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Ten Years of the International Red Aid.

By Helene Stassova.

The I.R.A. came into being at a time when the White Terror was raging without restraint or hindrance, in the period of the first few years following the war, when the bourgeoisie triumphed over the proletariat of Germany, Hungary, Italy, and the Baltic States, and the White Terror reigned all over the capitalist world. The orgies of White Terror at this time formed the apotheosis of the first cycle of wars and revolutions just ended, and at the same time the prologue to the following stage of the temporary relative stabilisation of capitalism.

It was not by accident that the first initiative for the creation of an international society in aid of the champions of revolution was provided by the land of the Soviets, upon whose vast territories tzarist Terror had raged up to the October revolution. This Terror, after ruling Russia for centuries under the tzars, was called into life again by the White Guardist hordes and the imperialists during the years of the intervention.

The toiling masses who had shattered the apparatus of bourgeois and landowning rule, and had driven the parasite classes out of the country for ever, still retained the memories of the accursed past very clearly in their minds. The Schlüsselburg and the Peter-Paul fortress still stood as monuments to the memory of the best of the revolutionary fighters, who had languished and died within their walls. The sound of the swish and thud of the knouts still echoed in the air. The great Vladimir highroad still ran from the plains of Europe over the mountain ranges of the Urals, far into Asia, to the snow fields of Siberia, to the ore mines of Nertschinsk, to the uninhabited deserts of Taiga, where thousands of

prisoners had dragged out their existence in chains, lost for ever to the outside world.

The Association of the Old Bolsheviki, and the league of former political convicts and banished, when they suggested the idea of the founding of the I.R.A., merely gave expression to the thoughts and feelings of the millions of the toilers of the Soviet Union. The vitality of the idea was at once confirmed by the immediate and unanimous enthusiasm with which it was taken up by the toiling masses all over the world. The proletarians and toilers of the capitalist countries and the colonies, and especially their communist vanguards, grasped and felt the necessity of the immediate creation of an international organisation for the struggle against White Terror and for the relief of its victims. They saw clearly that the ebbing tide of wars and revolutions was bound to rise again before long, drawn irresistibly by the general post-war crisis of the capitalist system.

It was obvious that every effort must be made to maintain the revolutionary cadres. Every effort must be made, on the basis of international enlightenment, to strengthen the united Red front against the united forces of the bourgeoisie—the whole bourgeoisie, from the fascist cut-throats down to the social democratic betrayers and murderers, whose hands are stained for all time by the blood of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; by the blood of the tens of thousands of the workers of Bavaria, Hungary, Finland, and Italy, tortured to death; by the blood of the peasants of India, Palestine, of the African and many other colonies.

The decade which has passed since the I.R.A. was formed has shown how urgent is the need of the idea incorporated in

this association. In spite of all persecution, in spite of the illegality forced upon it in dozens of countries and in all colonies, in spite of sabotage from the social fascists, who forbid the members of their parties to join the I.R.A., and induce them to become members of the counter-revolutionary and interventionist organisation of the "Matteotti Fund", with its deceitful title of "Aid for the victims of Terror in countries without democracy"—in spite of all this the I.R.A. has grown steadily, and become steadily stronger. It appears at its World Congress on 10th November in Moscow as a mighty organisation of twelve million members, possessing Sections in 70 countries.

This fact is worthy of special note, for it must be remembered that the considerable majority of the members are non-party workers, peasants, and working intellectuals. The membership card of the I.R.A. is the proud possession of social democratic workers and members of reformist trade unions, as well as of communists and adherents of the Red trade union movement.

These achievements have been won by long and persistent struggles. We need only remember the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign, the magnificent efforts of the masses mobilised against the challenge of dollar justice by the I.R.A. Sections in both hemispheres. We need only remember the campaign against the Terror of the Rumanian occupation in Bessarabia, against the bloody summary courts of Tatarbund and Chotin. We need only remember the dozens of campaigns against the atrocities of fascism in Italy and in the Balkans, in Poland. And today we see the Scottsboro campaign, in which the I.R.A. is leading the struggle to save nine innocent Negro boys, and is carrying on this struggle on the basis of the international united front of the white and coloured toilers, linking up the movement at the same time with the slogans for liberation from the yoke of colonial oppression.

The World Congress of the I.R.A. takes place in the midst of a situation characterised by the close of the period of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, and by the transition to a new cycle of wars and revolutions, whose issue depends on the extent to which the camp of proletarian revolution is successful in winning over and welding together the majority of the working class.

This new phase of the general crisis of the capitalist system has already been ushered in by war on the territories of China and Manchuria, a war which must be regarded as the forerunner of a gigantic massacre of the peoples on the waters and coasts of the Pacific, and as the forerunner of a second world imperialist war. In capitalist Europe we already see the first flickerings of the conflagrations of war. The last hour has struck for the predatory "equilibrium" of Versailles. And meanwhile the preparations for a renewed and determined intervention against the Soviet Union are being deliberately and openly worked out in Geneva, to the accompaniment of a continuous obligato on peace.

The revolutionary movement is increasing in breadth and strength. In China, wide territories are already under Soviet power. A number of capitalist countries are on the eve of a revolutionary crisis; in others the pre-requisite conditions for revolution are maturing. The miners of Illinois, in their self-defensive efforts against the police, vie with the unemployed in Belfast, with the proletarians in Warsaw, Dombrova, and Lodz, with the workers and agricultural labourers of Spain, with the pitmen of the Ruhr, and with Red Wedding in Berlin, the symbol of the militant spirit of the workers of Germany.

The broad waves of the turbid and bloody flood of capitalist Terror are rising, for the capitalists see in war and intervention their sole salvation from crisis and revolution. The whole history of White Terror cannot parallel the brutality being exercised by the apparatus of capitalist rule at the present time. There are over 200,000 revolutionists languishing in the prisons, the great majority of them stigmatised as common criminals. Derision, beatings, and murder, are the daily lot of the prisoners of capitalism.

10 years ago juridical executions might be counted by hundreds only, but today by thousands. In the same proportion the number of arrests have increased, the number of persons injured during the dispersion of demonstrations and meetings, the number of political trials, the number of persons simply shot down without trial or sentence. The right of asylum for political refugees exists no longer. Those who enjoy this right

today are only the White Guardist bandits, the Gorguloffs, the cliques of terrorist conspirators—these indeed enjoy this right, and in addition the subventions of the governments and capitalists who calculate upon utilising these elements for purposes of intervention.

The I.R.A. must exert its utmost efforts to organise the resolute self-defence of the masses against the orgies of White Terror. Our organisation celebrates its tenth year of struggle under the slogans: "Down with Terror. Down with War. Defend the Soviet Union." The work of our World Congress will be carried out under the same slogans.

Our Congress will subject every method of work to a careful analysis and self-criticism, will draw the conclusions from the experience gained in a decade of struggle, and will emphasise all measures which will be of service in **winning over fresh millions under the banner of the I.R.A., for the strengthening of its ranks, and for the permeation of these ranks with real revolutionary internationalism.**

The I.R.A. must and will remain steadfastly at its post in the great class struggles now impending. It will prove capable of fully coping with the demands put upon it by history.

Numerical Strength of the International Red Aid.

On 1st January 1932 there were 67 National Sections affiliated to the I.R.A. (without the Soviet Union), with 12,313 groups or committees with 39,549 functionaries—1,278,274 individual members, and 3925 collective organisations comprising 2,019,240 members (total membership 3,297,514).

Of these 67 organisations 26 are legal, 6 semi-legal, 35 illegal.

The Soviet Union counted on the same date 82,586 groups or committees with 8,232,661 individual members.

The total number of individual members registered in all 68 sections on 1st January 1932 was 11,530,175.

The composition of the membership of the I.R.A. is as follows:

a) Political:	1931
Communists and members of the Young Communist Leagues	36%
Non-party and members of other parties	64%
b) Social:	
Workers	63%
Peasants and agricultural labourers	24%
Employees, intellectuals, and middle strata	13%
c) Sex:	
Men	70%
Women	30%
d) Age:	
Youth and children	25%
Adults	75%

Composition of the membership in the Soviet Union

Social:	
Workers	35.6%
Peasants on collective farms	13.4%
Individual peasants	6.5%
Employees	20.0%
School youth	14.5%
Others	10.0%

Party membership in percentages

Date	Communists and members of Y.C.L.	Non-party
1st Jan. 1932	29.4%	70.6%

Note: The number of Sections affiliated to the I.R.A. has meanwhile increased to 70. A great increase of membership is to be recorded chiefly in the countries in which the class struggle has become intenser.

The M.O.P.R. of the Soviet Union was able to increase its membership by 1,022,955 in the first six months of 1932.

To all Toilers, to All who Want Bread, Freedom, and Culture!

By Clara Zetkin.

In November a Congress of the International Red Aid will meet in Moscow. This is a great and important event for all of you in whose hearts and minds fettered humanity cries for liberation, and who have yourselves so often suffered the pangs of hunger. This Congress, true to the essential character of the International Red Aid, will be a congress for your cause, and it must be your work. You must accord it not only your fullest interest and your closest attention, but more than this: Your most energetic support and co-operation.

The International Red Aid is the vital embodiment of the indestructible common destiny of the productive toilers of the whole world, which links up the fate of every one of you with the welfare or unhappiness of your brothers and sisters in the remotest regions of the earth. The International Red Aid reaches over the whole world, it works all over the world, and it is helping to create an entirely new world. But this new world cannot be a gift which falls into your lap like a ripe fruit. You must build it up for yourselves by struggle and action. If you intend to be masters of your fate, to satisfy your longing for bread, freedom, and culture, to secure for your humanity perfect development, maturity, fulfilment of life, then you must all become builders of this new world.

The International Red Aid calls upon you all, and gathers you together, for this great work. And it does more: it educates and trains you for it. The I.R.A. as a world-building, world-comprehending, super-party, and revolutionary organisation, does not ask about profession or sex, or about religion, or last of all about nationality and race. You toilers, whether brain or manual workers, look carefully, and realise what the inexorable facts of your daily work and lives teach you, whether you eat the bread earned by the sweat of your brow, or whether you are perishing of starvation. You are living in a world in which dead money, dead property, determines the fate of living and creative human beings, and not their work, their knowledge and ability, their will and wishes. You own little or nothing, and hence you are disinherited, downtrodden, enslaved, and exploited by the rich and the super-rich. Your unitedness in distress and in longing for emancipation must become a unitedness for resolute action. The International Red Aid calls upon you, unites you, and prepares you for the battle for freedom. It is striving forward towards its goal: fraternal aid by all for all who suffer, who struggle, are defeated or victorious.

Toilers, seekers for bread, liberty, and culture, the World Congress convened in November in Moscow by the International Red Aid will draw the balance of the first ten years of the existence of our world-uniting and world-building organisation. The balance of its existence means the results of its many-sided and effectual work for the fulfilment of its great historical task. For existence means for the I.R.A. untiring effort for the maintenance, awakening, and enhancement of the life building up the world, of your life, you toilers of the world, longing and striving for emancipation.

The World Congress to be held in November will prove to you that the International Red Aid is one with the spirit and the fire of the victorious proletarian world revolution commenced in Russia in October 1917. The spirit of this mightiest of all events of our time—as Rosa Luxemburg named it—inspires our world organisation, and the fire of this great happening burns in it, striving forward. Remember this, toilers of the world—the greatest event of our time is the deed of your Russian brothers and sisters, who have heroically ventured, sacrificed, fought, and won, all in the fullest consciousness of indissoluble solidarity with you all.

The ever memorable victory of the toilers in Russia over tsarism and capitalism opened up a new era in the advance of humanity. Toilers of the world, you must not tolerate it any longer, with resignation, sighs, and lamentations, as if it were a divine ordinance or law of reason, that the small and ever-shrinking minority of your lords and exploiters "make history". This is the decisive factor: that this small minority

arranges the economic and social conditions which determine your fate. This is no mere theory, this is something forming part of the bitter daily experiences of you toilers, when you sit down to bare tables, when you wander homeless from bench to bench in the public parks, when you spend the night under the bridges; when murderous rationalised exploitation robs you of your muscles and nerves and drives you to an early grave; when you are unable to protect your children from the sharp fangs of utter want and deprivation; when your starved mind calls in vain for knowledge, your senses and emotions for higher things, for joy and beauty, and all the rich possibilities of culture are locked away from you behind seven-sealed doors. Wherever and whatever you may create, you toilers, the few owners of the great means of production, of the means of maintaining and enhancing life, will force you to place all your labour at the service of the increase of their wealth and power.

Your brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union have put an end to the possibility that the owning classes enrich themselves at the expense of a frightful burden of toil and poverty imposed upon the toilers, or make the "history" forming the state of society in which this is possible. They have shattered the bourgeois state apparatus, the instrument maintaining and consolidating the enslavement and exploitation of the toilers, and have swept away the basis of these vampire forces by abolishing the private ownership of the great means of production. In establishing the Soviet order, the toilers have taken into their own resolute hands the prerequisites for "making history", of reorganising economic and social conditions on the new basis—without any private ownership of the great means of production—and of rebuilding society by a transformation from the serfdom and usury of capitalism to socialism.

Toilers, seekers for freedom, whether living in the East or the West, the North or the South of the globe, everywhere where your labours and your blood are poured forth in the service of the greed of profits and power of the big owners, look to the immortal example set by your brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union, take courage, and follow this example. As your vanguard and champions, they have proved that you the disinherited and downtrodden of the earth, possess the power to defeat the enemy, in spite of the mighty forces at his disposal. And they have shown that whilst this enemy would like to exploit you merely as the manure for his own culture, you possess yourselves the maturity and ability to build up a new and higher economy and order of society, an order in which no human being casts fetters upon the humanity of his fellow human beings, or can oppress and annihilate his fellows by squeezing out their labour and life forces. The days of the Russian October shook the world, renewed the world. In the 15 years which have passed since then, two antagonistic and irreconcilable worlds have been locked in a life and death struggle: the world of decaying and dying capitalism on the one hand, with its apparatus of force and despotic rule, and on the other the world of advancing socialism, urged forward by the young creative powers of its new social life and by the enthusiasm of its liberated, constructively working humanity.

The difference between these two worlds is obvious and tangible. Where capitalism rules, the international economic crisis is devastating every department of social life, and no effort can even alleviate this devastation, which is dragging millions of toilers in town and country into the profoundest depths of want and misery. The private ownership of the great means of production scorns all attempts to introduce some slight degree of planned economics, or to bridle even slightly the wildly anarchist methods of capitalist production. The international leaders and rulers of trustified monopolist capitalism, headed by the bank magnates, are abandoning their hopes of laying the spectre of approaching proletarian revolution by means of reformist democratic illusions. Now they set their hopes for the maintenance of capitalism solely upon bloodshed, upon an ocean of your blood, you toilers. Neither democracy nor Christianity prevents these rulers

from calling upon blood-stained fascism to help them; that it may crush every stir and movement of your class-conscious life, and may aid in your physical annihilation. They kindle the flames of imperialist bandit wars, and lay their plans for a fresh massacre of the peoples, that uncounted millions of toilers, dressed in different national uniforms, may go out to slaughter one another. In the Soviet state of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction, the voices of millions of toilers, your brothers and sisters, may be heard in triumphant shouts of: Forward, forward! Here no devastating economic crisis lays idle the most valuable material and human productive forces, and no unemployment condemns innumerable multitudes of toilers to bitterest deprivation and starvation. Here we see intensest effort and endeavour to place all natural wealth and natural forces, the skill and power of all hands, the forces and talents of the mind, at the service of production. Everywhere there is earnest endeavour for planned economy. The completion of the first Five-Year Plan in four years bears witness to these efforts. Soviet industry is advancing with gigantic strides in the direction of socialism. Agriculture is advancing boldly to socialism by means of agrarian co-operatives and Soviet large scale farms, and especially by means of the collectivisation of the small and middle peasant farms. Socialist construction in the Soviet state conjures up miracles of up-to-date productive technics and great workers' cities out of the earth overnight. It accomplishes a creative work which not even the greatest capitalist power can hope to emulate. In the Soviet Union, in the ridiculously brief term of 15 years, socialist construction and its reciprocal effects have raised millions of toiling men and women out of the depths of their pre-revolutionary existence as illiterates, deprived of all culture. Now they have fought their way in revolutionary struggle to a new social life, in which they may develop the rich talents of their minds and characters, and create and enjoy the culture of advancing humanity. Tens of thousands of these men and women fulfil in an exemplary manner the responsible tasks of the Soviets and their organs, and of the multifarious public institutions. Compared with these creative deeds of socialism, how poor and miserable do those few ministers and dignitaries of democracy appear in the bourgeois states, occupying high positions, wearing this or that star and order, but in reality merely the political and mental scullions of the ruling capitalist cliques. In the Soviet Union youth storms forward to take part in the work of socialist construction. Not merely hope and unconquerable confidence in victory, but merely joy in the work, but passion and fanaticism for work, is the order of the day.

Toilers! The International Congress of the International Red Aid in November will be dominated by the mighty unprecedented new life of the Soviet Union. Our worldwide organisation, like the Workers' International Relief and many other international associations of hand and brain workers, is the robust offspring of the proletarian revolution in Russia. Here its victory was rapid, thanks to Lenin's firmness and purposefulness of aim, and to his political revolutionary genius, which enabled him to recognise and to appraise the given circumstances, free from all illusions. Its victory was not only rapid, but brilliant, thanks to the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin, which succeeded in extending and strengthening the mass movement by the application of its clearness of vision and its bold and self-sacrificing militancy.

In the midst of the glowing atmosphere of revolutionary struggle and wrestling of ten years ago, the International Red Aid was founded by one of the most faithful, devoted, and far-sighted of your leaders, Julian Marchlevsky-Karsky, who was in closest contact with that company of the old Bolsheviks which included the first and best men and women fighters for the revolution. Up to the time of his death, the founder of the International Red Aid was its chairman, utterly devoted to its advancement. Face to face with the world-convulsing effects of the revolutionary events, effects which both tear the world apart and bind it closely together, Julian Marchlevski recognised the inevitable necessity and far-reaching importance of an international organisation of the toilers of all countries, and its historical role, its tasks of maintaining the forces of revolutionary militancy, of reinforcing them, multiplying them, and raising them to a higher level of efficiency.

The granite foundations of your world organisation, toilers of all countries, are the visible expression of your immutably joint destiny as the impoverished, the enslaved, and the exploited of the great owners. The task has been to

gather you together in a no less immutable fighting community on this same basis. The means of doing this lies in far-reaching fraternal mutual aid, free from the slightest suggestion of philanthropy, of charity, or benevolence. The fraternal help of the International Red Aid is the militant alliance of equals, in which the receiver is at the same time the giver, the giver the receiver, and both move forward in one recognition and one will towards the same goal, to a higher stage of revolutionary activity. Toilers, seekers for freedom in all countries, your eyes light up, your pulses quicken, when you remember the difficulties and the honour of your rise from humble sufferers to courageous and self-sacrificing fighters.

The World Congress of our organisation on November 10, closes the first decade of its work. Its leaders need not fear to give an account of this work at the conference. Every word of appreciation which can be spoken of the International Red Aid work during the past ten years is empty and inadequate. Its performance has been, and continues to be, mighty both in extent and value. The dry figures and sober facts of the reports will give some faint idea of the work accomplished. The cases in which the torments of suffering revolutionists have been alleviated, the struggles of the fighters aided number millions. The I.R.A. has stood at the side of prisoners subjected to inhuman tortures, and has heard the last proud revolutionary words of the victims of the courts martial and the gallows. It has found its way into the frightful bastilles of to-day, and into the unhappy homes of the families of murdered and incarcerated revolutionists. It has saved thousands and thousands from being murdered or buried alive behind prison walls. A faithful protector, it has accompanied fugitives upon the "thorny path of Exile", and has provided them with a safe sanctuary. In great campaigns it has appealed to the hearts and consciences of all humanely thinking mankind, calling upon them to raise their voices for the full amnesty of political prisoners, to rise in indignation against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti on the electric chair, and against the same fate threatening eight young Negroes—almost children—merely because vilest race hatred and shameless class greed demand their execution. Toilers in all countries have contributed from their meager purses, have saved from their last morsel of bread, and have gathered together, penny by penny, the many millions which the world wide work of the I.R.A. has demanded.

The ten years of the work of our organisation form an heroic epic, created by millions of unknown and unnamed, in the honour of other millions of unknown and unnamed. The future historians of the period of the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism will learn more from the accounts, and from the straight-forward informative and propaganda booklets of the International Red Aid, than from any of the heavy tomes produced by the learned. A very conspicuous fact which will thereby come to light is the sub-human, even sub-brutish, savagery of the defenders of the rule and exploitive powers of the great owning classes, confirming Marx's words—that the thing which they represent has no heart in its breast. In contrast to this, the no less actual reality of the superhuman heroism of the revolutionary fighters, men and women. The existence and work of the International Red Aid form not only a highly significant and essential constituent of contemporary world history, but are a force in which millions of unknown and unnamed toilers are making history. "Making history", reorganising society, annihilating the old world, raising up the new world, going forward to victory, they are forging their own fate. The individual deeds of the International Red Aid are manifold, great, far reaching, but they are far surpassed by the main achievement of the organisation: the awakening, assembling, and training of innumerable millions of enslaved human beings to world-renewing, world-advancing, active forces.

It need not be said that during the ten years of the work of the I.R.A., the Mopr of the Soviet Union has set a brilliant example. Toilers, whose struggles and longing for freedom cause you to follow world events and their connections with the sharpest attention, for you this fact will increase the interest felt for the World Congress taking place in Moscow, the Red heart of the state of revolution. The Red Aid of the Soviet Union is the mother organisation, and incontestably the organisation to be emulated. One of the most conspicuous features of proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union is the actually religious feeling with regard

to the international solidarity of the toilers of all countries. The Mopr sends continuous energetic international aid to every part of the world where the struggling toilers are wrestling with dangers and difficulties, undaunted by the most cruel fate. The fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Section is the unshakable material and political basis of our world organisation. It has made the territory of the Soviet Republics the refuge and the workplace, the hospitable home of the refugees from the terror of counter-revolution, the source of energy, from which they emerge strengthened, ready to plunge once more into the struggle of the worlds.

Here, in the state of proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction, the victorious proletarian revolution has built up an undisturbable basis for the activities of international fraternal aid. Here there are no spies, no provocateurs, no certain death awaiting those who render this aid, as they await those heroic men and women who come forward everywhere, full of enthusiasm and devotion, in the Balkan states, in South Slavia, Hungary, and in the realms of Pilsudsky and Mussolini. Here the helpers of the International Red Aid are sure of joyful support. Hence they feel themselves pledged to greater effort. Closely bound up with the enthusiastic readiness for self-sacrifice on an international scale for their brothers and sisters on the other side of the frontier, the creative social action of the Mopr members forms a mighty force. Where groups of the I.R.A. have been founded in the Soviet Union, we see their work in the form of infants' creches, children's playgrounds, consultation centres and aid centres for mothers, for the sick and old, community kitchens and dining rooms, in a word, institutions of every kind giving the women full freedom and equal rights, giving the children their rights of care and training for their bodies, minds, and characters, and giving all who are in need of fraternal solidarity the help which they requires. Reading rooms and libraries are organised, courses of elementary and scientific instruction, cultural institutions of every kind. Copek by copek contributions are collected in aid of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction, and millions have been raised. Into the front of socialist construction, and from this front, there stream fresh battalions of young and fresh volunteers, shock brigades of the I.R.A., devoting themselves indefatigably and entirely to the gigantic work of the Soviet State. We see an incomparable, determined, tireless awakening of minds and movement of busy hands, and this not only to create fresh forms of social life, but beyond this to create a new social consciousness and being in humanity, filled and borne forward by the realisation of the indissoluble connection of all with all. Upward, upward, to higher and purer heights of humanity—this is the spirit and the activity shown in all the facts reported of the creative social work of our Soviet Union Section from all parts of the Union, not only from the highly developed industrial centres, but from lonely villages out in the forests, from the steppes of the autonomous territories and the Republics of the North, South, and East. "Bolshevist annihilation of culture"—thus howl the wolves raging around the Soviet Union, greedy to throw themselves upon it and tear it to pieces in defence of capitalist profiteering economy.

The World Congress of the I.R.A. meeting in November in Moscow will be a conscientious and careful review of a decade of work, and at the same time it will furnish a keen survey of the tasks set us by the historical hour, and of the ways and means at our disposal for fulfilling them. And it will furnish a discerning glance into future events. Retrospection, inspection and prospectation, all unite in the one inflexible determination: Forward, forward, to the goal of the new world and the emancipation of mankind. No illusions will be brought forward at the congress, only facts. No imaginative excursions, no speculations, no confusion of ideas weakening the closest alliance between the essential character and work of the International Red Aid and the great whole of the world revolution.

Toilers, seekers of culture! The congress deals with your very own cause. It is the duty of every one of you to exert your utmost efforts to aid this conference to carry out its tasks effectively. This duty must be your honour and happiness. Utilise the short time till November for promoting the work of the congress in every possible way. Draw the attention of the masses to the congress, deepen and extend comprehension for its aims. Collect funds, organise groups in which the agenda, the tasks of the congress, the work of the I.R.A., are brought forward and discussed. Let these

groups elect delegates to the congress, and impress on these delegates their duty of energetic participation in the work of the congress and the reports on it, and of a study of the work of the Soviet Union section of the I.R.A. and of the gigantic work of socialist construction. The masses must learn not only of the mighty successes of construction, but of the great difficulties which have to be overcome by the radiant heroism and voluntary self-sacrifice and endeavours of your brothers and sisters, who do this work as conscious champions of socialism, of communism, of the proletarian world revolution. Open your hand, your hearts, your minds, for the work of this congress! It need not be said that you will act in close collaboration with the Red Aid organisation of your locality, district or country. As in all struggles for the bread, liberty, and culture of the toilers, against your tyrannous rulers and tormentors, the International Red Aid will help you, lead you, guide your earnest efforts towards making the work of the International Red Aid a conscious and devoted action joined in by countless millions of toilers all over the world. The work and influence of our world-embracing organisation must form a vital part in the lives of all toilers. To work! To the fight!

First Appeal

to the Russian workers to aid the victims of Terror and class justice in the capitalist countries. Issued November 1922.

Appeal
of the International Relief Organisation for the
Revolutionary Fighters.

Advancing irresistibly, like a force of nature, the inexorable class struggle assumes ever more vast dimensions. The more imminent the approach of the last and decisive struggles, the intenser the savage fury of the world bourgeoisie. In the Poland of the Schlachta (nobility) as in the Italy of the fascists, in "democratic" America as in Roumania and Spain, groaning beneath the pressure of the last remnants of the dark middle ages, in "peaceful" Czechoslovakia as in bleeding Ireland, in triumphant France as in enslaved Germany—everywhere, to the remotest region of the civilised world, with the sole exception of the Federation of the Soviet Republics, the blood of the proletariat is being shed. Thousands and thousands of proletarians, brave fighters for the high aim of world revolution, where they have escaped the bullets of the bourgeoisie, have been thrown into the prisons, where they suffer every martyrdom and torture which a cruel hunger regime can impose upon them. These helpless victims of bourgeois "justice" wait and suffer behind their prison walls for weeks, months, and years, with the Damocles sword of the executioner hanging over their heads.

War is war, and it would be absurd to expect feelings of humanity from the representatives of the class now doomed to extinction, the class now disappearing from the stage of history, towards the class which is their enemy, and will be their grave-digger to-morrow. It may be that all this cruelty inflicted by the bourgeoisie to-day is only the prologue to an even more frightful bacchanalia of the monster of capitalism. Let it come. The revolutionary proletariat does not fear the threatening dangers of a civil war. It knows that the more violent the dying convulsions of the monster, the more rapid the end of the death struggle, and the sooner the light of the final victory will dissipate the dark powers of the past.

As in every war, in the class war too there are positions at the front and behind the lines, there are vanguards and reserves, advanced lines meeting the brunt of the fire, first aid squads and nurses caring for those who fall in the struggle.

Our R.S.F.S.R., shrinking from no self-sacrifice, however great, has freed itself of that militarist imperialism which endeavoured to hold it beneath its mailed fist, and has fought its way to free development. The thunder of the field guns and the clatter of the machine guns have been silenced. The capitalist monster has been forced to withdraw from our sorely tried country. Only the future can show if this pause for breath will be for long and if it will be far-reaching in effect. But this pause for breath certainly does not mean that the toiling masses of Russia have withdrawn from the

bloody international struggles between capital and labour—quite the contrary. The Russian proletariat is only too well aware that the success of its cause depends entirely on the success of the world proletariat in its struggle against capital, that therefore it must utilise to the utmost this pause for breath which it has gained at the cost of so much bloodshed, and must throw the whole of its forces into the economic front in the interests of this struggle.

At the same time we must never forget that our Republic, liberated from the dictatorship of capital, forms a hinterland, a reserve fund of revolutionary forces, and furnishes a territory upon which large-scale relief action can be organised for the revolutionary fighters forced to leave the line of battle for the moment. Every soldier of the revolution, when torn from the ranks of the proletariat by the claws of the fascist bandits, or by the police of a Pilsudsky or a Poincaré, must feel assured of the solidarity of millions of his Russian brothers when he treads the path to prison, to hard labour, or to death; he must know that the toiling masses of the Russian people hasten to help with their pence the heroes of the class struggle of the proletariat, and offer them comradely aid and relief to the utmost of their powers. The prisoners languishing in the jails of European and American capitalism must have the assurance that their families are not left to the blind arbitrariness of fate, but their wives and children will be cared for by organised material aid. The rendering of material and moral support to the political prisoners enhances and consolidates the militancy and steadfastness of the revolutionary fighters still in the ranks of the battle. Upon this field the seed of international solidarity and warmest fraternal sympathy will germinate.

The matter is urgent. The organisation of relief for the

For the Fighting Alliance of all Revolutionary Organisations — For the M.O.P.R. World Congress!

By Willi Münzenberg.

The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has resolved to convene an international congress of the Mopr organisations of the whole world from 10th till 25th November 1932 in Moscow.

The Congress coincides with the 10th anniversary of this world organisation, so important for the revolutionary class struggle of the workers. By the end of November 1932 10 years will have passed since a group of international comrades took the initiative for the formation of the International Red Aid. The World Congress of the International Red Aid convened in Moscow, like the whole International Red Aid, is a matter concerning not only **one organisation**, but all revolutionary workers' organisations, and indeed the international working class. During the 10 years of its existence, the I.R.A., like the Workers International Relief, has refuted the unending bourgeois and social democratic slander campaigns by means of deeds, of hundreds of actions proving that in the best sense of the term it is a broad and super-party organisation.

The International Red Aid, like the Workers International Relief, counts among its members workers, peasants, middle class, intellectuals of multifarious parties and trends. The I.R.A. opens its doors to everyone who is ready to give aid, on the basis of its programme, to the victims of bourgeois class justice. The I.R.A. has carried on its struggles in defence of the victims of bourgeois class justice, irrespective of the party membership of these victims. I need only refer to the gigantic international action, now become almost a matter of history, for the anarchist comrades Sacco and Vanzetti, executed in the electric chair.

The tasks of the I.R.A., and the demands put upon this organisation, are very great to-day. In the present phase of decaying capitalism, the capitalist governments are endeavouring to maintain their position, and to gain a pause for breath for their rule, by means of building up fascist dictatorships, and by draconic police persecution, prohibitions, arrests, imprisonment and murder of proletarian revolutionists. It will never be really known how many sacrifices the world

revolutionary fighters is not a matter which can be postponed. A group of tried and tested Bolsheviks (league of the old Bolsheviks) has therefore already taken the initiative towards founding such an organisation. With the collaboration of the Communist International and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia, an "International Organisation for the Aid of Revolutionary Fighters" (I.R.A.) has been founded in the R.S.F.S.R.

In the name of this organisation we appeal to all communists, and to all persons sympathising with the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of toiling humanity from the yoke of decaying capitalism, and call upon them to participate in energetic work in aid of the prisoners of capitalism. We appeal especially to:

1. The gubernia committees and other Party organisations of the C.P.R., with the request that these support our initiative, and organise the collection of funds for the above purpose among the communists in the scope of their organisations. (The contributions should have the character of voluntary gifts, for instance the nuclei members should levy themselves to an amount equal to one per cent. of a month's wages.)

2. The communists, who should set an example to all by their own gifts and by their support of the fund collecting campaign.

3. The Gubernia trade union councils, with the request that these organise gatherings and collections among the workers organised in the trade unions, and among all citizens. And finally to:

4. The non-party workers and peasants, and to all citizens of the state sympathising with the world revolution, with the request that they give voluntary contributions to the local trade union organisations, to be handed on to the I.R.A.

proletariat has had to make for its emancipation during the last few years. We only need remember the Chinese workers who have been murdered, in the gigantic world historical struggle for the social and national emancipation of China, by the foreign or Chinese White Terror executioners. An approximate idea of the incredible number of victims may be gained from statistics (not yet complete) issued by the I.R.A., showing the increase in the number of victims to have been as follows:

"On 1st January 1932, there were 192,673 revolutionary political prisoners in the prisons, delivered over to physical and moral torture, and to disease. The number murdered in 1931 alone was 369,707 (1930: 295,906; 1925: 11,853), the number sentenced to death 1931: 91,548 (1930: 90,842; 1925: 447). The total number of victims of White Terror amounted to 1,090,421 in 1931 (arrested, wounded, severely mal-treated, murdered, condemned to death, sentenced to imprisonment and fines), as compared with 877,702 in 1930 and 120,005 in 1925."

And these statistics of the I.R.A. are not even complete. To-day there is scarcely any capitalist country in which the bourgeoisie is not proceeding against the proletarian class struggle by methods of unprecedented Terror and in most countries—especially in the fascist and terrorist countries, such as Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Latvia, the bourgeoisie is carrying on an unceasing campaign for the physical annihilation of the foremost and most courageous groups of the proletarian fighters.

To this must be added the recent rising wave of persecution in such countries as Czechoslovakia, Austria, and especially in Germany, the country of the Papen-Schleicher government, of the Bracht enactments, of the innumerable prohibitions of meetings and newspapers, of police searches, of arrests of functionaries of the Communist Party and of all proletarian mass organisations.

Under these circumstances, the International Red Aid finds an enormous increase in the number and importance of the tasks falling to it in its chosen work of aiding the working men and women persecuted by class justice. In 1925 the I.R.A. carried out 25 international campaigns, this number swelling to 170 by 1930.

The International Red Aid, supported in particular by the exemplary and brilliant fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Russian workers and peasants, has collected many millions of marks in the course of the 10 years of its existence for the material aid of the victims of class justice. The sum of its political and moral actions is, however, incalculable. The relief actions of the I.R.A. have maintained and re-inforced the resistance, the self-defensive powers, and the active militancy of the fighting class-conscious groups and organisations, precisely when these have been most severely threatened by the White Terror.

The International Red Aid, like the Workers International Relief, is an organisation aiding the proletarian class struggle, and both organisations have much in common. The points of contact between the I.R.A. and the W.I.R. have increased greatly during the last few years, especially in connection with the rapidly rising wave of economic mass struggles and strikes.

The Workers International Relief has set itself the task of aiding the participants in great economic mass struggles and strikes, and especially their families and children, by means of collecting food, money, and other necessities. But there has been scarcely a single economic struggle of any extent during the last few years in which the bourgeoisie has not attempted to weaken the front of the strikers by police Terror and persecution. All the great strikes taking place of late—for instance the really great mass strike in Brüx (Czechoslovakia), the great miners' strike in Belgium, and the great textile workers' strike in England—have been accompanied by mass arrests and police persecution against the strike front of the struggling workers.

In such mass struggles the International Red Aid and the Workers International Relief automatically find themselves working on the same sector of the front. Whilst the W.I.R. strengthens the fighting resolution of the strikers and their families by collecting funds and bringing material aid, the I.R.A. organises help for the political victims of these economic struggles. To this must be added the fact that of late the economic struggles have assumed an increasingly political character, and are expressions of the struggle against fascist Terror, against imperialist war, and for solidarity with the Soviet Union. In the future such strikes will render the joint work of the two great international proletarian relief organisations more necessary and frequent than ever. The more necessary, therefore, is close co-operation between these two great solidarity armies of the world proletariat, the International Red Aid and the Workers International Relief.

The W.I.R., at its 8th World Congress in October 1931, when it celebrated its 10th anniversary, adopted a resolution, unanimously and amidst enthusiastic applause, in which this fighting alliance between the two organisations was laid down and resolved upon. The resolution stated:

"The 8th International Congress sends warm fraternal greetings to all proletarian prisoners languishing in the prisons and jails of the capitalist countries.

Taking as a basis the fact that every economic struggle of the working class assumes an increasingly more definite and immediate political character in proportion as the general situation becomes more acute, and in view of the enormous increase of Terrorist methods in the fascist and other capitalist countries against the working class, the Congress draws the attention of all organisations and friends of the W.I.R. to the militant and relief work being carried out successfully for years by the International Red Aid.

The 8th Congress of the W.I.R. records with satisfaction the fraternal fighting alliance between the W.I.R. and the I.R.A. on an international scale, and hopes that the same fighting alliance will be carried out in all countries and in all groups of the two organisations.

The 8th Congress of the W.I.R., whilst expecting far-reaching help from the Red Aid in its actions in support of the impending mass strikes and in the extension of the Workers International Relief in all countries, pledges it-

self, and at the same time all W.I.R. organisations and friends of the W.I.R., to join the I.R.A. and to make efforts in all countries for the building up of strong I.R.A. organisations."

During the preparatory campaign for the World Congress of the I.R.A., the W.I.R. has instructed all its sections to support the World Congress of the I.R.A. in their literature and newspapers, and by a campaign of meetings with explanatory lectures on the history and importance of the I.R.A. and its World Congress.

The Workers International Relief knows that the strengthening of the International Red Aid signifies the strengthening of the fighting powers of the world proletariat.

The Central Committee of the Workers International Relief has resolved to send an international delegation to Moscow to the World Congress of the I.R.A., and will propose that representatives of the Workers International Relief should be elected to the executive committee of the I.R.A., in order to demonstrate visibly the close fraternal unity of the two proletarian organisations.

Precisely at the present juncture, when the bourgeoisie in its savage hate is resorting to the police persecution of not only the fighting workers themselves, but is proceeding in particular against these two proletarian relief organisations, it is the more necessary for the two organisations to march together in closest contact and militant alliance. It is cer-

The Communist International for the International Red Aid.

At the 27th Plenary Session of the IV. Congress of the Comintern held on November 30, 1922, Comrade Felix Kon moved the following resolution:

"With the offensive of capital in all bourgeois countries the number of Communist and non-Party workers who are pining in the prisons because they have taken up the fight against capitalism is growing. The IV. World Congress calls upon all Communist Parties to set up an organisation for rendering material and moral aid to the imprisoned victims of capitalism."

"Signed: The Association of Russian old Bolsheviks, who are about to set up such an organisation." (Stormy applause.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

certainly not by accident that within the last few months the sections of the International Red Aid and of the Workers International Relief in Czechoslovakia and Austria have been prohibited, and their separate local groups disbanded by the police of the capitalist governments of these countries. In other countries too the two organisations are carrying on a struggle for their legality, and almost every domiciliary search made by the police on the premises of the Workers International Relief in Berlin or other places in Germany coincides with a simultaneous police search in the buildings of the International Red Aid, and vice versa. Both organisations are recognised by the bourgeoisie and its capitalist governments and police as extremely important organisations in the workers' class struggle movement, and are being combated and persecuted as such.

Like the 8th World Congress of the Workers International Relief in October 1931, the World Congress of the International Red Aid in November 1932 will be a mighty international demonstration of that proletarian solidarity which can never be suppressed and never be prohibited, which inspires millions of workers, which glows with ardent intensity among the members and friends of these two organisations, and which will succeed, in spite of all persecution, all prohibitions, all White Terror, in aiding the International to triumph at last over the nationalist and chauvinist poison now being spread in the leading capitalist countries in the process of fascistisation, and threatening to poison even a part of the workers and petty bourgeois strata.

To prevent this, and to aid the international proletarian class struggle forward more rapidly to victory, are among the present most important, urgent, and leading tasks of the International Red Aid and the Workers International Relief.

The M.O.P.R. in the Soviet Union and its Role in Socialist Construction.

By Herzbach.

In the Soviet Union the M.O.P.R. is proceeding to celebrate its tenth anniversary, and the 15th anniversary of the October revolution in serried ranks, as a political militant and class organisation, and as a numerically strong and active army of the Soviet public. The transformation of a small group of old Bolsheviks and political proscribers, who laid the foundations of the M.O.P.R. ten years ago, into a mighty organisation of 9 millions of members, extending its influence into the remotest regions of our immeasurable Union, has been made possible only by the correct leadership of our organisation, which has proved capable of organically combining the tasks of the M.O.P.R. in the sphere of the international education of the masses, and the international solidarity of the proletariat, with the urgent tasks of socialist construction in the land of the Soviets.

The M.O.P.R. nuclei take as their chief basis of educational mass work the task of spreading enlightenment on the international significance of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Every international campaign (Scottsboro, and the like), and every revolutionary anniversary (18th March, 1st August, etc.), are utilised by the M.O.P.R. nuclei for the mobilisation of the masses around the urgent economic and political tasks of the Soviet power, and for the spread of knowledge on the best possible and most rapid accomplishment of these tasks in the interests of international proletarian revolution. The same aims are pursued by the systematic activities of the M.O.P.R. in the sphere of the enlightenment of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union on the life and struggles of the working class and the toiling masses in the capitalist countries, in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The agitation carried on by the M.O.P.R., in contrasting the facts of the economic situation of the working class "in our country and in theirs", and in showing the toiling masses of the land of the Soviets that their class brothers abroad are suffering under political, economic, and intellectual oppression, contributes to making the millions of the toilers in the Soviet Union realise what mighty achievements have been attained by the heroic struggles of the sole country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is of paramount importance that conditions abroad should be made known to the hundreds and thousands and millions of proletarians who have streamed in recent years into our new undertakings, mines, blast furnace plants, and building enterprises, but are not yet free of the ideology of the old world.

For the working youth of the Soviet Union, this happy generation brought forth by the October revolution, this generation which has never felt the yoke of the capitalist regime, and does not know what a capitalist undertaking is like, for the millions of young Pioneers and Communists who have never seen a policeman—for these the agitation of the M.O.P.R., the propaganda of the idea of the international solidarity of the proletariat, and education in militant internationalism, are of the utmost importance for the **political education of the masses**. No less important is the propaganda for the ideas of the international solidarity of the proletariat, for these, too, form an essential part of the education of active builders up of the classless socialist state of society, ready to fight for Leninist national policy and to join in the active resistance evinced by the Party, the Soviet government, and the working class of the Soviet Union, against the slightest symptom of nationalist disputes, chauvinism, and above all counter-revolutionary anti-semitism, in the land of the Soviets.

Specially worthy of attention is the role played by international contacts, and by the patronages over political prisoners, made possible by the mobilisation of the masses for the concrete tasks of socialist construction: At the First M.O.P.R. Conference of the Soviet Union, for the establishment of international contacts, held in August 1932, the local delegates adduced eloquent facts showing what an important part is played by the exchange of letters with proletarians in foreign countries, in our industrial undertakings, schools, and

nuclei of the Red Army. In a number of cases the militant greetings of foreign comrades, or written replies from the prisons, have proved not only an excellent means of stimulating the local activities of the M.O.P.R. and international work, but at the same time for mobilising the masses for the struggle against economic shortcomings in the works or factories concerned, for the struggle for the fulfilment and out-distancing of the schedules of the Plan (shock brigades, collective farms, loans, etc.).

The role played by the M.O.P.R. in the socialist construction of the Soviet Union is, however, not confined to these important agitational and educational tasks. The M.O.P.R. organisations take an immediate part in carrying out the economic and political measures of the Party and the Soviet power. Here we shall only mention two forms of this participation—the shock brigade movement and our work for the realisation of the loans.

The participation of the M.O.P.R. in the shock brigade movement was commenced in the special quarter in 1930 (October till December), and had increased to an enormous extent in 1931 and 1932. Unfortunately we have no exact statistic material on the number of M.O.P.R. shock brigades, factory divisions, strata, and the Lancucki-André Marty shock brigades, the shock brigade of the Scottsboro prisoners, etc. In 1931 1233 M.O.P.R. shock troops could be counted in four regional organisations—Leningrad, Moscow, Urals, and North Caucasus—. In September 1932 the Leningrad organisation alone counted 1070 shock brigades. According to the very incomplete data, the Scottsboro campaign has led to the formation of 318 new shock brigades of the M.O.P.R. in the Urals by 1st August, and of 550 in Ukraina. All the members of these shock brigades are now faced by the fighting task of not only taking a place in the foremost ranks in the execution of the industrial and financial plans, in the struggle for the working discipline and the plans for the mastery of technics, but at the same time of setting an example as activists of the M.O.P.R. and energetic propagandists for the idea of the international solidarity of the proletariat and of militant internationalism.

The achievements of the M.O.P.R. have been especially conspicuous in the struggle for the realisation of the loans issued by our government in order to secure the rapid tempo of the Five-Year-Plan. Whilst in the case of the first loans we could only record the individual initiative of certain cells and activists of the M.O.P.R., who subscribed "on behalf of the political prisoners", at the beginning of 1931 the M.O.P.R. undertook—as organisation—certain obligations towards the government with regard to the popularisation of the loans. The Plenary Session of the O.C. of the M.O.P.R., held in October 1931, stressed the fact that the M.O.P.R. members must carry out this campaign under the slogan of a test of the fighting capacity of our organisations, and must hereby fight for the general line of the Party. The campaign has assumed a class character. It suffices to point out the fact that during this campaign more than 35,000 volunteer activists have been mobilised. Although the M.O.P.R. did not enter the campaign till towards the close of its general part, and was allotted the politically most responsible portion, that of the individual sector of agriculture, the M.O.P.R. members have brought the campaign to a satisfactory end, and can record subscriptions of 18 million roubles.

Even greater success has been recorded for the second loan drive—not yet completed—the campaign for the realisation of the loan for the fourth and concluding year of the Five-Year-Plan. This time the M.O.P.R. has undertaken an exceedingly responsible task, that of raising 100 million roubles, 62 million of which are to be raised among the individual peasants. Tens of thousands of the M.O.P.R. activists have been entrusted with this task. As result of the energetic work of our organisations, by 20th September more than 45 millions had been realised.

The fact is worthy of mention that the national districts and autonomous territories take the first place in the subscriptions to the loan, affording the best proof of the internationalism of our national districts and of the correctness of the Leninist national policy of our Party.

The above must, however, not be taken to mean that all our organisations are working actively for the socialist construction in the Soviet Union. On the country, there are a number of places where the local organisations have not yet re-adjusted themselves sufficiently to the productive work of the lower links of our nuclei; our participation is still very

weak in the building up of the collective and Soviet farms, and in the organisation of supplies to the toilers in the work of communal construction.

The impending preparations for the 15th anniversary of the October revolution, for the 10th anniversary of the M.O.P.R., and for the World Congress, will be utilised by our organisations for the further activation of our country, for the mobilisation of the 13 millions of our members for the fulfilment of the Five-Year-Plan in four years, and for the preparations for the second Five-Year-Plan of the construction of the classless socialist state of society.

The Terror in Japan and the Japanese Red Aid.

By Sen K a t a y a m a.

The whole of the capitalist world is concentrating on preparations for war. The capitalists regard war as a way out of the ever sharpening and deepening crisis, after all their efforts to find a way out by shifting the entire burden of the crisis on to the toiling masses have failed to achieve their object. These war-preparations are directed particularly against the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the world proletariat.

In order to combat the growing struggles of the masses in the imperialist countries themselves and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the capitalist class have been making use of fascist terrorist organisations, such as the American Legion in the U.S.A. and the National Socialists in Germany. Against these fascist forces and their social fascist allies, the militant workers and peasants are conducting a life and death struggle. The victory of the Communist Party of Germany in the Reichstag election in July 1932 is an indication of the increasing militancy of the toiling masses. The 5½ million votes cast for the Communist list represent the iron battalion of the revolution, which cannot be intimidated even by the savage terror of the ruling class.

With the growing mass struggle against war and the war intrigues of the imperialists, the latter are compelled to resort to more desperate measures. French imperialism leads the way in provocative intrigues for the purpose of bringing about war against the Soviet Union—even resorting to the weapon of assassination. Under the direction of the French General Staff the iron ring encircling the U.S.S.R. is being closed tighter. Japan, as France's ally, preparing to attack from the East; while France's Baltic and Balkan allies are preparing to attack from the West. All these preparations for anti-Soviet intervention are being accelerated by the capitalists, who are rendered panic-stricken by the huge successes of the Five-Year Plan and the vaster prospects of the second Five-Year Plan.

Japanese imperialism plays a big part in this anti-Soviet war front. By the invasion of Manchuria and the occupation of Chapei the Japanese imperialists commenced a second world war and have greatly increased the danger of war against the U.S.S.R.

The Japanese ruling class has also made thorough preparations at home for war. Educational institutions—schools and universities—have been militarised for years. A rigorous system of conscription has long been in force. Peasant boys are required to put in a total of 800 hours a year in training camps for four years. 3 million boys and 1½ million girls have been organised in bodies which serve the war purposes of the imperialists. The five million army reservists are organised in a national organisation controlled by officers of a notorious Prussian type.

In order to realise their war-plans, the Japanese imperialists consider it necessary to exterminate the revolutionary movement. This is the object of the savage terror that has prevailed in the country during the past two years and which has greatly increased since the war on China. The chief victims of this bloody terror are the Communists, who are the acknowledged leaders of the whole revolutionary struggle. The Communist Party is completely outlawed. Membership of the Party is punishable with the death penalty. There are at present 3000 revolutionaries, mostly C.P. members, in prison.

The Red Trade Union movement leads a semi-legal existence, as it is also looked upon as the main enemy of imperialist war. A worker suspected of belonging to the red trade unions is immediately dismissed. In spite of the terror, however, the membership of these unions is growing.

The Japanese Red Aid was organised some years ago under the name of Kyu-Eu-kai. With its official journal, Kyu-Eu-Shimbun (Red Aid News), it plays a very important role—a role which increases with the growing danger of the extension of the world war already commenced by Japan in China.

It is essential that the other organisations in Japan render the utmost support to the Japanese Red Aid in the struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. In this campaign the Red Aid must emphasise that the Soviet Union is the workers, peasants and soldiers' Republic, the only country in which the masses are not exploited, where there is no unemployment and no economic crisis. It must also point out to the workers that an attack on the Soviet Union is an attack on the workers' own fatherland, a war against themselves. The contrast must be shown between the wretched, impoverished conditions of the Japanese masses, who are sinking into ever deeper misery, and the steadily increasing improvement in the living conditions of the masses in the Soviet Union. The lies spread by the bourgeoisie about the Soviet Union must be constantly and energetically exposed.

The Japanese Red Aid must not lose sight of the fact that its chief task as Red Aid organisation—the rallying of the masses to the aid of the victims of the terror and their families—, when properly carried out, becomes a mighty factor extending its influence among the masses. At the present time, when the capitalist terror is assuming ever sharper and brutal forms, it is more than ever essential to obtain the support of the proletariat of the whole world and the masses of toilers generally. Support for the struggle of the Japanese workers and peasants against the imperialist war waged by their ruling class must be made the central feature in the anti-imperialist war campaign. In carrying out this task the greatest publicity must be given to the work of the Japanese Red Aid.

Ten Years Fight of the International Red Aid.

By Wilhelm Pieck.

The 10th November is the tenth anniversary of the founding of the International Red Aid. This anniversary will be celebrated not only by the 11½ million members of this organisation of proletarian solidarity for the proletarian political prisoners, but by millions of oppressed workers and peasants all over the world. In the dark dungeons of the capitalist countries and colonies, in the convict prisons, in the remotest banishment and Devil's Islands, in the orphan families of the fallen revolutionary fighters, everywhere where the fraternal aid of the International Red Aid has penetrated, from Berlin-Moabit to New York Sing-Sing, the hearts of hundreds of thousands of victims of the White Terror of capitalist class justice, and of the murderous prison regime, beat more quickly when they remember the work and the help of this mass organisation of proletarian solidarity.

On this tenth anniversary of the International Red Aid, and at the International World Congress convened in the stronghold of the socialist proletarian fatherland, in Moscow, millions of Red Aid members will and must demonstrate their inflexible determination to fight against Terror and War, for the Red Aid over the whole world, under the banner of the revolutionary united front.

The Fighting Traditions of the Past.

The Red Aid movement has deep historical roots. After the crushing of the revolution of 1848, Karl Marx appealed for fraternal solidarity and help for the proletarian fighters, many of them cast into prison for their revolutionary activities by the bourgeoisie, many of them driven from the country. Marx founded a committee in London, and this set itself two tasks; firstly to expose the cruelty of the provocations and judicial Terror being carried on by triumphant reaction; secondly to bring relief to the prisoners and refugees, in order to maintain the revolutionary cadres. Thanks to the great propaganda work performed by the London committee, the political lies and inventions, false witness and falsifications, arousing an international sensation in the Cologne trial, were brought to the light of day.

The General Council of First International came forward with international mass propaganda against the unbridled Terror of Versailles in the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune—the cruel butchery in Paris.

It organised the defence of the communards in the court of justice, it organised the international struggle against the extradition of those communards who had succeeded in escaping abroad, it provided help, homes, and work for the fugitive communards. During the 12 years' duration of Bismarck's exceptional law, relief and support were provided for the banished, the imprisoned, and their families, by means of the relief action of the German proletariat and of the proletariat of the other countries.

The further fighting traditions against Terror, and for aid to its victims, are closely bound up with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in tsarist Russia. Everywhere the Russian, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Georgian, Armenian, and Ukrainian workers formed their illegal Red Cross. Thanks to the activities of these Red Cross organisations, and to the moral and material support which they brought to the prisoners in the jails, prisons, fortresses, and convict colonies, thousands of revolutionists were enabled to maintain their forces for the subsequent October revolution and for the present socialist construction.

The Initiative of the Old Guard.

The International Red Aid took over the tasks which had been carried on by the "Red Cross" in the tsarist countries. It was founded on the suggestion of the "Society of the Old Bolsheviks" and of former political prisoners under the tsarist regime. On 22nd September, 1922, Comrade March-

levski-Karsky proposed to the Society of Old Bolsheviks that an organisation should be founded in aid of all the political prisoners incarcerated in the capitalist prisons. This aid was to be carried out on the principles of international solidarity. By November of the same year this decision had been put into practice. Thus the International Red Aid came into being, the super-party mass organisation of the revolutionary struggle against White Terror and of solidarity for its victims.

11½ Million Fighters.

69 Sections and sister Sections, with over 11½ million members, are united under the banners of the International Red Aid. Of these 63 per cent. are workers, 24 per cent. peasants and agricultural workers, 13 per cent. employees, intellectuals, and middle class. The super-party nature of the organisation is evidenced by the fact that 64 per cent. of the members are non-party or members of non-communist organisations. 36 per cent. are communists.

The Work of the I.R.A.

The work accomplished by the International Red Aid in the ten years of its existence can only be very imperfectly described by the available statistics. Statistics have only been kept since 1923, and then not completely. 136 international and 729 national campaigns against international Terror and class justice have been counted. Innumerable numbers of mass demonstrations have been held outside prisons, courts of justice, and consulates. Against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti alone there were 60,000 resolutions, letters, telegrams, and protests sent to the American authorities. Thousands of workers have been torn from the clutches of the executioners by the mass struggles and mass protests of the international proletariat.

The international importance of the International Red Aid as a mass organisation in the struggle against war and terror finds expression in its gigantic agitprop activities, and its newspapers in the Russian, German, English, French, Spanish, Italian, Bulgarian, Yiddish, Japanese, Danish, Finnish, Polish, Greek, Arabic, Roumanian, Hungarian, Armenian, Portuguese, Flemish, Norwegian, Slovene, and Chinese languages. The enormous extent of the aid given to the victims of White Terror, to the injured and maltreated, the prisoners, the refugees, and their families, may be gathered from the fact that a sum of over 35 million marks has been collected and expended for these purposes between 1925 and the beginning of 1932 by the International Red Aid.

This sum does not include the collection of food, clothing, and books, during the winter relief campaigns.

The World Congress of the Red Aid has awakened mighty echoes among the toiling masses in Germany, now in the midst of the struggle against fascist oppression, wage robbery, and fascist class justice. Tens of thousands of messages of greeting from workers' meetings are being sent to the World Congress, 42,113 new members have been won for the Red Aid in connection with the Congress, 11,293 new readers for the "Tribunal", 2566 meetings have been held and 385 new local groups have been formed, as a result of Red Aid action in preparation for the Congress. The Red Aid has set itself the task of combining propaganda for the World Congress with the recruiting of 100,000 new fighters for the world army of solidarity, for the international proletarian united front against war and Terror, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The beginning of this recruiting action is at the same time the first step in the great winter relief campaign, now a tradition in Germany, in which the Red Aid brings fraternal aid to the 9,000 political prisoners in Germany and their 20,000 dependants, demonstrating to these that no fascist Terror can restrain the proletariat from applying the whole of its forces against Terror and war preparations, and for the mass storm on the bastilles of capitalism, for the victory of socialism.

Relief, Patronage, Political Emigration.

By S. Pestkovsky.

In the present period of sharpening of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, the colonies, and semicolonies, and of the growing cruelty of the White Terror exercised by the bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolutionary fighters, the aid and support given by the Red Aid to political prisoners is becoming a factor of ever increasing importance. This aid is a striking proof of proletarian class solidarity; it strengthens the international fighting front against capitalism and serves to protect the revolutionary cadres. But the growing White Terror renders a further increase of this active aid an urgent necessity. The total number of the victims of White Terror, from 1925 till the end of 1931, was 3,248,784. Of these 1,040,608 were murdered, 232,801 condemned to death, 122,164 imprisoned, 630,158 injured, and 1,223,052 arrested.

At the present time there are about 200,000 political prisoners in the prisons of the capitalist countries. These figures increase from day to day. The position of the political prisoners and their families worsens steadily. The bourgeoisie is striving for the physical annihilation of the imprisoned proletarian fighters. Murders and torture in the prisons have become daily occurrences in the prisons.

Nothing but the struggle of the toiling masses can save the political prisoners from physical annihilation. Therefore the R.A. organisations place on their agenda the question of the greater activation of all their units, the intensified struggle for the relief and aid of the political prisoners, and the establishment of close contact with the prisons. The support given to political prisoners does not consist merely of material aid, but of close communication with the political prisoners and their families, and in constant information on the revolutionary movement.

This is attained to the greatest extent by means of the undertaking of patronages of prisons by R.A. organisations.

The organisations taking over such patronages maintain constant contact with the prisoners, are informed as to their lives, their needs, their special grievances, and are thus better able to organise political, moral, and material aid.

These patronages mean that the R.A. organisations enter into correspondence with the prisoners and their families, know the political composition of the prisoners in the prison under their patronage, and are informed as to their conditions of living and their struggles. A number of R.A. Sections in the capitalist countries have already gained much experience in patronages of prisons. This line of work is especially developed in the Soviet Union, where more than one thousand patrons over capitalist prisons may be counted. The lower units of the R.A. have shown special activity in this direction in the Soviet Union.

Many peasants' organisations cultivate collective pieces of land to raise funds for the political prisoners under their patronage. The nomads of Kasakstan have herds devoted specially to these prisoners. The school children of the elementary work schools exchange letters with the children of the political prisoners. The following figures show the extent of the correspondence carried on between the organisations of the Soviet Union and the political prisoners.

	Letters sent from the Soviet Union	Letters received from the capitalist countries
1928	1591	284
1929	3032	398
1930	2220	321
1931	1190	156
1932 (8 months)	870	188

Exchange of letters, as a means of contact with the prisons, is an achievement of R.A. work.

Of late the R.A. sections in the capitalist countries have corresponded energetically with one another, and are reviving their patronage work. A number of Sections (German, French, and others) have undertaken patronages over prisons in Poland, in the Balkans, and in other countries, and are corresponding with them. At the same time the R.A. organisations of the United States and Latin America are carrying on widespread work among the American workers, especially among the national groups, by means of patronages.

The figures adduced show, however, that all these connections are entirely insufficient.

At the present moment one of the leading tasks of all R.A. organisations is the improvement of the aid given to the prisoners, the collecting of more means, the extension of the network of patronages. The impoverishment of the broad masses of the workers as a result of the ever acuter crisis, and of the increasing attacks of capitalism, increases the difficulty of the tasks of the R.A.

Under these circumstances, the R.A. organisation must develop special activity in order to overcome these obstacles, and to extend the network of patronages. The aid of every description given by the R.A. since its inauguration represents the following values:

1923	989,419 roubles	1927	4,095,787 roubles
1924	2,968,794 "	1928	4,217,081 "
1925	6,373,568 "	1929	3,791,214 "
1926	5,198,296 "	1930	3,613,413 "
		1931	4,081,857 roubles

Besides this financial aid, the Red Aid carries out a Winter Relief campaign every year, and collects clothes and other articles of use. This campaign lasts from 7th November till the beginning of January. In 1931 the German section collected such articles to the value of 98,157 marks, the French to the amount of about 1000 kilogrammes. These collections are also organised in Poland, in the Balkans, in the United States, in Canada, and Latin America.

In consequence of the increasing Terror, and of the seizure of power by the fascists in many countries, political emigration has become very extensive.

In all capitalist countries the right of asylum is abolished.

Only the White Guardist emigrés and bandits, Gorgulov and his like, enjoy the right of asylum whilst the proletarian revolutionists are deprived of it.

Only in the Soviet Union is there a right of asylum for the revolutionary proletarian fighters. Between 1925 and the end of 1931 4534 political refugees with 678 relatives took refuge in the Soviet Union.

The financial support given by the Red Aid to the political emigrants during this period amounted to 47,335,329 francs, or 23% of the whole sum expended in various kinds of aid.

Of late emigration has assumed a mass character, not only among the active revolutionists, but among the unemployed who are opposed to the system of economic and political Terror. The Red Aid commenced long ago to organise these masses in national groups, which have set themselves the task of organising the emigrants according to their native countries, and at the same time of aiding the victims of White Terror in those native countries. These national groups have gained a firm foothold especially in France, Germany, South America, and the United States. The development of these national groups and the giving of aid to the victims of White Terror—the political prisoners and their families, and the political emigrants—are among the most urgent tasks of the Red Aid.

These questions will have a leading place on the Agenda of the World Congress to be held in November.

Fifty Years of Defence Struggles in the United States.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

From "The Molly Maguires" and "The Haymarket" to "Scottsboro!" and "Mooney-Billings" constitutes more than half a century of working class defence struggles in the United States. In the 70's and 80's of the last century, when the young industrial capitalism was directing its bloody attacks against the workers, soon after the Civil War (1861-65), and today with this capitalism developed into the world's leading imperialism, the death penalty is still sought for those workers who struggle. But the gallows and the rope is displaced by the electric chair and its death-dealing bolt of lightning. From the narrow isolation of the coal fields of Central Pennsylvania, where 19 militant miners of Schuylkill County were executed on the gallows in 1876 and 1877, to the world-wide struggles in support of the Scottsboro-Mooney campaign to-day, is also half a century of development of labour's resistance to the attacks of its persecutors. How still further to consolidate and extend this resistance is one of the tasks of the World Congress of the International Red Aid.

"The Molly Maguires", Irish coal miners, led the bitterly exploited mine workers in militant, mass struggles. But when they were faced in the courts by their prosecutors, their very isolation was a contributing factor to the adoption of a purely legal defence. The mass protest was also very limited on behalf of "The Haymarket Martyrs", the five militant workers who paid with their lives upon the gallows in the County Jail in Chicago for their courageous leadership of the strike movement for the shorter workday in the 80's, that developed into the eight-hour day movement that took on wide proportions. The savage repression, with mass arrests, during the strike movements at the time of the economic depression in the 90's (Debs' Railroad strike), did not meet with the organised mass resistance that could have been developed by a workers' defence organisation.

The first real, nation-wide mass defence mobilisation came with the effort to frame-up and railroad to the gallows the leaders, Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, of the Western Federation of Miners, the most militant section at that time of the organised American labour movement. This movement, led by Eugene V. Debs, who had himself been repeatedly arrested and served numerous prison sentences, took on a militant character in spite of the leadership of the Socialist Party, that thus early began to knife the defence actions of the working class, although Debs had already been the party's candidate for president on two occasions. With the liberation of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, the defence movement was liquidated. Another came into existence when the McNamara Brothers, Schmidt and others faced death in California, in 1911, because of their efforts to organise the workers in Los Angeles into the American Federation of Labor. Here the lawyer, Clarence Darrow, who had gained the confidence of the workers by his defence of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, in 1907, resorted to manoeuvres behind the backs of the workers that resulted in McNamara and Schmidt getting life imprisonment, and they are still serving their sentences, after more than 20 years in California's infamous prison—San Quentin. It was not long before they were joined by Tom Mooney, framed up in 1916, at first condemned to death but later the sentence commuted to life imprisonment, so that last July, Mooney had spent 16 years of his life entombed, while Warren K. Billings is similarly confined in a second prison at Folsom.

While the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone defence movement synchronised with the struggles of the Russian workers to build a defence against the tsarist terror following the 1905 revolution, that had its repercussions in the United States in the protest movements demanding the right of political asylum in America for Russian revolutionists, the Mooney-Billings defence campaign has spanned the latest stage in the development of mass defence in the United States. The militancy of this defence action in its early years was betrayed alike by the leadership of the Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labor, which tended to the disruption of the defence machinery that had first been established and which developed considerable mass protest that even developed to the stage of strike struggles.

In this early period, however, came the savage persecutions of all workers' organisations during the war, with the mass deportations and "prison ships" after the war, and the outlawing of the Communist movement in 1920. In this situation various defence movements sprang up, especially around different strike struggles. The largest of these was the mass movement developed against the wholesale arrests following the government raid on the illegal Communist Party Convention held at Bridgeman, Michigan, in the summer of 1922. The Sacco-Vanzetti campaign had not yet come sharply into the foreground, Mooney and Billings were beginning more and more to rely upon legalistic measures. It was in this situation that the necessity of a powerful, centralised mass defence organisation became clearly apparent and in June, 1925, the **International Labour Defence**, the Section in the United States of the International Red Aid, was organised.

The years since have seen intensive efforts to shake off all traditions of legalism, that hang heavy upon the working class defence struggles in the United States, and to bring forward mass defence with all of its implications. This is being successfully achieved under the banners of the International Red Aid and will be strengthened by the World Congress. The American Section with the International Red Aid built the world protest for Sacco and Vanzetti when the Sacco-Vanzetti Defence Committee itself was controlled by Socialists, anarchists and petty-bourgeois elements that opposed mass protest. Similar elements have been thoroughly exposed insofar as Tom Mooney is concerned, and he now places his great reliance upon the world's working class, although Warren K. Billings is still the prisoner of old alliances, even now placing his faith in the open betrayers of the American Federation of Labor: Similarly in "Scottsboro", in defence of persecuted strikers (Kentucky coal miners), and in nearly all major actions, the International Labour Defence must expose the treasonous role of the Socialist Party, the Industrial Workers of the World (National Defence Committee), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, various Anarchist groups, and especially the right wing and left (Trotskyite) renegades who have sought, unsuccessfully to be sure, to build up a rival defence organisation.

While the International Labour Defence exists as labour's only recognised defence organisation, it still faces the task of breaking completely with all forms of sectarianism that still isolate it from broad sections of the working class, and creates the biggest obstacle to its quick development into a broad, mass organisation that is capable of ever wider mass campaigns. This is the immediate, major task and need, if the American Section of the I.R.A. is to fulfil its obligations.

The American Section must be a centre of strength for other sections; such as the Canadian Section (the Canadian Labor Defence League), that faces tremendous obligations with the outlawing by the Bennett government of the militant sections of the working class; such as the Latin American sections, from Mexico, through the Caribbean to Chile, where, bloody terror seeks to crush all worker and peasant resistance to imperialist and native exploitation; such as the colonies of Wall Street reaction, especially Hawaii, the Philippines and Porto Rico; and because of the tremendous foreign-born population in the United States the opportunities for building the patronati movement in connection with the mother countries of these immigrants. In its struggle against the frightful persecutions of the Negro masses in the United States, the American Section also comes into the foreground against the attack on the Negro masses in the West Indies, in South America and in Africa.

The World Congress of the International Red Aid, therefore, as the leader of labour's mass defence struggles against the terror, against fascism, against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, is of tremendous importance, not only to its American section, but to labour throughout the western world.