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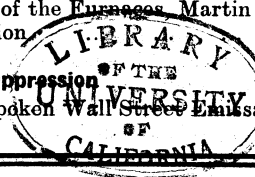
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# America Intervening in European Affairs

By Karl Radek

The meaning of the speech which Mr. Norman Davis, the American representative, delivered on May 22 at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, can be summed up briefly as follows:

America does not undertake to enter into war against the violators of peace agreements, but it pledges itself not to offer any resistance to economic and political boycott against the aggressor, that is to say, it pledges itself to take part in such a boycott.

In order to judge the significance of this declaration we must call to mind what President Wilson declared in December 1914, some months after the outbreak of the world war:

"We have nothing to do with this war; its causes do not concern us."

The United States, after having taken part in the war which did not concern it, refused to put its signature to the Treaty of Versailles and kept out of the League of Nations in order not to be pledged to interfere in European affairs. "The United States cannot subordinate its decisions to anybody standing higher than its own authority"—that was the main argument of the Senate. In the year 1930, at the Naval Disarmament Conference in London, when Stimson declared himself ready, provided France supported the decisions, to take part in a consultative pact, he was openly disavowed by Hoover. And now the United States wishes to undertake to participate in an economic boycott against an attacking country!

What are the causes of this change in American policy?

In the comprehensive literature on the most recent history of America, we find almost nothing about the causes which led the United States to take part in the world war. The writers represent the matter as if America had been concerned about the fate of democracy, as if it entered the war as a protest against the inhuman manner in which Germany conducted submarine warfare. In reality, America's decision to enter the war was determined by the fact that the British fleet had succeeded in cutting Germany off from the American market. America's powerful industry, developed still further during the war, was working at full pressure for the Entente Powers. When the Entente Powers had exhausted their stocks of gold, their foreign bills and their shares in American undertakings, they received huge credits from the American banks. When Germany had built so many submarines that it could commence to blockade England and France, the United States was faced with the alternative, either to take part in the war on the side of the Entente, or to lose the credits granted to England and France, to let industry come to a standstill, i.e., to be involved in a tremendous economic crisis as the price for avoiding war.

The United States decided for war. It emerged from this war not only with a powerful industry, with a modern fleet, but also as a creditor nation. The petty-bourgeois masses, disappointed by the war, demanded that America should refuse to

interfere any further in European affairs. Of course, this was not the reason why the American capitalists abandoned European politics. If the leaders of American finance capital succeeded in drawing America into the war, they could also have drawn America into the League of Nations. The leaders of American finance capital thought, however, that they had got the whole world in their pocket and that they could dictate their conditions to it. They could not, however, submit to the decisions of a body in which Serbs, Czechs, Lithuanians, etc., also had a say, not to speak of Chile and Peru, which were the objects of American policy. Apart from the war debts, the various countries owe America 17,000 million dollars so-called commercial debts. Of this sum Europe owes 5,600 million, Canada 4,400 million, South America 3,000 million, Central America about 3,000 millions and Australia 1,000 million. The United States did not abandon world politics, but it worked in the first place with the dollar, in the consciousness that the dollar is more powerful than guns, for it commands the guns.

This also explains the reason why, before Japan's attack on China, the United States possessed a fleet which proved to be inadequate. America did not carry out Wilson's naval programme. At the Washington Conference in 1922, America obtained the right to possess the same strength in ships of the line as England. At the London Conference in the year 1930, the same right was extended to cruisers. As a matter of fact the strength of the American fleet at the present time is somewhere between 60 and 70 per cent. of the British. In Washington the United States, through the pressure of the dollar, succeeded in dissolving the Anglo-Japanese alliance. America was convinced that, through the further pressure of the dollar, in the question of the debts, it would induce England to act together with it in the Far East. It had such confidence in the dollar that it neglected to develop naval bases in the Pacific Ocean. America's naval power did not extend beyond the Hawaiian Islands; what lay beyond was delivered over to the attacks of Japan. America's omissions in regard to naval armaments are not to be attributed to any pacifist illusions, but to unbounded confidence in the power of the dollar.

So long as China was an open door for all capitalists, the independence of China meant dependence upon the dollar, as everything was dependent upon the dollar at that time. When, however, the dollar fell sick, Japan annexed Manchuria. When America declared that Japan's action had rendered the Washington Agreement invalid and that it would now arm in the Far East, it was already too late. Of what use was it that the Anglo-Japanese alliance had been dissolved. England avoided joint action with the United States; it would demand a high price for doing so.

Trusting in its financial power, America invested huge sums in Europe. In Germany alone it has invested 4,200 million, in long-term loans, in addition to the millions of short-term loans, and not calculating the sums invested in shares. The United States thought: France can rattle the sabre, we will rattle the gold. America did not foresee the consequences of a crisis, the impossibility of creating markets for the rationalised German industry; nor did it realise that vast masses of the petty bourgeoisie would be mobilised under the flag of nationalism. America is now trembling lest the warlike collisions which are possible in Europe should endanger its huge capital investments.

The United States is fighting on two fronts: against Japan, which prevents its expansion in Asia, and against England which is keenly competing against it in South America. In a war with England the United States could only rely on France, but on the other hand, owing to its investments in Germany, it has to oppose France.

In this situation, therefore, America is forced to abandon its attitude of proud reserve and interfere in European affairs in order, as far as possible, to protect its interests. Therefore America urged the League of Nations to adopt decisions which are directed against Japan, namely, not to recognise Manchukuo, whereby very little was achieved. It wishes now to set up an authoritative body to which one can appeal in the event of an aggression, including an act of aggression on the part of Japan. Negotiations are going on behind the scenes regarding neutrality and boycott. Germany is to leave France in peace and France is to leave Germany in peace. The debts to America are not to be endangered. It is probable, however, that America hopes in these negotiations to achieve something against Japan.

## Politics

### The Prohibition of the C.P. of Austria

By B. Keller (Vienna).

In order to understand what is happening in Austria, one must imagine for a moment that on that historical 8th of March, when Parliament was closed down, a decree appeared which announced:

The National Council (Parliament) will not meet again, the Constitutional Court is suspended. Street parades are permitted only for the Heimwehr; all others are prohibited without exception. All political meetings whatever are prohibited in so far as they are not held by government parties. Freedom of the press is abolished, the oppositional press is subjected to preliminary censorship, and placards also are to be censored. The Republican Defence corps is dissolved, the Communist Party prohibited, the Red Aid, the League of proletarian solidarity, the Workers' Defence are dissolved, their property confiscated, their offices and meeting-places closed, over 1,000 Communists and social democrats are held under preventive arrest for some weeks (without any charge being brought against them), whilst the above measures are being carried out. It is forbidden to carry the red flag. 5,000 members of the Heimwehr (Austrian fascist organisation) are enrolled as auxiliary police. The army reservists are called up. 1,000 members of the Heimwehr are permanently enrolled in the gendarmerie and in the frontier guard. "Reforms" of the social insurance and of the Rent Restriction Act are "in preparation."

Just think what would have happened if all that had been proclaimed on one day. Nobody would have doubted that the setting up of the national socialist dictatorship in Germany had resulted in a coup d'état in Austria. But the Austrian workers would not have accepted this destruction of their political rights without offering resistance. They would have remembered that the social democracy has always held them back from all fights precisely with the argument that they must prepare for the day on which the government destroys bourgeois democracy. The workers would have spontaneously taken up the fight.

Dollfuss has avoided this. In clever co-operation with the "opposition" (including both the social democrats and the Nazis), he has carried out his coup d'état in stages, and without any upheaval. The chief concern of the social democratic leaders was to conceal the bankruptcy of their policy and to continue to hold back the workers from a fight, the revolutionary consequences of which could not be foreseen. When even the last "bulwark" of the Constitution, the Constitutional Court, was abolished, the social democratic leaders declared that the workers must now begin once again at the beginning; the State has "now" again become an absolutist State, which is alien to the working class.

Thus the social democratic leaders simply acted as a screen to Dollfuss. The Nazis did the same. They worked as agents provocateurs. They organised street demonstrations, collisions with the police (in which, it is true, very little happened to the Nazis), bomb outrages, which provided ever fresh pretexts for oppressive measures against the workers.

In addition, the Nazis supplied Dollfuss with the cheap argument that he is defending Austria against the barbarism of national socialism, as a result of which he received the enthusiastic support of the whole of the democratic-liberal, and partly also of the social-democratic, press. And whilst Dollfuss faithfully copied in Austria the example provided by Hitler in Germany, he created the impression that the Austrian government was marching at the head of the anti-fascist front.

One cannot deny the skilfulness of this policy, which, it is true, was due to the collaboration of the social democracy. This collaboration could only be disturbed by the Communist Party. It was to be expected, therefore, that a blow would be delivered at the C.P.

This has now happened. The Ministerial Council has decided to prohibit the Communist Party of Austria for carrying on "treasonous activity."

It is true, the more firmly the dictatorship is established the less it considers it necessary to keep up the appearance of lawfulness. Therefore, the Dollfuss government, in adopting this, its latest measure, has refrained from citing any law which would have served as a justification.

The Heimwehr press announces that the property of the Communist Party will be confiscated, its secretariats sealed, and the publication of the "Rote Fahne," as well as all local, factory, and district newspapers, stopped. It is possible, and even probable, that the government is planning this, but it will be no more able to cite any law in justification thereof than it could in prohibiting the Communist Party. For even the press law, as altered by the emergency decree, does not provide for the prohibition of a newspaper.

The government cannot even maintain that the house searches which took place on May 1 yielded evidence that the Communist Party was "planning a putsch," i.e., a treasonous action. For on the same day on which the Ministerial Council announced the prohibition of the Communist Party the Court in Vienna, after dropping the proceedings, released the last six Communist functionaries, who must have been personally incriminated by this "evidence."

It is, therefore, an open, an undisguised, act of dictatorship. The Austrian dictatorship had to prohibit the Communist Party at all costs. It knew that the Communist Party had not only consolidated itself organisationally, but had won increasing ideological influence over broad masses of workers. The Communist Party had to be prohibited because it was a danger to the policy of civil peace between the social democratic leaders and the "Austrian front."

## The French Social Democrats Vote for Daladier's Budget

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

### Drastic Financial Measures Contemplated.

After a colourless debate in the French Chamber the budget for 1933 passed its second reading. Only the Communists raised an energetic protest against the class measures with the help of which the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to balance its budget.

The social democratic deputies (with the exception of six) have once again, in accordance with their decision adopted two days previously, voted for the budget of the capitalist State. The Parliamentary fraction replied to the summons of the central committee of the party to respect the resolution of Avignon: "What do you want? We respect them conscientiously. We have examined the situation and found it necessary to vote for the budget in order thus to frustrate the manoeuvres of the Right."

But what will the social democratic workers say to this? For this budget contains 16,000 millions for war purposes, 1,013 million for the police, 414 million for courts and prisons and 3.5 millions for the secret funds, and, on the other hand, only 520 million for unemployment relief, only 11 million for maternity and child welfare and 13 million for the fight against tuberculosis.

The social democratic deputies have, in the name of the "lesser evil," granted the bourgeoisie the means necessary for maintaining its regime of bloodshed and starvation.

In the course of the debate in the French Senate on the Budget for 1933, there were not lacking serious warnings in regard to the future of French finances. A very pessimistic article by the reporter on the Budget, Marcel Regnier, which was published in nearly all the newspapers, concludes as follows:—

"There is a big deficit in the Budget. The revenue is declining, the treasury is getting low. If things go on like this, we shall soon be wringing our hands in front of an empty treasury. If we do not resort to the necessary measures, a time will come when we shall have to declare ourselves insolvent. The only course that will then be left open to us to master the situation will be inflation."

The fact is, the Budget shows a deficit. The data published lately, however, are very vague and contradictory. It was stated that in the past 12 months, as a result of cutting down the expenditure on social services, the rente conversion and new taxes, the deficit had been reduced by 10,000 million; the Senate has succeeded in reducing the deficit for 1933 to 3,500 million. It is stated at the same time, however, that the coming Budget will show a deficit of at least 7-8,000 millions, not including the deficit on the railways, which constitutes a burden on the State and which increases by approximately 4,000 million every year.

A no less indisputable fact is the low state of the treasury. For a long time the treasury has kept going by means of loans.

The emission limit for short and medium term treasury bonds was extended from 5,000 to 24,000 million; the national debt has increased within two years from 269,000 to 290,000 million, and in the current year will probably increase by a further 15,000 million. In the meantime, the yield from the loans raised on the home market is declining. Government securities are being dealt with on the Stock Exchange at increasingly lower prices, a fact which renders dearer the formation of capital. Thus the railways are at present issuing debentures yielding 6 per cent. interest. In order to avoid paying such a high rate of interest, the French government last month had to incur a dangerous floating debt in England of 2,500 million francs. This led to a general dearth of money, which greatly hindered industry in carrying out its policy of reducing the costs of production.

The franc still remains the most stable currency in the world. The influx of foreign capital to Paris is still maintained. Nevertheless, the French franc is threatened with serious danger. In view of the probability of a "bear" competition between the Dollar and the Pound, the prospects for French foreign trade—French home market prices are above world market prices—must be regarded as very bad, a fact which is bound inevitably to affect the franc, quite apart from the circumstance that the franc will scarcely be able to maintain itself in the midst of the wave of inflation, in which the big capitalist countries see a new desperate solution of the ever-intensifying crisis. The deficit in the foreign trade balance (4,000 million for the first four months of 1933) is, for the rest, a very important item in the adverse payment balance which has existed since 1931.

The reactionary leaders of the big organisations of tax-payers, traders and peasants are threatening with demonstrations of their misguided followers in order to demand drastic economy measures. The Senate, too, has conducted a sharp offensive in order to enforce strict measures of retrenchment: "A ruthless cutting down of expenditure must be undertaken and the laws passed by both Chambers permitting reckless expenditure by the authorities, must be revised," declared **Caillaux**, who led this attack in the Senate.

The partial attacks on the civil servants, ex-service men and small tax-payers will therefore be followed by a general attack on the basis of a plan of financial restoration at present being worked out by **Daladier**. This plan envisages—as **Lamoureux** expressed it—"drastic financial measures," including a ten per cent. cut in the wages and salaries of civil servants and municipal workers, especially of railwaymen, a big reduction of the staffs in all public undertakings, ruthless cutting down of social expenditure, increased taxes on articles of consumption, etc. In view of the increasing resentment among the social democratic masses on account of the policy of the "lesser evil" pursued by the social democratic leaders, the bourgeoisie is again faced with the question, whether it can still count on the unconditional support of the latter. In order to deceive the masses, the social democratic fraction of the Chamber addressed a letter to the President of the Government by which it sought to create the impression that it made its vote for the Budget for 1933 dependent on the fulfilment of certain conditions.

Numerous voices are again being heard demanding "national unity" in order to save the finances. The most vocal are the Radical Senators, who are insisting on a rapid solution. **Flandin**, one of the leaders of the Right, declared during his interpellation on the general situation that he would be only too glad to support the government. "Is the general situation not so critical that an attempt should be made to be guided by general interests and not by a partisan spirit?" It is argued that responsibility for the unpopular measures must be borne equally by all parties. It must also be mentioned that for the first time the Senate has weighed the possibility of following the example of Belgium and the United States and granting "full financial powers" to the government.

The financial plan of the government must be supplemented by **Daladier's** declaration in the Senate, according to which, in view of the seriousness of the international situation, in no circumstances must there be any question of reducing military expenditure. "The world upheaval can be such," declared **Caillaux**, "that nobody knows what to-morrow will bring." At bottom, the authoritative measures now advocated only aim at drawing the workers and peasants all the better into this war misery. That is the bourgeois solution. The other solution is: united front for the broadest and most energetic resistance to any attack on the standard of living of the working population, against fascism and the war aims of French imperialism.

## Germany

# The German Social Democracy and its Second International Apologists

By Bela Kun

A number of social democratic leaders have already openly taken the decisive step into the camp of fascism in Germany. The one-time leader of the German building workers' union, August Winnig, took this step long ago, and has been given the position of leader of the theoretical training courses of the national socialist factory organisations. Herr Ulrich, one of the leaders of the Berlin social democratic organisation and of the Berlin metal workers' union, has also gone over openly to the national socialists, and has now been appointed a national socialist commissary in that place where formerly, as social democratic trade union functionary, he incited against the Communists and against the Red Trade Union Opposition. The social democratic Reichstag fraction, following Wels' resignation from the Second International, has also gone a step further in order to demonstrate its support of the "national aims" of the Hitler dictatorship. The fascists duly recognise this fresh step on the part of German social democracy in the direction of openly supporting Hitler fascism. The "Völkische Beobachter" of May 18 highly praises the attitude of the German social democracy towards the "national front":

"Reichstag President Göring read the motion according to which the German Reichstag unanimously supports the government programme. He requests the deputies who agree to this motion to stand up. The whole of the deputies rise from their seats. Spontaneously they sing: 'Deutschland über alles!' The whole of the social democratic fraction also rise from their seats. For the first time in history the German Reichstag stands firmly and unanimously behind its government. Never since the days of August, 1914, has the Reichstag and the world witnessed such a picture of unity of the German people as in this historical hour, which concluded with the singing of the new song of freedom, of the immortal Horst-Wessel song."

What does the Second International, which organised a furious incitement in all capitalist countries over the exchange of documents ratifying the Berlin Agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany, say to this attitude of the German social democracy towards the Hitler dictatorship?

The Bureau of the Second International hypocritically declares that this vote on the part of the social democratic Reichstag fraction "is contrary to the principles of the Labour and Socialist International"; it declares that "a section of the social democratic deputies" unreservedly supported the government declaration. It immediately declares, however, that the Bureau of the Second International is not in a position "to pass moral judgment on men who, under the fascist terror, are daily threatened with ill-treatment and death."

In Germany, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of Communists are, at the risk of their lives, waging the fight against fascism. Tens of thousands of Communists are not only threatened to be mishandled and killed. Tens of thousands are being actually mishandled and hundreds are being actually killed. They are nevertheless carrying on the fight. Those of the Communist Reichstag deputies who are not pining in the prisons or in the Nazi torture hells, are fighting at their posts in the illegal movement of the Communist Party. They are carrying on the fight. The solidarity of the Second International with the German working class, with the anti-fascist fight of the German toilers, is expressed in a revoltingly hypocritical declaration about the German social democracy's open support of Hitler's policy being "contrary to the principles" of the International. It has not expressed a word of censure against the social democratic leaders for their shameful deeds. That which, however, the Bureau of the Second International does not yet venture to say openly, is stated quite shamelessly by some social democratic newspapers. The Prague "Sozialdemokrat" already supplies the argument by means of which every social democratic leader shall persuade the

workers that Hitler's policy is not so terrible after all, and in fact does not differ essentially from the policy formerly supported or even conducted by the German social democracy. This organ of the German social democratic party in Czechoslovakia declares, that Hitler's speech on May 17 is only the continuation of the policy of all former German governments and that "Herman Müller and Brüning spoke even more strongly than Hitler did on May 17."

As the Czechoslovakian government, in which both social democratic parties are represented, very much doubts whether Hitler's declaration and words of peace are sincere, the "Sozialdemokrat" also is unable to express full approval of the attitude of the German social democratic Reichstag fraction; it expresses the mild doubt "whether the attitude of the social democratic fraction in the Reichstag was correct."

The Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung" was again unable to find a single German social democrat, even if only in Austria, who had the courage to express an opinion regarding the attitude of the German social democracy. As on the occasion of Wels' resignation from the Second International, it printed an article by Leon Blum, so now it gives space in its columns to the aged Oda Olberg, who in an article tearfully deploras the vote given by the German social democracy on May 17 in support of the Hitler government.

This old lady, the most well-known pacifist in the ranks of the Italian social democracy, shed some tears because the German social democracy has entered into a "pact" with Hitler, but at the same time, from the social democratic standpoint, justifies this attitude better even than the social democrats could. She even goes so far as to make an attempt to defend Hitler. She declares:

"From the military point of view they (i.e., Hitler's military forces) should not call for any uneasiness abroad. They are a specialised weapon for civil war. Foreign countries know this quite as well as the Nazi leaders. No Frenchman needs seriously fear that the Storm Troops and Storm detachments will seek to carry into effect the words of their song: 'We shall vanquish France!'"

When the prolongation of the Berlin Agreement was published some days ago, the whole of the Second International used it as a pretext to work up feeling against the Soviet Union, and announced that Hitler wished to commence war at once, that Germany was completely ready for war. It made the attempt to represent the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany as a treaty of alliance between these two countries. To-day, however, the Second International and its Parties declare Hitler to be a Chancellor who intends to fulfil the peace treaties just the same as Herman Müller or Brüning in their time; and in fact that he is almost an innocent lamb. The reason for this change of front is revealed by the Polish social democracy, whose central organ, "Robotnik," in its issue of May 19, gives the explanation for this change of front in the following brief words:—

"Hitler was 'moderate,' both in regard to foreign and home politics, although solely for foreign-political purposes. He forgot the Marxists and attacked only the Communists."

"Robotnik," which a few days ago heaped abuse on the land of Soviets on account of the prolongation of the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany, now recommends the Pilsudski government to conclude a non-aggression pact with Hitler as speedily as possible.

"Hitler has gratefully welcomed Roosevelt's message containing a proposal to conclude a general pact of non-aggression. The Polish government must make use of the first possibility and propose to the German government to conclude such a non-aggression pact."

Thus we see, the Second International and the social democratic parties want their bourgeois governments to conclude agreements with Hitler. They want this because they wish all bourgeois governments to unite against the Soviet Union. Hence the outcry

on account of the prolongation of the Berlin Treaty, and hence also why Hitler now becomes a "chancellor who is prepared to fulfil the peace treaties," when it is a question of creating the possibility of a front of the imperialist countries against the Soviet Union.

The social democracy has not yet reached the utmost limits of shame and treachery, but it is approaching the record.

## The N.S.B.O. and the "National Socialist Labour Front"

Following the incorporation of the whole of the trade union movement in the fascist system, as a result of which all trade union organisations are placed under the control of commissaries of the "national labour front," these commissaries have now taken up their work. The trade unions have ceased to have a life of their own. Proletarian democracy and the rights of the members, which had already been greatly done away with by the social-democratic trade union leaders, are completely abolished. The trade union press has for the greater part ceased to appear. In its place the members are compelled to take in the "Arbeiter-tum," the newspaper of the N.S.B.O. Trade union life and participation of members, especially in the former A.D.G.B. and christian trade unions, has almost entirely disappeared. With the entry, under compulsion, of nearly all factory workers and employees into the N.S.B.O., there at the same time set in a wholesale withdrawal of members, especially from the former A.D.G.B. unions. The majority of these workers did not think it necessary to remain members of their trade organisation and at the same time members of the N.S.B.O. So far as the membership of the workers and employees in the former trade unions is maintained, this is mostly owing to the rights the members have obtained as a result of paying in contributions for many years, and in the case of another part of the workers it is due to class-consciousness, the realisation of the necessity for the proletariat to be organised in trade unions, and the hope of being able to keep in contact with their fellow workers on the basis of Marxism. The membership of the N.S.B.O. is at present still a purely political affair and not connected with any claims to benefit.

The so-called "national labour front" comprises the N.S.B.O., the trade unions and factory councils, and a recently formed national united trade union of the employees.

The commissaries of the "national labour front" and the commissaries of the Nazis in the National Federation of German industry have now proclaimed a new civil peace, and are attempting to secure this in all the districts by appointing a representative of the employers and one from the "national labour front" equipped with full powers. It is intended in the first place to maintain industrial peace for eight weeks, during which period no collective agreements may be changed, no dismissals, except for very "special reasons," are to be carried out, and no strikes may take place. There are already a number of decisions passed by N.S.B.O. cells rejecting any wage cuts and any dismissals so long as a single employee, including the managers, earns more than 500 marks a month.

The setting up of district commissaries of the employers' federations and of the national labour front indicates already the future methods to be employed in settling questions of wages, working conditions and in the conclusion of new agreements. Neither the trade union organisations existing hitherto nor their members, nor the cells or members of the N.S.B.O. will be consulted, but the commissaries set up in every district will dictate wages and working conditions.

It is probable that the interests of industry also have not been taken sufficiently into account in appointing the commissaries. Only thus is it to be explained why the Minister for economy, Hugenberg, has now sharply defined the competence and powers of the commissaries in the Reich Federation of German industry and expressly declared that the appointment of commissaries and persons equipped with full powers is outside of their province.

The fascist rulers in Germany believe that with these measures they will be able to realise a hundred per cent. control over the works and factories in order that nothing shall happen without their orders. By this the class struggle is to be replaced in its birthplace, in the workshops and factories, by an illusory, deceitful industrial peace.

That which to millions of workers is sacred, that which they have built up and created at the cost of great sacrifices, is being smashed and trodden under foot. But the *social conditions* that have called forth and created the measures, the organisations and the world view of the workers, have not been changed at all. Exploitation and misery is more cruel and widespread than ever in Germany. Millions of workers' hands are idle and thousands of machines, in which vast sums of capital have been invested, are lying unused. Huge stocks of corn, potatoes, textile goods, etc., which cannot be sold, are stored up in the granaries and warehouses, but millions are perishing of hunger and going about in rags.

The national socialists can, by means of blood and iron, prisons and concentration camps, keep down the workers for a time—but they can never convince and win them. The class front of the workers is being formed in the N.S.B.O. cells under the slogans of the economic fight for existence and Communism. Many workers in the N.S.B.O. are acting in a Marxist manner and conducting the class struggle without their being aware of it, because their conditions in life compel them to do so. To give consciousness to this development and to increase it, to strengthen their cadres is the task of all Communists and revolutionary trade unionists. When this task is accomplished, there will soon be an end to the "national labour front."

## Rising Prices in Germany

There is one success of which the Hitler-Hugenberg government can boast: thanks to their economic policy, **the prices of all articles of food have greatly risen.** The government are particularly proud of the rise in the price of butter, and expressly say so in their official declarations. Since the Hitler government came into power the price of butter has risen from 85 to 107 marks a cwt., that is to say by 22 marks, or about 25 per cent. But along with butter the prices of milk and milk products have increased. Regarding this the government declares:

"The rise in the price of butter has resulted in an average increase of one pfennig a litre in the price of milk, which will probably mean an increase in the income of agriculture of 345 million marks."

These 345 million marks realised by increasing the price of milk, of course mean an equally heavy burden imposed on the working masses and a very considerable increase in their misery.

But the 345 million marks are only a part of the extra burden which the Hitler government has placed on the working masses. The new burden imposed on the masses by the increase in the price of margarine, is probably still more oppressive. By means of a number of increased customs duties on all margarine raw materials, by reducing the production of margarine to 60 per cent. of what it was formerly, and by a margarine tax of 25 pfennig per pound, the Hitler government have succeeded in forcing up the price of margarine 35 to 40 Pfennigs. For the cheapest sorts of margarine this means an increase of 100 per cent. For the working class household this means an extra burden of about 2.50 marks per head per month, or 120 marks a year for a household of four! This increase in the price of margarine is all the more brutal and reactionary because it is precisely the poorer sections of the population, for whom margarine is the only article of fat obtainable, that suffer most.

Of course, a considerable part of the working population is unable to pay the increased price of margarine and therefore sought a substitute for it. They found it hitherto in lard, which is imported from abroad. One of the first acts of the Hitler government was to increase the duty on lard from 10 to 50 marks, and thereby force the price up so high that imported lard could no longer compete with German butter or margarine. But the higher the price of butter and margarine soared, the more foreign lard became capable of competing on the German market again. Imports of foreign lard, which in the first 12 days of March amounted to 4,800 tons, rose quickly and in the last ten days of April amounted to 22,400 tons. The Hitler government have therefore increased the duty from 50 to 75 marks in order to exclude lard altogether.

This policy of forcing up prices has aroused very great and widespread indignation among the masses. Even the peasants, who were supposed to benefit from these price increases, are grumbling, as hitherto they sold their butter and ate the margarine themselves, whilst now they are compelled to eat the butter themselves. It is

the bakers, pastry-cooks and restaurant keepers who grumble the most, for they are now compelled, on pain of a fine amounting as high as 10,000 marks, to display a notice stating whether they use margarine or other fats in place of butter. Thus they are compelled in future to use the higher priced butter whilst hitherto they used margarine or other fats. This naturally increases the price of their wares, reduces their takings and damages their business.

The increase in prices, which commenced with milk and fat, has now extended to other articles of food. The situation of the working class is becoming worse, and the fight for higher wages has again come to the forefront precisely at a time when fascism, with the capture of the trade unions, is seeking to prevent new wage struggles. Whilst the fascist leaders are talking about "overcoming the class struggle," they are reproducing the class struggle in an intensified form.

## The Wave of Fascist Terror

### Rescue the Three Bulgarian Comrades!

By William Rust (London)

On March 9 last three Bulgarian political emigrants were arrested in Berlin, their only "crime" being that they had not properly registered with the police. Ten days after their arrest the investigating judge of the High Court issued a communiqué, in which it was stated:

"Van der Lübbe had connections not only with German but also with foreign Communists, including some who had been sentenced to death or to long terms of imprisonment on account of the outrage in the Sofia cathedral (April 16, 1925). These last persons are now under arrest."

On March 23 Hitler announced in his "great" speech that the incendiaries would be "punished in order to serve as a warning example"; and already, on March 31, a decree was issued, with retrospective powers, under which incendiarism is punishable with death by hanging.

By this diabolical means the monstrous, provocative charge against the three Bulgarian comrades, in addition to comrade Torgler, was framed up.

Our comrades, together with the agent provocateur Lübbe, are now to be tried by the savage Hitler justice and handed over to the gallows.

#### Who are the Three Bulgarian Comrades?

Comrade George Dimitrov is one of the old, prominent workers' leaders of Bulgaria, and as such is very well known to the Bulgarian, and also to the whole of the Balkan and international proletariat. He has been active for forty years in the revolutionary labour movement, and since 1904 has been General Secretary of the revolutionary trade unions of Bulgaria. He is also well known in the international trade union movement. His whole life was, and is, devoted to the revolutionary mass movement. After the September revolt in 1923, in the leadership of which he took an active part, he was compelled to flee. Since then he has lived in exile. In the last few years he has been very ill, and has lived in Germany.

Comrade Blagoi Popoff, a commercial employee by profession, is a young revolutionary who has devoted himself whole-heartedly to the revolutionary mass movement of Bulgaria. He has been sentenced in his absence to twelve years' hard labour on account of his proletarian revolutionary mass work.

Comrade Vassil Tanev, a shoemaker by profession, is a revolutionary fighter who has emerged from the masses. Right from his childhood he devoted his life to the workers' movement. After the war he was elected to the Central Committee of the Shoe and Leather Workers' Union. He has been repeatedly persecuted by the fascist regime in Bulgaria, and finally he emigrated to Germany.

In order to lend credibility to the framed-up charges against our three Bulgarian comrades, it is stated in the official communiqué issued by the investigating judge that the arrested Bulgarians had been sentenced in connection with the Sofia cathedral outrage.

We are in a position to state, however, that neither comrade George Dimitrov nor Blagoi Popoff were either involved in or sentenced in a trial in connection with the cathedral outrage.

Both of them were living in exile abroad at that time. As is known, following the cathedral outrage, hundreds of Communists—not only in Sofia, but in the whole of Bulgaria—were sentenced on the basis of forgeries, which the notorious document-forgery Drushelovsky in Berlin fabricated, on the orders of Zankoff. The sole evidence brought against the accused in these monstrous trials was the fact of their membership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, which, on the strength of the Zankoff-Drushelovsky forgeries, was declared to be the originator and instigator of the outrage. In one of these numerous trials, which was held in the town of Chaskovo, comrade Vassil Tanev, who was working there at the time, was sentenced to twelve and a half years' imprisonment, but was released under an amnesty in 1926.

Moreover, Comrade Dimitrov, and also the two other Bulgarian comrades are as convinced Communists **thoroughly opposed on principle to individual acts of terror**. This fact is proved by the articles and documents written and signed by comrade Dimitrov, in which both his own personal attitude and the official attitude of the C.P. of Bulgaria in connection with the cathedral outrage are made known. Thus, in an article published in February, 1925, six weeks before the cathedral outrage, he wrote:

"The C.P. of Bulgaria is a mass party; it conducts an organised mass struggle, and, like the whole of the Communist International, is an enemy of senseless individual terror."

"The bloody provocation will, however, not succeed. The toiling masses will follow the advice of their true and irreplaceable leaders of the C.P. of Bulgaria, and, in spite of everything, will carry on their fight until complete victory is attained." (Inprecorr, No. 30, page 443, of February 27, 1925, German edition.)

After the outrage it was stated in the declaration of the foreign delegation of the C.P. of Bulgaria on the cathedral outrage, signed by comrades Kolarov and George Dimitrov:

"The C.P. of Bulgaria has nothing whatever to do with the attempt on the life of King Boris and with the explosion in the Sofia cathedral. The campaign of lies on the part of the government is only intended to justify the wholesale shootings."

"The C.P. of Bulgaria has always rejected individual terror and supported only one form of struggle: the mass struggle of the workers and peasants." (Inprecorr, No. 78, of May 12, 1925, German edition.)

It is significant that up to the present the Bulgarian government press has not published any comment upon or any statement in support of Hitler's provocative frame-up against our three Bulgarian comrades. Feverish negotiations, however, are going on behind the scenes between the Bulgarian and Hitler's police in order to ensure that, should the charge brought against our three Bulgarian comrades in Germany break down, it will be possible to get rid of them by extraditing them. Toioroff, the president of the Sofia police, has already made statements to this effect. Thus death threatens them not only in Germany, but also in Bulgaria. Prompt action is necessary. Only by a powerful protest movement can our comrades be rescued from the claws of Hitler and Muschanoff.

**Demand that the provocative frame-up charges be dropped.  
Prevent the extradition, and demand the immediate release of our comrades!**

### Comrade Dimitrov's Wife Dies in Moscow

Moscow, May 28.

Comrade Ljuba Dimitrova, the wife of Comrade Dimitrov, has died in Moscow to-day. She was a well-known Serbian writer. Her poems belong to the best creations of revolutionary poetry. Ljuba Dimitrova was the wife and collaborator of George Dimitrov, who has been arrested by the Hitler dictatorship, and who is charged with complicity in the Reichstag fire. This accusation led to a nervous breakdown of Ljuba Dimitrova, who was worrying about the fate of Dimitrov, whose life is in danger. Her condition got worse, and led to unexpected, sudden death.

Ljuba Dimitrova, who was a dressmaker, actively participated for years in the Bulgarian workers' movement at the side of her husband. She worked among the toiling women and collaborated with the workers' press. By educating herself, she became one of the most prominent proletarian writers. Numerous poems, which became fighting signals of the proletariat, originate from her pen. She wrote in the Bulgarian and Serbian lan-

guages. She was born in Serbia, where she spent her youth. In true comradeship with her husband, she withstood all dangers of revolutionary activity and helped him during the many persecutions and arrests before and after the war.

After the defeat of the December rising she was exposed to fascist persecutions, and had to leave the country. But, even in exile, she knew no rest. Even beyond the Bulgarian frontier she and her husband were pursued by the Zankow hangmen, who wanted to kill George Dimitrov at all costs.

When she heard of the arrest of her husband in Berlin, and when she got to know that he was charged with complicity in the Reichstag fire, she fell seriously ill, and died a victim of all these experiences. She is a victim of Hitler, who wants to deliver Dimitrov and his comrades Popov and Tanev to the hangman.

## Official Police Report on the Torturing of Prisoners in Sonnenburg

Berlin, May 25.

By a mere chance, our German comrades obtained possession of a confidential police report on conditions in the Sonnenburg camp. Although mutilated in parts, this report is a proof of the terror methods which the Nazis are using in the concentration camps. We are publishing this report in full:

**Report.** Sonnenburg, May 18, 1933.

On the special events after taking over the police prison on April 11: When I took over the prison on April 11 I found that there were disorderly conditions among the storm troopers. This refers mainly to the following points:

- (1) Treatment of the prisoners by the S.A. (storm troopers).
- (2) Attitude of the S.A. towards officials of the prison administration.
- (3) Behaviour of the S.A. among themselves.
- (4) Behaviour of the S.A. in public.
- (5) Pay of the S.A.

Re point 1. A number of the prisoners, mainly the most prominent, were ill-treated by the S.A. To prevent further ill-treatment the guard over the wounded prisoners has been entrusted to . . . (text is mutilated). I threatened the S.A. men with dismissal if these outrages should continue . . . (mutilated). Although there have not been so many cases of ill-treatment, because the S.A. men have been watched . . . (mutilated), in two cases prisoners have again been beaten. The culprits could not be found, because the S.A. held tight. I then threatened that I would dismiss the whole S.A. if such beatings should happen again.

Re point 2. There were continuous bickerings between the S.A. and the officials of the prison administration on account of the pay. Although the S.A. men received an adequate advance on their pay, they were dissatisfied and put the blame on police-inspector Pelz. Their dissatisfaction with Pels went so far that I could only quieten them by intervening personally. When the S.A. were relieved, on April 24, Police Inspector Pelz had to be protected in his rooms by armed policemen, to prevent outrages of the S.A.

Re point 3. There were very often differences among the S.A. which originated from trifling causes.

The rest of the document is missing.

## The Resistance of the German Working Class

Mass Actions of Unemployed in Düsseldorf, Essen and Hanover.

Frankfurt o/M, May 28.

The fascist press publishes reports of mass actions of the unemployed in Essen, Düsseldorf and Hanover. These demonstrations were so important that even the fascist press had to break its usual silence.

At a railway station near Bochum there were serious collisions, when a group of the railway police tried to chase away several hundred workers' wives, who unloaded a coal truck and took the coal to their homes. The infuriated women at once turned on the policemen and locked them up in the truck. Several unemployed were wounded by shots fired by these policemen. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" of May 28 reports on this occasion:

"The frequent coal thefts in the Ruhr district led to a bloody collision."

In Düsseldorf the unemployed stormed a food store of the S.A. (storm troops) which was opened for the occasion of the Schlageter ceremony. This store, which was situated in the rooms of the bakers' guild, was guarded by storm troop men. These Nazis were beaten down by the unemployed, and one of them, called Stemen, died as a result of injuries received.

In Hanover unemployed attacked a number of food shops. The unemployed smashed the big windows and took away all food-stuffs. The police surrounded the whole district, where the unemployed had resorted to helping themselves, and arrested more than eighty persons.

**Communist Press is Published Regularly in Munich.**

Munich, May 28.

In spite of all endeavours and all terror measures by the authorities and the storm troops, they did not succeed in silencing the Communist Press. The Bavarian government is publishing an appeal to the population, asking them to co-operate in the discovery of the illegal printing establishments, where Communist papers and leaflets are printed. But this appeal was in vain. Every week the illegal "Neue Zeitung" is published on ten pages, and is enthusiastically taken up by the workers. Up to now the police have not succeeded in arresting a single distributor of the Communist leaflets. The Communists are working under the protection of the workers, and all attempts to recruit agents provocateurs were useless. This heroic activity of the Communists finds much sympathy with the social-democratic workers, all the more so because the social democratic party has practically ceased to exist.

**Increased Circulation of Communist Press in Germany.**

Berlin, May 26.

The Bremen police reports as follows: In spite of the warning which was issued by the police a few days ago regarding the circulation of illegal Communist literature, and although heavy punishment was threatened, Communists have again distributed an illegal issue of the "Arbeiterzeitung," printed on six pages, on Tuesday last. The police succeeded in arresting several Communists who distributed this paper.

Thus the police admit that, in spite of their strict search, they have not found yet the illegal printing establishment of the Communist Party.

Under the heading: "Special Court on the Conveyor," the "Stuttgarter Neue Tageblatt" publishes reports of trials of workers who sold the "South German Workers' Paper," the Tribunal, and other Communist literature.

Reports of mass circulation of Communist literature have also come in from the Ruhr district, from Leipzig, Hamburg, and Frankfurt.

## The Tasks of the Communists in the Struggle for the Trade Unions

Letter from the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany.

Some Communists and many class-conscious members of trade unions are about to throw away their trade union membership cards and stop paying contributions. They believe they thereby express their protest against the fascist outrage, against the direct subjection of the trade unions to the commands of monopoly capital and its Hitler government. This attitude on the part of some comrades, however, does not mean a protest but an open retreat in face of the fascist attack upon the trade unions and in face of the capitalist offensive.

Precisely because the fascist dictatorship cannot solve a single one of the contradictions of capitalism, all Communists must exert all their forces in order to win the decisive sections of the proletariat in the factories and trade unions, in order to win these masses for the united front against the capitalist offensive and fascist oppression. The fascist government was well able to replace the social fascist leaders by fascist lackeys of capital, but it cannot overcome the fundamental antagonisms between the interests of the masses of trade union members and the fascist commissaries, the agents of Krupp and Thyssen, Schacht and Siemens. If Leipart and Grassmann have been removed because, in the coming fresh capital offensive and preparation for war, they would have been unable to

prevent strike struggles, just as they were unable to prevent the strike of the munition workers and of the Berlin traffic workers, then this must serve as a serious call to all revolutionary workers to increase the revolutionary mass work in the trade unions in order to wage **the struggle for the workers' demands in defiance of the social fascist policy of "waiting," as well as in defiance of the resistance of the fascist strike-breaking organisers.**

**Large sections of trade union members and the new members coming from the ranks of the national socialist workers and employees now expect an improvement in their working conditions.** The more boldly we lead the masses in the fight for their demands, the more successfully we help them to realise their most elementary demands, the quicker they will shed their illusions regarding a unity of the whole people. **We shall be able to do this the more successfully, the more firmly we are connected with them as trade union members.** The numerous examples of participation of members of the national socialist party in the fight for their demands in the factories (strike in the printing works of the "Angriff," Hasper metal works, etc.) show the great possibilities of creating the militant united front against the starvation wages dictated by the employers and the fascists, for the defence of the existing collective agreements, and for the fight for improving the working conditions and for higher wages.

The most important task now consists in making use of the conflicts between the workers and the employers in the factories **in order to launch partial fights** against every wage cut, and for higher wages. At the same time it is necessary to mobilise the members of the trade union for the common demands of the individual branches of industry, as well as for the demands of the unemployed as trade union demands, and to call upon the fascist factory councils and trade union functionaries to support these demands. In the sphere of inner trade union work, we demand the reduction of trade union contributions, the supervision of the accounts of the trade unions by a control commission elected by the members, and at the same time oppose the contemplated deduction of trade union dues from wages.

All seemingly very "radical" tendencies to refusing to pay trade union contributions mean nothing else but the isolation of the revolutionary workers from the rank and file of the trade unions. On the contrary, it is necessary to make use of every opportunity to defend the rights of the trade union members, **to continue the fight for workers' democracy, for the right to elect the functionaries in the trade unions and to persuade the rank and file to recognise only such collective agreements and regulations as have been decided by the members themselves.** We are continuing our fight to capture the lower trade union positions and win the functionaries, and we are carrying out the election of revolutionary workers as shop stewards and trade union functionaries against the will of the fascist trade union commissaries. If the fascist trade union commissaries want to prevent membership meetings, because they are afraid of the members expressing their opinions, this is still less reason for abandoning the fight for the trade unions. **This fact must, on the contrary, be a stimulus to us to win the rank and file trade union members in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges for the Red Trade Union Opposition.**

The **Red Trade Union Opposition** is rallying the broadest masses in the fight against the capitalist offensive and for the improvement of their working conditions, and is drawing the backward sections of the proletariat into the political struggle. It is necessary, by **creating a revolutionary trade union press for all trade unions**, to conduct an ideological offensive against the influence of the fascist ideology and their trade union press, to train the masses in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism for the class struggle, and to lead them into the fight. Under the changed conditions these tasks can be solved only by setting up groups of oppositional trade union members in the **factories.** The factory groups of the R.T.U.O. and their leadership must, in the main, be composed of **members of trade unions**, and their activity must be concentrated on mobilising the rank and file of the trade unions for the fight for the workers' interests. In the fight for the workers' demands it is necessary to create a fighting apparatus in the form of functionaries in the various departments, wage and collective agreement commissions, delegates meetings, fighting committees, and strike committees, to set up solidarity funds, a fighting apparatus such as self-defence groups for the protection of strikes.

By this means the R. T.U.O. must become a broad opposition movement of the rank and file of the trade unions, without, however, neglecting work among the unorganised workers. The structure of the R.T.U.O. is to correspond with the structure of the trade unions. Making use of any and every occasion, the rank and file of the trade unions shall be gathered in various commissions and won over for the independent organisation of the struggle. The decisive sections of the proletariat in the factories can be won over for the militant united front only if the **factory groups of the R.T.U.O.** concentrate their activity upon winning the trade union members, and if the leadership of the factory groups consists in the main of trade union members. This recruitment must not be hampered by a rigid form of collection of membership dues. Instead, broadest collection of money for the financial support of the trade union opposition must be carried on in the factories. All those workers who support the revolutionary trade union work, even with the smallest contributions, must be regarded members of the R.T.U.O.

If we conduct the fight for the trade unions in this manner, win over the rank and file of the trade unions, and also the unorganised workers, for the militant united front, if in the course of the partial struggles, we draw the masses nearer to the political mass strike, and to the general strike against the fascist dictatorship, we shall not only be able successfully to realise the economic demands of the workers, but, in the course of the revolutionary fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, we shall be able to liquidate the influence of social fascism and of the fascist trade union commissaries and to capture the trade unions.

The solution of this tremendous task depends upon the bold initiative and persevering **work of the Communist Fractions in the trade unions.** By concentrating our main forces upon winning the workers in the fight for the workers' demands, and against the fascist dictatorship, it is necessary to set up Communist fractions in all trade unions, which fight with bold initiative at the head of the workers against the capitalist offensive, support in every individual branch of industry the special partial demands of the workers in the fight for the **right of combination**, for the defence of the provisions of the collective agreements, for wage and workers' protection demands, for the demands of the unemployed, for the defence of social insurance, against compulsory labour, and for the demands of the women and young workers. The Communist trade union members are to be brought together in every factory in trade union fractions, which work under the leadership of the nucleus, but at the same time obtain instructions from the trade union fraction committee of the respective profession or branch of industry.

At the same time, opposition work in the N.S.B.O. must be systematically organised.

In the **Red Trade Unions** the Communists must, as the most class-conscious and experienced fighters, display a greater initiative in order that the red trade unions may be able in an exemplary manner, to conduct the fight against the capitalist offensive, against fascism, by means of the united front tactic, to win the rank and file of the trade unions for the common fight, and thus to capture the leading role in the economic fights. Even if the State trade unions are converted into organisations in support of the fascist State, and the membership dues are deducted from the wages, the red trade unions will continue to carry out their tasks. The more actively the red trade unions wage the fight for the workers' interests and against fascist oppression, the stronger the influence of the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition will become in the trade unions of the respective branch of industry, the stronger will become the mass resistance against the dictates of the fascist trade union commissaries, and the sooner will it be possible to realise the fighting unity of the rank and file of the trade unions in the respective branch of industry, and in a definite situation carry through the merging of both trade unions into one revolutionary unity trade union. It is not permitted by any means to make any concessions to tendencies to individual withdrawal from the trade unions and transference to the red trade unions. The members of the red trade unions are themselves greatly interested in obtaining a strong inner-trade union opposition in the State trade unions, for only by this means will it be possible to bring about the united front, the common struggle of all workers in the respective branch of industry.



# Resolution of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany on the Situation and the Immediate Tasks

## I.

The Central Committee expresses its complete agreement with the resolution of the E.C.C.I. on the situation in Germany and resolves to convey this resolution to all the members of the Party as quickly as possible.

The development of the class struggle in Germany confirms to the fullest extent the correctness of the resolutions of the Comintern, but particularly that of the XII Plenum which pointed out that the end of the period of relative stabilisation had arrived and predicted a period of new, mighty battles between the classes and the countries of the world.

The Central Committee refers with satisfaction to the fact that the E.C.C.I. records that the policy of the Party until January 30, under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann, was correct and that it considers all the measures carried through by the Party since January 30 as a continuation of the correct general line of our Party.

The transition to an open fascist dictatorship, which the German bourgeoisie accomplished with the establishment of the Hitler-Hugenberg Government on January 30, by the provocative burning of the Reichstag, and by the unleashing of an unchecked fascist terror against the working class, is the result of the development which began with the alliance Ebert-Hindenburg in November, 1918, and with the suppression of the vanguard of the proletariat by means of the Noske terror, and through the agency of the Free Corps, at the head of which stood many of the S.A. leaders of today. This development found its logical continuation in the policy of coalition of the Social-democratic Party of Germany, in its theory and practice of economic democracy, and its policy of the "lesser evil"; it led, with the end of the period of capitalist stabilisation and the beginning of the period of enormously sharpened crisis in international and German capitalism, to the dictatorship of emergency decrees of Brüning, Papen, and Schleicher, which expressed the accelerated and intensified tempo of fascistation.

The transition to an open fascist dictatorship and the development of the fascist influence on the masses was especially facilitated, in the framework of the general crisis of capitalism in Germany, by Germany's defeat in the war, by the system of dictation created at Versailles, by the twofold exploitation of the German proletariat by its own capitalists and the Entente capitalists, and by the policy of class betrayal of social-democracy.

Inasmuch as the Hitler movement stirred up a wave of demagogic nationalism against Versailles, it was able to mobilise the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the working population, it was able to exploit the capitalistic economic policy and the policy of tribute of social-democracy to discredit Marxism, and to divert attention from the struggle for social liberation. Thus it increased the split in the working class which has been consciously brought about in the interests of the safeguarding of capitalist rule and the weakening of the fighting powers of the proletariat, and in the interests of Trust capital set one section of the working population against the other; and thus the social-fascist leaders rendered active assistance against the proletarian revolution.

The growing crisis within the Versailles system, and the sharpening of all imperialist contradictions, and the intensifying according to plan of the wave of chauvinism that is bound up with this crisis, caused social-democracy not only to conduct a policy of intense struggle against revolutionary, proletarian internationalism, but also to engage in national-chauvinist rivalry with the National-socialists. (The discrediting of the Soviet Union, imperialist increase of armaments, the election of Hindenburg, bloody suppression of anti-war demonstrations by the Social-democratic Party police, etc.)

The creation of a united front of struggle with the social-democratic workers and workers in the free Trade Unions, the struggle of the Communist Party of Germany to win over the majority of the working class for Communism and the revolutionary way out, was without a doubt rendered more difficult owing to the

fact that the struggle against the influence of the masses of the national-socialists had to be carried on simultaneously—a struggle in which the anti-fascist phrases of social-democracy made our work more difficult.

The German bourgeoisie is compelled to mobilise its last fascist reserves. Only by the employment of the most extreme methods of violence can it attempt to suppress the revolutionary upsurge and avert the threatening proletarian revolution. This proves the extreme rottenness of German capitalism and the desperate situation of the German bourgeoisie, which is seeking a capitalist way out of the crisis by means of the most dangerous internal and external political adventures. The proletariat, however, has not yet been able to ward off by means of revolutionary mass actions the attacks of fascism, whose provocative acts have reached the most savage extremes, has not yet been able to go over to decisive struggles for power, because the majority of the proletariat, particularly in the workshops and the Trade Unions, were still under the influence of their social-fascist leaders, because the C.P.G. was still not strong enough and its capacity to manoeuvre was still not great enough, to launch mass actions on a large scale to counter the opposition of the social-fascist bureaucracy. The Schleicher regime, to whom the Trade Union bureaucracy rendered extensive and successful aid, succeeded in checking the further development of the strike movement beyond its culminating point in the Berlin traffic workers' strike and thereby indirectly paving the way for the Hitler Government.

In this situation it was impossible for the Party, with only the revolutionary vanguard of the Proletariat, and without the mass following of the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat, to embark upon a hopeless struggle, doomed to failure in advance, against the fascist dictatorship.

The C.C. acted correctly when it refused to allow its course of action to be dictated by the provocative acts of the class enemy, when it rejected a policy of adventure.

The prerequisites for the victorious revolt of the proletariat, which were analysed by Lenin in classic form, were, it is true, present in Germany in embryo, but they were not yet ripe. In these circumstances the C.C. of the Party had to be ruled by Lenin's conception of the role of the vanguard of the proletariat in the period of the maturing of the prerequisites of the revolutionary crisis.

"One cannot be victorious with the advance guard alone. To hurl the advance guard alone into the decisive struggle, so long as the whole class, so long as the broad masses do not directly support the advance guard, or at least display a benevolent neutrality towards it, would be not only a piece of stupidity, but also a crime."

The victory of the counter-revolutionary party of fascism has temporarily compelled the working class and its party to retreat. But only defeatists and opportunists can talk about the working class being beaten in the struggle against fascism, or its having "lost a battle" and "suffered a defeat." Only adventurers and putschists can expect that the Party should have proclaimed an armed revolt in this situation.

All the contradictions in the capitalist system, the intensification of which compelled the transition to an open fascist dictatorship, are continuing to develop in an intensified form and are heading for a mighty explosion of the existing economic and political conditions, if the Communist Party fulfils its task as leader and organiser of the revolutionary mass struggle in a Bolshevik manner.

Despite the absolutely correct political line of the C.C. of the C.P.G. before and during Hitler's coup d'état, despite the effects of the Versailles system of dictation, and the decisive responsibility which social-democracy bears as a result of its ten-years-long policy of splitting and weakening the working class, which was crowned by its capitulation on July 20th, 1932, and January 30th, 1933, our Party must self-critically examine all the causes that have prevented the quicker development of the subjective prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis.

The decisive weakness of our Party work, in which the insufficiently advanced bolshevisation of our Party is made apparent, consists in the fact that the correct resolutions of the leadership of the Party to make the workshops the real political centre of Party work, the basis for the policy of the united front, have only insufficiently been carried into practice.

Our initiative for the development of partial struggles, for the revolutionary mass work in the workshops, Trade Unions, and at the Labour Exchanges, was not sufficient to enable the tempo of the development of the revolutionary forces to keep pace with that of the fascist forces.

In the carrying out of the policy of the united front a certain rigidity and an as yet inadequate capacity to manoeuvre prevented the immediate reacting to concrete measures of the opponent, the capitalists, the fascists, and social-democracy.

Despite the correct general line, which the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. confirmed, the Party leadership did not succeed in achieving the co-ordination between the passing of correct resolutions and the correct carrying out of these resolutions.

The programme of liberation of our Party was not utilised as a real social and national fighting programme. The fact that it was not our Party, but the German Nationalists and fascists who demagogically introduced a referendum against the Young Plan, temporarily checked our struggle against the national demagoguery of fascism. Our agitation and propaganda against Versailles, the Dawes and Young Plans, the dismemberment of Germany, were not sufficient, not extensive and stirring enough, to draw the masses with us for the realisation of our programme of liberation. The C.C. calls to mind the statement of Comrade Thaelmann at the February Plenum on the hampering role which opportunism played in practice wherever the hostility of the S.P.G. and of the Trade Union leaders to the workers was underestimated, wherever the Party flinched from work in the workshops and Trade Unions, from participating in wages struggles, elections of shops stewards, from forming opposition committees, or shrank from the Nazi terror, etc.

Even if right opportunism constitutes the chief danger in the carrying out of the general line of the Party, yet on the other hand attention must emphatically be drawn to veiled "left" opportunism, and the way in which it not only found expression in the sectarianism of Merker (theory of the "little Zörgiebel's"), but above all was put into practice in 1931 by the Neumann group in opposition to the resolutions of the C.C. as an open attack on the Party Leader Thaelmann (Opposition to the referendum in Prussia, slogans of the Neumann group; shatter the A.D.G.B. (German Trade Union Congress) refusal to pay contributions, "don't be afraid of founding red unions," etc). In addition to this there was the hampering role played by the Neumann group, which again and again in the ideological mass offensive against fascism hampered the Party by its theories with regard to the inevitability of the fascist dictatorship, by slogans such as "beat the fascists. . ." by its speculations upon losses of the Party in the election campaigns and by active opposition to the ideological offensive of the Party directed by Comrade Thaelmann, and which brought to expression backward tendencies in members on the fringe of the Party and amongst the petty-bourgeoisie.

The organisational and political weakness of our mass organisations, in particular the R.G.O. (Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition) and of the Red unions, the insufficient realisation in practice of the leading role of the Party in these organisations, the frequent putting on the same level the work of these organisations with the work of the Party, all this led to a loss of tempo in the anti-fascist struggle, which prevented us from carrying the masses of the workers on to the political mass, general strike, by way of political and economic partial strikes, and hindered the organisation and launching of movements of resistance and the general mass resistance to the fascist dictatorship.

These weaknesses and mistakes were encouraged by the Neumann group according to plan. The petty-bourgeois mood of the panic which regarded the open fascist dictatorship not only as inevitable, but even as a "necessary intermediary stage" to the proletarian dictatorship, and the under-estimation of the fascist mass movement together with a hostile attitude to the masses of the social-democratic workers meant the abandoning of the ideological offensive against fascism, hindered the elucidation of the problems of the struggle against fascism (e.g., the rejection of individual terror) and at the same time rendered more difficult

the organisation of the militant struggle of the masses in the defence of the working class and their organisations.

The sectarian policy of the Neumann group in the Young Communist League, together with the criminal attempt to bring it into opposition to the Party, to the Komsomol, and the Y.C.I., proves now to have directly aided the spread of fascist influence amongst the masses of the young workers, upon whom the Nazi movement has clear-sightedly concentrated.

In this there has been discernible up to the present day a considerable loss in tempo, despite the correct resolutions with regard to the work of the entire Party amongst masses of the young working population and the support of the Y.C.L. of Germany, and this loss of time must rapidly be made up for.

In addition, there is the fact that the Neumann group has not yet abandoned its opposition to the ideological offensive inaugurated by Comrade Thaelmann, its attacks on the Party leadership, the dissemination of false rumours, and its hampering role in the development of Bolshevik self-criticism.

The characteristic of the present political proposals of the remnants of the Neumann group, of which Comrade Herzen is the mouthpiece, consists in a crass mixture of undisguised opportunism, dissimulating Trotskyism, and stark putschism. In their documents there is expressed a complete lack of understanding of revolutionary dialectic, signs of complete panic in face of the fascist dictatorship, a hostile feeling against Comrade Thaelmann and the entire Party leadership, Trotskyist calumny of the Party, and the attempt to destroy the unity of the Party by fractional discussions within the Party.

Their chief theories (fascist dictatorship means a fundamental "change of system"—the "lumpen" proletariat is to-day the ruling class, to which the entire bourgeoisie is subjecting itself—the power of the bourgeoisie is strengthened, the proletariat has lost a battle and suffered a defeat—Comrade Thaelmann, the Central Committee and the Party bear the responsibility for the coming into being of the fascist dictatorship) represent an open attack not only on Comrade Thaelmann and the Party leadership, but also on the Comintern, Comrades Stalin and Manuilski and the resolutions of the Eleventh and Twelfth Plenums of the E.C.C.I. The Neumann-Herzens have become to-day the flag-bearers for all the backward spirits on the fringe of the Party. They are a channel through which the class enemy flings his provocateur's passwords (it was they who demanded—now, after the event—the proclamation of the armed revolt for January 22). In the present conditions of the class struggle their conceptions are incompatible with the policy and discipline which the simplest Party member exercises in the entire work of the Party as a result of his voluntary determination. The Central Committee will take every precaution to put the line of the Party into practice and ruthlessly to eliminate these mischief-makers with the help of the whole Party and in the name of the entire working class.

## II.

The seizure of power by Hitler and Hugenberg, the enlistment of the fascist organisations in the State apparatus, and the letting loose of the fascist terror, which is far from having reached its climax, means the attempt of the leading groups of monopoly capital and of the large landowners, with the aid of the fascist mass movement, actively supported by the leaders of social democracy and the A.D.G.B. of the Centre Party, and of the Christian Trade Unions, by means of a brutal dictatorship, whose methods and measures surpass everything that has ever existed in the way of the predecessors of fascism—the attempt to destroy the vanguard of the proletariat at a furious tempo, to shatter the organised labour movement, to create the most far-reaching prerequisites for an unprecedentedly bloody civil war and to make rapid preparations for immediately threatening imperialist wars in Europe and outside it and wars of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The centralisation and strengthening of the power of the State (elimination of parliaments, appointment of governors, the "adjustment" of the various German states, the fascist auxiliary police, the abolition of the right of coalition and the freedom of the Press, fascist centralisation of all workers', employees', and civil servants' trade unions and their incorporation into the fascist reactionary corporations, removal of the rights of civil servants, etc.) is to enable monopoly capital, under the conditions of the sharpened capitalist crisis, to carry out a fresh great offensive on the wages, salaries, and incomes of all workers and toilers.

The elimination from the State apparatus of the last remnants

of the more or less democratically disguised sections of the bourgeoisie and its dependants, their replacement by avowed fascists, who are not burdened with the responsibility for the political system of the last fourteen years, means that the real relations of the classes and political forces, which have hitherto been veiled, will now become openly apparent, if we know how to thwart and shatter the demagogy of the Nazis (community of the people—"Honour toil"—the swindle of the change in the system—socialistic phraseology).

The replacement of Ministers, Police Presidents, and higher and middle civil servants belonging to the social-democratic, the State, and the Centre Party, by fascists, means that, instead of the combination of fraud and force by which the working class have hitherto been "democratically" kept down, a system of brutal violence on the largest scale now comes to the fore. But simultaneously the fascist deception of the workers, organised with the aid of all the resources of the State finances and the State apparatus, and employing all the means at the disposal of modern technique and the deceitful arts of bourgeois advertisement, is assuming the greatest proportions.

And this mass deception is being practised in order that the working masses may be confused and that the attention of the Hitler party's own adherents and electors may be diverted from its capitalistic policy.

The bourgeoisie is compelled to abandon the democratic facade and to put the naked dictatorship of violence in the foreground. This development makes it easier for those carrying out a correct, united front, anti-fascist policy to overcome the illusions, which have been fostered by social democracy for decades, with regard to the parliamentary, democratic road to socialism, with regard to the role of the State, and with regard to economic democracy and the policy of the "lesser evil." Such illusions were in the past real hindrances to the leading of broad masses of the workers, who were under social democratic influence, to revolutionary action.

The pitiable capitulation of the leaders of the Iron Front, the change of front of the Centre Party, the collapse of federalism in the South German States, the defection of the leaders of the A.D.G.B. to the camp of fascism, their appeal for the desecration of May 1, together with Göring, Hugenberg, Thyssen, and Schacht, have shattered the faith of the broad masses in their former leaders and to an enormous extent added to the detachment of the masses from these leaders and parties and furthered their being won over to the united front of struggle and to Communism.

It is a sign of the power of the revolutionary resistance of the workers and the way in which the Hitler dictatorship fears open outbreaks of this resistance, when the termination of wages agreements is postponed, when immediate wages reductions and fresh mass dismissals are shelved, where possible, when the government carries out the kind of manoeuvre exemplified in the demand that homeworkers employed by the clothing trades, who have hitherto been paid less than a standard rate, shall now receive a standard wage. But even the order that a wage should be paid for the 1st May, which was declared a national holiday, cannot deceive anyone with regard to the fact that the Hitler dictatorship's capacity to carry out social manoeuvres is extremely limited and that even when it administers the sop of flag-waving, parades, Zeppelin exhibitions, and fireworks, the strokes of the whip, represented by the introduction of forced labour, compulsory militarisation, the pitifulness of Hitler's plans for the creation of unemployment, the destruction of the workers' trade unions and the fascist coup de main of May 2, can in no way be mitigated.

In view of the campaign of the fascists for payment by results and compulsory labour, of their plans for a rapid and complete abolition of the entire social services, and of their efforts to convert the system of unemployment benefit into a system of workers' self-insurance, the preparation of a fresh wave of rationalisation in combination with the abolition of all existing wages agreements, and the announcement of a fresh inflation make of the unleashing of social conflicts and their intensification to the point of mass action, particularly in the workshops and trade unions, amongst the unemployed and in the compulsory labour camps, as well as amongst the masses, a decisive lever, with which to drive the Nazi adherents, in direct relation with their anti-capitalist feelings, into conscious class opposition to the finance-capitalistic policy of the Hitler dictatorship.

But whereas the social democratic and trade union leaders do their best, now as before, to continue to play the role as chief, social supporters of the capitalist dictatorship, even when they are

trodden upon, beaten and taken into protective arrest by the Nazis, it is important for all Communists to carry out with still greater resolution the policy of the revolutionary united front for the drawing in of the social democratic, and free trade union workers to the anti-fascist mass struggle, and in so doing to fulfil the role of our Party as the only representative of the workers' present economic and political day-to-day interests, as well as of the only way out of the crisis.

The uniting of the working class, the winning over of the workers organised in the trade unions, the social democratic and the Christian workers for the mass struggle and the revolutionary way out, that is the chief question in the policy of our Party, with which is closely bound up the undermining of the influence of the national-socialists on the workers. To the extent to which we succeed in drawing in the social-democratic and trade union masses into our front of struggle, to this extent we shall succeed in shattering the demagogy of the Nazis and detaching broad masses from the Nazi front.

### III.

The shattering of the revolutionary advance guard, of the C.P.G., this decisive task which fascism has set itself, has, in spite of the employment of the unchecked terror, in spite of the most savage provocation, corruption on a large scale, and unbridled demagogy, entirely failed to succeed. This is proved by the election and the extent of anti-fascist actions, movements of resistance and strikes in the whole country. The cadres of our Party have justified the faith placed in them by the Party leadership and the entire Comintern. They have displayed great steadfastness, and an enormous spirit of self-sacrifice. The resistance to measures of terror and oppression, and also the resistance in the economic sphere is once more growing after the first few weeks of inevitable bewilderment and depressions amongst sections of the working class.

Fresh strikes, even if short-lived, have set in (the Lower Rhine, the waterside district of Hamburg), brave examples of the active resistance to the Nazi murder terror in many places (Hamburg, the Lower Rhine, Elbing, Breslau, Riesa, etc.). A direct consequence of this growing resistance is the attempt of the bourgeoisie at least to postpone social conflicts of a more acute kind, and to concentrate at the moment on more widely differentiated measures for the reduction of wages and unemployment benefit, measures which are to be disguised by a demagogic to-do with margarine tickets, Hitler gifts, and funds for workers injured at work.

The fascist dictatorship which on the 1st May by Hitler's speech displayed its helplessness in the face of the raging of the capitalist crisis (no plans for creating work—"every man his own employer"—the building of roads only with a view to war preparations, but with the creation of a labour army), which in January surged forward to the seizure of power in order to be able to credit the relieving of the labour market in the spring to the account of "fascist reconstruction," which speculated on the "silver streak on the horizon" and whose forecasts in January—the crisis has passed its worst moment, things are now going forward—have been strikingly contradicted by the facts as they are, this dictatorship is attempting to stave off economic catastrophe for capitalist Germany by means of a fresh, violent attack on the standards of life of the working class and all the toilers.

This development, however, will cause the active resistance in the workshops, which in some districts has already led to the intensification of the proletarian struggle against the fascist dictatorship, to grow as quickly as possible.

The increase of the voting strength of the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation), which was brought about under conditions of the most brutal terror on the part of the employers and Storm Troops, to the accompaniment of the imprisonment of red shop stewards and of the candidates of our united front lists (Krupp, Leuna, Ruhr mines) and by the partial or complete cancellation of our lists, by the pseudo-radical behaviour of the N.S.B.O. towards the capitalists, and the strong disinclination of the revolutionary sections of the factory workers to give their votes for the reformist lists, this increase in its voting strength gives no real picture of the state of the revolutionary forces in the factories. This is proved by the number of cases in which the pressure of the rank and file has already compelled the N.S.B.O. to resort to radical manoeuvres against the reduction of wages and against the works directors. (Hasper Steelworks, Cologne Tramway depots.)

## IV.

The forecasts of the Twelfth Plenum with regard to the end of relative stabilisation, with regard to the commencement of a new outbreak of wars and revolutions, and with regard to the transition to fresh violent conflicts between classes and states, are finding full confirmation in the colossal crisis in the United States, in the abandonment of the gold standard of the dollar, the international breakdown of all currency systems, the intensification of the Sino-Japanese war and of the strained relations between Japan and Soviet Russia and England and Soviet Russia, in the attack of the German government upon the Russian trading concerns in Germany, in the sharpening of all imperialist conflicts in Europe, particularly at the nodal points of the Versailles system (Danzig, East Prussia, the Corridor, the sharpening of Austro-German relations), and in the further sharpening of all imperialist contradictions as a direct result of the fascist development in Germany.

The fascist dictatorship is doing its utmost to secure the imperilled profits of monopoly capital and of the big agrarians by means of an intensified robbing of the masses. At the same time, however, it is seeking to further the most reactionary political and economic efforts of the petty-bourgeoisie by the limitation of the freedom to exercise a trade, partly by the favouring of the productions of the handworkers and by the exploitation of anti-semitism.

These temporary and trivial concessions, discordant in themselves and necessary on grounds of political expediency, cannot, however, deceive us with regard to the fact that fascist policy is based on the interests of monopoly-capital, of the large landowners and of imperialism, they cannot slow down the ever more rapidly-increasing tempo of the growth of the irreconcilable conflicts of interest between monopoly-capital and the big landowners on the one hand and the petty-bourgeois and peasant adherents of the Nazis on the other.

The economic policy (cries about autarchy, the campaign for boycotts) and the imperialist policy of adventure of the Hitler dictatorship (chauvinist stirring up of war against Poland and France, while in these countries the war flames against fascist Germany have been kindled with redoubled fury) have, in connection with the effects of the international financial crisis, already enormously decreased the possibilities of a market for German exports. The seasonal improvement in the labour market is already, despite all fraudulent reports, being counter-balanced by the disorganisation of the German export market.

The gigantic fascist corruption (fascisation of the State with additional salaries, the upkeep of the Brown army of terror), etc., demands enormous expenditure, while at the same time industry, the large landowners and speculators on the Stock Exchange are being relieved of the burden of their taxation.

The Versailles tribute Powers and loan imperialists, whipped on in their own countries by the sharpening of the capitalist crisis, and armed with all the means of power to lend expression to their demands vis-a-vis Hitler's Germany, will make no economic or political concessions of any kind to Germany which might relieve the position of the German bourgeoisie, or mitigate the twofold exploitation of the German workers and toilers.

The German currency is already seriously endangered. The fall of the Mark and the German State Loans on the exchanges abroad, with regard to which complete silence is maintained in Germany itself, proves that Schacht's ridiculous explanation that the American inflation is not affecting the German currency is a blatant deception of the masses. The repayment of the re-discount credits was not made voluntarily, as the Fascist Press lyingly asserts, but because the other imperialists imposed intolerable conditions on Germany. Thereby, however, the gold cover of the Reichsbank was decreased by almost 15 per cent., and it is becoming ever more evident that the Hitler-Schacht policy is steering towards inflation. The increase in the expenditure on armaments, the deficits in the budgets of the Reich, the States and the municipalities, the veiled bankruptcy of all social-political institutions, all this is pressing towards a financial catastrophe.

On the basis of these growing economic difficulties, political conflicts are developing ever more sharply in the camp of the bourgeoisie (industries producing raw and manufactured steel, export industries and agriculture, monopolies against independent works, middle and small producers, warehouses and selling organisations against the small traders, in the villages large landowners against the debt-burdened peasants). The Party must most vigorously oppose the hopes and illusions fostered

systematically by the social-democratic party, that these conflicts and their political manifestations (conflicts in the Nazi party, the German Nationalist Party, in the Stahlhelm, strained relations between the Storm Troops, the police, and the Reichswehr) may themselves lead to the collapse of the Hitler dictatorship, and must make it quite unambiguously clear, for the general good of the Party and the whole working class, that only to the extent to which the working class itself, under the leadership of the Communist Party, succeeds in developing mass struggles, will these conflicts grow, will the fighting powers of fascism against the proletariat be weakened. The avoidance of mass struggles leads to the entrenchment of the fascist dictatorship. The Central Committee calls to mind the February Plenum, at which Comrade Thaelmann set forth clearly the questions of the hegemony of the proletariat, of the dialectical relations of the proletarian class struggle and the activities of the workers for the winning over of the wavering sections which are today following the National Socialist Party. "Only in struggle does the working class develop its hegemony, as the only class revolutionary to the end," over the middle strata, who, "from their very nature, are waverers." Mass action, strikes, mass struggle, are the prerequisite, the lever for the alliance of the workers with the peasants and the middle strata in the fight against capitalism and fascism.

## V.

The foreign policy of German fascism is, within the framework of the general sharpening of all imperialist conflicts and the enormously increased tension between the socialist system of the Soviet Union and the capitalist system of world imperialism, driving at an ever faster pace towards the breaking out of conflicts leading to war (chauvinist exploitation of the fascist murders, floggings, and acts of terror, to whip up a war spirit in the other imperialist countries, boycott against Germany as the answer to the boycott of the Jews by the Hitler government, provocation of Poland in Danzig, debate in the English House of Commons, growing resistance to any kind of "revision," particularly in France, Poland, and the Little Entente countries. Defeat of Germany on the "Anschluss" question, open threat of war on the part of Poland in the event of discussion of the question of the Corridor, etc.). The antagonisms between Germany and the strongest imperialist groups are becoming sharper as a result of the whipping up of a spirit of chauvinism and the process of fascisation and militarisation in Germany, while the relations to Italy and Hungary have only, as the result of Germany's complete capitulation (South Tyrol), improved within narrow limits. The power of French finance capital, and of her European satellites, has grown enormously as a result of the American financial crisis. British Imperialism has to pay particular attention to the situation in Europe and her relations to France as a result of the intense English-American conflicts. American Imperialism, which fundamentally sympathises with the intense fascist suppression of the German workers, owing to its desire that the American credits and interest on loans should be secured, is compelled, owing to its own crisis, to take economic measures against German capitalism. America, England, and France are negotiating with regard to the Four-Power pact of Mussolini and MacDonald without consulting Germany at all.

The foreign political isolation of the fascist dictatorship is greater than that of the Germany of the Kaiser in June, 1914. Even in Spain, Scandinavia, and Switzerland the spirit of chauvinism directed against German fascism is growing. In addition, there is the fact that the fascist adventurers are liquidating in the most brutal and stupid manner the final remnants of the Rapallo policy and are blatantly and brutally carrying on propaganda for a war of intervention of all the imperialist countries against the Soviet Union, whereby Germany hopes to obtain concessions with regard to armaments, the question of the Corridor, and the acquisition of colonial possessions as a reward for its lackey-services to Japan, France, and Poland.

The shamelessly inflammatory speeches of Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels against the Soviet Union, the insolent political measures against the institutions of the Soviet Union in Hamburg and Leipzig, and against the undertakings of Derop in Berlin and several other towns, and Goering's open offer to France to detach the Ukraine from the Soviet Union for Poland with the help of German arms, are an open expression of the swashbuckling spirit of the German fascists.

The rapid tempo at which the German bourgeoisie is carrying out measures of compulsion for the militarisation of youth, and of the entire sport activities and labour of all the workers' organisations and the factories—the extreme intensification of the Far-Eastern conflict against the Soviet Union—the efforts of the German fascists still further to stir up the wave of chauvinism (Potsdam, 1st May)—the fact that broad masses of the people in France and Poland have already been affected by a national spirit of war against fascist Germany—the perfectly manifest bankruptcy of the Disarmament Conference, for which each imperialist country lays the blame on the other, and only the Soviet Union gives expression to a real peace policy—all this shows that Europe and the capitalist world are already on the brink of a precipice of new, mighty, imperialist world wars and anti-Bolshevik wars of intervention, which, in their extent and in their toll of victims, will bear the same relation to the last world war as the last world war bore to the Franco-Prussian war of 1871.

The Central Committee calls with the greatest possible emphasis upon the Party and the working class to oppose this wave of chauvinism and the threatening, fateful avalanche of a fresh imperialist mass murder with all their strength, and to carry out the struggle against war according to the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress, according to the teachings of Marx and Engels and the theory and practice of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks with an iron consistency and determination, so that the victory of the working class and the Proletarian revolution may precede the outbreak of this imperialistic slaughter, so that the German working people and the oppressed and exploited of Europe may be spared the scourge of this imperialist mass murder.

The Central Committee categorically directs the Party to carry out the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress, of the XIIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and particularly of our Party Conference and the Essen Conference of the Versailles sections of the Comintern.

#### VI.

The series of external defeats of the Hitler government is proof of the inability of all capitalist governments in Germany, and in particular of the inability of fascism, to free Germany from the chains of the Versailles robber treaty, to unite once more with Germany those German districts torn from her (South Tyrol, Saar District, Danzig), to put an end to the dismemberment of Germany by the Corridor, to assure for Upper Silesia, Austria and Alsace-Lorraine the unrestricted right of self-determination, and energetically to support the struggle of the German national minorities against Polish fascism, Czech chauvinism and French imperialism.

The German Party is confronted with the great task of carrying on, in indissoluble connection with the social struggle against hunger and for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, with the political struggle against terror, fascist dictatorship and the burning danger of war, the national struggle for freedom against the Versailles system, for the unlimited right of self-determination of nations, and for the rights of the national minorities in pursuance of the resolutions of the Essen Conference. This bold policy, which will once again make our programme of freedom a weapon for the whole Party in the struggle against fascism, chauvinism and the Versailles system, lays a duty on every Communist to unite the traditions of Lenin and the Communist Party and the struggle of the Communist International and the Soviet Union against the Versailles system of dictation, with the courageous aggressive spirit of Liebknecht, to strengthen proletarian internationalism, the trust in the sections of the Comintern in the neighbouring capitalist countries, and, while rejecting all petty-bourgeois national and national-bolshevik ideology, to direct the attack against their own bourgeoisie, against the dictatorship of capital in their own country, to fight for national emancipation at the same time as social emancipation, and to impress upon the masses the fact that the proletarian dictatorship, which rests on the state power of the workers and peasants, which finds its support in the armed workers in the factories, the trade unions and the toiling masses, is, as the defender of their country, their factories, their socialist property, the only power which can drive every foreign imperialistic power out of Germany, which will give every piece of territory that has been torn from Germany the freedom to decide whether or no it will unite with the German Soviet Republic, which will give every national minority the freedom to develop its culture and its mother-tongue.

The fascist dictatorship is not only incapable of solving the social and national conflicts, but it is also incapable of really consolidating its political rule. The increase of the preponderating influence of the Nazi party within the groups of power of the bourgeoisie and the fight for sole power, do not remove the internal conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie, but intensify them. Hence the conflicts between the capitalist leadership of the Nazi party and the social interests of those adherents who belong to the working population are of the greatest importance. The winning over of decisive sections of these adherents is a fundamental prerequisite for the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany. To-day, scarcely two months after the establishment of the Hitler Government, national-socialist adherents are already putting forward demands against the reduction of wages and the worsening of the conditions of work, and for the raising of wages. To-day, broad sections of the Nazi supporters amongst the small traders are beginning to be filled with mistrust of the monopoly-capitalistic tendencies of the government.

The same is true of broad sections of the peasantry, whose hopes of being freed from taxation have been disappointed.

The occupation of all the leading positions in the police system by the National Socialists by no means implies the winning over of the rank and file of the police. Here, on the contrary, the disruptive effects of the grounds which they have for rivalry with the auxiliary police Storm Troops and the Stahlhelm are at work amongst the rank and file, whose material and political position continually deteriorates under the fascist dictatorship.

(To be continued.)

## In the International

### **Kamenev Requests to be Readmitted into the C.P.S.U.**

Moscow, May 18.

**Kameneff**, one of the leaders of the so-called "left opposition" in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has sent a letter to the Central Committee and to the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union requesting to be readmitted into the Party.

In this letter he says:

"I am requesting you to readmit me into the ranks of the Party members and to reinstate me in Party and Soviet work. For years I have openly declared that I did not agree with the Party, I broke its discipline and I have fought against the Party and its leadership. An analysis of the period of Party development after Lenin's death up to the last Plenum of the Central Committee proves that I have erred in all essential points. My fight against Stalin's doctrine of victory of socialism in one country, was an error; my alliance with Trotsky was an error; it was an error that I resorted to fractional struggle. Surmounting all obstacles the Party is advancing to the aims, which Lenin has set it. It transforms victoriously the backward agrarian land into an industrial country, into a country of big socialist agriculture. During the last years the Party lives, fights, and develops under the theoretical and practical leadership of Stalin, as it did before under the leadership of Lenin.

"I knew well, that the enemies of Bolshevik policy had to oppose just those personal features of Lenin, which assured him the role of the leader of the Bolshevik Party, and which to us and to history are his biggest virtues. I forgot this when I started my fight against the policy of the Party led by Stalin. Like Lenin's enemies I repeated the miserable methods of personally discrediting the leader in order to hide my going away from the general line of the Party. In recognition of the fact that my attitude towards the Party since 1925 has been absolutely wrong, erroneous and partly even criminal, and being honestly willing to put all my forces at the disposal of the great work which the Party is now accomplishing and in view of the seriousness of the time, which the workers' movement of the whole world is now going through, I request the Political Bureau and the Central Control Commission to place confidence in me and to give me the possibility to prove that I am firmly determined to break with my old errors and to break with all those who still persist in these errors."

# Fight Against Fascism

## Growing United Front in France

By J. B. (Paris).

At present warnings are being issued everywhere in France against the new evil which is threatening the capitalist world, namely, the united front of the working people against fascism and war.

At its meeting in Paris on May 17, the Bureau of what is still left of the Second International, after condemning the foreign policy of German fascism and approving the foreign policy of the bourgeois countries represented by it, pronounced a ban against the European Anti-Fascist Congress. The reason? This Congress is intended to combat the social-democratic parties as well as fascism.

On the same day the Administrative Committee of the C.G.T. decided to warn the reformist trade unions against "Communist united front manoeuvres." And on the same day the social-democratic deputy *Evrard* published in the "*Peuple*" (central organ of the C.G.T.) an article in which he pilloried the same "manoeuvres" and proposed that they should be met by negotiations between the two Internationals.

The fact is the desire for a common struggle has struck deep roots in the social-democratic parties, and especially in the ranks of the French social democracy. The affiliations of the lower organisations of the French social democracy to the anti-fascist Committees and the Anti-Fascist Congress are increasing, and the Amsterdam movement is still serving as a basis for rallying the masses who are striving for Socialism. We quote here a few recent examples: at a meeting in *Montceau-les Mines* at which *Comrade Cachin* spoke, 50 social democrats signed a declaration in favour of the united front; the social-democratic local group in *Perpignan* and the district organisation of the *Aisne* department have joined the Amsterdam movement; the district organisation of the social-democratic youth of the *Aisne* department has declared its support of the European Anti-Fascist Congress, and the secretary of the local social-democratic group of *Le Havre* has been elected at a meeting of 2,000 toilers as delegate to the Anti-Fascist Congress. The Communist Party headquarters are receiving an increasing number of letters from social-democratic workers requesting news regarding the present events in Germany. On May 1, the united front was realised in over 40 localities in the form of joint demonstrations of Unitary and reformist trade unions. Following the example of the miners of *Lens*, the miners of *Ostricourt* have now also formed a united front committee.

In face of this growing movement, which constitutes a threat to the bourgeoisie, the leaders of the French social democracy and the C.G.T. are exceedingly disquieted. Two tendencies have become apparent in the social-democratic leadership: one is for a ruthless fight against the active supporters of the united front (some active functionaries of the Amsterdam movement have been already expelled from the party). The other, the "Left" tendency, recommends that the socialist party should seize the initiative for the united front, but at the same time should put forward conditions which the Communist Party of France could not accept without abandoning its principles. The bureaucrats of the C.G.T. advocate the first method. They have proved this by expelling the reformist worker delegate who took part in the setting up of a unity committee in *Lens*.

The events both in France and in Germany have placed the social-democratic leaders in a very embarrassing situation. *Blum* is twisting and turning like a worm in order to make out to the workers that the social-democratic deputies who expressed their approval of Hitler's speech in the Reichstag, acted contrary to the directions of the party central committee. At the same time, however, the attitude of the German social-democratic deputies serves him as a pretext for defending the attitude of French imperialism in Geneva more energetically than ever.

Never was the antagonism between the policy of the social democracy and of the C.G.T. and the will of the masses to combat the threatening danger of war and fascism so glaring as at the present time. The waves of national hysteria are rising ever higher. Never since the end of the war has war-incitement been conducted so systematically as precisely during the last few weeks.

And the voices of the social-democratic leaders are, of course, not missing in this concert. *Blum* proposes in the "*Populaire*" that, in the event of the Disarmament Conference proving abortive (for which German imperialism must bear the sole blame), Germany must be outlawed.

Reference, however, must be made to certain persons (the Radical *Bastid* and the social democrat *Fontanier*) who maintain that Germany has good intentions towards France and that an alliance with Germany is necessary. Against whom? Of course, against the Soviet Union! Thus the "great battle" against Hitler seems to be a means of pressure to be used in order to reduce somewhat the demands which German fascism puts forward when offering its services as shock troops for the imperialist countries against Bolshevism.

It is precisely against this chauvinistic war incitement, against these efforts to realise the "national unity," against the fresh threatening wage slashing offensive, against the growing fascist tendencies in France, that there is rising the will to the united fighting front against capitalism, war and fascism. Hence this large-scale attack of the social-democratic and reformist leaders against the united front which is being formed. For the same reason, it is necessary to exert all revolutionary forces in order to promote as far as possible the united front on the basis of the Amsterdam decisions against war, the appeal of the French organisation committee for preparing the European Anti-Fascist Congress, and the fight for the workers' demands.

## The First Results of the United Front Proposals of the C.P.I.

By M. Starelli.

The united front proposals submitted in March last by the C.P. of Italy to the social-democratic, Maximalist and Republican workers, as well as to the leading committees of these parties, have met with the most eager response and enthusiastic approval on the part of the Italian toilers living in Italy or abroad. The leaders of the two social-democratic and Republican parties, therefore, did not venture to reject the proposals of the C.P.I.; they were compelled to deal with them in order not to isolate themselves from their followers.

It is true, the leaders of the social-democratic party (section of the Second International) rejected the united front offer, but cloaked this refusal with a hypocritical declaration, that "on the whole they are in agreement with the demands put forward by the C.P.I."

The leading bodies of the Maximalist and Republican Parties were compelled, under the pressure of the masses, to enter into negotiations with the C.P.I., which have led to an agreement for common action on the basis of the following demands:

1. Against all wage cuts, against all dismissals and any worsening of the working and living conditions of the toilers;
2. For the immediate introduction of the 40-hour week without wage reductions;
3. For a factory representation freely elected by the workers;
4. For unemployment benefit at the cost of the employers and the State;
5. For a revision of land tenancy agreements in favour of the peasants and against all remnants of serfdom in the rural districts;
6. For the right of combination and strike, against the workers being compelled to join the fascist organisations;
7. Against the taxes imposed upon the workers, peasants, employees, free professions, artisans, and small shopkeepers;
8. Against imperialist war;
9. For the abolition of the Special Courts, of the exceptional laws, banishment, for complete amnesty for all political prisoners;
10. For the further development of the struggle against Italian and international fascism up to the revolutionary overthrow of the fascist, the capitalist system.

This agreement, which has been submitted for approval to the C.C. of the C.P.I. as well as the central bodies of the Maximalist and Republican parties, will undoubtedly further the fighting united front of all toilers irrespective of party.

## A United Front Appeal of the Y.C.L. of Italy

The C.C. of the Y.C.L. of Italy has issued an appeal to the toiling youth to set up the united front for the fight against fascism, misery and war. The young workers following the social democratic, Maximalist and Republican movement are called upon to mobilise together with Young Communists the toiling youth for the following demands:—

Against any wage reductions; equal pay for equal work!

Unemployment benefit for all young unemployed during the whole period of unemployment!

Against the Bedaux system and against the obligatory four years' apprenticeship!

Against compulsory participation in the war demonstrations of the fascists!

Against the compulsory pre-military training and compulsory membership of the fascist youth and the "Balilla"!

For the freedom of combination, meetings and press!

For the abolition of the Special Courts, for complete amnesty for all young workers and peasants who are kept behind prison bars as political prisoners!

The appeal proposes to set up united front committees, which shall organise the fight for these demands in the factories, in the villages, in the "Dopo lavoro," everywhere where young people are to be found. In conclusion the appeal states that "the mobilisation of the toiling youth for the European Anti-Fascist Congress shall be the first concrete action of this united front."

## The Italian Socialists and the United Front

At the congress of the social-democratic party of Italy, which took place in Marseilles some time ago, there was present a Left minority which supported the motion brought in by the social-democratic worker *Bianco*. Even if the platform of this opposition is still contradictory and vague in regard to a number of questions of the Labour movement, it nevertheless maintains a sufficiently clear and determined attitude in regard to the necessity of the fighting united front with the Communist workers, of the breaking off of all relations between the socialist party of Italy and all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois movements affiliated to the anti-fascist Concentration, of openly condemning the policy pursued by the leaders of the Second International, and of unreservedly supporting the Amsterdam anti-war movement and the forthcoming anti-fascist congress.

In spite of the demagogic manoeuvres of *Nenni* and the party leaders, this oppositional group succeeded in obtaining a hearing at the congress. They called upon the leaders of the socialist party of Italy to render account for the treacherous policy of the Second International, which *Nenni* and his consorts have consistently supported and still support.

The desire of the social-democratic workers for the united front is expressed so strongly in the ranks of the socialist party of Italy that it has been impossible for *Nenni* and the party leaders to follow the same line as the other parties of the Second International and demand that first there should be negotiations between the leaders of the two Internationals; instead, they used as a pretext for rejecting the united front the fact that the C.P. of Italy had at the same time addressed its united front offer to the Maximalist and the republican party (the members of which consist entirely of workers). If the C.P. of Italy had at the same time addressed its offer only to the leaders of the socialist party of Italy, then, perhaps, they could have considered the united front proposals. Therefore there can be no agreement nor even negotiations, because the C.P. of Italy addressed its offer of a united front to other parties as well as to the socialist party! This manoeuvre on the part of *Nenni* and his consorts aims at silencing the criticism that is being heard among the rank and file of the party and making the workers believe that the leaders of the socialist party are perhaps ready to do something towards realising the united front, which other sections of the Second International have hitherto rejected.

In reality the aim of the platform of the Congress was to launch a counter-offensive in order to thwart the numerous attempts of social-democratic and Communist workers to set up the united front from below, and to continue to drag the social-democratic workers in the wake of the Second International.

What will be the attitude of the leaders of the Socialist Party

of Italy? Will they go so far as to expel from the party those who spoke in favour of the united front at the Congress, as they did in the case of the Campioli group, which joined the Amsterdam anti-war movement? Or are they afraid of the consequences of such a step?

One thing is certain at the moment: there is a strong group among the Party leaders which is in favour of expelling those workers who have had the courage openly to attack the treacherous attitude of the Second International and its leaders.

## International Solidarity Day

### Working Class Solidarity a Primary Condition for the Overthrow of Fascism

By Fritz Heckert.

For all the labouring masses in all capitalist and oppressed countries outstanding importance attaches to the W.I.R. International Solidarity Day this year. Not only has the international economic crisis continued into what is now its fourth year, but—of greater importance still—since the beginning of the year it has been getting worse than ever. This circumstance cannot but render acuter still the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers as among themselves, as also between them as a whole and the Soviet Union. The war menace becomes more immediate than ever. It is, however, the development of the crisis which is doing more to sharpen contradictions between the different classes in society. The bourgeoisie has to fight with the utmost energy in order to maintain its economic and political domination. It is this circumstance which everywhere compels it to do away with the democratic institutions, whereby bourgeois society was enabled to attain its greatest advance, this being done with the use of all sorts of demagogic trickery, or else to go farther still and to employ force to destroy these democratic institutions.

The offensive of the capitalists against the mass of the peasantry in the colonial or semi-colonial countries, and against the working class in capitalism's home-countries, for the purpose of lowering the living standards of the toiling masses, and so securing a fresh lease of life, is growing more intensive from day to day. Wage slashing and the cutting down of benefits are followed by the abrogation of civil liberties. To an increasing extent fascism becomes the instrument with which the labouring masses are kept down and efforts made to deprive them of all power of resistance. Starting with the wildest national and social demagogy and finishing up with the most abominable and cowardly murder of men and women, this same instrument reveals the whole cultural veneer with which bourgeois society to-day likes to cover itself. The romanticism of the Middle Ages is being dug up with the object of fooling the masses, in order simultaneously, and without disturbing the conscience of humanity, to be able to employ against the working class the insane methods of torture invented by the Middle Ages.

Everything that working people had suffered up till then in the way of horror upon horror at the hands of the fascists was exceeded on a hitherto unknown scale in the spring of 1933, when there took place in Germany the national *coup-d'etat*, which the fascists elect to call the "National Revolution."

Aided by the rag-tag and bob-tail of a vast horde of pimps, prostitutes, thieves, card-sharpers, speculators, drug addicts, sadists, and perverts, in brief, with all those choice specimens of youth at their tail, who won't work themselves, but are quick to seize every opportunity of enriching themselves at other people's expense, the fascists were enabled to carry out such an attack upon the working class and all its institutions as had never been experienced before. Murders by the hundred of revolutionary workers, appalling torture for the thousands upon thousands of workers thrown into prison, the violation of working women without number, pogroms against the Jews in numerous towns and villages, the wholesale dismissal from their posts of the foremost scientists, workers' club premises, trades halls and workers' sports halls smashed up and despoiled, abolition of the right of combination, assembly, and the Press, the destruction of the workers' trade unions, the burning of all working-class literature and the complete destruction of all literature of any liberal tendencies whatever in an entire country's libraries—these are the crimes which mark the road along which the fascist thugs and robber bands have marched, spreading devastation as they have gone,

and all for the purpose of consolidating anew the "Culture" of capitalism and Christianity.

This triumphant march of the National-German Huns throughout the length and breadth of the country in 1933 was made possible only owing to the indescribably cowardly and treacherous behaviour of the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist T.U. leaders. In their efforts to prove themselves capable doctors in the work of patching up a decaying capitalism, these leaders sacrificed all working-class interests to the interests of capitalism. More: both in fact and ideologically they disarmed the working masses, and instead of fighting for the socialist emancipation of the working class, they have distinguished themselves in organising strike-smashing and, through their Noskes, Heines, Zörgiebls, and Severings, in systematically bludgeoning and murdering the workers, all in order to keep the workers under the capitalist yoke. Their entire policy has brought about the disruption of the working class and encouraged Labour's foes to attack. Tens of thousands of the best revolutionary workers were expelled from the unions by these tools of the boss class, tens of thousands allowed by them to be thrown out of the factories and plants. Actually, the whole of this counter-revolutionary activity is the foundation on which alone any triumph of fascism was at all conceivable. Now that Hitler, Göring, and the men behind them have achieved victory for themselves, these traitors and splitters of the working class have also been kicked out of their comfortable jobs and thrown into prison.

Yet, terrorised as the revolutionary working class has been, and will be, under the fascist system, the blow dealt it by the fascists has failed so far to rob it of its courage and its organised strength. Its Marxist-Leninist outlook and its contact with the Communist Party have enabled it to bear up under the assault and to re-form its ranks for a new attack against the enemy. It is not enough, however, that only the Communists should retain their power through their political outlook and under the C.P.'s leadership. The anti-fascist front must be extended, made firmer, if the power of the fascists is to be overthrown. To that end everybody who rejects and holds a hostile attitude towards the fascist system must be won over for us.

An extensive united front of all anti-fascists is essential. Once we have succeeded in building up this front fascism will fall. The foundations of this united front lie in the solidarity of all anti-fascist militants. This solidarity must be of an active nature, however, and constitute a form of solidarity hostile to all those people who would carry on or repeat the pro-fascist policies of the unions and the social democracy. The fight against fascism can turn out victorious only if it has a revolutionary objective. That objective can only be seen in the downfall of the capitalist system. Fascism and capitalism lead to war and world disaster: the revolutionary struggle leads to freedom and socialism.

The labour movement became great through **class solidarity**. Under the most onerous of conditions, the trade unions grew to maturity, the workers won their strikes; it was **solidarity, class solidarity**, which made it possible to smash the anti-socialist laws. To establish **class solidarity** once more—that is the primary task of the proletariat. A working class prepared to wage the class struggle and united in the ties of solidarity will also be able to exercise solidarity with all those elements of the various sections of the bourgeoisie which, outraged by the systematic terrorism practised by the fascists, the revolting hypocrisy of capitalism, its anti-cultural savagery, and its system of oppression, are prepared to fight that system.

The 11th of June, 1933, must be made to serve as a means of awakening the idea of solidarity in the minds of the broad masses; it must witness the enrolling of vast numbers of new fighters in the ranks of the anti-fascist front.

Bound in the fraternal ties of solidarity, we will smash the fascist terror and open the road to freedom and socialism.

## Madszar Acquitted

Budapest, May 27.

Yesterday the trial took place of Professor Madszar and eleven other members of the Hungarian intelligentsia. They were arrested some months ago on the suspicion of having relations to the Hungarian Communist Party and themselves spreading Communist propaganda in Hungary. All twelve were acquitted yesterday. The jury acquitted all of them because it could not be proved that any of the accused had any relations with the Communist Party, or participated in communist organisational activity.

## The Day of International Solidarity

By L. Magyar

June 11, the **day of International Solidarity**, is of special importance this year. We are approaching a cycle of violent collisions between the imperialist States, and between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union. We are already in the midst of a new cycle of tremendous collisions between the classes. Perhaps it is only a question of a few months, and the European Continent, and thereby also the whole world, will again be divided by trenches. In the individual imperialist countries, these trenches already exist in latent form between the classes. Civil war is already going on in Germany, even if the trenches are not visible at present. And precisely because international finance capital is about to plunge the whole world into a war, June 11, the day of international solidarity of the proletariat, is of special importance this year.

Perhaps next year we shall be celebrating international solidarity by fraternisation between the troops in the two trenches. Perhaps next year real international solidarity of the proletariat can be demonstrated by the proletarians, who have been sent to fight against the fatherland of all toilers, against the only proletarian State, against the Soviet Union, going over to the side of the Red Army.

We are faced with a new cycle of imperialist wars and civil wars; and as the revolutionary movement of the proletariat can only develop unequally, it can and will happen that some detachments of the world proletariat will be already in the firing line against their own bourgeoisie, whilst other detachments are still lying in reserve.

The **proletariat of the Soviet Union** is already in the front line. The **working class of Germany** is already conducting the first fight against attacking fascism. In the East, the Chinese proletariat is at the head of the international fight for emancipation. The task of the world proletariat consists in supporting these outposts of the world army of the proletariat. This task can be best solved if the working class of the imperialist countries wage the class struggle against their own bourgeoisie.

During the first imperialist world war the bourgeoisie in every country carried out the policy of so-called civil peace; and the **parties of the Second International** took part in and supported the **policy of civil peace**. What was the meaning of civil peace? It meant that the proletariat should cease to wage the class struggle against its own imperialist bourgeoisie, whilst the bourgeoisie conducted the class struggle against the proletariat with the most ruthless means of military dictatorship. The meaning of the civil peace was, that the proletariat should abandon its international solidarity and conclude a national united front with its own bourgeoisie. The world-historical treachery of the parties of the Second International consisted precisely in the fact that, in the place of the **international** solidarity of the proletariat, it set up **national** solidarity with its own bourgeoisie.

**Kautsky** himself "recognised" that the Second International was "only an instrument for peace"; for this reason the Second International was not a proletarian International. **Only the Bolsheviks issued the slogan that the imperialist war should be converted into civil war.** Only **Liebknecht** formulated the slogan of international solidarity by declaring: "**The enemy is in your own country!**"

The essential difference between the situation existing before the first imperialist world war and the present situation is, that the parties of the Second International now, **already before the declaration of war**, openly support the war policy of their own bourgeoisie.

**Wells** supports the foreign policy of Hitler. The French socialists, from **Renaudel** to **Leon Blum**, support French imperialism, the British Labour Party support the war policy of the National Government. In the countries where the fascist dictatorship has already been set up—in Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania—the bourgeoisie is carrying out the policy of civil peace in a new form.

**Hitler** declares that he intends to exterminate Marxism; to **do away with the class struggle**, and reconcile all classes. He wishes to set up national unity by employing the most brutal, cruel and bloody means of class warfare. He wishes to set up national unity by destroying the internationalism of the working class. He is attempting to make use of the hatred of the masses against the



Versailles system in order to harness the proletariat to the war chariots of the bourgeoisie. Italian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Rumanian fascism are pursuing the same path as German fascism and employing the same methods of national demagoguery in the fight against the international solidarity of the proletariat.

In the countries where bourgeois democracy is still more or less retained as the concealed form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to realise the policy of civil peace in the approved classical form.

"France's frontiers are the last trenches of democracy," declared the French Prime Minister. He calls upon the French workers to defend these trenches against fascism.

British imperialism is attempting to draw the English working class into the front of the National Government. Before the trenches have even been dug, the bourgeoisie of all countries is working to destroy the greatest and most decisive force against imperialist war: international solidarity on the basis of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The Parties of the Second International have destroyed the unity of the working class in the individual countries. **The Parties of the Second International are now helping the bourgeoisie to destroy the unity of the working class on an international scale.** They know only too well that, by destroying the unity of the working class in the individual countries, and by destroying the unity of the working class on an international scale, the ground can be prepared also for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The situation nowadays, however, differs fundamentally from the situation existing before the first imperialist world war. To-day there is an International which maintains solidarity not only in the times of peace but also during imperialist war and war of intervention. There was no such International before the war. To-day there is a country which regards itself as the fatherland of the proletarians of all countries, and which the proletarians of all countries regard as their fatherland.

**In this sense of the real international solidarity of the working class, we celebrate this year the International Solidarity Day of the W.I.R. And this solidarity will be expressed not only in words but also in deeds, in revolutionary deeds, in the revolutionary class struggle.**

## Imperialist War Preparations

### The Conflict over the Sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway

By Wan Min

The whole of the Kuomintang press is again full of furious attacks on the Soviet Union in connection with the declaration made by Litvinov, the Soviet People's Commissar, on May 12, regarding the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Nanking government has already addressed a Note of protest to Moscow.

Nobody will be surprised at the fury of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang; this is the direct continuation of its policy towards the Soviet Union. The history of the Kuomintang during the last few years is a record of savage murder of the workers and peasants of China and of counter-revolutionary hatred against the Soviet Union. Everyone will remember how, on behalf of international imperialism and in accordance with the counter-revolutionary instincts of the Chinese landlords and the bourgeoisie, the hostility of the Kuomintang towards the Soviet Union was not confined to the breaking off of diplomatic relations and murder of Soviet diplomats in the year 1927, but that in the year 1929 it increased to direct armed attacks on the Chinese Eastern Railway and on the Soviet frontier in order to provoke a criminal war by Japanese imperialism and other imperialist States against the Soviet Union. The result was that, solely due to the fault of the Kuomintang and in spite of the fact that both peoples wished to live in peace and friendship with one another, normal diplomatic relations between the two big neighbouring countries were interrupted for a period of five years.

At the end of 1932, the Nanking government, owing to the strong pressure of the anti-imperialist movement and of the revolutionary sympathy of the broadest masses of the Chinese people towards the Soviet Union, was compelled to resume official diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union which had been broken off

by it at the end of 1927. To-day, only a few months later, the Kuomintang, at the behest of the imperialists, is again seeking to make use of the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway in order to worsen diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, to launch again a demagogic campaign against the Soviet Union, so as to divert the Chinese people from the fight against the Japanese and other imperialists and to continue its policy of national betrayal and national shame, of hostility towards the only proletarian State in the world and the most reliable friend of the Chinese people and of all oppressed in the emancipation fight against international imperialism.

This criminal and shameful attempt of the Kuomintang is already encountering the determined resistance of the Chinese people. To the protest which the Nanking government addressed to the Soviet government, the Chinese people have replied with a **revolutionary protest.**

The great masses of the Chinese people know that it was only the Soviet Union that quite voluntarily declared all the unequal treaties which had been concluded by the Tsarist government with China to be null and void. Only the Soviet Union has voluntarily restored to China the Russian concessions in Harbin, Wuchang, etc., and renounced all political and economic privileges (extraterritoriality, right to station its own troops in China) in the whole of China, and especially in Manchuria. The Soviet Union was the first to propose that the war contributions, amounting to 130 million roubles, should be restored to China and in fact employed in order to promote educational work among the Chinese Youth; and it has also converted the Chinese Eastern Railway into a purely commercial undertaking and permitted China an equal share in the management of the same. Only the Soviet Union among all Powers has concluded treaties with China on the basis of equality (for example, the Treaty of Peiping, the Treaty of Mukden in the year 1924).

In the time of the big revolution from 1925-27, the Chinese people, with the immediate material and moral support of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, grew and increased in strength to such an extent that it was able not only to smash an attack of the oppressors and exploiters (overthrow of the militarist Wu-Pei-Fu, Sun Chuan Fan, Chan-Tsun-Tsan, etc.), but also to deal serious blows to the "prestige" and "interests" of world imperialism (events of May 30, 1927, the strike in Hongkong and Canton, victory of the Northern expedition, armed seizure by the working masses of the English concessions in Hankow and Dutsjane).

It is obvious to everybody that, if the Kuomintang had not criminally betrayed the cause of the people's revolution and converted its points of support against imperialism and militarism into points of support against its own people and against the Soviet Union, the Chinese people would long since have freed itself from the yoke of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. When the Kuomintang militarists, headed by Chiang-Kai-shek and Chang-Hsue-liang, undertook an armed attack on the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Soviet frontiers, the Soviet Union confined itself to repelling these attacks, but did nothing by way of retaliation. The Chinese people, therefore, fully realise and are firmly convinced that every step the Soviet Union takes in its inner policy (particularly as regards building up Socialism) and its foreign policy, serves not only the interests of the working population of the Soviet Union, but also the interests of the workers and peasants of the whole world, and thereby also of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people are quite aware that Litvinov's declaration in the matter of the Chinese Eastern Railway results from the situation which has arisen in Manchuria, which not only renders it impossible to continue the normal activity of the Chinese Eastern Railway, but calls forth the immediate danger of military complications, which would be directed against the Soviet Union and would lie in the direction of a final dismemberment of China. The Japanese and international imperialists are attempting to use the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway in order to provoke a war against the Soviet Union and the Chinese people. The Soviet Union, which is pursuing a policy of peace, has undertaken the above-mentioned step in regard to the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway in the interest of the workers and peasants of the whole world, and before all of its own country; in the interest of Japan and China, in order to avoid the outbreak of a world war. There is no doubt that this step taken by the Soviet Union meets with the sympathy and

solidarity of the peoples of the whole world, and calls forth increased hatred and indignation on the part of the working peoples of all countries against the imperialist occupants in Manchuria and in the whole of China, and against the provokers of a world war.

At the same time, the Chinese people, in the hard life and death struggle which it is conducting against the Japanese and the rest of the imperialists, cannot forget for a moment the criminal, shameful and treacherous capitulation-policy of the Kuomintang towards the Japanese offensive, thanks to which the present situation has arisen in Manchuria and North China.

The Chinese people is fully aware and is firmly convinced that if the Kuomintang had not followed the policy of giving way to Japanese aggression, if it and its generals, Mai-Chai-Shai, Su-Bi-un, Li-Du, Din Tsao, by their intervention, especially by disarming and bloodily suppressing the partisan movement of the masses of the people in Manchuria, had not sabotaged and prevented the fight against Japan; if the Kuomintang and its leaders, Chiang-Kai-shek, Wan-Chin-Wei, Tsai-tin-Kai, etc., had not shamefully sabotaged the heroic defence of Shanghai by the workers and soldiers of the 19th army; if the Kuomintang had not delivered Jehol and North China over to Japan and, finally and above all, if it had not sent the whole of its troops against the Soviet government and the Red Army of China, the only consistent anti-militarist people's government and people's army of China; if it had adopted the proposal of the Central Soviet Government and of the General Staff of the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army of the Chinese Soviet Republic to cease the attacks on the Soviet districts, to grant the people democratic rights (freedom of speech, press, and combination, as well as of meetings and demonstrations), to arm the people and to organise anti-Japanese volunteer troops on a broad basis; if it had proclaimed national war against the Japanese and the rest of the imperialists—then the situation to-day in Manchuria, in Jehol and in the whole of China would be quite different. The Chinese people would then have achieved not only its national independence and territorial integrity, but thereby prevented intervention against the Soviet Union from the East. Then the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway would no longer exist in its present form.

Therefore the Chinese people, in spite of the provocations and demagogy of the Kuomintang and of the imperialists, realises that the most fundamental question of the day in China at the present moment is not the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway, but the question of the uninterrupted armed attack immediately threatening the national existence of the Chinese people, and the occupation of Chinese territory by the Japanese and other imperialists.

If the Chinese people, under the slogans put forward by the C.P. of China, of national revolutionary war of the armed people against the Japanese and the rest of the imperialists, energetically comes into action in defence of the independence and integrity of China and, under the leadership of the C.P. of China, actually carries this slogan into effect, it will, with weapons in hand and with the aid of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the whole world, drive the Japanese and the rest of the imperialists out of China, win back North China, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, and thereby also obtain the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Therefore, the Chinese people, too, on the occasion of Litvinov's declaration on the Chinese Eastern Railway, replies to the protest by the Nanking government and to any attacks and demagogy on the part of the Kuomintang press against the Soviet Union, with the loud cry: "Long live the alliance of workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and of China!"

## Against the Anti-Soviet Campaign of the II. International!

### Appeal of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany.

The more the social democracy is exposed as the pacemaker of fascism, the more its boundless fury increases against the proletarian dictatorship, against Socialism which has been realised, against the Soviet Union. At present the Second International is using the prolongation of the so-called "Treaty of Berlin" between Germany and the Soviet Union, which was concluded in the year 1926 on the basis of the Rapallo Treaty, as a pretext for a fresh shameful campaign of incitement.

The Second International, the organisation of the social fascist parties, again exposes itself in this lying campaign as the driving force of military intervention of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union. Their unbounded hatred against the proletarian revolution, their deadly fear of the hour of doom of capitalism, which will become their own hour of doom, made them the pacemakers of fascism and drives them to the front rank of the war-inciters against the Soviet Union. They want to besmirch the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the policy which the socialist Soviet country is counter-posing to the imperialist war mongering, which sets up an insurmountable bulwark against advancing fascism. The growing strength of the socialist Soviet country is the strongest support of the international and of the German proletariat in their fight against imperialist world reaction, against international fascism. Its peace policy is not only a safeguard to the gigantic socialist construction in the country of emancipated labour, it means at the same time a fight for the life of the whole international proletariat, of the toilers of all countries; it means the protection and the strengthening of all those whom capitalism intends shall serve as cannon-fodder in the fresh imperialist war.

For this reason, the Soviet Union in its tenacious fight for peace succeeded in concluding a number of non-aggression pacts and neutrality treaties with the capitalist countries. The leading parties of the Second International were always opposed to these treaties—the German social democracy also opposed the Rapallo Treaty, because the social democratic parties are the deadly enemies of the proletarian revolution in their own country and of the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. They are in favour of a war against the Soviet Union, because they hope that by means of an anti-Soviet war the crisis of capitalism will be liquidated at the cost of the emancipated peoples of the Soviet Republics, and the collapse of the capitalist system will thereby be avoided. They are in favour of military intervention against the Soviet Union, just as they prefer fascism to the proletarian dictatorship, because they fear that the inevitable war between the imperialist groups of Powers will lead to the revolutionary collapse of capitalism, to the proletarian revolution.

Hitler's coming into power on the backs of the German social democracy and the reformist trade union leaders has greatly increased the danger of an imperialist war. A few days ago, on May 17, the German social democratic members of the Reichstag, under the leadership of **Loebe** and **Wels**, unanimously voted for Hitler's catastrophic policy. That is an open continuation of the policy of August 4, 1914, even under fascism, a fact which Göbbels and the whole fascist press record. The division of imperialist Europe into two hostile camps is becoming more and more apparent. One group—Mussolini—Italy, Hitler—Germany, Horthy—Hungary—is preparing for imperialist war in the name of national emancipation against the frontiers drawn by the Versailles Treaty, not, however, in order to annihilate the Versailles system, but in order to set up a fresh Versailles. The other group—France and its allies, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland—are coming forward in the name of Democracy against fascism, in order to perpetuate the robber-treaty of Versailles in a new imperialist war. And in all capitalist countries there are the most extreme enemies of the Soviet Union, who wish to postpone the settlement of all the disputed questions between the imperialist countries in order to realise the "great plan"—the overthrow of socialism in the Soviet Union by the combined forces of world imperialism. In close proximity to these "irreconcilable" enemies of the Soviet Union, these out-and-out fascists—is the Second International, with its incitement against everything likely to safeguard the carrying out of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

The Second International, true to its counter-revolutionary principles, to which it has adhered ever since its existence, wishes to unite all the forces of the hostile imperialist groups for the common fight against the proletarian revolution, against its advance-guard, the Soviet Union.

It is not the first time that the Parties of the Second International wished to involve the Soviet Union in a war. Did not the Polish social democrats participate in the leadership of Pilsudski's and General Weygand's anti-Soviet war? Did not the social democrat Paul Boncour state at that time that Poland, which had attacked the Soviet Union, is the outpost of civilisation against Bolshevism? Was not the whole Second International in favour of a war in order to deliver Soviet Georgia over to

British imperialism? Was it not the leaders of the Second International who issued the slogan of "red imperialism"? Did they not incite against the Soviet Union when the imperialists organised a robber-attack on the Chinese Eastern Railway?

Did not the German social democrats attempt to line up Germany in the anti-Soviet front? Did not the German social democrats remind Hitler that social democracy formed a dam against Bolshevism? Has not the whole of the Second International supported this policy of the German social democracy in the name of "reconciliation of the peoples"? Have not the German, French and English social democrats, has not the whole of the Second International cloaked and supported the criminal wrecking and sabotage work of the imperialist general staffs, of the Russian white guardists? Can we forget how the role of the Second International was exposed in the Moscow trials of the "Industrial Party" and of the Mensheviks as aiders of preparation for military intervention by means of espionage and sabotage?

The mendacious campaign of incitement on the occasion of the prolongation of the Berlin Treaty against the Soviet Union is part of this series of abominable provocations by the Parties of the Second International.

The international proletariat, and in the first place the German proletariat, must realise that its historic place is at the side of the socialist workers' State, in a common front against imperialism, whether in a fascist or democratic garb. We, the Communist Party of Germany, persecuted, hounded down by the fascist murder bands who have been reared by the German social democracy, who have been helped into the saddle by them, we who alone are waging the fight against the Hitler dictatorship. declare:

**The prolongation of the "Berlin Treaty" on the part of the workers' and peasants' government of the Soviet Union is the correct continuation of its struggle for peace in the interests of the toilers of the whole world.**

**The prolongation of the "Berlin Treaty" on the part of the Hitler government is the enforced recognition of the growing power of the Soviet Union, it means that the plans of Hitler and Rosenberg, aiming at a "holy war" of all imperialists against the Soviet Union, against world Bolshevism, have been shelved—until a broad front for such a war has been set up. We know that the Hitler government is only waiting for this possibility, in order then to treat this Treaty as a scrap of paper.**

**We repeat that which we already declared in the year 1926 on the occasion of the conclusion of this Treaty:**

**The guarantee for the observance of this treaty is not the German bourgeoisie, but the revolutionary German proletariat in alliance with the millions of emancipated workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.**

The Second International now again comes to the aid of fascism with its calumnious incitement against the Soviet Union. Just as it paved the way for the fascist dictatorship by disarming the proletariat, dissolving the proletarian self-defence organisations, by persecuting the revolutionary workers' organisations, by its struggle against the proletarian dictatorship, by shattering the united front of the working class against the advance of fascism in the name of democracy, so now it is attempting to pave the way for imperialism and its fascist mercenary troops for military intervention against the Soviet Union.

Just as the international social democracy, by defending "democracy," has paved the way to fascism, so now it wishes to prepare the military intervention against the country of Socialism **under the cloak of a fight against fascism.**

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany calls to the German working class, upon all who are oppressed and tortured by the fascist dictatorship:

**It is your duty to strengthen daily the anti-fascist struggle against the fascist murder terror, against the offensive of capital, and against the feverish preparations for an imperialist war in Germany, and to draw the social democratic workers, who have been betrayed by their leaders, into this fighting front.**

It is not the Second International, the international organisation of the pacemakers of fascism, the International of the social-fascist parties, each of which is preparing with its own bourgeoisie for imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet Union, which is helping the German proletariat in its difficult, self-sacrificing struggle. Wels' slogan is: keep to the

"constitutional" path, no illegal work against the State—i.e., recognition of Hitler, submission to his dictatorship!

**Only the Communist International is fighting side by side with the German proletariat.**

It is only the Soviet Union, the country of Socialism, whose interests are the same as those of the world proletariat.

We declare to the warmongers of the Second International:

Hands off the Socialist Soviet Union!

Hands off our fight against the Hitler dictatorship!

Down with the imperialist warmongers, the fascists and the social fascists!

Long live international proletarian solidarity!

**Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.**

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### The Competition of the Furnaces, Martin Ovens and Pits in the Soviet Union

The "Pravda" has published a proposal put forward by the workers of the Petrovski works (Dniepropetrovsk), of the Tomsky works (Makejevka) the Stalin works in Magnitogorsk and a number of other big enterprises.

The proposal relates to organising a second competition of the furnaces, Martin ovens and pits. The People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry has taken up this proposal emanating from the best workers, and prescribed a competition.

Regarding the tasks of the competition, the decree of the Commissariat for Heavy Industry states:

"The aim of the competition is decidedly to increase the output of metal, to fulfil and surpass the programme, to bring more order into the production activity of the furnaces and Martin ovens, to improve the technical care of the aggregates; to improve the quality of the production of pig iron and steel, to reduce overhead charges, and to master the new technique with which the Soviet Union has equipped its smelting industry in the course of the First Five-Year Plan. . . ."

The People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry has allotted the sum of 500,000 roubles for paying premiums to the best workers, foremen and engineers and calls upon all smelting workers to participate actively in the competition.

The competition of the furnaces contains five items: (1) fulfilment of the production programme; (2) maximum utilisation of the furnaces; (3) a minimum production of waste products; (4) reduction of overhead charges in accordance with and beyond the plan; (5) reduction of the quantity of coke consumed per ton of pig iron produced.

Five points are also laid down in regard to the Martin ovens: (1) fulfilment of the programme of production; (2) maximum output of steel in proportion to the surface of the Martin oven; (3) maximum period during which the ovens are burning and a minimum time for repairs; (4) maximum percentage of serviceable metal; (5) reduction of overhead charges in accordance with and beyond the plan.

In regard to the pits, first place will be accorded to those pits which fulfil the stipulations of the production plan both in regard to quantity and quality, which show the greatest improvement in workers' discipline, which put an end to absence from work without excuse, and fluctuations of the staff. A special point relates to the preparations of qualified cadres.

In the competition which took place last year between the furnaces and Martin ovens in the smelting industry of the Soviet Union, a number of admirable heroes of labour distinguished themselves. There are such in every pit, in every smelting works. But great as their achievements were, they did not succeed in drawing along with them the whole army of foundry workers and miners.

The Bolshevik Party expects that these shock-brigade workers will not only perform good work themselves, but will also drag the laggards along with them. The present competition is intended to serve precisely this aim. Every shock-brigade who wishes to see his works, his furnace, his Martin oven occupy the first place, must see to it that all the workers of the same pull their weight.

Further, this new competition shall bring to the front the best

masters of the new technique. The Soviet Union wants to know those masters who have become most rapidly and best acquainted with the new technique.

The present competition is also a competition of factory managers, engineers and technicians, for the Soviet Union also wants to know who are the best managers and organisers of production.

The Party and the trade union organisations in the works and factories will have to see to it that every worker and every technician who takes part in the competition and really performs shock-brigade work, enjoys the attention and care of these organs, and that those who perform shock-brigade work are also provided accordingly with food and articles of necessity.

The competition has been fixed for the beginning of Summer. That is not due to chance. It is intended thereby to emphasise that the smelting industry and coal mining industry of the Soviet Union are not seasonal industries, but rather that they have a permanent busy season. The time of this competition coincides with the change of the economic and technical management of the pits in accordance with the decision of the C.C. of the Party and of the Council of People's Commissars.\* The idea of this change consists before all in concentrating all the forces of the economic and technical managements from the bureaus and administrative offices to where the coal and the metal are being won.

The competition will also promote this change. The combating of bureaucratism and the carrying out of the above-mentioned decision regarding the reorganisation of the administrative apparatus will again be of advantage to the competition itself. The fact that the conditions of the competition relate mainly to the qualitative side of production, is in accordance with the slogan of the Party on mastering the new technique, which is a central slogan at the present stage.

The successes and results of the competition will bring about a change in the smelting and coal-mining industry of the Soviet Union, and raise these decisively important branches of industry to a level unattained hitherto.

\* The decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and of the Council of People's Commissars on the Donetz Basin adopted on April 8, 1933.

## Against Colonial Oppression

### An Outspoken Wall Street Emissary to Cuba

The appointment of Sumner Welles as the White House Ambassador to Cuba shatters definitely the naive hopes entertained by some individuals who again and again fall victims to the illusions as to the "liberal" policies of the Democratic President Roosevelt. These illusions are not only deliberately spread by the paid agents of American bankers in the United States, but also by the lackeys and tools of the United States oppressors in Cuba—the bourgeois and landlord native exploiters of the masses.

The Machado faction in power acclaimed Roosevelt's appointee and gave a royal reception to the Messiah of the "economic reconstruction" of Cuba, while the militant workers of Habana, headed by their heroic leader, the Communist Party, staged a revolutionary protest demonstration upon the arrival of this open hater and enemy of the colonially oppressed peoples of the Caribbean.

No less insidious have been the illusions spread out by that faction of the Cuban bourgeoisie and landlords who stand in "opposition" to Machado and whose leaders are Menocal, Mendieta and the whole consort that heads the fake revolutionary Junta. These leaders who are busily engaged in their belly-crawling promises to Wall Street sugar magnates and the White House best to serve the Yankee interests in Cuba in substitution to the bloody regime of Machado, speculate on the contradictions of American imperialist interests in the island as recently manifested in the struggle between the National City Bank and the Chase National

Bank, each trying to make further inroads in the control of the economic life of the country.

Already previous to the appointment of Ambassador Welles, Wall Street made it known through the White House that a "strong man" would be selected. Welles, immediately upon his appointment, hastened to declare that his going to Cuba will aim at the improving of the economic status of the country because "any improvement in Cuba would be immediately reflected here." In plain language this means, that American imperialism will seek, through its new ambassador, a capitalist way out of the crisis, at the expense of the toiling masses of Cuba.

No better choice could possibly be made by the "democratic" President, especially at a time when a stronger policy is necessary in order to safeguard the 1,500,000,000 dollars in Cuba. It is important to note that five members of the Roosevelt Cabinet are connected with American sugar interests in Cuba. Machado is paying the interest on American loans with the ever-increasing taxation upon the city poor population, at the expense of the workers and colonos who are subjected to semi-feudal forms of oppression and the most barbarous terror ever known in the history of Cuba. It may be necessary in the future for the American dollar and business interests in Cuba to pave the way for Machado's substitution and pick out another servant tool from among the bourgeois-landlord "opposition" or a follower of same.

Sumner is not a novice in the imperialist intrigues and marine interventions in the Caribbean. He was an able assistant to General Crowder's mission in Cuba sent there by the White House to devise election laws now in force, these same laws aiming at maintaining "strong governments in power well disposed toward the United States." Machado, for instance, is the genuine creature of Crowder's laws, so was Menocal the corrupted President of Cuba who was the instrument through which Cuba entered the World War.

As a reliable imperialist emissary, Welles has done other good jobs for his masters. In fact, he has had a long training in the school of the Latin American division of the State Department. We found him in Santo-Domingo, sent there by Harding when that country was occupied by American marines. It was Welles who brought about the sending of the Dawes Commission in Santo Domingo which rehabilitated the finances of that country, meaning by this that the seal was finally put on the financial control of the island. It necessitated, of course, another "strong government," the Trujillo dictatorship, in order to better enforce the conditions of slave labour on the sugar plantations and the construction of roads for the Wall street masters.

Again in 1924 we found Welles in Honduras busy, very busy indeed, to bring about mediation between two bourgeois-landlord factions engaged in armed revolt. The Provisional Government resulting from this mediation was again a "strong government well disposed toward the United States," concluded at the expense of the Honduran workers and peasants and to the great advantage of the United Fruit Co.

These are a few instances of the long string of Welles' imperialist intrigues. We know beforehand, therefore, his plan of "economic rehabilitation" of Cuba. His mission in Cuba will be to tighten the economic and political control on behalf of the sugar magnates and the American bankers, to help and guide the regime of terror and the enslavement of the Cuban masses whether this is to be carried out by a "strong government" headed by Machado or by the "chosen" creature of the bourgeois-landlord opposition, destined to be equally "strong."

But the Cuban masses, the peasants, the city poor, the Negroes and the revolutionary students will raise higher and higher their banner of struggle against American imperialism and their native exploiters, under the hegemony of the proletariat and under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party of Cuba. In this struggle for national emancipation, the Cuban masses will have the support of the revolutionary movement of Latin America and the United States.

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