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Hitler's Policy and the Conversations in Rome

By Gabriel Péri (Paris)



The British Ministers, after leaving Rome are now conferring here with their French colleagues.

Let us seek to discern the importance of these conversations, which are undoubtedly of greater consequence than any event since the war.

To begin, let us record the result: the Concert of Europe, which functioned before 1914, has been officially resuscitated. Up to the present it had only a semi-official existence. While it was generally recognised that only the big Powers of Europe, who have a permanent seat at Geneva, called the tune, appearances were nevertheless kept up. They have been brutally set aside. According to the communiqué, Ramsay MacDonald, Sir John Simon and Mussolini, "after a full and exhaustive exchange of ideas on the general situation, examined in these conversations a project for an understanding on the larger political questions put forward by Signor Mussolini, with the object of securing collaboration of the four Western Powers."

Thus there was set up a sort of club or directory of the big Powers, whose decisions will have the force of law for the others. It happens that these "others" are the allies of France. This is the reason for the mistrust which the Anglo-Italian project has aroused for the time being among leading French circles.

What will be the subject of the discussions of the new aeropage? Mr. MacDonald's journey has been represented as being undertaken simply to save the Disarmament Conference. But, as a matter of fact, it seems that neither the British Dis-

armament plan nor the problem of naval parity formed the subject of the conversations in Rome. According to a telegram from Rome the points discussed by the directory were as follows:

1. A Franco-German rapprochement through the mediation of England and Italy, the two guaranteed parties and the two guarantors in the Pact of Locarno.

2. The revision of the treaties, as provided for in the League Covenant, in order to avoid a resort being made to force.

No serious person would believe for a minute in the pacifist character of the Italian new edition of the Locarno treaty, and the revision of the treaties by the imperialists and the League of Nations.

The pact concluded between the British Ministers and the Duce, even if Daladier and Hitler have joined this new combination, will not stop the drive to war. In this concert the various antagonisms collide, and each of the participants is steadily increasing its armaments.

Two days ago the "Sunday Times" published a sensational article by Wickham Steed, a prominent London journalist. The author, without concealing his concern, enumerates the seeds of war germinating in Europe. He then studies the international consequences of Hitler's seizure of power. We must first think of ourselves, declares Mr. Wickham Steed, who is a good interpreter of the policy of British imperialism.

He exposes the danger to Great Britain of Hitler's agitation in the Rhine area. He discloses the fact that for several weeks

past the Dutch fascists, acting in concert with the German Nazis, have been elaborating a plan for a "community of German peoples" which would extend from Flanders in the south to Denmark in the north. And the editor of the "Sunday Times" expresses his disquiet at the prospect of an aerial bombardment of London.

Let us think of ourselves, repeats Mr. Wickham Steed.

Another British journal some weeks ago reminded the world that Great Britain would not tolerate the development of a naval rivalry on the part of Germany.

In other words, on the day after the meeting of the Ministers in Rome, one can define the attitude of the European Powers to the German Hitler government as follows: The European capitalists have given Hitler a *carte blanche* when it is a question of crushing and murdering the proletariat. It does not interfere with his campaign to exterminate Marxism in the interior. **But at the same time it is against Hitler's international policy.** The European capitalists have no objection to Hitler's massacring the revolutionary workers, but he is not permitted to liberate the German people. Hitler, the leader, has for years been promising the masses of the German people national emancipation. Hitler became Chancellor on 30th January. Thousands of people have been arrested and others assassinated on his orders. When Hitler makes a speech it is broadcasted over the whole of Germany. The fascist murder bands are shouting: "We salute the new Germany!"

But two months have passed since the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship, and, far from the burden of Versailles being lifted from the shoulders of Germany, Hitler's policy, by rousing the nationalism of the victors of 1919, only intensifies the servitude of the German people.

Since it came into power the Hitler government has increased the anti-Soviet provocations. But the European imperialists do not intend to let the chief of the Brown-Shirts play the leading role in the anti-Soviet front.

That which the French General Staff had hitherto never ventured in Central Europe it has now accomplished by setting up the new alliance of the Little Entente, which represents a very formidable military force for war and the conservation of the peace treaties. Hitler's policy has furnished a pretext for all the French intrigues for the defence of the system of 1919. The traffic in arms among the vassals of France has never been carried on so intensively as at the present time; never were Yugoslavia and Rumania such good customers of Schneider-Creuzot and Skoda as at the present time.

Several years ago the German representatives at Geneva made a protest to the Council of the League of Nations against the policy of oppression of the German minority in Poland; but although this protest did not bring about any mitigation of the lot of the German minority in Poland it met with some support in the League Council. In March, 1933, Poland has been able to reinforce its garrison in Danzig and to violate the most elementary rules of the sacred Covenant of the League, and not only has Poland not been censured, and not only has Sir John Simon, who had to report on the events in Danzig, laid down his mandate, but this incident has enabled the accused to become the accuser of Germany.

We have been told that the "Directory" will undoubtedly take up the question of the revision of the treaties. As a matter of fact, its most essential task will be to hit on the most subtle methods of bargaining in order to reduce the consequences of the crisis of the Versailles system and to safeguard the essentials of this system. There is nothing in common between this "revision" and the policy of liberation promised to the masses of peoples in Germany by Hitler.

MacDonald and the English government press have been doing everything to reassure the allies of France. "There is no suggestion of two or three great Powers imposing their will on the rest of Europe," said the British Prime Minister. The "Observer" and the "Manchester Guardian" take up the defence of Poland.

But at whose expense is the compensation which is being offered to Hitler Germany to be paid? Here is the reply: It is against the U.S.S.R. that the concert of Europe is directing Germany. The Directory is converting the Reich into a willing mercenary in the anti-Soviet operations; and it is not by chance

that the conversations in Rome, Baldwin's diatribes and also Sir Esmond Ovey's demands against the Workers' State all synchronise.

Hitler, finally, has given the German people to understand that their hope lies in an alliance with Italian fascism, the oppressor of Tyrol. The bargaining in Rome dispels this illusion. And Hitler announces that he has postponed his projected journey to the Duce.

These are the results of the Nazi policy. Germany of the "Third Empire" is a Germany reduced to the position of slave of the European imperialists.

Politics

The Fascist Coup d'Etat in Austria

Vienna, 16th March, 1933.

The Dollfuss government in Austria is following in the footsteps of German fascism. The Austrian bourgeoisie, through the Dollfuss government, is taking decisive steps to set up a fascist dictatorship. The decrees by means of which the government altered the press law and the combination laws establish a state of affairs such as never existed in Austria even in the time of the Hapsburg monarchy. These measures do not represent a return to 1914, but a return to the time of Metternich absolutism. By means of the preliminary censorship all newspapers which do not fully support Dollfuss' coup d'état are gagged. The decree on the combination law contains provisions such as had not existed in Austria since 1867. The police must be notified **seven days beforehand** of any public meeting. Meetings to which only invited persons are admitted have also to be notified to the police.

The new emergency decrees also came immediately into force. They are applied simply in order to override Parliament. The meeting of Parliament convened on 15th March by the third President of the National Council, the Pan-German **Straffner**, in which only the "oppositional" parties (social democrats and pan-Germans) took part, was dispersed by the police. The christian-social-fascist government, in carrying out this measure, declared the meeting of Parliament to be illegal as it had not been notified in accordance with the provisions of the law concerning meetings.

All this appears, however, to be only the first step. In his broadcast speech delivered on 14th March, Dollfuss announced his intentions to change the whole Constitution by means of emergency orders. A States Chamber is to be set up; State Commissioners for providing work and for labour service are to be set up in the various Ministries, probably in order to introduce compulsory labour service in place of unemployment benefit.

Together with the exclusion of Parliament, the government's emergency decrees, which constitute a palpable breach of the Constitution, and the negotiations which are proceeding with fascist Italy, the Austrian government is carrying out purely fascist measures against the Labour movement, following the example of German fascism. Following the suppression of the "Rote Fahne" and the wholesale arrests of Communists throughout the country, partly with the participation of the military, as in Hallein, the government has resorted to increasingly ruthless terrorist measures.

The provincial government of **Tyrol** is employing 12,000 fascist Heimwehr as auxiliary police. In Vienna also Heimwehr detachments are being sworn in as special constables. In **Innsbruck** yesterday evening the social democratic trade union house was occupied by military and police. In **Bregenz**, in **Vorarlberg**, where the garrisons were held in readiness, the trade union houses and printing works were occupied by the military. House searches and arrests are still taking place everywhere, above all in Tyrol. Strong Heimwehr detachments are said to be marching on Vienna.

The national socialist deputy Leopold made sensational statements in the Lower Austrian Diet. He declared that the whole action had been agreed upon by Prince **Starhemberg**

and the Federal Chancellor **Dollfuss** with **Italy**. This is the explanation of the smuggling of weapons to Italy and Hungary through Austria. The Austrian Heimwehr, declared Leopold, is financially supported by the Italian fascists. Austria is to set up a customs union with Hungary and Italy. Should the Austrian government not be strong enough to carry out these plans, 10,000 Hungarians in Heimwehr uniform are to march on Wiener-Neustadt. Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia have already partly mobilised.

What are the leaders of the most "Left" Austrian social democracy doing in this situation? After all the bombastic declarations of **Otto Bauer** and other leaders that the party is ready to resort to the extremest measures, etc., they, like Severing and Braun in Prussia and the leaders of the German social democracy in general, are confining themselves to paper protests and endeavouring to hold back the workers from "ill-considered actions."

Just like the leaders of the German social democracy, who, after being thrown out of the Prussian government, branded everybody as a provocateur who wished to reply with the political strike to the fascist coup d'état in Prussia, and promised the workers that the matter would be settled by the Constitutional Court, so now the leaders of the social democratic party of Austria are imploring the workers not to do anything, as the notorious Mayor of Vienna, Herr **Seitz**, the president of the social democratic party, will challenge the constitutional character of the emergency orders before the Constitutional Court.

Only the Communist Party is organising the defence and the counter-attack against the action of fascism **on the basis of the united front of the proletariat**. For this purpose the Communist Party, on 14th March, addressed a united front offer, with **concrete** fighting measures, to the social democratic workers and the Central Committee of the social democratic party of Austria.

Sandino's Betrayal of Nicaraguan Independence Movement

In the year 1927 a revolt broke out in **Nicaragua**, a small country in Central America. This revolt evoked a great wave of sympathy in all countries of Latin America, thanks to its outspoken anti-imperialist character. The movement was directed against the naval forces of the U.S.A. which had occupied Nicaragua "in order to restore law and order," which had been upset as a result of a fierce election struggle between the various cliques of the bourgeoisie and those of the big landowners. (The U.S.A. imperialists displayed great interest in Nicaragua because they wish to build a strategically highly important canal across this country, connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean, parallel to the Panama Canal, which is likewise dominated by them.)

The number of insurgents rapidly increased, thanks to the influx of fresh supporters from the neighbouring countries, and in many countries of Latin America, particularly in Mexico, the movement of the toilers, led by the Communist Party, in support of the insurgents under the slogan of "Hands off Nicaragua," assumed large dimensions.

The insurgents were headed by "General" **Sandino**, a petty bourgeois, who was inclined to confine the struggle against imperialism to the fight against the intervention of the U.S.A. without striving for any revolutionary achievements in the national and social spheres. Such an attitude was bound to lead to his finally betraying the movement.

On 1st January, 1933, the president of Nicaragua, **Moncada**, who in the year 1927 had been elected with the assistance of the U.S.A. imperialists, was succeeded by **Sacasa**, his former opponent, who was now "unanimously" elected president after having come to an understanding with the U.S.A. imperialists. A few days afterwards the last naval forces of the U.S.A. left Nicaragua, the U.S.A. imperialists having achieved their aims. There is no doubt that Sandino, who was camping in the mountains of Segovia with several hundred of his armed troops, was in the know, and in fact it has come to a "peace treaty" between Sacasa and Sandino, who, in his declaration of 3rd February, 1933, expressly invited the U.S.A. capitalists to "work" in Nicaragua.

Germany

The Situation in Germany

The opening of the Reichstag had the importance of a big show, in which the men of the new regime wished to present themselves to the public with all their unlimited powers. The Reichs-president himself found it necessary to be present and deliver an opening speech, the sole purpose of which was to place **Hitler** in the scene as effectively as possible. The meeting of the Reichstag lasted only ten minutes, after which it adjourned until Thursday, when the dictatorship Bill will be passed which will give the government a free hand to do what it likes. It is hoped to achieve the two-thirds majority necessary for this measure by exerting a strong pressure on the Centre.

In the **Centre** party there is to be observed a strong differentiation. One wing, which, it is true, has lost a good deal of influence owing to the subjugation of the South German States, wishes to carry on a cautious policy of opposition, while another part, and especially the trade union wing under **Stegerwald** and **Otte**, chairman of the christian trade unions, is aiming at openly joining the fascist system. The national socialists, rendered cocksure by their successes, particularly in Bavaria, believe they can subjugate the Centre and the christian trade unions by exerting pressure on them. Up to now it looks as if they would to a great extent succeed in this. But it would certainly be a mistake to underestimate the importance of that other wing of the Centre which, although at present it is greatly demoralised and disorganised, can nevertheless rely upon the clergy, because the Catholic Church, which for 14 years has had decisive political influence owing to the key position of the Centre in the Weimar Republic, will certainly not easily agree to the complete shattering of its positions of power.

Similar differences exist also to an increasing extent in the camp of the **social democracy**. In face of the monstrous terror prevailing in the first weeks after the burning of the Reichstag, the leaders of the social democratic party at first "laid low"; but they were unable to prevent a large number of their leading functionaries being arrested and mishandled. Whilst now, one part of the social democratic leadership is speculating on the fascist regime becoming involved in increasing difficulties owing to the objective contradictions of the situation, and is hoping that then a time will again come when the social democracy can play a part in politics, another part of the social democratic leadership is reckoning on a long duration of the national socialist rule and—like the christian trade unions—is seeking ways and means of incorporating itself in the fascist system. This is especially the policy of **Leipart** and a number of reformist trade union leaders. The national socialists are pursuing the same tactics towards the social democracy as they are towards the Centre, namely, to break the last resistance by means of terror, but at the same time differentiating between the social democratic party, which they wish to annihilate, and the reformist trade unions, which they wish to subjugate.

Outwardly regarded, the political power of the **national socialists** appears to be almost unrestricted. As against Hitler, Goehring, Frick and Goebbels, the German nationalist minister, are receding more and more in the background. An important point of difference—whether Hitler, Gohring or von Papen shall be Prime Minister of Prussia, appears to be still unsettled. The reason why the position of the Hugenberg people is so weak is because they have nothing to oppose to the gigantic mass basis of Hitler and cannot risk anything, and, compared with the national socialists, can rely only on the person of Hindenburg, who is being placed more and more in the shade, and on a part of the Reichswehr, regarding which they do not even know how far it has not already become national socialist.

Whilst the national socialists have up to now left the economic policy in the hands of Hugenberg, there will probably be a change in this connection, for they obviously want to make some social manoeuvres in order to create at least a few illusions among their supporters from the ranks of the working population. The main point in these plans is the "provision of work." This has been the underlying cause of the differences with **Luther**, the president of the Reichs bank, whom Hitler compelled to resign in order, with the aid of **Schacht**, to finance these plans

for providing work. It is said that these plans envisage an expenditure of several milliards marks, and there is even talk of three to five milliards marks. The plans under consideration include public works which Dr. Schacht, when he formerly occupied the position of president of the Reichsbank, fought to the utmost as being "unproductive expenditure" and "state socialist waste," and which are also rejected by a part of the financial capitalists. The national socialists believe, however, that they will be easily able to overcome this resistance, as simultaneously with this "provision of work," huge orders will be placed with the armaments industry.

It becomes more and more obvious that the entire "economic policy" of the fascist dictatorship government is a **preparation for a new war**. The autarcy plans as elaborated by **von Rohr** calculate on the event of a military blockade of Germany. The subventioning of the important war industries is to render it possible to equip a vast army and to secure its material supplies. Everything is to be sacrificed to these aims, especially the export of industrial goods. But the financing of this policy is impossible with the means at present available. The national debt is increasing as a result of the enormous new expenditure involved by the establishment of two new ministries, by the setting up of the auxiliary police and the subvention and armament policy, whilst, on the other hand, the revenue from taxation and customs duties is falling. Under such conditions, if the government wishes now to realise a work-procuring programme involving an expenditure running into several milliards marks, this will be possible only by means of **inflationist** measures.

The broad mass of the working people who at present do not see this prospect, or only very vaguely, are holding for the time being to certain visible things. The attacks upon the big stores have therefore played a big role in this respect. National socialist supporters, including numerous storm troops in uniform, who took the Hitler programme at its face value, attempted to enforce the closing of the big stores in Berlin and almost every town of Germany. But the Nazi government itself intervened and cancelled the closing of the big stores and caused the swastika flag to be removed from them "in order to prevent a disturbance of economic life." The case was similar with regard to the closing of the Stock Exchange. This, too, was always one of the demands of the Hitler programme. But instead of the Stock Exchanges being closed and the "pack of Jewish speculators" being driven away, all that the Nazis achieved was to compel the Stock Exchange to hoist the swastika flag. A wonderful symbol of "German national socialism," the swastika flag flying over the Stock Exchange. In order to give the supporters of fascism from the ranks of the working population at least some sort of substitute for the promised "German socialism" the leaders of the Hitler party diverted the excitement of their supporters to the fight against the **Jews**. All the Jewish doctors have been dismissed from the hospitals in Berlin and other places. In the reform of the sick insurances it is provided that Jewish doctors may no longer serve as panel doctors. In Breslau and other places, the majority of Jewish lawyers are forbidden to enter the law court, which means that they are simply ruined. Jewish officials and employees in government institutions are dismissed. All these measures are only intended to conceal the fact that the fascist regime means the securing of capitalist exploitation.

There are already certain signs of disappointment and even bitterness among the supporters of fascism from the ranks of the working population. But this must not be overestimated. Tenacious and persistent underground work by the Communists will be necessary in order to produce a revulsion of feeling among the fascist supporters.

Communist Protest in Czechoslovakian Parliament against the Hitler Government.

Prague, 15th March, 1933.

At the last meeting of the Senate there took place a debate on the situation in Germany. The social democratic Senator Niessner, stated in his speech that the Hitler government had issued a warrant for the arrest of the vice-president of the Czech Chamber of Deputies, Taub, on account of a speech he had delivered on the fire in the Reichstag. Speeches were also delivered by the Communist senators Pilz and Haken, both of whom were called to order on account of statements they made about Hindenburg and Hitler.

Fascist Terror in Germany

International Action is the Need of the Hour

By Willy Trostel (Zürich)

For weeks past the international proletariat has been receiving the most terrible news from Germany. The fascist bands are raging throughout the whole country and filling it with horror.

The appeal issued by the Communist Party of Germany on 30th January to reply to the seizure of power by the Hitler-Hugenberg-Papen government with a general strike was definitely rejected by the social democracy, which, instead of fighting, recommended the workers to wait. "Let the fascists be the first to begin," wrote the "Vorwärts" in a reply to the C.P. of Germany. When the mass terror set in and the social democratic party, the Reichsbanner and even christian workers were no longer spared, the Communist Party district committees approached the social democratic party and A.D.G.B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions) organisations with an urgent fighting appeal, to commence with short-term strikes. This offer, however, was rejected with the argument that the best weapon now was the ballot box. No action, but cessation of criticism of the lack of action of the social democratic party—that is what the social democratic leaders demanded of the Communists. Nevertheless the Communist Party of Germany succeeded in launching some big actions, as, for instance, in Kiel, Berlin, Harburg, Erfurt, Eisleben, Hanover, Dresden and Leipzig. The influence of the C.P. of Germany in the factories, which is still weak, was not sufficient in order to initiate big decisive actions. These actions were particularly hindered, however, by the old parliamentary illusions of the German working class. And thus the social democracy was once again "victorious." Now we have the fruits of this "victory"!

Events are following one another with amazing rapidity. Following the provocative setting fire to the Reichstag, there commenced the open persecution of Communist functionaries. Even before the issue of the emergency decree they were dragged from their houses. In place of functionaries whose arrests have not been effected, hostages are taken; the relatives, including nursing mothers, are arrested in order to extort from them the "hiding place" of the wanted persons. Punitive expeditions, including Nazi auxiliary police, are sent to the working-class quarters; houses are searched, the inhabitants beaten up and thrown into prison. Step by step the whole of the C.P. of Germany, and in addition a great part of the Labour movement and also the Left bourgeoisie, are declared to be outlawed. Armed Brown-Shirts, without police credentials, force their way into the printing works, trade union houses, organisation bureaux and meeting places of the workers, smash the furniture and fittings, shoot and stab, wound and kill. They break into the houses of workers, kidnap and kill the father in his own house, and, if he is not found, the sons. The number of persons kidnapped of whom all traces have been lost runs into thousands.

At first there appeared short reports in the press: "In the worker's dwelling, so-and-so Street, X. Y. was found dead. The murderers and the 'occasion' for the murder are unknown." Corpses of unidentified persons—corpses of kidnapped victims—lie in the forests in the neighbourhood of the towns. Corpses are fished out of the rivers and lakes. One reads again the laconic report: "Shot while attempting to escape." And even these reports have ceased to appear. A veil of silence is dropped over all the horrors.

Since the Nazi Brown-Shirts commenced to kidnap former ministers, theatre-managers, rich Jews and even public prosecutors and judges, since they commenced to attack the big stores, practically the whole of the international press has stigmatised the shameful deeds of horror being perpetrated in Germany. But in the reports appearing in the international press one finds very little news about the treatment of Communists in the prisons. This treatment is absolutely unprecedented in its bestial cruelty.

According to reliable news we have received, the notorious Nazi murder bands visit the prisons, have the arrested brought before them, subject them to the most diabolical ill-treatment, beat them, torture them, dislocate their joints, break their fingers and before finally despatching them make them dig their own graves.

The leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Comrade **Thaelmann**, is subjected to the most shameful ill-treatment. He is led in chains through the working-class quarters, dragged from one prison to another, is then brought before a number of chained Communists and, with the cry "Here comes the cavalry general!" (Comrade Thaelmann is honorary colonel of a Red Army cavalry regiment), is brutally beaten before the eyes of his comrades.

Savage bloody fascism is taking toll of the lives of tens of thousands of the best champions of the international proletariat in order to intimidate the German and also the international proletariat. For **that** is the object of this indescribable savage terror. Just as imperialism is not "misguided" capitalism, as the Centrists make out, so fascism does not represent "misguided" methods of rule on the part of the capitalists. It is rather the last and most brutal form of rule to save decaying capitalism, to maintain the growing misery of the working class, who are to be thoroughly cowed so that they can be dragged into the imperialist war, into the war against the only Workers' State in the world, against the Soviet Union.

The German events are a terrible lesson to the international working class, to the exploited and oppressed. Only by fighting can they save themselves from being subjugated to the fascist terror. The starting point of this fight must be a powerful action for the German proletariat. The international proletariat possesses enormous forces if it will only use them. The fight of the European proletariat against intervention, the fight of the transport workers against the Horthy terror, in spite of the sabotage of the reformist leaders, the campaign for the Rueggs and others, are unforgettable. There now exists if ever there did the basis for one of the most powerful actions. Such an action would, however, have a tremendously rousing effect on the German proletariat. The German proletariat is not yet beaten. The millions and millions of votes cast at the last elections for the Communist Party of Germany in spite of the monstrous terror cannot be over-estimated. To-day, demonstrations. To-morrow, actions! And in fact, in spite of the savage behaviour of the Nazi Brown-Shirts, here and there political strikes are flaring up: in Saxony, Hamburg and other places. If the German working people are supported by the international proletariat then their fighting courage will also be increased.

The open fascist dictatorship has not yet gone through all the stages which are necessary in order to consolidate its victory. The national socialist party still has difficulties with its allies; the administration is functioning badly; the courts are not yet entirely in its possession, and the Reichswehr still constitutes an incalculable factor. German fascism has big fights in front of it. Before all, however, it still has big international difficulties to overcome. It is still far from being able to hire itself out as mercenary of international capitalism against the Soviet Union. Apart from this, however, its supporters are more and more insistently demanding the fulfilment of the lavish promises made to them. Owing to financial difficulties, it is impossible to find suitable jobs for the whole of the Brown-Shirts. The big agrarians are demanding a further increase in food prices and their release from debts by means of inflation. The Reichsbank is opposed to this policy. The industrialists are insisting on further wage reductions. Economic disintegration is proceeding apace. The financial difficulties, the deficits in the budgets of the Reich, the federated States and the municipalities are increasing beyond measure. Thus German fascism has tremendous difficulties to overcome before it can regard its rule as being even to some extent secured.

In view of such a state of affairs a powerful international action can have immeasurable results. The rapid upward movement of German fascism can be followed by an equally rapid downward movement, and the German proletariat can succeed it much more speedily than many people to-day imagine. The international action to save the German proletariat must become a fact: this action is the need of the hour.

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany to the Party Members

Berlin, 15th March, 1933.

The Central Committee of the German Communist Party has launched an appeal to the Party, of which we give the following extract:—

"Party Comrades! Our Party has fought in brilliant fashion under conditions of pogrom and elections dominated by terror.

The fascist Goering had the Reichstag burnt as a prelude to the pogrom against the Communist Party and the revolutionary proletariat.

This government of civil war has cast into prison the leader of our Party, **Comrade Thaelmann**, whom it plots to assassinate.

It has caused thousands of anti-fascists to be arrested.

The fascist bands have massacred workers and burnt their homes, and all in the interests of the millionaires, the big capitalists and of the Junkers.

Our Party, compelled to carry through its mobilisation of the masses and its waging of the workers' battles under conditions of illegality, has rallied nearly five million voices to the banners of Communism and the slogans of the struggle of liberation against fascism. . . .

Comrades! Boldly and fearlessly in unity with the social democratic workers and workers with no party attachment, you have conducted political strikes of protest against fascist terror. The rhythmic beat of workers' demonstrations has re-echoed in many towns. . . . And if Hitlerite fascism has succeeded in strengthening the nationalist stream and in utilising 14 years of social democratic politics in order to rescue capitalist domination, the civil war of Hitler against the toiling masses reveals none the less the feebleness of his government.

The bourgeoisie is no longer in the position to make safe the interests of finance-capital and of the Junkers by the methods of domination used heretofore.

The Hitler government, a government of civil war against the toiling masses, can give to the workers neither bread nor work.

All its activity is confined to burning the Reichstag, to shooting proletarians, to raising customs tariffs in the interest of the Junkers, to the increase of unemployment, the lowering of wages and the piling up of armaments.

Hitler can do nothing except defend the interests of big capital and wage civil war against the toilers. That is why we ought to succeed, and why we shall succeed in the struggle for the vital interests of the working class, in the struggle against the capitalist policy of Hitler, in winning over those of the workers who have been deceived by the nationalist frenzy of Hitlerite fascism.

This aim we shall attain despite fascist terror, by a ruthless and unwearing struggle for the daily interests of the masses, and by an intensified agitation among them.

Despite the pompous declarations of the government, 5th March is not a victory for fascism; it shows, on the contrary, that the masses of the toiling people are resolved to wage the struggle, boldly and courageously, against the four year plan of Hitler, a plan of famine, fascist terror and exploitation. . . .

The concentration of fascist forces is a serious warning to all workers to cement without delay the united front of struggle.

The strikes and demonstrations of Lubeck, Brunswick, Dresden, Erfurt, Stassfurt, Duisburg, Elmshorn, Harburg, etc., show the path of the united front of struggle.

Everywhere it ought to be like this. On 1st March, at the same time as we launched the appeal to the working masses, we sent to the leadership of the social democratic party and to that of the A.D.G.B. (German Federation of Trade Unions) an offer of the united front for the general strike and mass demonstrations. The two leaderships spurned this united front action.

Comrades! The setting up of the united front of struggle

of the toilers is the task of the hour and is a vital question for the German working class.

Organise everywhere factory meetings and unemployed meetings in order to discuss with trade unionists and social democratic workers measures of common struggle for the liberation of Thaelmann and of all workers in prison, for the rescinding of the decrees regarding the abolition of the rights of meeting, of the press, and of demonstrations, regarding the auxiliary police, regarding preventive imprisonment, etc. . . .

By a wave of partial struggles, lead the working masses to the political general strike. Persuade your trade union comrades, persuade the social democratic workers and the members of the Reichsbanner of the necessity of taking concrete methods of struggle in these organisations, by strikes and demonstrations, in favour of the above claims.

We call equally on all the members of the Party to use every effort to set in motion the anti-fascist forces of the trade unions to prevent the realisation of the plans of Hugenberg. In strengthening our fraternal work of enlightenment in the trade unions, by the Communists entering the trade unions, we should succeed in winning over to the anti-fascist united front the masses of sympathisers and the trade union organisations.

Comrades, you fought valiantly during the terror elections. Now, firmly and boldly, at the head of the toiling masses, forward in the united front of struggle against fascism, starver and oppressor of the working class.

Let each Communist become a revolutionary organiser and agitator! Let each Communist become the organiser and the leader of the united front of struggle! Wherever the masses are, let each Communist organise and carry on propaganda for the anti-fascist united front.

Let us penetrate into the masses more deeply, let us be more firmly rooted in them! March boldly, in the united front of action against the fascist dictatorship.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN
COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Fire in the Reichstag the Work of Nazi Incendiaries

Prague, 14th March, 1933.

The Prague newspaper "Rude Ponedelnik" publishes a sensational report from Berlin, according to which the fire in the Reichstag was the work of the notorious Berlin storm detachment No. 33, which of all Berlin storm detachments has the greatest number of murdered workers to its account.

The incendiaries made their way from the dwelling apartments of the national socialist Reichs Minister Goehring into the Reichstag by means of an underground passage connecting the dwelling apartments of Goehring, as president of the Reichstag, with the Reichstag building.

The incendiary was chosen by lot. He was promised a reward of 50,000 marks and his release after two months imprisonment. Van der Lubbe was chosen by lot; he at first refused, but was then compelled to carry out this act.

"Preventive Arrest" and Concentration Camps.

According to reports in the Dutch press, the number of persons who had been placed under "preventive arrest" up to 11th March, reached the figure of 11,000. The revolutionary intellectuals are to be conveyed to the Island of Helgoland, which is thus to become island of deportation following the Italian fascist pattern.

Shortly before the Reichstag elections, the "Voelkische Beobachter," the central organ of the national socialists, reported that 200 arrested Communist functionaries had been brought into a concentration camp in Thuringia. The bourgeois Vienna newspaper "Der Tag" likewise reported that the Hitler government intends to intern all political prisoners in concentration camps.

Attacks upon Trade Union Premises

In the period between the Reichstag elections and the municipal elections, storm detachments occupied the Berlin trade union house, which they completely wrecked.

At the seizure of the trade union house in **Breslau** by the national socialists, the son of the porter and a worker were killed. In the evening of the same day the fascists lit a huge bonfire in front of the house, on which they burned all the books and pamphlets seized by them in the house.

In Brunswick the storm detachments occupied the trade union house, killed two workers, and flung all the books, banners and documents into the streets, where they were set on fire.

In **Dresden** where all the Communist members of the Saxon Diet were arrested, the premises of the workers' organisations were occupied by storm detachments, and the furniture and fittings demolished. The workers' co-operatives stores were closed down and the goods plundered. The library of the "Volkszeitung" was burnt. The People's house, in which the trade union offices are situated, was occupied by storm detachments and the swastika flag hoisted.

These are only the most **important** reports from the **big** towns. One can imagine what has happened in other big towns and the numerous middle-sized and small towns.

In **Trier**, the national socialists occupied the house in which Karl Marx was born, and hoisted their flag over it.

The **Karl Liebknecht House in Berlin** is now used as the premises of a newly formed "Department of the Political Police for combating Bolshevism." Count Helldorf, the leader of the storm detachments, in his address to his followers, declared on this occasion that from now on three Communists would have to pay with their lives for every Nazi man murdered in Berlin or in the province of Brandenburg.

Political Mass Strike in Dresden.

Berlin, 11th March, 1933.

The action of the storm detachments, who in Saxony, as in other parts of the Reich, have occupied the trade union premises, People's Houses, printing works, consumers' co-operatives, plundered them and in many cases burnt the furniture and the books, has encountered particularly strong resistance on the part of the workers in **Dresden**. In spite of the strictest censorship, it has become known that a number of big factories in Dresden have entered on a political mass strike against the fascist dictatorship.

In a number of towns in Saxony, such as in **Leipzig, Zwickau**, etc., where the Nazi storm detachments attempted to occupy the trade union premises and the printing works of the workers' newspapers, it came to serious fighting, in the course of which several national socialists were seriously injured. The situation in Dresden is particularly tense.

The Municipal Elections in Prussia

Berlin, 14th March, 1933.

The exact figures which are now to hand regarding the result of the Prussian municipal elections in the big provincial towns clearly show that the decline in the votes cast for the Communists and for the social democrats is due to the savage terror exercised against the working class, but that the percentage decline of the Communists vote is incomparably smaller than that of the socialist vote. According to the statements of the "Voelkische Beobachter" of 13th and 14th March, the Communists and social democrats have obtained the following number of seats, the figures in brackets representing the number of seats previously held by these parties on the municipal councils:

Cologne	C.P. 10 (13)	Frankfort on Maine	C.P. 8 (11),
	S.P. 13 (21)		S.P. 16 (25)
Wuppertal.	C.P. 12 (13)	Stettin	C.P. 6 (8)
	S.P. 11 (18)		S.P. 14 (25)
Dusseldorf	C.P. 14 (16)	Altona	C.P. 8 (9)
	S.P. 8 (13)		S.P. 16 (25)
Breslau	C.P. 6 (4)	Cassel	C.P. 4 (4)
	S.P. 19 (33)		S.P. 16 (21)
Bochum	C.P. 8 (9)	Erfurt	C.P. 8 (7)
	S.P. 11 (16)		S.P. 7 (10)

The same picture is revealed by the composition of the new Provincial Diets:

Provincial Diet of Westphalia	C.P. 14 (13)
	S.P. 21 (31)
„ „ Rhine Province	C.P. 19 (21)
	S.P. 16 (25)
„ „ Saxony	C.P. 15 (16)
	S.P. 25 (37)

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The bourgeois press publish completely contradictory reports on the number of votes polled by the Communists at the municipal elections in Berlin. The official election result for Berlin is stated by the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" and the "B.Z. am Mittag" to be 499,007 votes, whilst the "Voelkische Beobachter" (South-German edition of 13th March) states the figure to be 510,000. Obviously the forging of the election result has been done over hastily.

Be that as it may, in view of the savage terror, the lack of any prospect of the Communists being able to carry on any activity on the new municipal councils, and the annulment of a great number of workers' votes, this result means a powerful demonstration on the part of the revolutionary working class.

* * *

International Solidarity with the Toilers of Germany

Soviet Union

Moscow, 17th March.

The events in Germany occupy the centre of public attention in the Soviet Union. In all factories, in the street cars, the clubs and the schools, everywhere the barbarous murder-regime of the Hitler bandits is spoken of with hatred and contempt. The fascist seizure of power is designated as an act of desperation and an adventure of dying German capitalism. Hitler, Goehring and Goebbels are described as "clowns on the throne."

The tremendous sympathy for the proletariat of Germany and for the Communist Party are finding expression in enthusiastic demonstrations of solidarity at every opportunity. The revelations regarding the nationalist provocation in the burning of the Reichstag, as well as the malicious anti-Soviet war-mongering of Goehring and Rosenberg, who are advocating the separation of the Ukraine from the Soviet Union, have only enhanced the hatred against the hangmen of the German people.

* * *

France

Paris, 19th March, 1933.

"L'Humanite," the central organ of the Communist Party of France, dealing with the reports that Comrade Thaelmann's life is in danger, writes:

"Comrade Thaelmann is said to have been murdered last Sunday. The Nazi Minister and incendiary Goehring, who announced 80,000 to 100,000 arrests and declared that it is a question of "replacing false humanitarian feeling by everything that is necessary, even when this appears harsh," is undoubtedly endeavouring to prepare public opinion for the revelations regarding the bloodbath which has already commenced.

Have the Berlin "Versailleurs" murdered our Comrade Thaelmann? The French proletariat, and the Paris workers, in their fight against imperialism, demand to know the truth!

Has Thaelmann, the secretary of our brother party, been killed? Has Thaelmann, the candidate in the presidential election, for whom millions of German workers cast their votes, whilst the social democratic leaders called upon their followers to vote for Hindenburg as the "lesser evil," who would bar the way for Hitler, been killed?

Has Thaelmann, whom the Paris workers, scarcely four months ago, greeted in their thousands when he stood at their side in the fight against war and the Versailles Treaty, been killed?

The C.P. of France declares that the French workers will hold the French government and the German Embassy equally guilty. They demand an immediate answer, and call upon all

workers without distinction of party, to stand ready for an immediate answer.

They will do everything in order to prove their active solidarity with the German proletariat and its leader Thaelmann, if his life can still be saved. Should it be too late—then to summon the masses together under the slogan of the working class against the murderers.

Paris, 19th March, 1933.

A delegation led by **Bergery**, and which included the well-known Professor **Prenant**, the socialist **Mallarte** and **Francis Jourdain**, visited the German Embassy in spite of all the attempts of the Paris police to keep them from doing so.

They called the attention of the Ambassadorial counsellor to the great excitement which the news of the terror in Germany, especially the rumour of the murder of Comrades Torgler and Thaelmann has aroused in France. The Counsellor refused to deny that Thaelmann had been murdered, but promised to obtain information regarding this.

In Dunkirk, 2000 dock workers passed a resolution of solidarity with the fighting German workers, in which they expressed their readiness to render active support to the anti-fascist fight of the German working class.

Paris, 11th March.

The "Association of revolutionary writers of France" has published an appeal dealing with the events in Germany and calling for active solidarity with the German working class. This appeal is signed, among others by **Vaillant-Couturier**, **Andre Gide**, **Henri Barbusse**, **Romain Rolland** and **Jean Richard Bloch**.

At two meetings convened by the Communist Party of France, in Brignolles and Ruans, attended mainly by small peasants, defence committees for the fighting German workers were set up, to which also social democratic and anarchist workers were elected. Collections taken for the German workers realised 375 francs in Brignolles and 84 francs in Ruans.

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Spain

Madrid, 13th March.

Numerous revolutionary trade union organisations have sent telegrams to the German Embassy in Madrid protesting against the bloody suppression of the German working class.

500 students demonstrated in the Madrid university with the singing of the "Internationale" and the cry; Long live Marxism! It came to severe collisions with fascist students and pistol-shots were exchanged. A fascist student was injured. Shortly afterwards, about 1000 revolutionary students assembled in front of the university, formed a procession and proceeded through the town, shouting: "Down with fascism, down with Hitler!" until it reached the German Embassy which was fiercely bombarded with stones.

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England

London, 19th March.

There is showing in the London cinemas during last and this week a Movietone Newsreel of Hitler attending a war commemoration ceremony. Its appearance on the screen was greeted by howls of execration from the workers present. These hostile demonstrations were particularly noticeable in the East end of London, many of the Jewish workers attending en masse and demanding its withdrawal. During the time it was being shown they kept up a continual flow of hisses and boos.

These incidents reveal the growing hatred amongst the British masses for Hitler and his murder gangs, for their persecution of the Jews, Communists and social democratic workers.

* * *

Czechoslovakia

Prague, March 15th.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, in a special manifesto, sends brotherly greetings to the C.P. of Germany and expresses the assurance that the revolutionary proletariat of Czechoslovakia will fully side with the German proletariat in its persistent fight against fascism. The manifesto states:

"... We do not lose for a moment our belief that the cause of the proletarian revolution will be victorious over fascism not only in Germany, but in all the other countries. ... It is impossible to check the development tending towards the rallying under the banner of Communism of all the forces of historic progress against the forces of reaction. ..."

Prague, 18th March.

The deputy **Hadek**, speaking in parliament in the name of the Communist parliamentary fraction on the events in Germany, stated :

"It is our duty to give expression from the tribune of the Czechoslovakian parliament to the burning indignation which fills the millions of Czechoslovakian workers in face of the bloody regime of fascism in Germany. The workers of Czechoslovakia will support the fight of the proletariat of Germany with all the means at their disposal and will conduct this fight against our own bourgeoisie and against fascism in our own country.

"In these days, when fascism in Germany has demanded innumerable victims, we have witnessed heroic deeds on the part of the working masses of Germany. We can record with pride to-day that the C.P.G. continues to live and to fight in spite of illegality.

"It has long become known that it could only occur to the bloody imagination of such people as Hitler, Goehring, Papen and Hugenburg to accuse the C.I. of Germany of setting fire to the Reichstag. It can be proved by documents that the fire in the Reichstag was the work of national socialists. We can record that not only **Torgler**, but also Thaelmann and thousands of other class fighters, have boldly proclaimed their allegiance to Communism, although they were threatened with death by the fascist assassins."

Prague, 13th March.

A great protest meeting against the fascist terror in Germany, convened by the "Left front," the organisation of revolutionary intellectuals, was held in Prague. The speakers pointed to the necessity of setting up the united front of all proletarian intellectuals. In Reichenberg, a great workers meeting took place which unanimously protested against the fascist terror and demanded the release of the proletarian prisoners.

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Denmark

Copenhagen, 15th March.

In connection with the municipal elections now being held in Denmark, it came to great protest demonstrations of the workers of Randers, situated near the German frontier, against the fascist terror in Germany. According to a report of the "Politiken," 3000 to 4000 persons took part in this demonstration. The police attempted to disperse the demonstration, whereby it came to severe collisions in which 6 policemen were injured. Numerous arrests were made.

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Rumania

Bucharest, 11th March.

A great workers' demonstration took place before the German Consulate in Cluj in order to protest against the fascist terror in Germany. The windows of the consulate were smashed.

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Switzerland

Basle, 16th March.

When, at a meeting convened by the C.P. of Basle last night, it became known that the fascist swastika flag had been hoisted over the Baden station in Basle, the workers proceeded in a demonstration to the railway station, where a short speech was delivered and the "Internationale" sung. The Baden railway station was occupied by 50 policemen, who brutally dispersed the demonstrators and made a number of arrests.

Zurich, 13th March.

A big meeting convened by the C.P. of Switzerland took place today to demonstrate the solidarity of the Swiss workers for the German proletariat and for the fighting unity of the working class against fascism and the capitalist offensive. 1500 workers, among them being many social democratic workers, were present at this meeting.

Fight Against Facism

Build the United Front Against Fascism !

"As the crisis deepens the rule of the bourgeoisie is turned into the terrorism of the bourgeoisie. The civilisation and the justice of the capitalist order emerge in their true and awful light, when the slaves of the order rise against their masters. Then this civilisation and its justice becomes absolutely barbarity and unlawful vengeance."—(Marx.)

The wave of bloody fascist terror continues to sweep throughout **Germany** and **Austria**. Every hour brings new facts about the atrocities of fascist murder gangs, of wholesale arrests and imprisonments, of the suppression of speech, the press, the right to organise and demonstrate, of the iron heel of black reaction crushing the German masses. The political and economic achievements of the working class, gained after years of bitter class struggle, are being trampled to dust. Hitler, the mouthpiece of German fascism, carried through his ruthless campaign, "for the extermination of the Red Menace." Terrorism and war is the only policy fascism offers as a solution for the crisis.

The establishment of the open fascist dictatorship in Germany brings to the forefront the immediate necessity of organising a broad united front of struggle against the fascist offensive in every country.

In **Britain**, the wave of persecution and oppression—initiated by the labour government, and raised to a new and higher stage by the present national government—has swept over the country, and is growing over into more open and direct forms of fascist terror. The imprisonment of **Tom Mann** and **Llewellyn** and others as a preventative measure, although they have not been charged with any offence, the 1432 workers arrested, and the 480 imprisonments with the 1182 months' imprisonment, and the 40 workers now in prison serving total sentences of 616 months, along with the 102 baton charges that have taken place, all since the formation of the national government, is an indication of the rise of fascism in Britain.

As the class struggle intensifies, as the war situation becomes more menacing, the ruling class will carry through a direct frontal attack against all militant organisations in Britain, with the object of beheading the leadership and crushing the rising working class advance against hunger, terror and war. Terrorism is an essential part of the war preparations of British imperialism.

The main plank in the policy of British imperialism in the colonies, particularly India, has long been that of bombs, bullets, mass imprisonments, lathi charges and the hangman's noose.

It is this situation that makes the **international anti-fascist congress in Copenhagen** during Easter week of tremendous importance, demanding the support of every working class organisation in Britain. Every effort must be made to ensure that from Britain a big delegation is sent, in order to make this conference a rallying point, and a world demonstration of toilers determined to defeat the rising fascist offensive.

It is also this situation which makes the development of the **International Labour Defence** as a real broad, united front, mass defence organisation of the working class of decisive importance during this period.

The first point in the proposals of the E.C.C.I. stresses the point of carrying on determined resistance against the fascist terror :

"The Communists and social democrats commence at once to organise and carry out defensive action against the attacks of fascism and reaction on the political, trade union, co-operative and other workers' organisations, on the workers' press, on the freedom of meetings, demonstrations and strikes. They shall organise common defence against the armed attacks of fascist bands by carrying out mass protests, street demonstrations and political mass strikes, etc."

The National Campaign Committee of the I.L.D. is organising a nation-wide campaign through which it hopes to win for struggle the broad masses of the working class, independent of trade

union party affiliation, into common action against the terror aspect of the fascist offensive. All working class organisations are going to be approached to join in this campaign. The immediate necessity is to build this broad united front of struggle against fascist reaction out of which will develop the real mass organisation of the International Labour Defence. All forward into the united struggle—

For the release of all class war prisoners.

Build the united front against terror and war.

For the repeal of the trades disputes act, sedition laws and all coercive legislation.

For the release of the Meerut Prisoners and down with the colonial terror.

Down with the bloody fascist terror in Germany.

Millions of workers are ready to fight for these demands. Our task is to organise them for immediate struggle.

C.P. of Poland and C.P. of Czechoslovakia Make United Front Offers to the Socialist Parties

Warsaw, 16th March, 1933.

The Polish press reports that the C.C. of the Communist Party of Poland has addressed proposals to the socialist party of Poland and the other socialist parties for the setting up of the united front of struggle against the capitalist offensive and against fascism.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Poland points out that the proletarian united front is rendered necessary by the complicated international situation which has arisen, the danger of new imperialist wars, the raging of fascist reaction in Germany, and the prospect of big class struggles of the Polish proletariat.

Referring to the appeal of the E.C.C.I., the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland proposes a united front for a common fight against the attacks of fascism on the political, trade union, co-operative and other workers' organisations, for the fight for the freedom of meetings, demonstrations and the workers' press, against the summary courts and for an immediate amnesty for all political prisoners. The C.C. of the C.P. of Poland further proposes the joint organisation of a 24-hour general strike against the abolition of social insurance, against the capitalist offensive on conditions and wages, as well as for state support of all unemployed. It further points out that a ruthless fight, such as is conducted against strike breakers, is to be waged against all who violate these united front conditions. In the event of the above conditions being carried out, the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland considers it possible, during the duration of the common fight, to refrain from attacks on the social democratic organisations.

In conclusion, the C.C. expresses the firm belief that all Polish workers, without regard to what party they belong, will, without waiting for the reply of the leading organs of the social democratic parties, elect fighting committees and immediately take in hand the realisation of the fighting tasks set forth above.

Prague, March, 1933.

In accordance with the instructions issued by the recently held Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, the C.C. of the C.P. Cz. has addressed a letter to the executive committees of Czech socialist party, the German social democratic party and the Czech social democratic party. In this letter the questions are enumerated which the C.P. of Czechoslovakia considers to form the basis of a common fight against hunger, fascism and war. They include: the fight against the fascist danger, against the danger of war and against the economic offensive of the capitalists. The letter proposes that, in accordance with the principle of real workers' democracy, the workers themselves shall discuss these proposals and decide on the measures for carrying them out. The executive committees of the above named parties are asked to send their representatives to a common conference for the purpose of discussing the matter.

Create a Powerful Anti-Fascist Fighting Front

Communication of the Organisational Bureau for the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress

The appeal issued by the revolutionary trade union opposition and the league against fascism in Germany, the general labour confederation of Italy, and the revolutionary trade union opposition of Poland for the organisation of a workers' anti-fascist congress has met with a powerful response in numerous European countries.

The following organisations have declared their willingness to participate in the work of the congress: the revolutionary trade union federation of France (C.G.T.U.), the revolutionary trade union federation of Czechoslovakia, the international of seamen and harbour workers, etc.,

On the 27th February a meeting of 800 members of the Berlin factory committees expressed support and approval. Numerous local organisations and branches of the reformist trade union federation of Germany (A.D.G.B.) have also promised support.

An anti-war conference which took place in London on the 5th March and at which 1500 delegates were present, including 300 delegates of local trade union organisations, welcomed the decision to hold the congress and promised to mobilise the masses of the British workers to support its work.

On the 24th March a special anti-fascist day will be carried out throughout Sweden.

The Norwegian anti-war committee has issued an appeal for a Scandinavian congress against fascism to take place in Copenhagen on the 15th April. A strong committee of oppositional trade union officials has been formed in Copenhagen. Together with a number of chairmen of trade unions and a number of prominent left-wing intellectuals, this committee will conduct the anti-fascist campaign in Denmark.

The organisational bureau has decided to hold an enlarged session shortly to adopt decisions concerning the continuation of the campaign for the congress and to fix the date of its opening as well as drawing up the agenda. All working class organisations prepared to take part in the work of the congress are invited to send delegates to this session.

The organisational bureau maintains a secretariat in Copenhagen and all questions in connection with the congress should be addressed to it, as also should all reports concerning the course of the preparatory campaign, the names of the delegates elected, etc. The address of this secretariat is:

Aksel Larsen, Copenhagen, Yorkspassage A. No. 17.

The secretariat intends to issue a special congress bulletin shortly in several languages. This bulletin may be obtained from:

Antifa Press Service, Copenhagen, Vimmelskaftet 42A.

The Labour Movement

Approaching National Strike of the French Miners

The national committee of the reformist miners' federation of France has just decided on a national strike of the miners, to take place on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of April, which shall constitute a "warning" to the mine-owners and the authorities.

As a matter of fact, considerable discontent prevails among the French miners, of whom 250,000 are employed in the coal mines and 50,000 in the ore mines. In the last two years their earnings have been reduced by 40 to 50 per cent., partly as a result of considerable wage cuts in the years 1931 and 1932, and partly as a result of the introduction of short time, by which the number of working days in the week has been reduced as a rule to 2 to 3, and further as a result of fines, etc. Thus, in the first two weeks of December, 1932 (8 working days), a miner in the Pas De Calais coalfield earned 202 francs, and in the first

two weeks of January, 1933 (7½ working days), 192.42 francs. Moreover, as a result of rationalisation, which has been increased to the utmost, the output in the last two years has increased 25 per cent., as has also the number of accidents. Thus in the Loire coalfield alone there were 10 fatal accidents in three months.

The last strike of the miners against the first general reduction of wages took place in January, 1931, and was betrayed by the reformist leaders. In the following month they pronounced against a fresh strike and carefully arranged a ballot vote so that it should turn out as they desired. Since then they have confined themselves to making representations to the government in order to urge the further imposition of import quotas of foreign coal, and held out to the workers the prospect of the setting up of a national coal office which should control the output and sale of coal, and even the management of the mining companies.

In the meantime the excitement in the coalfields has considerably increased; the whole of the miners are ready to go on strike. The district demonstrations organised by the reformist unions on 26th February were not able to damp the miners' fighting spirit as the leaders had desired. Under the pressure of the masses, they were compelled to proclaim a three days' strike for the enforcement of the observation of the agreement, against fines and for increasing the pensions from 5000 to 6000 francs. This is the only means by which they hope to be able to avoid a prolonged strike. The revolutionary union is setting to work in order to prevent a fresh act of treachery on the part of the reformist leaders. It recommends the miners to resist all and any partial attack by the companies, and to realise the independent leadership of their strike by electing united front committees in every pit in order to continue the strike beyond the three days if their aims are not achieved. It will make proposals to the reformist organisations in this sense and increase its activity among the workers in the reformist and christian unions. The extent and the result of the strike depends on the realisation of independent leadership.

Imperialist War Preparations

The Fight for Strategic Positions in Pacific Ocean

The American press, in connection with Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, is eagerly discussing the question of the future fate of the groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean which are administered by Japan under the mandatory powers conferred by the League of Nations. These groups of islands (the Marshall Islands, Caroline Islands and the Marianas Islands) comprise 623 islands with a total area of 828 square miles, and a population of 64,920. These islands are governed directly from Tokyo, where there is a special department for "trans-oceanic affairs."

These islands, which at first glance appear insignificant, are of great importance. The international importance of these islands, writes the "New York Times," is due to their being scattered over vast distances of the Pacific Ocean. Strategically they are points of support in the waste of waters.

The "New York Times" further declares that six states, mandatory and colonial powers, which surround these groups of islands, are immediately interested in their fate. These are: **France**, with its Indo-Chinese possessions and Siam; **Holland**, with Java, Sumatra, Borneo and New Guinea; **Australia**, **New Zealand** and **Great Britain**, which command the commercial routes to China, and finally the **U.S.A.**, which is interested because the mandatory islands held by Japan lie between two important military points of support of the United States in the Pacific Ocean, namely, between the Philippines and the Hawaiian islands. In addition, one of Marianas islands, **Guam**, belongs to the U.S.A., and under a treaty with Japan the U.S.A. has a telegraph station on **Jap** Island.

The American press emphatically opposes Japan's intention to maintain its rights in regard to these islands even after its withdrawal from the League of Nations. Japan argues, writes

Edwin James in the "New York Times," that it administers the islands in question, which were formerly colonial possessions of Germany, under a secret agreement with the Allies, and that the League of Nations' mandate was only the realisation of this secret agreement. Japan further points out that the United States, as a member of the "Council of Four," which confirmed Japan's right to the islands, has sanctioned Japan's possessions in the Pacific Ocean. But the mandate given by the League of Nations, declares the "New York Times," was bound up with definite conditions, namely, that there must be no slave trade on the mandatory islands, no trade in spirits or medicines, there must be no interference with missionaries, and, above all, there must be no trade in arms nor can any military fortifications be built.

It is this last question which the United States is most concerned about.

The "New York Times" maintains that in spite of Japan's denial, an increasing number of harbours are being built on the islands, and that one island, which lies opposite Hawaii has been converted into a naval station. On Sinan, which is not far from Guam and the Philippines, a canal has been cut through the coral reef, allegedly to facilitate maritime trade in sugar, but which at the same time is very convenient for the passage of submarines.

The "New York Times" emphasises the international importance of the mandatory islands held by Japan, and points out that the United States, although it does not belong to the League of Nations and although it is not a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, is interested in all the colonial questions of this treaty and that any alteration in the mandates concerns not only the League of Nations but also the U.S.A.

The problem of the Japanese mandatory islands is immediately connected with the Japanese-American fight for the mastery of the Pacific Ocean. Judged from the newspaper reports, this fight is now entering on a new stage. The United States protest against Japan retaining possession of the islands, but Japan not only does not wish to give them up, but on the contrary is endeavouring to lengthen the barriers between the Philippine and the Hawaiian islands by fortifying the little Sunda Islands.

The Japanese representative at Geneva, **Matsukuo**, has recently taken various steps in this direction. On behalf of his government he proposed to the Dutch government the conclusion of a non-aggression pact which should also ensure Japan being supplied with naphtha. The production of naphtha is carried on on the island of Borneo, where a number of Japanese firms possess a concession for rubber plantations. In an article dealing with the Japanese-Dutch negotiations, the "Daily Herald" writes that these plantations lie outside of the sphere of observation of the Dutch authorities. The Dutch airmen sent out to reconnoitre the territory are said to have reported that though, of course, rubber is being cultivated there, some other work is being carried on. According to the "Daily Herald," this "other work" appears to be the construction of an airport.

The "Daily Herald" writes further that Japan, in striving to conclude a non-aggression pact with Holland, wishes to acquire new possessions in Dutch New Guinea, which lies between the Japanese mandatory island and Australia. The Dutch government, writes the "Daily Herald," is very disturbed about this, as the authorities in Dutch East India have their own opinion regarding the purpose of the many Japanese concessions. This "opinion" is obviously based on the experiences regarding the activity of Japanese concessionaires in Borneo and Sumatra, where the Dutch became curious to ascertain what percentage of the Japanese employees on the plantations are former military and naval officers, and where they also found that Japanese travellers and tourists preferred above all else to photograph strategic points of Dutch East India.

How strained is the situation on the little Sunda Islands can be judged from the reports of the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," which wrote in its issue of 8th March that the Dutch had mobilised the militia in Borneo to defend the harbour in connection with the situation in the Far East, which obviously gave occasion for taking extraordinary measures of precaution.

The negotiations in Holland coincided with Japan's negotiations with **Portugal**. **Matsukuo** has negotiated at Geneva with

the Portuguese representative **Vacsenseles** with the object of getting Portugal to cede the whole or part of its colonial possession on the island of Timor and the island of Makao to Japan. The island of Timor belongs to the same group of islands as Borneo, Sumatra, Java, etc. Timor lies nearest in a south-eastern direction to the north coast of Australia. The possession of Timor, thanks to its proximity to Australia and the fact that it is situated on a very important section of the big British sea route, would give Japan a further strategic point of support. The possession of this island would also strengthen Japan's position on the Philippines, i.e., in the American sphere of influence.

The island of Makao lies near Canton. If Japan were to take possession of this island it would penetrate, on the one hand, into the British sphere of influence (Hongkong, Canton) and, on the other hand, into the American sphere of influence (Hainan, the Philippines). It is no wonder that the United States is following with considerable suspicion these new efforts of Japan in the Pacific Ocean. The new stage of the fight for outposts in the Pacific Ocean is characterised by the aggravation of antagonisms between Japan and the U.S.A.

Increased Expenditure on Armaments in Great Britain

By Tom Bell (London)

The estimates for the fighting forces of Great Britain during the coming year have just been published. They amount to a grand total of £105,852,000. Of this amount the navy accounts for £50,476,000, the air force for £17,426,000, and the army £37,950,000. The combined estimates represent an increase of £4,581,700 over those of last year.

The government, in its attempt to justify this increase, is at pains to explain this is not really an increase but merely a **replacement** of certain economies made last year. For example, the resumption of territorial training camps, expenditure on coast defences, training of the regular army to be brought back to normal, arrears of work on barracks and replacement of stocks. The fact of the matter is that it is no longer possible to conceal the growth in armaments and the preparations for war now going on in England.

Notwithstanding this increase of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds (while, by the way, education is being cut by £830,755), a campaign has already begun of agitation for still more money and men for the navy and the air force. The naval experts think the building programme still inadequate and are asking for more; the aviation experts too are insisting that the air power of the British Empire is "not in keeping with its far-flung responsibilities." This propaganda takes place at a time when the Disarmament Conference appears to be getting nowhere, and the necessity for "preparedness" becomes greater for all the capitalist countries.

But there are a number of important happenings which shows that the British bourgeoisie is not by any means sleeping; that the process of "economising" is at an end. Thus the practical meaning of this year's increase in connection with the army is that stocks of ammunition will be replenished, mechanised vehicles provided, a normal training given to the regular army, and the territorial army, which showed a decline of 15,489 recruits last year, will resume its annual camp training, while a vast experimental work is being conducted around the mechanisation of the infantry.

In connection with the **navy** the press announces that "another world's speed record has been achieved by Great Britain." This is achieved by a new submarine, the "Thames." It is claimed that this vessel is by a considerable margin the fastest of her type now afloat. She carries enough oil to take her half-way round the world without refuelling. The engines are the result of a notable experiment in internal combustion motors and provide a speed of 24 miles an hour. The hull of the vessel is of immense strength and enables her to dive 400 feet without danger.

Gunnery on ships is receiving special attention, and this year the wireless controlled target ship, "Centurion," which was laid up last year, is being recommissioned.

On the other hand there are important developments in the strengthening of the air force. Hitherto the air arm has been mainly dominated by the admiralty. But there is a large number of experts who are contending for greater power being given to the air force. For example, Major C. C. Turner, in a special article in the "**Telegraph**" (3rd March, 1933) declares:

"By a policy of substitution some of the peace-time duties, not to mention war activities, of ships and of land troops could be undertaken by the air force at very much less cost, and not less effectually."

With characteristic cynicism the major goes on to say:

"By using the air arm to the extent for which it is now fitted, decision in war would be expedited, and the horrors attendant particularly upon wars of long duration, would be to a large extent avoided. The appalling consequences to the civil population, to women and children, of privations inflicted by long continued naval blockade would at least be mitigated."

At the present moment one can hardly impute indifference on the part of the national government. The estimates include £20,000 in connection with the new scheme for financial assistance to light aeroplane clubs. Sixteen of these clubs are now receiving subsidies. There are now over 400 private aircraft on the register compared with the 80 of five years ago.

Flying training for the R.A.F. reserve is being greatly extended. By the new scheme in future, instead of an obligatory 12 hours flying per annum, reserve officers will be required to do 20 hours, and approximate more closely to the service pilots.

In the Cambridge University air squadron there are 75 undergraduates studying aeronautics under a staff of instructors. Each year six members of this squadron pass into the royal air force with permanent commissions.

An important item in the estimates is the subsidies given for civil aviation. The gross total vote is £663,000, an increase of £17,000 over 1932; this increase being due to the provisions for an extension of the existing Indian air service to Australia, of which a weekly service is planned. The Imperial Airways, Ltd., get a subsidy of £365,000, and important improvements in the ground organisation and lighting of the air route between Croydon and the coast are contemplated, while the Gatwick aerodrome is to be made available as an alternative to Croydon.

Thus, in the actual financial increase in this year's estimates, but more so in the intense activity shown in various directions, some of which we have referred to above, there is abundant proof of the active preparations being made for war—preparations which the bourgeoisie no longer take the trouble to conceal.

Fresh Accentuation of the Conflict between Danzig and Poland

To the already long series of conflicts between Danzig and Poland there has now been added a new and serious conflict. The Warsaw government, in open violation of the Danzig-Polish agreement of June, 1921, according to which the Polish munitions depot **Westerplatte** lying at the entrance of Danzig harbour may be protected by a military guard not exceeding 80 men, has landed 200 police on the Westerplatte. The reinforcement of the Polish guard on the Westerplatte took place without the requisite approval of the Danish League of Nations commissioner, **Rosting**, and the Danzig government. This represents again a case of a direct action the object of which is to bring about a fait accompli. In justification of this action, the Polish government and also the Polish press point to the danger threatening the munitions depot on the side of fascist elements, who are displaying increased activity in Danzig in connection with the coming into power of the Hitler government in Germany. The Polish government press, including the official "**Gazeta Polska**," believed it could justify the action of Poland by incitement against the Communists, by holding up the bogey of a secret conference of the Communist Parties of Poland, Danzig and Germany.

The landing of Polish police troops on the Westerplatte constitutes a further attempt of Polish imperialism to extend its military position in the "Free State" of Danzig. Already before

the outbreak of the Westerplatte conflict it came to a dispute between Danzig and Poland over the harbour police—a dispute which was the actual cause of the reinforcing of the Polish troops on the Westerplatte. As is known, the administration of the harbour of Danzig has been entrusted to a special Harbour Committee, consisting of an equal number of Danzig and Polish delegates with a neutral president. In face of the repeated Polish attempts to establish a special police of the Danzig Harbour Committee in order to do away with Danzig's sovereignty of the harbour, under an agreement concluded in 1925, a special detachment of the Danzig police was placed at the disposal of the Harbour Committee.

After this settlement had been in force for about 7 years, numerous disputes arose recently over the powers of the harbour police, which finally led to the fascist senate in Danzig withdrawing the police troops from the harbour and taking over the protection of the harbour itself again. When the senate gave notice terminating the agreement of 1925, the Warsaw government demanded that Polish police forces should be employed for securing the harbour service. Eight days later 200 Polish police were landed on the Westerplatte, which lies on the territory of the Danzig Free State.

The dispute over the harbour police and the Westerplatte has led to a chauvinistic wave of incitement in Danzig, Warsaw and Berlin. Whilst the Polish press openly calls for the final occupation of Danzig and proclaims a German-Polish war to be inevitable, the German bourgeoisie use the Danzig-Polish conflict as an occasion for increased propaganda for the revision of the peace treaties, for a monstrous chauvinistic incitement and for ideological preparations for a new war. The Danzig government has mobilised the fascist auxiliary police. The German eastern frontier association—a worthy counterpart of the Polish western frontier association—in a telegram to Hitler, demanded "definite steps on the part of the appropriate government authorities in relation to the Polish government," whilst it is declared "in Berlin government circles" that Germany will energetically support Danzig, and the Polish privileges on the Westerplatte must be altogether abolished.

The Polish press has commenced an extremely violent campaign against Berlin and Danzig and also against the League of Nations commissioner, and has announced that Poland will not allow itself to be prevented by legal formalities from safeguarding its interests. In Gdynia, which is situated 20 kilometres from Danzig, two military transport trains have arrived, whilst at the same time there has been a strong concentration of troops in the whole of the corridor district. Further transports of troops are expected in the next few days. The Warsaw government has given notice that transports of munitions will arrive at the Westerplatte and has demanded that the entrance to Danzig harbour be closed for some days. A feeling of panic has arisen in the Free State territory owing to these alarming proceedings.

It would be a great mistake to regard the events in the Gulf of Danzig as something isolated. It is not due to chance that the intensification of the danger of war between Germany and Poland coincides with Hitler's seizure of power; in fact it is the immediate result of the same. The open war policy of Hitler has aroused the dogs of war on the Vistula and the Seine to defend their Versailles spoils. The idea of a "preventative war" which shall forestall the completion of the war preparations of the German bourgeoisie is being openly discussed by the French bourgeoisie. The occupation of the demilitarised Rhine area by armed Nazi bands is seized upon by the French press as a welcome pretext for occupying the whole of the demilitarised area. Thus the war-mongers on either side of the frontier are playing into each other's hands.

The oppression of national minorities under the Versailles Treaty has been sanctioned again and again by the League of Nations. It is therefore useless to expect that the approaching decision of the League of Nations will in any way remove the acute danger of war in the Baltic. The Communist Parties of Poland, Danzig and Germany have, in joint appeals, repeatedly proclaimed the right of all national minorities to self-determination up to complete separation, and declared the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in their own countries to be the first condition for the abolition of the Treaty of Versailles, the securing of world peace and the avoidance of a new world war. The toiling masses of Germany and Poland must unite in a common fight against world imperialism before Danzig has become the Sarajevo of a new world conflagration.

In the Camp of Social Democracy

Conflicts in the Camp of French Social Democracy

"Le Populaire," the central organ of the French social-democracy, has for some time past given increasingly less space to the demands of its proletarian readers, but on the other hand has been filling its columns with the "arguments" which the majority of the social democratic parliamentary fraction and the party central committee are hurling at each other. Frequent use is made of the word "crisis."

At the end of December last, when **Paul-Boncour** demanded of the chamber that it grant the provisional twelfth of the budget for January—a twelfth which contained 230 million francs more expenditure on the army, chemical warfare, the building of barracks for the garde mobile, etc., than that provided in Tardieu's monthly budget—the parliamentary fraction inquired of the central committee what it should do. The central committee cowardly evaded the question by replying that the deputies must themselves know what they should do. The deputies thereupon voted unanimously and enthusiastically for the twelfth of the budget, a fact which aroused a "feeling of dismay and revolt" among the rank and file of the party.

On 27th January, as a result of the pressure exercised by the state employees, who were beginning to kick against a threatened cut in their salaries, **Leon Blum** was obliged to declare, in almost weeping tones, that the social democrats were compelled to refrain from further support of the government. **Boncour** was overthrown. He was followed by **Daladier**, who in forming his government offered five ministerial positions to the social democrats. Thereupon the social democratic parliamentary fraction, in utter defiance of the party statutes and decisions, and without even consulting the national council of the party as had been the rule in such cases hitherto, decided by 64 votes against 17 to participate in the government. This action roused still greater resentment among the social democratic workers. Under the pressure of the rank and file, numerous district and local committees passed resolutions protesting against the attitude of the parliamentary fraction. On 5th February, the national council of the socialist party of France held a meeting and by 2636 votes against 1070 rejected a resolution in favour of participating in the government, thus censuring the parliamentary fraction.

The social democratic party still continued to vacillate, eagerly desirous on the one hand of saving the government of the "lesser evil," and faced, on the other hand, with the necessity of defending the interests of the middle and higher civil servants, who form a great part of their supporters. The social democratic parliamentary fraction, however, decided by a two-thirds majority not to defend the trade union demands. On 28th February, when it came to a vote in the chamber, there was a split in the parliamentary fraction of the socialist party, 20 of their members voting against article 83 on the reduction of the salaries of the civil servants (an hour later, however, the whole fraction unanimously voted for the provisional twelfth of the budget, including article 83). Thereupon **Blum**, the chairman of the parliamentary fraction, resigned his post. This again caused great excitement.

An extraordinary congress of the party has been convened for Easter in order to settle these disputes. Nevertheless the parliamentary fraction have rebelled against this decision. Several of their members threaten to boycott the congress, and on 10th March the majority of the parliamentary fraction demanded of the party central committee that it rescind its decision to convene an extraordinary congress. After the adoption of this decision, which was preceded by a lively debate, the "Left" leader **Lebas** left the meeting hall along with some of his friends.

Since then the columns of the central organ of the French social democracy have been filled with polemics. The underlying cause of this inner-party conflict is to be sought in the cleavage which has existed for a long time between the party leaders—i.e., between the policy of hearty co-operation with the bourgeois governments—and the toiling masses who follow the social democracy in the hope that it will defend their proletarian interests, and whose fighting spirit has increased parallel with the intensification of the capitalist offensive.

The disappointment felt by the masses in consequence of the continuation of Tardieu's policy of the radicals, for whom their leaders told them to vote in May, 1932, the Amsterdam anti-war movement, which has been joined by several districts, federations, over 100 local groups, and close on 12,000 members of the socialist party of France, the propaganda conducted by the unitarian trade unions and the Communist Party for the united front of struggle against the threatened wage cuts, and also the events in Germany, which have opened the eyes of a considerable number of social democratic workers regarding the results of the policy of the "lesser evil," have shaken the proletarian and peasant basis of the social democracy.

There has been talk of the possibility of a split in the party at the Easter conference. This is hardly likely, however, although there is undoubtedly great unrest among the social democratic rank and file. To this there is to be added the fact that the C.C. of the Communist Party of France, in accordance with the appeal of the Communist International to realise the united front, recently addressed an open letter to the workers and to the central committee of the socialist party of France, with the result that the S.P. party committee finds itself in an extremely embarrassing situation and is seeking to evade giving an answer. This evasive attitude on the part of the social democratic leaders towards this main question will tend to make the social democratic workers realise that the inner party conflict is not the result of a profound antagonism between the deputies, as Paul Faure wishes to make out, but is rather the expression of the contradiction between the workers' will to struggle and the role which the Second International plays in all countries as the main buttress of the bourgeoisie.

Danish Social Democratic Government Passes Law Prohibiting Strikes

By V. B. Lauridsen (Copenhagen)

In Denmark, where the social-democratic Stauning government has been in office for three and a half years, the crisis is becoming more and more acute. The number of officially registered unemployed now amounts to about 200,000. More than 20,000 young unemployed workers are tramping the roads in Denmark. The misery of the small peasants and agricultural workers is increasing. At the same time, the bourgeoisie is increasing its offensive against the toiling masses. In the year 1931 the employers put through a wage cut of 4 to 8 per cent. In the year 1932 the collective agreements were prolonged, but the position of the working class was greatly worsened as a result of the imposition of a number of direct and indirect taxes, shortening of work-time (without wage compensation), mass dismissals, rationalisation, etc. In the summer of 1932 the employers again raised the demand for a general wage cut of 20 per cent. They gave notice terminating all the most important collective agreements with the exception of transport and the food industry.

A few days before 1st February it looked as if more than 100,000 workers would be locked out. At the last moment the social-democratic government intervened. On 28th January a Bill was submitted to the Folketing providing for a prolongation of all the collective agreements up to 1st February, 1934, and in the meantime forbidding all economic struggles, i.e., all strikes. In no other country, with the exception of fascist Italy, has the bourgeoisie ventured to take such a step. It was left to the "Labour Government" in Denmark to take this step.

In order to ensure the passing of this Bill, the social democrats had to conclude an agreement with the reactionary big agrarian party, Venstre. A number of demands put forward by this party were fulfilled, such as the depreciation of the krone to the amount of 56 oere, reduction of land taxes and interest, establishment of a fund of 200 million kronen for benefit of the agrarian capitalists. In return, the Venstre party undertook to facilitate the passing of the Bill by abstaining from voting. This Act represents an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie and of the social democracy to find a way out of the severe crisis by casting all the burdens on to the shoulders of the toilers. The social democrats try to ameliorate the contradictions existing within the various sections of the Danish bourgeoisie, on the one

hand by giving way to the demands of the big agrarians, and on the other hand by granting the sum of 75 million kronen for "providing work for the unemployed" and promising certain subventions to the captains of industry.

The prohibition of strikes does not mean, as the social democrats try to make out, that wage cuts will be avoided. It only means that the main attack of the employers' offensive is carried out against the various industries and factories individually. The employers will continue their attacks upon the workers' standards by means of increased rationalisation, worsening of the piece-work rates and working conditions, and by threats of mass dismissals. It is no mere chance that **Steincke**, Minister for Social Welfare, has raised the question of the introduction of "voluntary labour service" in Denmark and that the central organ of the social democrats has launched a campaign for this project.

The prohibition of strikes has aroused tremendous indignation among the working class. Tens of thousands of workers demonstrated in front of parliament and were only driven back after a pitched battle with the police. Factory delegations were sent to parliament in order to protest against the Bill. **The National Conference of the Red Trade Union Opposition**, which was attended by 335 delegates, issued an appeal to the Danish workers to mobilise for a fight against this Bill. The **C.P. of Denmark**, which headed this movement against the Act, has shown itself capable of coping with the tasks of the moment.

The White Terror

How the Kuomintang Persecutes Anti-Japanese Movement of Chinese Students

Peiping, 1st February, 1933.

In North as in South China, the most outstanding characteristic of the political situation and of events arising out of this situation is the servile attitude of the Chinese authorities to the Japanese on the one hand, and their ruthless suppression of the Chinese masses on the other. One Chinese city after another falls into the hands of Japanese invaders, and at the very best a few badly armed and badly fed Chinese soldiers fight before they retreat. Such fighting always bears a distinctly individualistic character, showing that there was no order to fight, no preparations to fight, no reinforcements to aid those who fight. Every attempt of students or others to arouse the population to the danger facing China and to a willingness and determination to fight, is crushed by the Chinese authorities. This suppression is carried on behind the smoke screen of a "Communist menace." Such suppression pleases the imperialist powers and those Chinese who are passively or actively selling out China. There has not been one man arrested in North China for connections with the Japanese, and even Prince Kung came to Peiping for three weeks and organised forces for a puppet government; and it was only after he had gone that the authorities declared that they had issued an order for his "arrest." At the same time there have been large groups of students arrested, not for bargaining with the Japanese, not for acting as Japanese agents, but for attempting to awaken the Chinese people to a sense of their duty in fighting the invasion.

At the beginning of January a group of 10 students were arrested in Taiyuan for belonging to the Anti-Japanese Association. And in the same week the Japanese troops came out of the Legation quarter and staged a sham battle for the capture of Peiping. They practised street fighting in the main streets of Peiping. Chinese policemen "controlled the traffic" and "maintained law and order" while these Japanese staged this sham capture of Peiping. Not one word of protest was uttered by the Chinese authorities.

The Chinese press, under official Kuomintang instigation, has been accusing the students of the North of running away from the Japanese. The students have been called cowards. This is a base libel against the students. On the morning of 30th January, the press announced that 18 additional students had been arrested in Peiping for Anti-Japanese agitation and that these arrests "caused indignation among the people here."

It is a direct lie to say that the students are responsible for the flight from Peiping. It is true that the entire Chinese student world is pessimistic and filled with a feeling of futility because, they say, they have tried to take part in public life for many years. The ruthless terror has crushed their efforts. They have achieved nothing. The total result of the last few years of rule by the Kuomintang has been the invasion of China.

For the student flight from Peiping there is a more direct reason. When **Shanhaikwan** fell to the Japanese, the students began holding mass meetings to determine what action should be taken by them. Recalling student movements in the past, university and government authorities became more terrified of the students than the Japanese. Many universities, therefore, declared winter holidays at once and told the students that the Japanese were going to capture Peiping and Tientsin, and they should therefore leave the city. Not only this, but thousands of rich or official families began to flee from the city.

Yet thousands of students remained in Peiping. They adopted as their slogan: "Don't study; don't sit for examinations; work to save China from subjection and dismemberment." The press attacked these students as lazy, trying to avoid examinations, and asked the students to sit down and study ancient history and arithmetic as calmly as the authorities themselves go to banquets and musical evenings while the Japanese advance. A war against the students began. **Yenching** University students, anxious to do something, sent a group of 20 students to Jehol to organise a Red Cross Corps among the volunteers. The press scoffed when they returned later—but deliberately refused to tell why they returned. They returned because there was no work to do in Jehol—there was no fighting, there were no wounded.

On the night of 11th January, 16 students were arrested in Peiping. These students were delegates from colleges, universities and middle schools and belonged to the "Joint Student Anti-Japanese Association." The purpose of the conference was to discuss what the students could do against the Japanese invasion.

In this meeting there appeared a man who gave himself out to be a delegate from one of the schools. The students admitted this man, who later turned out to be not only a detective, but an **agent provocateur** from the local Kuomintang headquarters named **Li Chun-hua**. Li Chun-hua, the provocateur, made a speech in which he advocated the overthrow of the government

as the first step to fighting the Japanese, after which there should be a Soviet Government established. Some students agreed, some opposed him. When he had achieved his purpose the police were called and 16 of the students, including a little girl 13 years of age and another girl of 16 years of age, were arrested as Communists.

The Kuomintang shows no hesitancy in sending out its creatures to act as agent provocateurs even against children, in order to manufacture "evidence" for their arrest and imprisonment. In the trial of these students which took place a few days later, following a protest of the Chinese League for Civil Rights, the judge asked the two girls, including the little one of 13, how many "husbands" they had, since, being Communists, they must have many! Not only was such a question a coarse insult, but it was a clear indication of the type of men who sit in judgment on the revolutionary youth of China.

At the same time a student member of the Committee of Student Government was arrested in the school library by Li Chun-hua, just because he was on the Committee for Student Government. No charge ever appeared against him in the press; no reason whatever was given for his arrest; and the press reported, "His whereabouts are still unknown."

Altogether, from June to the end of January last, there were a total of about 100 political prisoners among students and professors in the city of Peiping alone—a small percentage of the total number of political prisoners in North China.

The students are arrested because they demand that the Japanese be driven from Chinese territory; because they try to awaken the masses of the population to the necessity of struggle if China is to be saved from subjection. When arrested they are savagely beaten. When the Kuomintang has no "evidence" of any kind against them, they manufacture it. One student was accused of being a high Communist functionary in the North. When he denied it, a minute book of the E.C. of the C.P. of North China was presented against him! This minute book conveniently mentioned his name as he gave it when arrested, his school, dormitory, and everything the police learned from him himself, when arrested.

All talk of legal justice in China is absolute nonsense. Only a mass movement in China, supported from abroad, can free the countless political prisoners in this country.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Champions of Socialist Agriculture

(The Opening of the First Congress of Collective Farmers in Moscow)

By V. Buchwald (Moscow)

"... heroes of the fields! I am speaking to you very simple words, but you know yourselves that real wisdom, the wisdom of Lenin and his disciples, is always simple."—(From M. Gorky's message of greetings to the Farm Congress in Moscow.)

Farmers and workers the world over should know of this congress. To tell the story and convey the message of this unusual gathering in simple words is a task that is at once thrilling and frightening. For weeks the entire country had been excited by the preparations for the opening of the congress. A most unusual election campaign stirred the Soviet farmers from the White Sea to the Caucasus and from the western borders to the Pacific. The election rules were the simplest in the world: only the **best** workers of the **best** collective farms could go to Moscow. Votes were obtained and seats were won not through electioneering, not through political oratory, but through evidence of best effort for the community. If a collective farm in a given district showed the best yield per hectare, the most efficient management of its affairs, the earliest fulfilment of its obligations to the worker's and peasant's state, the best condition of its cattle and its inventory and **the highest income for its members**—that collective farm was entitled to represent the entire district at the congress. The same principle applied to the election of individual delegates. Only the best of the best were entitled to

a seat. Pretty speeches or back-slapping or empty promises were of no avail in this election contest. The voting was prompted by deeds, not words. The record of every good worker lay open before the entire electorate of the collective farm. His work for the past season was tabulated, entered in the books and certified. It was really like in an athletic contest: the one who made the best mark was declared champion.

And here they were—fifteen hundred champions of model farming and of socialism. Here in the Soviet Union it is really one and the same thing. Socialism is the common good of all who work, and the best contribution to socialism is good, efficient work. If there is one thing that is at a premium in the land of Soviets it is honest toil. They have a special name for champions of work; they call them **udarniks**, which is sometimes translated as "shock-workers." But perhaps **champion** comes nearer to the real meaning of **udarnik**.

Call them champions or **udarniks**—fifteen hundred of the best farmers representing the best collective farms gathered in the Great Opera House of Moscow on the memorable evening of 15th February, 1933, as the accredited delegates to the **First All-Union Congress of Collective Farms' Udarniks**. It was an unusual sight even for the red capital which had witnessed many a gathering of workers' and farmers' representatives. This was not a congress of the Soviets nor of the powerful trade unions.

embracing nearly twenty million workers. For the first time since the Soviet regime had been established in 1917, a congress of **collective** farmers, a congress of **successful** collective farms gathered in Moscow to lay before the country and, indeed, before the farmers and workers of the entire world, the results of the **socialist method** applied to farming. Here in the Soviet Union, where so much effort has been exerted and so many successes scored in building up large-scale industry along socialist lines, the very fact that so many expert farmers gathered in one place as representatives of model socialist farms was an historic event and a demonstration of triumph on behalf of collective farming, on behalf of the socialist principle in agriculture. When we bear in mind that only three years ago the vast majority of the Soviet peasants were individual small-scale farmers, when we remember that even now very many ignorant peasants are prejudiced against collective large-scale farming, we will fully understand the importance of this great demonstration, its educational value, the far-reaching effect of the deliberations of this First All-Union Congress of representatives of collective farms that **have made good**.

The importance of the congress was fully appreciated by the workers of Moscow and of the entire country. It was fully appreciated by the leaders of the Soviet Government and of the party in power, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Workers' Moscow did itself proud in welcoming and playing host to the socialist farmers from all over the country. The Great Opera House was unusually festive with its seven tiers, running horse-shoe fashion, decked out in red streamers bearing words of welcome and encouragement. The stage was fitted out in great style, with the statue of Lenin, the immortal genius and leader of the Revolution, set against a background of banners. It was a solemn moment when **L. M. Kaganovich**, head of the Moscow branch of the Communist Party and chief of the agricultural division of the central committee of the All-Union Communist Party, rose to welcome the delegates. His brief introductory remarks were frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. He certainly had an appreciative audience, for every one of those fifteen hundred men and women could, from their own experience, testify to the truth of his words:

"The entire might, the entire economic power, all the wealth of our state was directed precisely towards the task of lifting the countryside, reconstructing it along new socialist lines. Our Government, the Government of workers and peasants, invested huge amounts for the purpose of aiding the rural communities, the poor and middle peasants, the peasants who made up their minds to do away with age-old ignorance, to put an end to the enslaving rule of the kulaks (hard-driving rich peasants) and to build a new, bright, communist life."

Following the customary procedure, the chairman extended the floor to one of the delegates, a champion farmer from the Middle Volga region, for the purpose of nominating the presidium (presiding committee). Having named the outstanding udarniks among the delegates as members of the presiding body, the nominating delegate proceeded to name the honorary presidium. The list included most of the outstanding Soviet leaders—**Stalin**, **Molotov**, **Kalinin**, **Voroshilov**, **Kaganovich**, etc. As these leaders appeared on the stage an ovation broke loose. These men and women of the soil, the "udarniks of the socialist fields," as they had been heralded in the Soviet newspapers, "raised the roof" in their burst of enthusiasm for the leaders of their government and their party, the party of the workers and the peasants, the Communist Party. But even greater was the enthusiasm, even stormier the ovation when the chosen udarniks themselves marched up an incline and appeared on the stage to take their seats besides the outstanding and celebrated leaders. They were a striking lot—striking and inspiring. In high felt boots, in rough and tumble work-clothes, they impressed one as having been interrupted in the midst of their farm chores in order to attend to the affairs of the socialist state. Seated beside **Kalinin**, the president of the Soviet Union, was a young country girl in a rough work jacket, her head covered with a grey kerchief with a heavy storm-shawl over it. When she had appeared on the stage a group of delegates, in one of the first tier boxes near the press tables, cheered like possessed, apparently rooting for their own, for the best tractor-operator—or was she the most efficient milkmaid?—of their district. There were young men

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There was more of this inspiring display of solidarity. A delegation of the best udarniks of the largest factories in Moscow came to the congress to welcome their fellow-champions from the socialist fields. They did not come empty-handed. They came with their banners and they also brought with them precious gifts, samples of their factory output. In the collection of gifts brought by the delegation from the giant plant of electrical equipment, "Electrozavod," was a huge searchlight: the working class lighting up the road to socialism for its fellow-class, the peasantry. From the Trechgorny Textile Plant the welcoming committee brought a variety of attractive cloth and materials that would gladden the eye of the most discriminating belle. Was all this but a gesture? By no means! It was a symbol of of the unity and co-operation between the Soviet workers and the peasants. The farm congress was a common affair, for the progress of the farms is bound up with the progress of industry. Those who have witnessed the feverish activity of the workers in the factories in connection with the preparations for the spring sowing; those who have seen the marvellous system of "sponsorship" at work—the workers of a given factory acting the sponsors of a given collective farm or rural district and helping the peasants in every possible way to make a go of their farms—they will fully appreciate the great symbolic meaning of the ceremony of gift-bearing enacted at the opening session of the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Champions.

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But ceremonial and atmosphere were merely incidental to the real business of the Collective Farm Congress. The delegates came to Moscow from thousands of miles away on a very important mission. What was that mission? How did these collective farm udarniks tackle their job? What can the farmers and workers of other countries learn from the deliberations of this historic congress? I shall attempt an answer to these questions in a series of articles.

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who under an agreement with this firm were employed as technical experts in the electric undertakings of the Soviet Union.

In all 31 persons were arrested in connection with this affair, among them being some English citizens.

After being examined and having given written guarantees that they would not attempt to leave the country, a number of the accused were released. The investigation is still proceeding.

LITVINOV'S REPLY TO BRITISH AMBASSADOR

Moscow, 17th March, 1933.

The British Ambassador, Sir Esmond Ovey, visited Litvinov and brought to his knowledge Mr. Baldwin's declaration in the House of Commons in connection with the arrest of representatives of the British firm of Metropolitan-Vickers. Sir Esmond developed in detail the tenets of the said declaration.

In reply Litvinov told the British Ambassador:

Concretely and practically the claims of the Ambassador in this case reduce themselves to a proposal for the exemption from Soviet jurisdiction of all British subjects, granting them immunity from any crime or delinquency and providing that in the event of any Englishman's being accused of a crime the proceedings against him shall be stopped immediately in spite of the available data and proofs, even the accused's own depositions, as soon as his government expresses a conviction of his innocence.

It is sufficient to formulate such proposals to make it obvious to the government of an independent country that they are unacceptable and cannot be discussed. In the event of the existence of data and proofs that a crime was being committed by a certain person, the authorities responsible for the observance of the law and the safety of the country are obliged to take measures to prevent the crime and verify the data and proofs. Only in this way can they establish the guilt or innocence of the arrested party or establish the motives of the crime.

Such is the inevitable procedure in all countries. The arrests of foreigners happen not only in Russia. Quite recently there have happened abroad cases of the arrest and sentencing of people occupying prominent posts, including representatives of important banks. Such cases cannot be avoided, and should not be allowed to influence international relations determined by more important and profound considerations than the interests of individual citizens or firms.

In Russia are living hundreds and thousands of Germans, Americans and citizens of other countries who suffer no persecution. Hundreds of Englishmen have arrived in Russia, lived here and left without one of them being arrested. Finally, the representatives of Metropolitan-Vickers themselves have lived in Russia nearly ten years and hitherto nothing has happened to them.

Such measures as arrest and prosecution have been adopted by the Soviet authorities only in the face of serious causes, and in the interests of the safety of State property. It would be wrong if such episodes affected political and commercial relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain, which were equally profitable to both countries.

"No pressure and no threats can cause the Soviet Government to relax the law in favour of British citizens. If the British government and the British Embassy are so certain of the innocence of the arrested men, the alarm they have expressed over their fate is incomprehensible."

At the request of the British Ambassador, Litvinov informed him that the arrested men were accused under Clause 58 of the Soviet Criminal Code.

The inquiry was approaching its end, and the State Political Department (G.P.U.) therefore had decided to transmit the case in the nearest future to the prosecuting magistrate of the Supreme Court.

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The most important campaign of the past and present weeks is the promotion of spring sowing. For this purpose the whole of the Party and Soviet apparatus, the press and the toiling masses are being mobilised. Whole columns of the press are daily devoted to the questions of the sowing campaign.

Thousands of the most active functionaries have been sent into the newly established Political Departments of the Soviet estates and the Machine and Tractor Stations. An eager fight is conducted to supply the village with tractor machine parts, as the lack of these machine parts greatly jeopardised last year's sowing campaign. Whilst abroad the bourgeois papers are writing about an alleged failure of the sowing campaign, nothing of the kind is to be observed here. On the contrary, already now, long before the beginning of sowing, 50 million double centals of seed corn, sufficient for more than 90 per cent. of the cultivated area, are standing ready.

Special importance attaches to the purging of the apparatus of the Soviet and collective farms of anti-class elements, the fight against idlers and slackers and for the increase of socialist labour discipline.

The purging is being ruthlessly carried out up to the highest posts in the agricultural State apparatus, and severe punishment is meted out to wreckers and counter-revolutionaries. Some wreckers in the Soviet Ukraine, several functionaries of the Commissariat for Agriculture, of Soviet estates and Machine and Tractor Stations, were severely punished on account of deliberate spoiling of the seed corn, disorganising the sowing and harvest campaigns.

In the Soviet Union, the only country in which Marx's teachings are consistently followed, the meetings on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx were great commemoration festivals. The whole of the toiling population participated in these festivals. On this occasion also particular interest was displayed in the fate and the fight of the German working class. The result of the fifteen years of rule of consistent Marxists in the Soviet Union was contrasted with the results of the policy of the German pseudo-Marxists. It needs no special propaganda in order to prove, on the basis of these two results, the superiority of the Bolshevist methods. There, in Germany—Hitler's coming into power, the bloody rule against the working class; here, in the Soviet Union—the successful concluding of the first Five-Year Plan and the starting of the second, still more grandiose Five-Year Plan.

"Marx belongs to the Communists"—this slogan dominated at all the numerous anniversary meetings and demonstrations of the past week. In the light of the grandiose building up of a new world, in the light of the triumph of the Soviet workers as compared with the bitterness of the tortured masses in the capitalist countries, one can understand that this slogan does not mean a dispute over words and traditions, but the consciousness of victory in the fight for the future of humanity.

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