution in 1917. The Minister said that these expropriated capitalists thereby transfer their claims on the Soviet Union to the Swedish State. It is probably in order to support these very shadowy "claims" that the military budget is being increased 20 per cent.

The expenditure on the police has been considerably increased. On the other hand, expenditure on the social services has been greatly curtailed. The budget of the Transport Ministry has been reduced by 1,200,000 crowns; two million less are demanded for civil servants' pensions; fourteen homes for seamen are being closed, although two-thirds of the seamen have been unemployed for years and, as they are not regarded as being "permanently resident" in the ports where they stay, they do not receive any unemployment relief. The "Labour Government" of the Second International, whose sections always claim to be the upholders of West European culture against the Soviet Union, want to save no less than six millions on the budget for cultural and educational purposes.

The budget of the Ministry of Justice is likewise increased by 1,200,000 crowns, which means that the organs of class justice and the prisons are to be extended in order to be better able to fulfil their task in the fight against the rebelling workers. It is not without significance that the Minister for Justice declared that the preparations for exceptional laws against any activity hostile to the State are to be continued throughout the whole year.

Germany

Letters from Germany

I. The New "National Labour Code" in Germany

The text of the new "National Labour Code" has now been published. According to the fascist press the new law was "welcomed with enthusiasm by the workers" when it was announced a few days ago, although at that time the general public did not know its contents. The new law is to come into operation "symbolically" on the 1st May. The choice of the 1st May indicates the intention of the fascist authorities. They plan to make a great "socialist gesture" and to demonstrate before the eyes of the workers the final arrival of the "people's commonwealth." However, if this were the aim it is a pity that two such notorious representatives of the most reactionary capitalist circles in Germany like the Reich's Economic Minister, Schmitt, and the booze manufacturer, Seldte, should have been the fathers of the new measure. The third in the trio was Dr. Ley. His role was merely to provide a flourish to the affair and to persuade the workers that "their representative" had something to do with the business. Needless to say, Ley was no hindrance to his colleagues.

The spirit of the new law is demonstrated, quite apart from its contents, by the fact that with its proclamation all the previous factory council, tariff agreement and arbitration laws automatically cease to be valid. The provisions of the new law fall into three main departments: concerning "the labour trustees and the factory council," concerning "the labour trustees," and concerning "social jurisdiction."

The law opens with the provision that the economic relations of power must be recognised unconditionally and thus abandons even the attempt at any "socialist" decoration. The law declares:—

"In the factory the employer, as the leader of the factory, and the workers and clerical employees as his followers, work jointly to further the aims of the factory in the joint interests of the people and of the State. The decision of the leader of the factory is binding on his followers in all factory matters."

That is the fundamental provision of the new law. At the demand of the employers it has been made so clear and unambiguous that no possibility of any other interpretation can arise. The remaining provisions of this first section represent no more than the consolidation of this main principle, or at the best an attempt to mask it in unimportant details. For instance, there is the so-called factory council, put in as a concession to the workers who would be made suspicious by the complete abolition of the old factory councils which were composed of the elected shop stewards of the workers. However, this new factory council will be far more an adjunct of the employers than even many of the old councils were. It is expressly provided that: "in March of every year the leader of the factory, i.e., the employer, shall, in agreement with the leader of the national socialist factory organisation, draw up a list of the members of the council and their substitutes." Members of this council must be over 25 years of age and members of the "German Labour Front." This list is then submitted for form's sake to the workers, but should they reject it then there is no election of a council according to the wishes of the workers, but the "labour trustees," who are the subordinates of Schmitt and Seldte, then appoint the members of the council at their own discretion. Obviously with this double security the employer is going to have no trouble with his "factory council." And in any case, the third section of the law provides still a further guarantee. Even so, this "factory council" cannot meet when it likes, but is called together at need by the leader of the factory, i.e., the employer. In addition, the members of these councils can be deposed at a moment's notice by the "labour trustees." The law does contain a provision that an appeal to the "executors of labour" against a decision of the leader of the factory may be made at the instance of a majority of the members of the council, but the

law immediately shows how much this provision is worth by the immediately following one that "the lodging of such an appeal cannot in any way affect the validity and binding character of the decision of the leader of the factory."

The decisions in the law concerning wages are of the utmost importance and they represent the second cardinal principle of the new law. In the future there are to be no tariff agreements regulating wages for whole trades and branches of industry. The rate of wages is to be laid down separately in each individual factory. It is clear that the overwhelming power accorded to the employers by the new law will be the decisive factor in determining the new level of wages. According to the new law the employer is not even obliged to state the rate of wages paid in the factory regulations, which must hang up in the factory. The existing wage tariffs of the German workers end on the 30th April, and in view of the provisions of the new law it can be readily imagined what will happen to the general level of wages after that. The new law lays down in practice the workings of the Goebbel's thesis of the "social revolution" of the 30th January, 1933.

In the future fines will play a big role in the German factories. The fascist regime introduced into the German factories demands implicit obedience from the workers and it will find innumerable opportunities of cutting down wages by imposing fines. In addition, this system has the advantage of being very elastic in its application. With the new provisions for fines the "Third Reich" adopts a favourite method of Czarist Russia.

There is no doubt that leading national socialist circles are well aware of the effect that the provisions of the new law will have on the factory workers, and the third section of the law is an attempt to sweeten a little the bitter pill represented by the first two sections. This latter section, under the title of "social jurisdiction," provides for the setting up of "Courts of Honour" in each of the districts of the "labour trustees." However, a very superficial examination of the provisions of this third section suffices to reveal the real intentions of the lawmakers. The "Court of Honour" consists of a judge as president, of an employer and of a "representative of the workers." The task of these courts is expressly one-sided, it is to judge "members of the factory staff" who have been guilty of disturbing the peace of the factory by maliciously inciting the "followers," to retain the new fascist phrase for the workers, and in particular to deal with members of the "factory councils" who have deliberately interfered impermissibly with the work of the factory or who have persistently disturbed the spirit of co-operation in the factory.

Thus, any oppositional movement amongst the factory workers and, above all, any attempt on the part of the members of the "factory councils" to defend seriously the interests of the workers is made subject to special punishment.

Further, these "Courts of Honour" are also to deal with workers who have "continually and frivolously made unfounded allegations or demands to the 'labour trustees.'" But naturally, it would not be "social jurisdiction" if the activity of the courts applied only to the workers, and therefore there is a provision that employers may also be haled before these courts in cases where they have "offended the honour of their followers." This provision may have some meaning so far as it is intended to give special protection to the national socialist factory organisations, but as a protection for the workers themselves it is absurd. The punishments which can be imposed by these courts are: formal rebukes, dismissals, and fines not exceeding 10,000 marks (500 pounds at par) in each individual case.

A number of other provisions contained in the new law are worthy of mention. The employer no longer needs to obtain any outside permission from the courts in order to dismiss workers. Dismissals ordered "on the basis of law or factory requirements" can no longer be appealed against in the courts, and this provision lays down once again the absolute and unambiguous power of the employer established by the fascists in their "Third Reich."

II. Warning against the Monarchist Reaction

For some days past there has been proceeding a new campaign of the Nazi leaders, a campaign against the monarchist intrigues. In his speech, delivered in the Berlin Lustgarten, Goebbels used sharp language against the reactionaries, whom he compared with mice who must be enticed out of their holes in order to be able to strike at them. Almost at the same time the State Councillor and national socialist leader of the Reich Union of officials delivered a speech in the Schoenberg Town Hall in Berlin, in which he inveighed against reaction, which, in the Freemasons' lodges and officials' clubs, is offering "passive resistance to hated national socialism." At the Berlin Sports Palace demonstration a member of the audience ventured to interject: "Hitler has done a great deal, but he should bring our Kaiser Wilhelm back again!" The State Councillor Goerlitzer characterised the "impressive celebration of the Kaiser's birthday" and the collections for the purpose of making a present to the Kaiser as an "act of sabotage against the German people," and expressly forbade letters to Germany from Doorn, which are intended to prepare the ground for the return of the monarchy. The speaker added: "We will treat people who make such attempts just the same as others who thought they could carry on propaganda for Moscow."

On the following day, Darré, the Minister for Agriculture, published in the "Nationalsozialistische Landpost" an article on the Reich Peasant Day, in which he spoke of treachery having been committed twice against the German peasants: once under the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and the second time under the last Hohenzollern emperor, who was responsible for the destruction of the national basis of our country and had "sought prosperity by means of a liberal economic policy outside the German frontiers in an imaginary world economy." At the same time Darré declared that the swastika flag is the only recognised peasants' flag, which is tantamount to a prohibition of the black-white-red Hohenzollern flag.

One could give countless other quotations and measures, as, for instance, the dissolution of the Royalist League in the Rhineland, in order to show that here a definite campaign is being conducted. No prominent Reich Minister took part in the official celebration of the foundation of the Reich on January 18; no newspaper will contain any reference on January 27 to the Kaiser's 70th birthday, and January 31 will be demonstratively celebrated as the birthday of the Third Reich.

Herr von Papen has already replied to this new campaign with a speech in Kottbus, in which he urged the Stahlhelm to cherish the monarchist traditions of the past, and intimated pretty plainly his readiness to be incorporated, but demanded confidence from the other side. In addition, Hindenburg has been taken ill, a fact which further arouses all the hopes of the 100 per cent. Nazis of a complete fulfilment of their exclusive claims to power. If he dies, the road will be clear for a reform of the Reich and many other things.

What is behind all this? Is this whole anti-monarchist campaign only intended as a means of diverting attention from the burning social questions, a cheap demagogic manoeuvre which shall satisfy for a while the "revolutionary" instincts of the impatient Nazi followers, or is it something more than that? Does this dispute signalise new intensified struggles among the various cliques against the background of the increasingly difficult economic situation? We learn from usually well-informed sources that the circles associated with Schleicher have been displaying considerably increased activity of late. And what will Goering do if Hindenburg dies? The town is full of rumours. One thing is certain: the new year prospects are anything but rosy. Mistrust, unbelief, hostility and intrigues among the rulers, growing revolutionary courage and inextinguishable hatred among the oppressed, who know that no clique struggles among the rulers, but only their own revolutionary class struggle can alter the situation. That is the picture presented by present-day Germany.

Hitler Places his Police and Weapons at the Disposal of the Dutch Nazis

By Alfred

In the last few months the inner-political development of Holland has tended in the same direction as in all other capitalist countries, namely, in the direction of increasing fascism.

The national socialist movement led by Mussert, with the aid of generous subsidies, especially from the big shipowning capitalists, has got the better of its rivals. Taking advantage of the panic mood of the Dutch middle class, which is being drawn more and more into the crisis, consciously imitating the deceitful methods of the German national socialists, making capital out of the desperation resulting from long years of unemployment, and taking advantage of the pressure exerted by shipowners on the workers, the Mussert fascists have already succeeded in obtaining a certain mass influence.

The Colijn government is working towards the same end from another side. Colijn commenced with the abolition of the self-administration of the municipalities and is making speeches against the "pernicious influence of Marxism." Nationalist propaganda is made at every possible opportunity. The achievements of the colonial airmen, the creation of a national film production, the order forbidding the social-democratic Workers' Radio League to conclude their programme with the playing of the "International," the dismissal of even social democrats from the government munition factories and naval dockyards, are milestones on the road to fascism.

The inner political situation has increased considerably in acuteness since the end of last year. Colijn has placed the organisation of the Mussert fascists on the list of those organisations which the civil servants are not allowed to join. Of course, this action has not been prompted by any anti-fascist principle, but is rather only the expression of the antagonism of interest within the Dutch bourgeoisie, which is divided into a pro-German and a pro-French camp. The Colijn government, which feels itself to be more the representative of the French tendency, wishes to check the German imperialist influence which is gaining the upper hand, and, before all things, for foreign-political reasons, to keep the civil servants away from this influence. Mussert, however, is the representative of the German orientation, and every day reveals himself more plainly as the paid agent of Hitler fascism in Holland. Among others who are known to be supplying him with funds are the following: The Rotterdam big capitalist and dock owner, von Buningen; the big Philipp works, which is connected with the German electric lamp and electricity industry; and the Gillissen Bank in Amsterdam, which is controlled by German capital.

Mussert has replied to the order forbidding civil servants to join his organisation, with an official announcement of terror against the labour movement. That is the usual result in the competitive struggle of the various fascist tendencies. Mussert, who regards himself in every respect as the agent and imitator of Hitler, has fetched his instructions direct from Germany. Slavishly imitating Goering's methods, for him also a fire—the fire which broke out in the Amsterdam Telephone Exchange in the night of December 22—was a "God-given signal." The fire had scarcely broken out when Mussert went post-haste to Germany in order to obtain instructions from the German Nazi incendiaries. On his return to Holland he immediately commenced his propaganda campaign. He praised Hitler as the saviour of Europe. In his attaché case he had the draft of the leaflets drawn up by Goering for the fight against Bolshevism. One of these leaflets reads as follows:—

"The 'Indeapoera' (a ship lying in Amsterdam harbour —Ed.) is burning, the Telephone Exchange is burning, what will be on fire to-morrow? Dutchmen, the Communist criminals who have been driven out of Germany are in your capital town of Amsterdam. Not a single decent country in the world will give shelter to these criminals. But in our country they are well looked after. It was their plan to call forth riots and plundering in Amsterdam on December 23, 1933. By way of preparation, on Friday afternoon they set fire to the Telephone Exchange. It was intended by this means to occupy the attention of the police and the fire brigade. Comprehensive measures, however, were adopted, and therefore the action prepared for December 23 was called off.

"Dutchmen! Remember Russia, Spain and Cuba! Here, too, they are engaged in producing weapons and bombs. Protect your fatherland, yourselves and your offspring! Join the N.S.B.

"Leader: I. M. MUSSERT."

Simultaneously with the distribution of this mendacious and scurrilous leaflet, Mussert publicly announced that his followers would proceed on their own account against the Communist criminals. That this is no idle threat is proved by the fact that in Enschede, situated on the Dutch frontier, it has been found that smuggling of German weapons into Holland is being carried on on a large scale. The weapons are handed over by German Nazis to the Mussert fascists living in Enschede, who distribute them over the whole of Holland. Is there need of more palpable proof of Mussert's role as agent of Hitler? One could quote further examples showing the spiritual affinity between Mussert and Hitler. Whilst indignation at the murder of Van der Lubbe is general in the whole of Holland, Mussert comes forward and expresses his approval of the murder: "I am thankful to Hitler that he did not make Holland ridiculous by complying with the request that Van der Lubbe's life should be spared," he said. Hitler must, of course, make adequate return for so many good services. We do not know anything about the amount of direct financial subsidies. It is known, however, that one of the anti-Jewish agitation pamphlets of the Dutch fascists was printed in Berlan. And in the official organ of the Mussert bands one could read the following notice:—

"Bremen.—Through the benevolent co-operation of the police, we now possess the addresses of the Dutchmen living here."

Hitler and the German imperialists, however, are demanding still further services of Mussert. He must help to create the desired war fever. And thus "De Aanval," the Flemish brother-organ of the Mussert fascists, writes:—

"Should war break out, it is in the interest of the Walloons that France wins again. It is in the interest of the Flemings that Germany emerges victor, in order that French preponderance shall be finally broken. We wish this for Flanders and for Holland."

The Communist Party of Holland is replying to the announcement of fascist terror with a great campaign of enlightenment. It has moved the immediate convocation of the Dutch parliament and is summoning the Dutch workers to an active, united, anti-fascist mass struggle.

Fight for the Release of the Four!

The past week has brought a number of very alarming events and reports concerning the fate of the four "acquitted" Communists. At first it was possible to think that the Hitler government was holding back the four innocent men, and in particular the three Bulgarians, with a view to taking a petty revenge by delaying their release for some weeks, and that it refused to fix the date of their release and departure over the frontier in order to intensify the chicanery. However, the official statements of this government during the past few days have made it impossible to maintain this view any longer. There is no longer any doubt that something much more serious is behind the retention of the four men, that serious and threatening danger is imminent. It is no longer possible to believe that the Hitler government is merely deliberately creating anxiety and a feeling of insecurity up to the last minute in order to revenge itself on the heroic four. On the contrary, it is the intention of the fascist authorities to retain not only Torgler, but also the three Bulgarians, in the prisons of fascism for an indefinite period and to bring them to "trial" again and, if, after the unexampled fiasco of fascist "justice" in the Leipzig trial, they are unable to obtain a "legal" death sentence, then to find an opportunity later on behind prison walls to murder the four heroic Communists. The murderers who have been to hand to perform their foul work since the beginning of the trial now want to gain time. They hope that the interest and attention of world public opinion in the fate of the accused will diminish. In that case the moment would have arrived to put Goering's brutal threats into action. In the weeks which have followed the conclusion of the Leipzig trial Goering's insensate hatred and rage have not calmed down. On the contrary, his insatiable craving for revenge has increased in intensity. The destruction of his accusers, and in particular the assassination of

Dimitrov, has become an *idée fixe* with Goering. Only if one keeps this fact constantly before one's eyes can one understand the real significance of the official declarations which have been made this week by a high official of the German Ministry of the Interior, Dr. Erbe, to the grey-haired old mother of Dimitrov:—

"Your son has been taken into preventive arrest. We have thousands of people in custody without any court judgment having been obtained against them. In view of the speeches which your son made before the court we are justified in retaining him in custody. Think of what he said about the Prussian Prime Minister, General Goering, alone."

These official words must rouse the public opinion of the world once again to a passionate struggle for the release of the four innocent men. The seriousness of this declaration is underlined by the fact that newspapers of world reputation like "The Times," "The Manchester Guardian," and the "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant" have published leading articles dealing with it and condemning sharply the intentions of the fascist authorities made obvious in it. "The Times" writes:—

"In a dramatic incident at the trial General Goering made a violent attack on Dimitrov, declaring that the latter had set fire to the Reichstag and that he should be sent to the gallows. General Goering added: 'You wait till I get you out of the power of this court, you Communist crook!' General Goering is Prime Minister of Prussia and one of the rulers of Germany. Under the present circumstances it is impossible not to call to mind a scene which every friend of Germany would only too gladly forget."

"The Manchester Guardian" writes:—

"The German government should realise that the danger which threatens it from a released Dimitrov is as nothing in comparison with the damage which Germany would suffer by keeping Dimitrov in prison at the mercy of his enemies." The "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant" draws attention to a minor but very significant incident and writes:—

"With a sort of coup d'état Goering has seized control of the Berlin State Theatre. The great sphere of his own activities is not sufficient for him. Now he must needs interfere on a field which undoubtedly belongs to the province of another. We can only regard that as a neurotic phenomenon such as characterised certain Roman and other emperors. As German Propaganda Minister Goebbels must realise the serious consequences which such actions must have and the conclusions which students of history and mental derangements must draw concerning one of the highest officials and leaders of the German Reich."

When a newspaper of the reputation of the "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant," which is always extremely cautious in its attitude towards Germany owing to the foreign political interests of the Dutch government, writes in such a strain there must be some good and very definite reason for it. The reason in plain words is that during the past few weeks Goering's mental state has worsened so rapidly that he is on the verge of raving lunacy, so that those in his immediate entourage go in fear and horror of him. Already there have been cautious indications in the German press about his condition, though naturally these indications can be understood only by those already in the know, for instance, in the "Ring," the organ of von Papen and the Herren Klub. And Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev are at the mercy of a man like this!

One should not lull oneself into a false sense of security with the idea that the "more reasonable" members of the fascist government will prevent Goering from carrying out his open threats of murder. For them, as for Goering, Dimitrov is an eloquent accuser as long as he lives, and particularly if he regains his freedom outside of Germany. The idea that Dimitrov will speak in public meetings, that his speeches will be broadcast by the radio, that he will write in the press, that his utterances will be unfettered, that the gag placed upon him at the Leipzig trial will be removed and that he will be able to expose the real incendiaries and the monstrous provocation of February 27, angers not only Goering, but the whole fascist leading elite beyond all bounds. They have got rid of their tool, Van der Lubbe, by killing him, and they would get rid of the four Communists in the same fashion if the opportunity offered itself.

Dimitrov is well aware of the terrible situation in which he

finds himself. During a short visit he was permitted to receive from his mother he succeeded in saying to her:—

"When I was in court I was face to face with my enemies and could fight against them in full view. To-day I am helpless. I don't know how to fight the unseen enemy who is threatening me. All I know is that for these dark powers no international law has any validity."

In addition, Dimitrov is seriously ill. Even the prison authorities have admitted that he is suffering from an acute bronchial catarrh. In fact, the pulmonary trouble which evidenced itself even during the trial has worsened considerably.

Dimitrov's life is doubly threatened. Should sickness not make an end of the life of this heroic and invincible fighter for Communism, Goering is prepared to undertake the task. And with Dimitrov the lives of his three companions are also threatened. Van der Lubbe is dead, and German fascism would now like to make a clean sweep and forget the Reichstag fire.

The Bulgarian interpreter and the legal adviser of Dimitrov's mother who helped her in Germany have already been expelled from the country. The stage is being cleared for Goering's coup. Goering must be stopped! Counter the plans of this fascist murderer! Save Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev! Fight for the release of the four! Only the international solidarity of the fighting proletariat can save them!

The World Economic Crisis

The Prague Conference of the Economic Council of the Little Entente

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The conference of the Economic Council of the Little Entente, after opening under somewhat unfavourable auspices, has ended after a week's negotiations with no fewer than sixteen resolutions. These resolutions contain the directives on the agreements with regard to the reciprocal economic relations, with regard to collaboration between the economic institutions of the states of the Little Entente, the co-operation in the transport service (railways, shipping, air traffic), the organisation of a postal, telegraph, and telephone union, and collaboration towards standardisation and the fixing of norms.

Although the official governmental press designates the results of the Prague conference as successful, and Benes' concluding speech expressed the hope that the agreements would improve the economic relations of the Little Entente to the extent of 50 per cent. in the current year, in reality all this is a music of the future, and extremely illusory.

The greatest difficulties in realising Benes' programme in the economic sphere lies before all in the fact that in Czechoslovakia agriculture has grown in extent, whilst in Yugoslavia and Rumania industrialisation has been promoted and has made progress. This situation in the countries of the Little Entente has led to a decline instead of a revival of mutual exports in the Little Entente States. Thus, for instance, Austria and Germany had a bigger share in the exports from Czechoslovakia than the countries "allied" with Czechoslovakia.

The Conference was preceded by secret discussion in Czechoslovakia of a collegium of ten politicians and economic functionaries, representing the agrarian and industrial interests, which however did not lead to any agreement; this fact was not without effect upon the economic Conference of the countries of the Little Entente. The Czech agrarians insist upon the principle of their agricultural autarchy policy, under no circumstances will they permit the importation of agricultural products from the "allied" countries. By this means they render impossible any change in the present trade policy of Czechoslovakia, which constitutes the greatest hindrance to the development of economic relations between the countries of the Little Entente. The only concession which the Czech agrarians were willing to grant was that they wished to promote the purchase of agricultural products in Yugoslavia and Rumania with the assistance of Czech funds, provided that these products are not imported into Czechoslovakia but placed on other markets, before all France, England and Belgium. This plan, however, has little possibility of being realised.

The mutual assurances of the representatives of the Little Entente regarding their political unity have not had any effect on their economic relations. Here there are revealed the antagonisms

between the agrarian and industrial sections within the individual countries, as well as the economic contradictions between the various countries themselves.

Between 1929 and 1931 the exports of Czechoslovakia to Yugoslavia dropped from 813 million crowns to 165 millions, to Rumania from 621 to 188 millions. The exports from Yugoslavia to Czechoslovakia fell off in the same time from 265 to 136 millions and from Rumania to Czechoslovakia from 379 to 193 millions. A survey of livestock imports for 1933 shows that whilst these imports have diminished all round, they have diminished most from the countries allied with Czechoslovakia. In 1933 the total number of pigs imported was 110,000 head, about 20 per cent. less than the year before. Yugoslavia participates with 14 per cent. in this decline, Rumania 35 per cent. On the other hand, the import of pigs from the "hostile" Hungary has increased by 50 per cent. This is the "reciprocal economic policy" of the States of the Little Entente!

It is therefore not surprising that in purely economic matters the conference of the Economic Council of the Little Entente has achieved very little, although the official communiqués try to give a very rosy picture. The strength of the Little Entente lies in another sphere: in the sphere of imperialist policy, of preparation for a new war. The Prague Conference also dealt with questions immediately connected with these preparations, although they are masked as "economic matters." Thus the Economic Council of the Little Entente dealt with the reciprocal regulation of railway service, air-service, river transport, etc., that is to say, with measures of a strategic character. There is no doubt that in these questions the representatives of the Little Entente have come to complete agreement. The Little Entente is, and remains, an outspoken war bloc.

The Labour Movement

The Strike Wave Rising in Poland

By J. Rada (Warsaw)

"The abortive protest strike!" was what the headlines of the Polish fascist press announced after January 10. In the press reports we are informed that "only" the industrial districts of Lodz, Bialystok, and Kielce (i.e., the largest textile centres and the Dombrova coal field) participated in the strike. In a further report it is admitted that in addition "only" Warsaw, it is true "only" a number of engineering works, headed by the Lilpop factory, the largest in Warsaw, went on strike. And then the press gives the name of further industrial centres (for instance Czenstochau) and further factories, among them being the aeroplane factory "Avia" in Warsaw and the aeroplane factory in Biala-Podlaska, which likewise joined in the strike.

The fascist press reports from the main centre of the strike movement, the town and district of Lodz, state that the strike is considered to be a failure because, allegedly, "only" 70 per cent. of the workers participated in it, and that in addition to Lodz "only" Zgierz, Pabjanice and Alexandrow, i.e., the most important industrial towns in the district, participated in the strike.

The miserable attempts to falsify the reports only prove that the powerful extension of the strike movement against the fascist anti-labour legislation has caused embarrassment to the hirelings of the press. The social-fascists, who are compelled to give more detailed reports of the movement, are making the greatest efforts to conceal the leading role played in this movement by the Communist Party of Poland and the trade union "Left" wing.

The united front action, launched and led by the Communists, against the fascist decrees and laws providing for longer working hours, the cutting down of social insurance benefits, reduction of salaries for the lower officials, compulsory arbitration, i.e., prohibition of strikes, has caused a ferment among the working masses which are still under the influence of the social democrats, finding expression in the success of the fighting day of December 20, 1933. The social-democratic bureaucrats, whose policy had paved the way for the fascist decrees, in March, 1933, rejected the united front offer of the Communist Party, which called for a one-day protest strike against the anti-labour legislation of fascism. When the "Left" opposition at the Fifth Trade Union Congress in November last demanded that such a protest strike be carried out, their motion was simply not submitted to the Congress. But the call for joint action with the Communists was

then even heard at the meetings of the trade union executive organs.

In Lodz, a delegate meeting of the Textile Workers' Union was held on December 6, adopted the motion of the trade union "Left" wing to convene an extraordinary conference in order to discuss the question of calling a protest strike. At this conference, which the trade union bureaucrats had to convene and which took place on December 16, only 37 out of 500 members voted for the motion of the trade union leaders to postpone the protest strike.

The big success of December 20 in Warsaw, Lodz, and Bielitz revealed to the P.P.S. leaders the danger of their isolation from the masses. The C.P. of Poland, however, utilised this success in order to develop the fight for the immediate abolition of the anti-labour laws and decrees and to popularise the slogan of the one-day general strike.

In the Dombrova Basin, where on December 20, owing to inadequate organisational preparation, only the "Stren" chemical works went on strike, in the first days of January the miners in five pits downed tools under the leadership of the trade union "Left" wing. In Lodz a delegate meeting, held on January 3, decided on a protest strike of 24 hours for the whole industrial district to take place on January 10. The bureaucrats were compelled to agree to this proposal. But they endeavoured to impose their leadership upon the masses in order to divert the movement into "peaceful" channels.

The working class of the Lodz district, however, upset their calculations. The strike committees which had already been operating before December 20, and which elected a provisional central committee, extended their activity and proceeded to the organisational preparation for January 10. In their appeals and at meetings the Communists explained to the workers that the fight against the violation of the collective agreements, against the lengthening of the working week, against the cuts in social insurance benefit, against the arbitration awards, means a fight against the fascist Pilsudski government, and this fight requires the setting up of the proletarian united front.

The workers in the other industrial districts, in which the news of the approaching Lodz strike penetrated, organised a strike according to the Lodz example for January 10. Everywhere in Warsaw and Bialystok, in the Dombrova coal field, and in Czenstochau, the Communist Party and the trade union "Left" wing stood at the head of these movements.

In the industrial district of Lodz 120,000 workers took part in the strike. The strike was general. It was only by having every scab tram-driver guarded by two heavily armed policemen that it was possible to maintain a tramway service. Even the clerks in the newly incorporated municipal offices went on strike for an hour. How powerful the strike movements in the town and neighbourhood of Lodz was is shown by the fact that the Pabjanica paper works, in which there has been no strike since 1905, this time participated splendidly in the strike.

The "law and order" which the fascists and the trade union bureaucrats hoped to maintain was disturbed by numerous street demonstrations.

The government fully realises the seriousness of the situation. General Kubicka, the Minister for Labour, wants to deceive the workers by means of a press declaration in which he maintains that the new laws will not violate the old collective agreements, that it is merely a question of legislation regulating the relations between the employers and the workers.

The workers, under the leadership of the C.P. of Poland, will not be diverted from the path of struggle against the fascist laws. December 20, 1933, and January 10, 1934, constitute a powerful prelude to a general protest strike throughout the whole of Poland.

Paul and Gertrud Ruegg Taken from Hospital Back to Prison Shanghai, January 22.

According to a notice from Nanking, Paul and Gertrud Ruegg have been discharged from hospital and taken back to the prison, "in consideration of their improved state of health."

Against Colonial Oppression

The Situation in the Belgian Congo

Statement by the League Against Imperialism

Owing to the world crisis and the difficult economic situation in the Belgian Congo, a strong insurrectionary movement has been developing during the past few months, especially among the Bwaka Ngombe and Banza tribes, and the Libenge district.

According to the "African World" of December 23, a revolt has now broken out in the Nono tribe. The trouble began in the village of Duna, and it is attributed to the influence of witch doctors. In reality the revolt had nothing to do with sorcery, but is due to the discontent caused by high taxation, by wide-scale unemployment, and also by the system of paying for the wood which the Congolese bring in by a system of check-vouchers instead of cash.

Troops were called out by the Belgian authorities, firearms were used and three Congolese were killed; while one African soldier was wounded.

The Belgian oppression in the Congo equals the rigorous rule of British imperialism in Nigeria and India, and of French imperialism in Madagascar and Indo-China.

The following report of Belgian cruelty and administration of justice has just reached the League Against Imperialism:—

A few days ago the captain of a vessel belonging to a European company, the National Union of River Transport (Unatra), struck an African fireman working under his orders with a log of fuel wood. The fireman fainted from loss of blood and was taken to the native hospital. On the second day lock-jaw set in and the Negro died in atrocious suffering.

The white staff of the Unatra has the wretched reputation of being "Nigger-drivers," worthy of the reign of Leopold II. On board their boats the captain and the owners of their barges are absolute masters and hold the Negroes at their mercy.

The inhabitants of the native village, and especially the black workers of the Unatra, will remember the murder of the native worker n'Gito, by a white boat owner. The circumstances of the crime must be told in order to show up clearly the state of mind of the white colonists.

After having taken on board a cargo of wood at the station of Poto Poto, near Dima, the stern wheeler tug "Wangata" continued her journey. Barge O9 was one of the string of boats which the "Wangata" was towing. A discussion regarding the ill-treatment which the captain inflicted on his men took place between the Negro steersman, n'Gito, and the barge master. The white slave-driver knocked the black worker down with a blow from a stick and stunned him with a heavy earthenware dish. He then had him handcuffed and thrown overboard. The other workers, horrified by such a spectacle, did not dare to intervene, and the unfortunate n'Gito disappeared into the water. After which the master went off tranquilly to enjoy the charms of his native housekeeper and was picked up in the morning dead drunk. Two days later the corpse of the poor Negro, which had escaped being devoured by the crocodiles, was found in some bushes on the edge of the river, with the handcuffs still on and the horrible wound caused by the earthenware jar visible.

The native village of Leopoldville, roused by such cruelty and cynicism, demonstrated in solemn indignation at the public port where the "Wangata" was to touch. However, under this menace, her captain deemed it more prudent to land at the dockyard of the Unatra.

The white barge master, after a brief interrogatory, was allowed his liberty, and a short time afterwards the Unatra, desiring to get rid of an embarrassing person, sent him home to Belgium. In the Correctional Court of Antwerp he was condemned for having killed a native worker in the most cowardly manner, to one month's imprisonment, which was subsequently remitted. Such a scandalous verdict shows clearly how the whites in the Congo understand their so-called civilising role.

The Congo is a vast territory, the area being estimated at 918,000 square miles. It is especially rich in minerals. Copper is the chief export, and the Congo expects to become one of the world's greatest producers of tin. There are great diamond deposits, which are worked profitably, and this year nearly ten tons of gold will be exported from the Congo.

The high profits which are derived from the exploitation of the Congo are due to the exceedingly low cost of production, especially wages. The workers of Belgium are directly the victims of Belgian imperialism in the Congo. In Belgium to-day nearly one-third of the working-class population is suffering from unemployment; the Means Test is being increasingly applied, with a view to reducing the payment of unemployment benefit. While slavery exists in the Congo there will be no possibility for the Belgian workers to free themselves from exploitation.

So little is the meaning of imperialism understood in Belgium that the funds of the Belgian Labour organisations are actually invested in business undertakings in the Congo. This investment by the workers of their own funds in the capitalist and imperialist enterprises of their own ruling class has its parallel in Britain, where some of the funds of the British railway unions are invested in British railway stock.

But the exploitation of the Congolese is not the work of Belgian imperialists alone. The vast riches of the Congo basin have long attracted the envy of international financiers (particularly British) as well. In the time of Leopold II. the first Governor-General of the Congo to be appointed was the brutal English imperialist, H. M. Stanley, and to-day British imperialists have enormously extended the profits which they derive from exploitation of the Congolese, as is exemplified in the 49 per cent. share of the British Company, Tanganyika Concessions, in the Union Miniere. It is the Union Miniere which practically monopolises the vast wealth of the Katanga region in copper, coal, radium, etc. Again, the huge British super-trust, Unilever and its subsidiaries, practically monopolise the vegetable-oil industry of the Congo, as they do of other parts of West Africa.

The position of the Congolese in Belgium is particularly hard. In the first place, none of them is ever permitted to return to the Congo. Many of these Congolese have been brought to Belgium as the personal servants of Belgians, who discharge them as soon as they land in Belgium. These Congolese are completely unorganised, unless it be that they are enrolled as members of a charitable organisation under clerical direction. They eke out a precarious existence as hawkers or pedlars.

It is necessary to establish unity of organisation between the Congolese and Belgian workers with a view to securing full liberty of movement for all workers, full rights of organisation, and self-determination for the Congo, with right of complete separation from Belgium.

It is not in the Congo alone that the Africans are treated inhumanly by white imperialists. The British are as callously cruel to the Negroes as the Belgians and the Americans.

The International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism believes the time is now opportune for establishing a National Section of the League in Belgium, which would enable the Belgian workers to take up the fight on behalf of the Congolese, in solidarity with other fighters against imperialism throughout the world.

The Situation in Cyprus

Cyprus, an agrarian country with impoverished agricultural resources, is passing through an acute economic crisis, the terrible consequences of which are weighing heavily on the shoulders of the peasants and the working masses generally. Peasants are being driven every day into the financial abyss by the execution of a tremendously increasing number of distraints on movable and immovable properties, issued by the court for the recovery of debts and interest due by them to usurers, merchants and other exploiters. The result of this situation is that, on the one hand, peasants are expropriated of all their property, which passes into the hands of their creditors, and, on the other hand, a handful of exploiters are being developed into a class of feudal parasites, willing to hire ruined peasants to work on their farms for starvation wages.

In this desperate situation a large number of peasants with their families are compelled to leave the country and go to the towns in search of work. In the towns one often comes across the heart-breaking spectacle of peasants going about with their poorly-dressed wives and bare-footed children following them, to inquire for work from building contractors.

The bourgeois papers (the Communist organ has long been banned) every day publish news characteristic of the utter ruin of the rural masses. Every day one hears of suicides from financial causes, fainting of children in schools from hunger, ejection of families from their homes, bankruptcies, and so on.

In Cyprus there are no labour laws at all. Labour is entirely at the mercy of capital, and the workers live under the worst economic and social conditions. There is no unemployment benefit, no compensation in case of accidents nor any relief at all. The government, which consists of high-salaried officials, does nothing to relieve this unprecedented misery of the labouring classes, their sole care being how to suck wealth out of the country. (It is a fact that the salary of each British official in Cyprus is equal to the income of sixty working men.)

The employed workmen are in no better position than the unemployed. They receive starvation wages of 1s., 1s. 6d., 2s. a day for 14-15 hours' work, under the worst social conditions mentioned above.

Several attempts have been made by the workers to obtain official registration and recognition of their unions, but the government has always opposed such attempts, alleging that the unions include Communist members. The workmen, nevertheless, have now formed secret unions which carry on their activities underground. In Cyprus, liberty of speech, of press and of combination are unknown.

The workers' indignation and resentment culminated in the strike last summer, in which 1,000 persons took part to demonstrate against the cruel exploitation to which they are subjected. The workers succeeded in getting certain promises from the employers which, however, were afterwards broken.

There is one party that alone struggles with all possible means against tyranny, exploitation and bourgeois rule, the **Communist Party**.

The masses have realised this and constantly show their sympathy for the Communist Party, which is steadily increasing its membership. This has caused the government to enact more rigorous laws against Communism, in addition to the Defence Orders which have been in force since October, 1931. One of these Acts contains the following provision: "Any person found in possession of any books, newspapers, documents, cards or emblems which imply membership of an unlawful association, such person shall be deemed to be a member of an unlawful association and shall be guilty of a 'felony'."

The definition of what constitutes a seditious publication covers everything except religious and reactionary publications.

Among the most recent victims of the government's repressive measures are twelve of our comrades who have been arrested on the vague charge of conspiring for the overthrow of the existing regime. The accused have been committed for trial before the Assize Court, which will be held in February or March next, and in the meantime are being held in custody.

In spite of all these drastic measures however the Communist Party of Cyprus is daily increasing in strength and working more actively for the overthrow of imperialist rule.

The Fifteenth Party Conference of the Communist Party of White Russia

The Fifteenth Party Conference of the Communist Party of White Russia has been opened in Minsk. The secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of White Russia, in his opening speech, pointed out that the Fifteenth Anniversary of the founding of the C.P. and of the founding of the Soviet Republic of White Russia coincides with the Party Conference. "The Leninist nationalities policy, carried out by the Party and the Central Committee, with Comrade Stalin taking the lead, has enabled great achievements to be gained by the toilers of White Russia. White Russia has been transformed from an enslaved and backward country into an industrial agrarian country, where illiteracy has been completely abolished. Innumerable tractors and machines are working in the fields of White Russia; the White Russian towns have become centres of industry, science, and culture. We are fully justified in claiming that Soviet White Russia is an impregnable fortress of the outposts of Sovietism in the West of the Soviet Union." Comrade Gikalo, the secretary, concluded his speech with these words, amidst enthusiastic applause.

The Party Conference elected an honorary presidium, composed of members of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., of Thaelmann, Dimitrov, and Lensky (Communist Party of Poland). The proposal to elect Stalin to the honorary presidium, and as its chairman, was received with prolonged applause. The Party Conference was greeted by numerous delegations of workers and collective peasants of White Russia. The toilers of Minsk welcomed the Conference by an impressive demonstration.

Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

From the XI. to the XVII. Party Congress

By B. Volin

The Eleventh Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., held at the end of March and beginning of April, 1922, holds a special position in the history of the C.P.S.U. and the Communist International, in the history of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union and of the whole international proletariat. This was the last Party Congress attended by Lenin, at which he was chairman, and at which he spoke. After this Party Congress Lenin delivered a long report on "Five years of Russian revolution and the perspectives of the world revolution" at the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International. Shortly after this he made his last speech in the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet, closing with the historical words: "N.E.P. Russia will become socialist Russia."

At the time of the Eleventh Party Congress the first period of the N.E.P., the period of retreat, was concluded. On the basis provided by the N.E.P., the Party was going over to the socialist offensive. The Eleventh Party Congress regarded the N.E.P. as a part of the policy of the proletarian state, enabling the struggle between the capitalist and socialist elements to be fought to a finish, and securing the victory of socialism, thanks to the fact that the key positions were in the hands of the proletarian state. As Comrade Stalin pointed out later at the Fourteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., this policy was bound to lead to the laying of the foundations of socialist economy, and to further successes in the building up of the classless state of socialist society.

To-day, when the Party is summing up the results of ten years of victorious offensive, by which it has led the country to socialism—without Lenin, but under the Leninist flag, under the militant leadership of Comrade Stalin, the best disciple and the fellow fighter of Lenin, who is to-day steering the mighty proletarian ship with a firm hand and at full speed towards socialism—to-day it is of paramount importance to realise the importance for the Party and the Soviet country of the last Party Congress held under Lenin's leadership, the Congress leading to the militant socialist offensive.

The year the events of which were summed up at the Eleventh Party Congress was a special year. In his brief introductory speech, Lenin described the events of the year, and pointed out that "the misfortunes to which we have been exposed this year have been almost worse than last." "It is almost," said Lenin, "as if all the results of the imperialist war, and of the war which the capitalists have forced upon us, have united to join with famine and utter confusion against us. These misfortunes are by no means overcome to-day, and nobody among us calculates that they can be overcome rapidly."

This was Lenin's judgment of the situation in which the Eleventh Party Congress met.

But in spite of all the difficulties and dangers which alarmed the Party and the country in the spring of 1922, this was a period of historical changes with relation to foreign countries, and of striking alterations in the country of the Soviets itself. Lenin's tactical genius, given expression in the decisions of the Tenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. on the New Economic Policy, began to bear its first fruits, despite all contradictions and unprecedented difficulties.

This was the first year, as Lenin pointed out when opening the Eleventh Party Congress, "in which the interventions and invasions of the capitalist states no longer molest us at least in their most direct form." This was the first year in which "we had the possibility of devoting ourselves to the real and most important fundamental tasks of socialist construction." Lenin added: "And in this respect we have indubitably taken the first steps."

What was the international situation of the Soviet country at that time?

Soviet Russia had just left behind it the war and the direct consequences of the intervention. The last remnants of the White bandit movement were being cleared away. The Japanese interventionists had left the seaboard, and Soviet Russia had at last shaken off the military forces of the imperialists, so that the proletarian state was relieved of the strain which this combat had placed on its forces. The Soviet Government received an invitation

to the international economic conference in Genoa, convened by the Supreme Council of the League of Nations. Although the capitalist states and their press designated as the aim of the Genoa conference the economic restoration of post-war Central and Eastern Europe, the actual object was to settle the relations between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union.

Lenin commenced his report at the Eleventh Party Congress by pointing out that "the most urgent political question of to-day is Genoa." He stressed especially that in spite of all the high-blown phrases and lying of the world press on the tasks of Genoa, it was perfectly clear that both parties wanted to trade ("We need trade and they need trade. We want to carry on trade to our advantage, but they want it to be to their advantage"). "We are going to Genoa as merchants"—said Lenin—"with the practical aim of extending our trade and creating the prerequisites for the most comprehensive and successful development possible."

After thus expressly emphasising that we were "going to Genoa as merchants," Lenin pointed out that the capitalists would not be able to impose their conditions on Soviet Russia in the sphere of economy as if they were dealing with a conquered country, and that the Soviet country was on the upgrade at a time when the capitalist world was on the decline.

The importance of the Genoa Conference was dealt with in detail by Lenin shortly before the Eleventh Party Congress, at the session of the Metal Workers' Congress. Therefore he dealt very briefly with this international problem at the Eleventh Party Congress itself, but coined the short and clearly-cut formula: "By means of Genoa—if our partners there are sensible enough and not too obstinate; without Genoa—if they insist on being stubborn! But we shall reach our goal!"

It will be remembered that shortly after the opening of the Genoa Conference (on 10th April, 1922), the imperialists handed to the Soviet delegation a "Memorandum" demanding neither more nor less from the Soviet Government than . . . the payment of all war and tsarist pre-war debts, the restoration of the nationalised property of the foreign capitalists in Russia, and the establishment in Soviet Russia of financial and legal conditions for foreign capital similar to those obtaining in China and other semi-colonial countries. The Soviet delegation replied to these demands with an emphatic "No," and submitted a programme for peace and for struggle against the new war, as laid down in Lenin's directives. The counter-memorandum submitted by the Soviet delegation emphasised that unless the reciprocal principle were recognised by the Powers of the Entente, no economic relations could be established with the Soviet Republic.

Lenin, in his speech on the Genoa Conference, stressed the fact that the interests of all the capitalist States demand the development, regulation, and extension of trade with Russia. Soviet Russia had become a factor with which the capitalist world had to reckon, and one which it could no longer hope to sweep aside merely by armed interventions. The further growth of its international prestige depended on its internal situation, on the consolidation and development of its economic structure. At the Eleventh Party Congress the question of the New Economic Policy was the main question.

"The whole of the year covered by the report"—stated Lenin—"has been dominated by the New Economic Policy, the main task of which is to establish points of contact (Smytschka) between socialist and peasant economy, and on this basis to build the foundations of socialist economy." "Has this Smytschka already been attained?" asked Lenin, and replied: "No, not yet, we are only on the road to it."

Lenin said: "It is our aim to establish the 'Smytschka.' We must prove to the peasant that we begin with something known and comprehensible to him, something attainable now in spite of all his want and poverty, and not with something far away and fantastic from the standpoint of the peasant. We must help him to understand that at the present moment the Communists are bringing

practical aid to the ruined, impoverished, and starving small peasants in their present difficult position. Either we must prove this to him, or he will send us to the devil."

Lenin warned the Party that a serious historical test was pending, and that "this test will bring the final decision on everything: the fate of the N.E.P. and the fate of Communist rule in Russia." Lenin demanded "Closest contact with the masses of the peasantry, with the toiling peasants, and a forward movement immeasurably slower than that we dreamed of at one time, but therefore a forward movement really taking the whole of the masses with us: Then there will be an acceleration of this forward movement such as we now do not venture to dream of." Lenin raised the question of the "Smytschka" with the peasantry with the utmost decision. The political alliance existing in the years of the civil war must now be consolidated by an economic alliance.

Lenin saw in advance that with the growth of the capitalist elements in the rural districts a bitter struggle was bound to arise against the Soviet Power, for the restoration of capitalism. Therefore the proletarian State had to prescribe such conditions to the capitalism it was tolerating that this capitalism "neither can nor will venture to overstep the barriers set it by the proletariat, and which are advantageous to the latter."

Out of this arose the task which Lenin set the Party, and which he repeated several times at the Party Congress—the task of laying the foundations of socialist economy. These foundations were to be formed by socialist large-scale industry, above all the iron industry and machine building—the "main basis of socialism." "Has this been done?" asked Lenin at the Party Congress. "No, it has not been done!" replied Lenin. "We have not yet the socialist foundation."

Lenin pointed out that in order to fulfil this historical task of the proletariat, the main link of the chain must be grasped so that the whole chain can be drawn after it. In 1917-18 this main link consisted of withdrawing from the imperialist war; in 1919-20 of the military repulse of the intervention. In 1921 a retreat had to be made, in perfect order, with the uttermost line of retreat decisively drawn, without any panic, and with perfect preservation of revolutionary discipline. "And what is the key to the situation at the present moment?" asked Lenin. The key to the situation lies with the people, in the selection of the people.

"A competition is now going on, a competition set by the proclamation of the N.E.P. This is still a form of the struggle between two irreconcilably antagonistic classes. The Communists must learn to lead, to work, to carry on trade. They must learn to vanquish the bourgeoisie in this form of duel as in others. We must keep in mind that it is a Utopia to want to build up the Communist state of society only with the hands of the Communists. We must so manage that all persons possessing knowledge, experience, and ability, participate in building up this society, and do what we want them to do, even if at the given stage they are not yet in sympathy with Communism. The participation of experts on a large scale, and the active co-operation of the non-Party masses, under the leadership of the Communists—this is the next task of the Party." With this Lenin passed on to the determination of the inner Party tasks.

Already at the opening of the Congress, Lenin had pointed out the necessity of maintaining and consolidating Party unity. He continued: "I shall not boast that all fractional spirit has vanished from our Party, but there is no doubt that it has greatly decreased; this has already been proved." The Party Congress had to deal with the question of the opposition in connection with the declaration made by the twenty-two oppositionals to the Enlarged E.C.C.I. Plenum and the decision of the latter. The Eleventh Party Congress approved the political and organisational line of the C.C., which "secured the utmost unity and determination in the cardinal questions connected with the extremely difficult turn taken in the Russian and the proletarian world revolution."

The historical importance of the Eleventh Party Congress lay in the fact that it pointed out concretely the lines and perspectives of this new turn.

The main political idea of the Eleventh Party Congress was formulated by Lenin in the following words: "For a year we have retreated. In the name of the Party we must declare: Enough! The object aimed at with the retreat has been gained. . . . Now

we have set ourselves another goal—the regrouping of forces." The regrouping of forces for the new offensive for the realisation of the great aim of the Leninist Party—the building up of a socialist state of society in our country—this was the leading political aim of the Eleventh Party Congress, of the last Party Congress at which Lenin was present, at which he was the chairman, at which he spoke.

How has the C.P.S.U. followed these and other instructions given by Lenin, and what results can it report to the Seventeenth Party Congress?

In the twelve years which have passed since the Eleventh Party Congress, and in the ten which have passed since Lenin's death, the country of the Soviets has fundamentally changed in every sphere, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, headed by Lenin's best co-worker, the beloved leader of the proletariat, Stalin. The Soviet Union has advanced from a backward agrarian country, with a national economy devastated by the imperialist war, to a country of advanced industrialisation, a country of large-scale socialist agriculture. The foundations of socialist economy now stand firmly and completely.

"The Soviet Union will be transformed during the course of the realisation of the second Five-Year Plan"—so state the theses issued by Molotov and Kubyshev—"into a technically and economically independent country, and into the technically most advanced country in Europe." The collective farming system has replaced the individual farm in agriculture, and has gained a firm foothold in the Soviet Union. The kulak system is shattered. The collective farmers, the main mass of the peasantry, have become the support of the Soviet Power in the rural districts. From the Smytschka of trade with the mujik we have advanced to the Smytschka between town and country. This has furnished agriculture with such a firm industrial basis that Lenin's directive of "closest contact with the masses of the peasantry . . ." has been completely fulfilled. And now there has commenced that tremendous acceleration of the joint advance of which Lenin spoke at the Eleventh Party Congress, saying that "we do not even venture to dream of it yet." The Soviet Union has its feet set firmly on the path to socialism. It enters victoriously into the second year of the second Five-Year Plan, the Five-Year Plan for the establishment of the classless socialist state of society.

Precisely because the Party has taken the path pointed out by Lenin, it has been able to overcome the difficulties referred to by Lenin at the Eleventh Party Congress. To-day the land of the Soviets has advanced immeasurably beyond the Russia of the N.E.P.

From Genoa to the London World Economic Conference, from the Prinkipo Islands (where the imperialists wanted to seat Soviet Russia at the same table as the White generals) to the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States—how much ground has been covered!

The problem of "Who—whom?" finally and irrevocably decided in town and country in the Soviet Union in favour of socialism and against capitalism, will be decided all over the world equally in favour of socialism.

"The fulfilment of the second Five-Year Plan will further increase the importance of the Soviet Union as rampart in the struggle of the world proletariat, and will further enhance the authority of the Soviet country as the supporting basis of the proletarian world revolution in the eyes of the exploited toiling masses of the whole world." (Theses to the reports on the second Five-Year Plan.)

The Soviet Union has gained historical victories, decisive victories, not only for the toilers of the Soviet country, but for the whole international labour movement. The Soviet Union has won these victories, thanks to the determined and inexorable Leninist struggle on two fronts, carried on by the Party under the leadership of the gifted theoretician of Marxism-Leninism, Stalin. Comrade Stalin has extended and deepened Lenin's teaching of the building up of socialism in one country. He has mobilised and armed our whole Party for the struggle against Trotskyism and against Right opportunism, which have attempted to disarm the Party, to revive Menshevism, and to steer towards capitulation to capitalism. Trotsky's thesis of the impossibility of building up socialism in one country has been shattered by the Party. The Leninist Party

stands united as never before. It stands united behind its Leninist C.C., behind its master and leader, Stalin.

The problem raised so emphatically by Lenin at the Eleventh Party Congress, the problem of the selection of the cadres and the checking up of performance, is being solved by our Party with growing success. The six directives of Comrade Stalin are an illuminating example of the application of these Leninist directives to the fully-developed socialist construction. The decision of the C.C. of the Party on the Political Departments in the rural districts and in the traffic service represents another realisation of Lenin's directives on the choice of cadres and the checking up of performance, and has been complemented by Stalin's instructions on concrete leadership under the conditions imposed by the new circumstances and in view of the new tasks.

With reference to the apparatus of the Soviet state, Lenin stated at the Eleventh Party Congress: "For centuries the state has been formed according to bourgeois designs, and it is the first time that a non-bourgeois form of state has been found. Our apparatus may still be poor, but it may as well be said that the first steam engine made was a poor specimen; we do not even know if it worked. That is not the question; the important point is that it was invented. However inefficient the first machine may have been, the fact remains that we now have steam engines. And though our state apparatus may be bad, still we have it; the mighty historical invention has been made, and the type of the proletarian state has been created."

During the last few years the Party has been perfecting the machinery of the proletarian state. It is being transformed more and more into that highly efficient engine of history which will sweep away, as Marx said, everyone who stands in its path. In the course of the decade which has passed since Lenin's death, the Party under Comrade Stalin's leadership has steadily consolidated the whole power of the proletarian dictatorship in irreconcilable struggle against all those degenerate elements who, citing the thesis of the liquidation of classes and the creation of a classless state of society, preach and attempt to justify the counter-revolutionary theory of an extinguished class struggle and a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The abolition of the classes will not be brought about by the extinguishing of the class struggle, but by its intensification. The withering away of the state does not come about by the weakening of state power, but by its intensest strengthening, necessary in order that the remainder of the dying class may be completely shattered, and the defence organised against the capitalist encirclement, which is by no means annihilated, and will not be annihilated so soon." (Stalin.)

The Party has consolidated the power of the proletarian dictatorship. In the midst of the work of socialist construction it is producing a new type of human being, the conscious builder of the socialist state of society.

At the January Plenum of the C.C., Comrade Stalin referred to the forces which have made the historical victory of the first Five-Year Plan possible, and drew special attention to the "activity and self-sacrifice, the enthusiasm and initiative, of the millions of the workers and collective peasants, who together with the engineers and technicians have displayed enormous energy in the development of socialist competition and the shock brigades." In the Soviet Union work has become a matter of honour, of fame, and of heroism.

Lenin, in his main report at the Eleventh Party Congress—the report on the activities of the C.C.—and in his concluding speech, emphasised that in order that the Soviet Union should be maintained, no intervention must be allowed to be made, and no political error may be committed by the Party.

Under Comrade Stalin's leadership the C.P.S.U. has accomplished tremendous achievements in every field of work. By means of the firm consolidation of the country itself and a consistent peace policy, the Soviet Power has prevented intervention up to now, and stands ready to offer effectual resistance to any sudden attack. The historical successes of the first Five-Year Plan have shown that "the Party is invincible, when it knows where it has to steer, and when it fears no difficulties." (Stalin.)

The Party of Lenin commemorates the anniversary of Lenin's death, and makes ready for the Seventeenth Party Congress in the Bolshevik consciousness of having carried out Lenin's testament and with revolutionary faith in the final victory of Communism.

Moscow District and City Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.

Moscow, January 17.

On 16th January the Moscow District and City Party Conference was opened. The Conference, held in the great hall of the Moscow Trade Union House, is dominated by an atmosphere of firmest unity, in which the practical problems are being competently dealt with, and at the same time a spirit of the utmost enthusiasm prevails. The delegates are inspired by a unanimous feeling of devotion to the cause of Lenin and Stalin, and a unanimous readiness for fresh struggles under the leadership of the Leninist C.C., headed unswervingly by Stalin. The honorary Presidium was elected: Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Thaelmann, etc. The Moscow Conference is in closest contact with the Moscow proletariat and with the collective farmers and the toiling masses of the whole country. The workers of the undertakings of Moscow and of the whole district have sent samples of their products and proofs of their achievements to the Conference. The Conference gave an enthusiastic welcome to the representatives of the Red Army. The representatives of the collective farms greeted the Conference, and were received with unanimous applause. The workers employed on the underground railway construction also greeted the Conference.

The Conference was opened by Kaganovich, who stated, inter alia:—

"The Moscow Bolsheviks with the whole of the organisations of the Party, are drawing up the balance-sheet of the last 3½ years, that is, of the period between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Congresses. This period has played a part in the life and history of our Party and our country such as has taken decades and centuries in the lives of other countries and peoples. These 3½ years have been years of the utmost exertion and upsurge of all the forces of our country and of our Party: they have been years of the intensest struggle for the overcoming of the centuries of backwardness in our vast country, for socialist reorganisation, for the technical and economic raising of our country to the level of more advanced countries. Our country, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was established 16 years ago under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, was lacking an economic and technical basis, and the culture enabling the creative forces of our people to be developed.

"To-day, on the eve of the Seventeenth Congress of our Party, we can claim that the Party has justified its name as Lenin's Party. At the head of millions of workers and peasants, the Party has accomplished the task of transforming our country from a backward into an advanced country. This is recognised not only by our friends, even our foes have been obliged to acknowledge it. Ten years ago the greatest genius in the world's history died, the creator of our Party, the founder of the Soviet State—Lenin. For ten years since then our Party and the Soviet Union under its leadership have lived, fought, and advanced. And in all these years we have steadily pursued the path of Leninism under the unswerving leadership of Lenin's closest fellow fighter, Comrade Stalin." (Tempestuous applause.)

"Our country was a backward agrarian country. Now our country takes the second place in the world with regard to industrial production, the first in Europe. We are now in a position to manufacture any up-to-date machine. We are able to produce modern means of defence on a mass scale. To-day every country of the world must reckon with our country, for it has become a mighty power, and we possess an army equipped with the most modern military means—tanks, guns, aeroplanes, chemistry—our glorious and invincible Red Army.

"We are now the country with the greatest agriculture in the world. In the villages, where the population groaned for centuries under the yoke of the kulak and the landowner, the new collective farming system is flourishing. Our foes at home and abroad hoped up to last year that the collective and Soviet farms would prove a failure, and the wavering opportunists did not believe in the strength and the victory of the Soviet and collective farms, but the results of this agricultural year have finally destroyed the hopes of the one and the unbelief of the other. Our collective farming system has not only united millions of human beings, it is carrying off the victory in the fields, and this year it has brought our great country record crops" (applause). "We have concretely tackled the problem of making all collective farmers prosperous, by means

of the transformation of the collective farms into really Bolshevik collective farms. We have won this great victory in an inexorable struggle against our class enemies, and against opportunism in our own Party. The heroism shown by millions of workers and peasants is to be thanked for these victories. And further thanks are due to the extraordinary strength, vitality, and militancy of the great Communist Party of the Bolsheviks and its Central Committee. Our victories are due to the fact that we have remained steadily on the path laid down by the creator of our Party, our gifted teacher, Lenin, and to the fact that after Lenin's death his worthy and great fellow fighter, the leader and teacher of our Party, the beloved friend of the whole of toiling humanity, Comrade Stalin, took over the leadership of our Party, and has led our country steadily from one victory to another." (Enthusiastic applause.) "He embodies the whole strength and power of our Party, the whole energy and will to victory of millions of workers and peasants. Like Lenin, he has had to fight against opportunists of every shade, and has fought for and gained the monolithic unity in the ranks of our Party." (Applause.)

"Every day Comrade Stalin enables us to combine the perspectives of the struggle for Communism with the realisation of the concrete reality of the present day. He gives us clear perspectives for holding to the fundamental line whilst devoting simultaneous attention to the 'details,' the mastery of technique and of every department of work. He teaches us to secure the correct political line by means of precise organisational work, by means of the correct distribution of forces, and by means of checking up the carrying out of directives.

"We draw up the balance-sheet of the most magnificent epoch of the struggle. We have carried out the Five-Year Plan in four years. And this signifies more than merely the Five-Year Plan and the four years in which it has been fulfilled. It signifies a whole epoch. We have attained much. We are now laying down our second Five-Year Plan, and by doing so we are demonstrating to the whole world the increasing momentum of our work, of our construction, our bold plans, our great future.

"At the same time the C.C. is drawing up the theses of the organisational questions, giving form to the plan of reorganisation commenced by Comrade Stalin in 1929. In these theses will be exposed all the faults of practical leadership which have hindered the complete fulfilment of the great plans of work.

"We, the Moscow organisation, like the whole Party, can record great successes. We are working in the immediate vicinity of the C.C., and we enjoy the daily leadership and instruction of Comrade Stalin. Therefore we must be able to show a higher quality of work than may be demanded of other districts. We come to our Conference and to the Party Congress with united ranks and fresh powers. We must further increase our responsibility, our faithfulness to principle, and our firmness, both with regard to our realisation of inner-political and economic questions, and with regard to our realisation of international questions and our international obligations. Precisely at the present juncture, when fascism is endeavouring to save decaying capitalism, precisely at the moment when fascism is stirring up a brutal chauvinism in such a country as Germany—precisely at such a moment our whole country, the millions of the toilers, the millions of the Party members and Young Communists, must raise their voices more loudly and determinedly than ever for internationalism, and for the slogan of: 'Workers of the world, unite!' (Enthusiastic applause.)

"At our last conference we received a letter of greetings from the Berlin District Committee of our C.P.G. The comrades concluded their message with two slogans: 'Long live the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in four years!' 'Long live the proletarian revolution!'" (Applause.) "We replied to our Berlin comrades that we shall fight for the victory of the Five-Year Plan, for the victory of socialism in our country, and that we called upon them to fight for the victory over the class enemy, for the victory of socialism, for Soviet Germany. To-day we again send our warmest greetings to the Berlin District Committee and to the whole of our brother Party, the illegal C.P.G." (Tumultuous applause.) "In spite of the orgy of fascism, we call to our brothers: 'Fight steadfastly. We, too, fought in illegality for years. Our comrades, too, were beaten by the knouts of the czar. We fought and we won the victory. Fight steadfastly for Soviet Germany!'" (Prolonged applause.)

"We are going forward to our Seventeenth Party Congress, the great Party Congress of a great Party, proud of our victories, and

fully realising what great tasks are before us. We have the firm wish that at this Party Congress our shortcomings may be exposed, as taught by the Central Committee and Comrade Stalin, the determined wish that self-criticism may be more efficiently developed, that we may march forward firmly and certainly to new victories.

"At this opening of our Conference to-day we say to the whole Party and to the C.C. that we Moscow Bolsheviks, and the millions of workers and collective peasants under our leadership, form a faithful support to the Leninist C.C. and to the leader of our Party, Comrade Stalin." (Prolonged and enthusiastic applause.)

Party Conference of the Leningrad Organisation of the C.P.S.U.

Leningrad, January 20.

The Party Conference of the Leningrad organisation of the C.P.S.U. has been opened. Kiroff, leader of the Leningrad Party organisation, was greeted with great enthusiasm. He declared:—

"Our Party looks back upon the results achieved during the three and half years which have passed since the Sixteenth Party Conference. This period has been filled with the might and creative content of the struggle for the building up of socialism. In this period our Party has demonstrated more clearly than ever, under the leadership of the Leninist C.C., headed by the greatest exponent of the Leninist teachings, Comrade Stalin, that it is possible for socialism to be built up successfully in one country. The victories which we have gained during this period greatly enrich Marxism-Leninism, and form an invaluable contribution to the cause of international proletarian revolution. They represent an enormous achievement of the toiling masses of all countries. During this time we have raised the power of the proletarian dictatorship in our country to a tremendous height, and have been able to consolidate the alliance of the main classes building up socialism in our country—the workers and the working peasantry. That we have been able to attain these victories is due solely to our firm and consistent adherence to the general line of our Party. Together with the whole Party, the Leningrad organisation has stood at the outposts of proletarian revolution, and has protected the general line of the Party from all attacks from 'Right' and 'Left' opportunists. We have shattered the last of the capitalist class—the kulaks. We have kept a sharp watch that all endeavours of socialism should be detected in time and frustrated.

"Ten years ago we lost the most gifted of human beings, the founder of our Party, the great Lenin. The foes of Communism hoped that his death would shake the firmness of our ranks. But this hope proved vain. The Bolshevik Party has proceeded steadily on its path, holding high the banner of Leninism, and following in the footsteps of Lenin, whose place as leader of our Party and of the international revolution has been taken by Stalin (enthusiastic applause). Keeping step with our mighty Leninist Party, we are marching towards the Seventeenth Party Congress, which, under the leadership of the greatest strategist of our Party, Stalin, will not only draw up the programme of our future work, but will point out the path of the further victorious struggle of the toilers and oppressed of the whole world" (prolonged applause).

The discussion on the first item of the agenda, the report of the Central Committee, enabled the Leningrad Bolsheviks to illustrate by means of concrete examples the mighty work accomplished by the Central Committee between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Conferences. Not a speaker but made reference to the mighty creative work accomplished personally by Stalin during this time. Whenever Stalin was mentioned, shouts of greeting and prolonged applause followed.

Every word spoken by the workers from the Red Putilov Works, delegated to the Conference, showed the determination of the workers to fight for the fulfilment of the great tasks set by the Party for the second Five-Year Plan. The representative of the Leningrad Soviet, Korolev, stressed the attention devoted by the Central Committee to the improvement of the material and cultural standards of living of the toiling masses, and stated:—

"In Leningrad alone over one milliard roubles have been invested in municipal economy during the last four years. In the period between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Conferences, in Leningrad alone over 250,000 workers have been provided with new dwelling accommodation. Our workers' districts are being transformed into real new centres of culture."

The delegates to the Conference are paying much attention to the questions of socialist culture. An enthusiastic reception was given to the delegation from the Academy of Sciences, represented by Baikoff, Vaviloff, Joffe, Pavlov, and other prominent scientists. After the discussion on the first point of the agenda had been concluded, the Leningrad Party Conference adopted a resolution expressing complete approval of the political line and the whole of the work of the Central Committee.

The exhibition organised in the Uritzki Palace, where the Conference is being held, provides an excellent survey of socialist Leningrad. Exhibits of the products of every branch of the industries of Leningrad give striking proof of the progress of socialist construction. "There is no fortress which the Bolsheviks cannot take"—these words of Stalin are confirmed by the exhibition. Every machine, every object exhibited, every diagram, incorporates the Stalinist energy with which the Party, the whole country, and the world proletariat, are advancing towards the victory of Communism.

Greetings of the Moscow Party Conference to Comrade Stalin

Moscow, January 17, 1934.

The Moscow Town and District Conference of the C.P.S.U. has sent a message of greeting to Comrade Stalin, the main contents of which are as follows:—

"The Fourth District Conference and Third Town Conference sends warm Bolshevik greetings to the beloved leader, friend and teacher of the proletariat and of the toilers of the whole world, the greatest man of our time.

"Already for ten years, since the death of Lenin, you have been working as his truest fellow-fighter and disciple for the great cause of the proletarian revolution at the head of many millions of workers and peasants, who see in your person their leader, and the embodiment of their aspirations and hopes. You are the object of their love, attention, and their self-sacrificing support in the fight. Your name is the fighting slogan and flag of victory. Under your leadership the Party has created in its ranks unshakeable unity in thought and action. Under your leadership the Soviet Union has become an invincible industrial country. Under your leadership the workers and peasants, in the most complicated and difficult struggles against the kulaks, have created a new collective farm regime. For the first time in the history of humanity the possibility of building up socialism in one country has been proved in practice to hundreds of millions of toilers. The path traversed without Lenin under your leadership was the greatest epoch of the rule of Leninism, which you have developed and maintained in ruthless fight against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, against Right and 'Left' opportunists and conciliators of all varieties. You taught and are teaching the Bolsheviks consistency, wide outlook, class vigilance, and firm belief in the power of the working class. Your method of work is soberly to judge the real situation in the country and in the international arena, the capacity to secure in a masterly manner the realisation of every political decision with the aid of organisational measures, is personal, practical leadership in little and big things, is simplicity and revolutionary hardness, is constant care for the promotion of the growth, the well-being of the working people. The best Bolsheviks, workers and collective peasants, are endeavouring to make these methods of work their own. Following your instructions, the Moscow organisation, after the Sixteenth Party Congress, achieved tremendous successes. The appearance of the proletarian capital has changed beyond recognition. The whole of the Moscow district has achieved decisive progress in changing from a consuming to a producing district. The creative enthusiasm of the workers and collective peasants for the realisation of your slogan: our land must be the richest country in the world, is growing with new force. We Moscow Bolsheviks give you the assurance—and we have always carried out our promises—that the decisions of the Seventeenth Party Congress in the year of the second Five-Year Plan will be for us a new epoch of transformation, of work in the spirit of Stalinism, so that all wheels in the Party and Soviet apparatus shall work precisely, without friction, and productively, and that under your leadership the historical aims of the workers' movement in the whole world will be realised."

Lenin—Liebknecht—Luxemburg Campaign

Lenin, the Great Founder of Socialist Construction

Leading Article of the "Pravda" on the Tenth Anniversary of the Death of Lenin.

Moscow, January 21, 1934.

The whole press publishes articles on the tenth anniversary of the death of Lenin. The "Pravda" publishes very important material from the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under the heading: "Lenin, the Great Founder of Socialist Construction." After explaining in detail Lenin's plan for the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union and giving an exhaustive survey of the achievements of the past ten years, the article concludes as follows:—

"The tenth anniversary of the death of Lenin, on the eve of the Seventeenth Party Congress, justifies the statement that the most difficult and decisive items of Lenin's plan for the construction of Socialism are fulfilled. The foundation of socialist economy has been laid. The question: 'Who will beat whom' in town and country has been irrevocably decided in favour of Socialism. The Soviet Union has been converted into a powerful industrial country possessing the greatest agriculture of the whole world. The collective-farm system has won the day. The Soviet Union is finally consolidated on the socialist path, its whole economy has been raised to the level of modern technical culture. In regard to the extent of industrial production, the Soviet Union takes second place in the world and first place in Europe. New industrial giants are being established, which in their dimensions and equipment surpass the largest factories in the capitalist countries. New, huge power stations and a new coal and metallurgical basis have been created in the East. Dozens of new cities, concentration points of proletarian organisation and proletarian will, have been built. Collectivisation has been completed in the most decisive grain-producing districts. Agriculture in the Soviet Union has been thoroughly reconstructed. Not 100,000 tractors as Lenin dreamt of, but already more than 200,000 tractors and many thousands of mowing and threshing machines are working on the socialist fields.

"In the U.S.S.R. there is no place for unemployment. Misery and poverty are banished from the village for ever. The Soviet Union has created its own technical cadres; millions of toilers have received scientific training. A new generation of people is arising of whom Lenin said: "We are fighting in order that our children will think of capitalists and big landowners as of pre-historic monsters." The national republics and regions are experiencing a powerful upsurge; they are making rapid progress in liquidating their economic and cultural backwardness.

"The peoples of the U.S.S.R. are keeping together in unshakable brotherly alliance. Equipped with the most up-to-date technique, the Red Army is guarding the frontiers of the Soviet country. The triumph of Leninism in our country is assured by the fact that at the head of our Party there stands the best Leninist, Stalin, the great master of the strategy of the class struggle. By summing up the experiences of the proletarian world revolution and the experiences of the construction in the U.S.S.R., Stalin has developed and enriched Lenin's teachings. Proceeding from the definite and concrete line for the leadership of the country in the transition period to Socialism, Stalin issues at every turn of the path with the greatest clearness the appropriate fighting slogan, and carries out its realisation with iron consistency. He chooses unerringly at every stage precisely those fighting and organisation forms which facilitate the mobilisation of the broad masses, Lenin's teaching on the possibility of victory of Socialism in our country has illuminated our fighting path. The wise and firm leadership of Stalin has led us to victory. The Party is proud of its victory. These victories, however, have not rendered the Party giddy, it is not resting on its laurels. The fight is being continued.

"We are confronted with the task of achieving full victory in the second Five-Year Plan by persistent and disciplined work; the task of equipping our whole economy from top to bottom with new technique; finally liquidating the economic and cultural backwardness existing among the nations oppressed by Tsarism; becoming the first country in Europe in regard to the level of technique

and increasing considerably the well-being of the toilers; annihilating the last remnants of the parasitic classes and completing Lenin's plan for the construction of Socialism in our country.

"The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the victory of the international proletariat. By building up Socialism in the U.S.S.R. the Party is not only carrying out its pledges to the workers and peasants of our country, but also more serious and important pledges given to the world proletariat. They coincide with the pledges of the first kind, but we appreciate them more highly. (Stalin.) By the decisive example of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. the proletariat in the capitalist countries is becoming convinced that it is possible to build up Socialism in one country; that it is possible to do without the bourgeoisie and that only Bolshevism shows the way out to all the exploited and oppressed. Under conditions of fascist terror and persecution by the police, our brother parties are gathering the working class in the capitalist countries under Lenin's banner and are mobilising the forces of the proletariat for new decisive fights for power. The cadres of the Leninists are being strengthened in the East and in the West in the fight against social democracy, against the liquidators and renegades. The Comintern has produced such fighters as Dimitrov and Thaelmann. The Communist International has gathered under its flag hundreds of thousands of Communist proletarians who are rousing the masses for the struggle for the Soviet power, for the support of the first Soviet State. This support of the international proletariat is an inexhaustible source of power to us. We have an international alliance which has not been registered in any book, which is not laid down in paragraphs, which is nothing from the standpoint of State law, but is everything in the reality of the decaying capitalist world." (Lenin.)

"Lenin's plan for the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. will consolidate this alliance still more and raise still higher the prestige of the Soviet country in the whole world as the bulwark and standard-bearer of the Communist world revolution.

"The victories achieved in the past decade are enormous. They signify that, under the banner of Leninism, 170 million people have already crossed the frontiers behind which lie the millenniums of the pre-historic period of human society. (Marx.) 'We have a right to be proud and to consider ourselves fortunate, because it has been granted to us to be the first to strike down on a part of the world that beast—capitalism, which has covered the world with blood, plunged humanity into hunger and misery and which will perish completely in the near future, no matter how monstrously brutal its death struggle may be.'" (Lenin.) We can be proud that we have given the death-stroke to this beast, to Russian capitalism, that we have aroused millions and millions of workers and toilers through the ideas of Lenin to enthusiastic and creative work, laid the foundations of socialist society and thereby dealt world imperialism a deadly wound.

"Imperialism, which is at its last gasp and doomed to destruction, will not finally yield without a desperate, bloody and fierce fight. It will be swept away by the victorious proletarian revolution. The Comintern, Lenin's world Party, will lead the whole of humanity to the socialist path. Leninism is invincible."

Lenin's Testament and the 17th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Moscow, January 21, 1934.

Comrade Krupskaya, in an article entitled "Lenin's Testament and the Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.," writes as follows:—

"Our Soviet country is living in these years a passionate, intensive life. At every step we notice that the whole country is being transformed on a new basis, that all the social relations, conceptions of life and customs of the people are fundamentally changing. If one attentively looks at life, one realises the whole power of Lenin's teachings and the correctness of his conceptions; one realises how far he could see into the future, correctly appraise the relation of forces and guide the work into the proper channels. In the years which passed since Lenin's death, his teachings assumed more concrete forms and became the common property of millions. In the ten years since Lenin's death the Party, under Stalin's leadership, has performed tremendous work in the fulfilment of his testament.

"Millions of toilers in town and country are being drawn into socialist construction, are growing in this work, are learning to

view events from a Communist point of view, to organise themselves, to work and to live in a new manner. Nobody can turn back the wheel of history. No return to the old conditions is possible. Several days after the tenth anniversary of Lenin's death the Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. will be opened."

Comrade Krupskaya quotes from the works of Lenin dating back from the year 1918 entitled "The Main Task of our Time," as well as from "The Next Tasks of the Soviet Power," in which he outlined the path of the Soviet Power, and then continues:

"What have we to show to the Seventeenth Party Congress? Have we deviated from the path of international revolution? We have not deviated from it. Fascism clearly shows that the workers are driven into a blind alley if they allow themselves to be diverted only for a moment from the path of international revolution. Have we kept to that method of sober thinking which Lenin demanded of us in regard to our international relations? Do we know how to connect this sober thinking with our attitude to the international revolution? Yes, we know how to do it. Have we accomplished sufficient in the ten years without Lenin in order to make the Soviet Union rich and powerful? Yes, we have accomplished much. Have we pursued the path indicated by Lenin? Yes, we have pursued this path. In the ten years we have gathered enormous experiences for socialist construction; we have learned and grown as a result of these experiences. The whole countenance of the country has changed; we ourselves have changed; we have become collectivists to a higher degree and are now able to work in a better and more organised manner.

The Seventeenth Party Congress will draw up the balance of the past achievements in order to advance with still greater determination. We see how enthusiastically the millions of toilers who have awakened to a conscious life greet the Seventeenth Party Congress and Comrade Stalin, whose role is so great in the carrying out of Lenin's testament. The toilers of all nations of the U.S.S.R. are closing their ranks more firmly round Lenin's Party, round the Communist Party, round their leaders. The banner of Communism, so dear to Lenin, is waving ever higher in the Soviet country."

The Literary Legacy of Lenin

A Statement of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute

The Director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Adoratzki, publishes interesting information concerning the publication of the literary legacy of Lenin. A little while ago the collected works of Lenin, the publication of which began in 1925, were completed. They were published in enormous editions, and the first three editions have already been sold out. There are thirty volumes in the complete set, containing over ten thousand pages of Lenin's text and practically six thousand pages of scientific comment, supplement, etc., from the literary legacy of Lenin. These thirty volumes contain all the works of Lenin which appeared during his lifetime, and they represent an encyclopedia of Communism. They embrace the historical experiences of the revolutions and class wars of the proletariat from the 'nineties of the last century, when Lenin's work began for the creation of the Bolshevik Party, a Party of a new type, down to that period of Lenin's life when, at the head of the State of the proletarian dictatorship, he led the struggle against the counter-revolutionary imperialist bourgeoisie, gained the victory in the civil war and organised the work for the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union. The collected works contain the works in which Lenin shows the proletariat the way to conclude an alliance with the peasant masses, to place itself at their head, to lead them in their struggles, to educate them, and to build up the classless Communist society.

The MSS. which were not published in Lenin's lifetime (articles, notes, plans, sketches for articles, drafts of resolutions, letters, summaries of books he had read, etc.) are incorporated in a special section. Twenty-five volumes, with over 10,000 printed pages, have already appeared. A considerable section of the documents before the war of 1904 and before the first emigration were, unfortunately, unobtainable. However, even from this period there is very considerable material, the greater part of which had already been published. Amongst the documents of 1895 is an important summary written by Lenin of "The Holy Family," by Marx and Engels. This is the only summary which is still existent from the earlier period, and it is particularly valu-

able because it shows with what care Lenin studied the works of the founders of scientific socialism. Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain the summaries made by Lenin of his study of "Capital," "Anti-Duhring," and "The Poverty of Philosophy," and other works of Marx and Engels which Lenin studied at the beginning of the twenties. A considerable quantity of MSS. from the period of 1900 to 1903 are available. There is also very much from the year 1905. The whole material was in an excellent state in the archives of Geneva, the period up to the autumn of 1905 when Lenin left Geneva. This material is contained in two volumes of the special section. The study of these documents gives a very clear picture of the work of Lenin as the leader of the Bolshevik Party in the epoch of the revolution. Almost no documents are available from the years 1906-07. The period of the reaction and of the beginning of the fresh advance (1908-14) is also very incompletely represented. Amongst the published documents of this period are the letters to Gorki (1908-13) and the correspondence of Lenin which describes the struggle of the Bolsheviks against the conciliators. There is a considerable amount of material available concerning the war period, and it has already been published. Volume XVII. is made up exclusively of this material of the war period. The correspondence, summaries, drafts of theses and articles contained in this volume are very interesting as showing the role of Lenin as leader of the Communist Party of Russia and as the founder of the Communist International. Here Lenin also appears as the leader of the working-class movement in Switzerland. He teaches how the opportunists must be systematically exposed, how the proletariat must carry on its irreconcilable struggle for the proletarian dictatorship in the given conditions, and how the revolutionary working-class parties in the countries of Western Europe must be educated in the spirit of Bolshevism.

The documents of the year 1917 and the beginning of 1918 are, unfortunately, not numerous. On the other hand, the documents from the period of the proletarian dictatorship are fairly complete, and the greater part of them has already been published. Here we see Lenin as the leader of the proletarian Party in the epoch of the proletarian dictatorship. This material describes Lenin's activity as the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the practical leader of the work on the various fields of Soviet work.

In the correspondence from the period of the civil war Lenin emerges as the organiser of the victory of the Red Army on all fronts. Numerous documents also show Lenin's role in the work of socialist construction and as the leader of the Communist International. The material contained in the special section of Lenin's collected works is a valuable supplement to the works which he published whilst still alive. The study of this great mass of material makes it possible to reconstruct the whole development of Lenin's work, his methods of collecting material, of dealing with problems, and of studying literature.

A splendid example of this material are Lenin's pamphlets on "Marxism and the State" (1916 and the beginning of 1917) which are contained in Volume XIV of the special section. In these pamphlets Lenin notes carefully all that Marx and Engels have written concerning the nature of the State. Lenin points out the development and crystallisation of their ideas on the basic problem of the proletarian revolution—the conquest of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship—and, utilising the experiences of the class struggles of the proletariat in 1905, he draws a balance and on this basis he develops the prospects of the proletarian revolution and draws up the tasks of the proletariat when in possession of the State power and in its work for the creation of a State form facilitating the aims of the proletarian revolution and the building up of a classless society.

The material collected here was used by Lenin in his famous work "State and Revolution." Apart from this fundamental edition of Lenin's works and the literary legacy of Lenin, the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute is also issuing a 12-volume and a two-volume edition of selected works. Amongst the recently published works of Lenin the "Philosophical Brochures" are worthy of special mention as they represent a most valuable contribution to Marxist literature on philosophical literature. Lenin has gathered together in an exhaustive fashion everything in the works of Hegel which refers to the dialectical theory. Lenin provides the Hegel text with critical notes, corrects Hegel's idealistic distortions and interprets his work from a materialist point of view. In this way

Lenin directs that work whose necessity Marx points out in a letter to Engels on January 14, 1858. The appearance of the first volume of the decrees issued by Lenin under the title "The Decrees of the October Revolution" are of first-rate importance. This volume is the first of a collected edition of all the decrees bearing Lenin's signature, or worked out with his close co-operation or drawn up by him personally.

In conclusion a few words concerning the publication of Lenin's works in other languages. Lenin's works have been translated into 76 languages, including Chinese. An edition of selected works has also appeared in Japanese and also a collected edition in 30 volumes. In the ten years which have passed since Lenin's death the publication of his works and the preparation and publication of his literary legacy have made tremendous progress.

Organisational Questions

On the Illegal Press of the C.P. of Poland

By T. Danilshvsky

The most outstanding achievement of the illegal Communist press in Poland is the fact that as a whole it correctly reflects the line of the Party and attempts to put it into practice. Of course it is possible to find both defects and inaccuracies of formulation in a number of publications. Our Party literature is not always right up to the moment, and it is not always up to the proper ideological and political level. However, in spite of these defects, the publications of the C.P. of Poland have played a tremendously important part in popularising the decisions of the Party, in carrying on agitation for the slogans, and in leading the working class and all toiling elements in their mass struggle. In contrast to former years, the publications of this year are distinguished by the far greater concreteness of their contents and manner of presenting questions. After reading an article or an appeal, a worker is not only in a position to form his own opinion on the subject, but to know what he should do about it and how to set to work.

The number of factory and pit newspapers has increased, mainly in Upper Silesia, while in other industrial centres of Poland the number is still inadequate. As for form and contents, the Upper Silesian newspapers can serve as an example for the whole country. They are based entirely on topical material. Workers' correspondence occupies a very prominent place in these papers. The articles are written frequently both in Polish and German. Experience has shown that such little newspapers are readily accepted by the workers. The Party should devote the most careful attention to them and give them every possible support.

It is important to avoid a practice which, unfortunately, has become very frequent, namely, that factory newspapers are issued only by the Party organisations, without drawing in worker correspondents from among non-Party and social-democratic workers and workers of other organisations. This is necessary in order to rally round these papers the masses of workers.

It must be pointed out that the local and factory press of the C.P. of Poland has already demonstrated its tremendous importance during mass struggles and mass movements. For example, it met with very enthusiastic response among the workers at the time of the strike of the Lodz textile workers. The local press reflected this struggle—it utilised the experience gained and issued directives. It carried on both agitational and organisational work.

The general strike of the Lodz textile workers, in which the C.P. of Poland played a decisive role, received a great deal of space also in the central Party press. The editorial staff of the central organ of the C.P. of Poland, "Chervony Shtandar," laid the proper emphasis on the campaign and movement of solidarity and assistance for the striking textile workers, carried out all over the country, in the towns and in the villages. In general this paper devotes a great deal of space and attention to the strike movement, which attained great dimensions during the first six months of the past year. Here we have an example of how the press of the C.P. of Poland is carrying out its task of being not only the agitator, but also the organiser of the masses. This twofold task of the press was explained by Lenin as early as 1901 in "What Is To Be Done?" when he pointed out very clearly the political importance of newspapers in the ideological mass work of the Party, and declared—

"But the role of a newspaper is not limited to the dis-

semination of ideas, to political education and the drawing in of allies—a newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and agitator, but is also a collective organiser.”

However, a most serious defect of the Communist press here also is the lack of an analysis of the errors and weaknesses of the leadership of strike struggles.

The Party press records the manifestations of fascist terrorism and political reaction (punitive expeditions, the law on military courts, the torture of political prisoners, the murder of four textile workers in Pabyanitsa, the trial of the strike committee of the street car workers, Jewish pogroms, etc.), utilising such developments for Communist propaganda and for mobilising the masses against fascism. “*Krassnoye Znamia*” lays great stress on the advance of the revolutionary movement throughout the country to a higher political level. Nevertheless, this paper limits itself to publishing correct directives in this connection, without adapting them to the practical work of the various Party organisations, or making any criticism of the carrying out of these directives. Until recently the central organ has not made any analysis of the political campaigns carried out by the Party, nor has it concentrated its attention on overcoming the Party's tendency to lag behind political struggles, and especially on overcoming the weakness which persists in the Communist Party in its organisation of political strikes.

Polish fascism and social fascism replied to Hitler's coming to power with mad anti-German chauvinist attacks. The C.P. of Poland came forward at that time with its campaign for revolutionary internationalism, its campaign for the militant alliance of the proletariat of all nationalities. The C.P. of Poland frequently publishes articles and appeals explaining to the masses the situation which has arisen in Germany in connection with the Hitler coup and the tasks which confront the proletariat of Germany and Poland as a result of this coup, calling for active solidarity with the heroic German proletariat. “*Chervony Shtandar*” printed obituaries on Comrades Lutgens, Mueller Wolfe and Tesch, who participated in the street clashes in Altona, and died at the hands of the fascist headsmen last July. And in connection with the provocation trial for the burning of the Reichstag, the paper called upon the workers and all toiling elements to save Comrades Dimitrov, Torgler and the rest from the hand of fascism. The paper makes systematic attempts to point out the terroristic and anti-labour policy of Polish and German fascism.

Considerable success has been achieved in the methods of agitation carried on among workers in reactionary organisations. A number of Party publications, but by no means all of them, have learned how to expose before the masses the leaders of the P.P.S. on the basis of concrete facts. This applies also to several appeals issued by district and local Party organisations.

Nevertheless, the Party press does not always reply promptly to the arguments of the P.P.S. on important questions. For example, the P.P.S. has been carrying on for some time a fierce campaign against the Soviet Union for maintaining diplomatic relations with fascist governments such as Germany and Italy. Such “arguments” are bound to have an effect on the more backward and less class-conscious workers. The Party press must explain to all the workers and peasants of Poland that if the Soviet government concludes an agreement with a capitalist government, regardless of its democratic or fascist form, it does so exclusively for the purpose of preventing war and in the interests of the building of socialism, i.e., interests which completely coincide with the interests of the workers and other toiling elements in all countries and with the interests of the world revolution.

The Communist press has achieved success in popularising the building of socialism. It is obvious that the Communist press has a larger amount of material showing facts related to the Soviet Union than was formerly the case. Information about the proletarian government is frequently presented in a lively manner, without overloading it with figures. Especially successful was the publication of the appeal to the peasants and agricultural labourers on the question of sending cattle to the Soviet Union for collective farms having no cows.

We find reflected in all the publications of the C.P. of Poland the campaign against the imperialist war which is being prepared by Polish fascism and the campaign in defence of the Soviet Union. The press is making great efforts to dispel the pacifist illusions which have arisen in connection with the signing of the non-aggression pact between the Pilsudski government and the Soviet Union.

Party publications are doing a great deal to popularise the revolutionary way out of the crisis, but their work in this connection is still inadequate. Articles and appeals are published calling upon the masses to carry on a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. But only rarely do we find any mention of what the socialist revolution concretely brings to the masses, or how the Communist Party is to carry out its programme when it comes to power, i.e., with regard to the expropriation of the capitalists, the abolishment of unemployment, the distribution of land among the peasants, the housing question, etc. At the present time ever larger numbers of workers are seeking a way out of their desperate situation, and if the C.P. takes up more systematically and more concretely the question of what a proletarian government in Poland actually will do for the masses, it will win over hundreds of thousands of new supporters.

In the central organ “*The Chervony Shtandar*” (Red Banner) the Party line is being consistently carried out. In its articles the resolutions of the Central Committee are being popularised, and quotations from these resolutions appear from time to time. But this publication should appear more often (during nine months only five numbers appeared), so that it can analyse more promptly all current events. At the same time the paper should be cut down in size (so far it has had an average of sixteen pages). This would make the central organ of the Party easier to read. The situation with regard to the local correspondents is anything but satisfactory and the number of these correspondents is utterly inadequate. Cadres of worker correspondents must be formed and funds must be systematically collected for the Party press, which will also help to bring the paper to new masses of workers.

The language of the “*Chervony Shtandar*,” as well as of a number of other Party publications, is frequently very poor. Foreign words are used when they are quite uncalled for, and we frequently find literary expressions which cannot be understood by the average worker, and especially the peasants. Sometimes the style of the articles in no way differs from the style used in Party resolutions. A good example of simple language and skill in this field of work is furnished by the publications for soldiers in the C.P. of Poland. There are many defects in form and contents to be found in the women's paper “*Golos Rabotnitsi*.” The Party should also pay more attention to the technical side of its publishing activity. Sometimes Party appeals (especially those which are duplicated) are completely illegible owing to poor technique, thus losing all their value. Matters are also very unsatisfactory with regard to Party supervision of the distribution of literature. Up to now, large quantities of illegal literature get stuck somewhere on the way, and never reach the working-class reader.

A general weakness of the Party press is its failure to devote sufficient attention to inner Party life, especially to organisational questions in the Party. This defect is accentuated still further by the fact that the C.P. of Poland has no special organ devoted to organisational questions. This is true, in spite of the fact that the failure of the Party organisations to consolidate the growing influence of the Party among the masses is a serious topical question for the Party.

The importance of the press of the C.P.P. in general Party work is tremendous. Under difficult conditions of raging fascist terrorism, the Communist press must often replace personal contacts. Penetrating into the factories, mines and rural districts, it is organising the masses of workers for struggle against the fascist dictatorship, unmasking the class enemy and pointing out the way to victory.

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