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CORRESPONDENCE

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The Legal Crime in Leipzig Hitler Fascism at the Bar

By Wilhelm Pieck (Berlin)

The proceedings before the German Supreme Court in Leipzig concerning the burning of the Reichstag have already clearly justified the Communist declaration that the trial is an attempt on the part of the Hitler government to deceive public opinion as to the real identity of the incendiaries. If the Hitler government wanted to reveal the truth about the burning of the Reichstag it would have to accuse itself of the crime. And therefore the trial in Leipzig serves to conceal the truth and not to establish it. The words with which the president of the court opened the proceedings and in which he declared that the court and the judges on the bench were absolutely "objective," and that the court would maintain complete "impartiality," etc., and the permission given to a limited number of foreign journalists to attend the trial must not be permitted to conceal the real truth about the process.

What happens to journalists who speak openly concerning the political character of the trial is seen clearly enough in the fate of the deported American journalist and the two arrested press representatives of the Soviet Union. It is true that many things may happen during the course of the trial which were not fore-

seen by the Hitler government and its Minister of Lies, Goebbels. But just because this danger exists the government is using all its tools, the judges, the "experts," the lawyers, and the "witnesses" in order to assure that the course of the proceedings is in its favour. The Communist Party is to be made responsible for the burning of the Reichstag by hook or by crook, and with this verdict the Hitler government hopes to justify its crimes against the working class. With this aim in view the government is also seeking to influence the foreign journalists and lawyers in order that they should assist in this deception at least to the extent of vouching for the "normality" of the proceedings. The Hitler government urgently needs this confirmation as an alibi for its latest legal crime. However, it is not likely that the foreign journalists will let themselves be misused by the Hitler government.

The efforts of this fascist court, together with the "defending" lawyers appointed by the Hitler government, including, in particular, Dr. Sack, are directed towards "proving" that the incendiary, Van der Lubbe, was connected directly, or indirectly, with the Communist Party and its leadership, and that he was the tool of

the Communist Party for the burning of the Reichstag. The attitude of Van der Lubbe before the court up to the present would appear to endanger this plan somewhat. But the Hitler government is not hard up for an "explanation" and declares that Van der Lubbe's attitude is "an arranged affair between him and the Communist Party," and that his attitude is being adopted at the instructions of the Communist Party. However, it is not impossible that in the meantime the usual methods will be adopted to compel Van der Lubbe to "expose" the Communist Party in court and to declare that he worked together with the Communist Party in burning the Reichstag. This is the consummation most devoutly wished for in this trial by the Hitler government.

We do not know what relations existed between Van der Lubbe and the Nazis, or what relations still exist; we do not know what arrangements were made between him and the Nazis for the burning of the Reichstag, whether he was used by them as a blind tool, only to be betrayed by them finally. But the fact that the Hitler government is the actual fire-raiser can no longer be concealed. The attitude of Van der Lubbe before the court gives one the impression that in the six months during which Van der Lubbe has been in prison the unscrupulous "investigation methods" of the Hitler government have put him in such a condition that he can hardly now be used for the aim followed by the Hitler government in the trial. Van der Lubbe will in all probability be handed over to the executioner. But not because he is an incendiary, for Hitler has often openly supported much worse crimes than that and even referred to open assassins as his "comrades" (remember the Potempa affair!). Prominent Nazi leaders have committed greater crimes than the one of which Van der Lubbe is accused. But Hitler must secure himself absolutely against the possibility of Van der Lubbe speaking after the trial. He will therefore be handed over to the executioner on the old principle that dead men tell no tales.

The Hitler lawyer, **Dr. Sack**, the lawyer supposed to have been chosen by the Communist member of the Reichstag, Torgler, who is accused of having been an accomplice of Van der Lubbe, is playing the role given to him in the proceedings by the Hitler government with a certain amount of cleverness. He throws the ball to the bench at just the right moment and has carefully prepared himself for the job. His journeys to Paris and London in order to learn the material at the disposal of the counter-trial against the Hitler government, and his invitation to a number of foreign lawyers to be present at the trial, undoubtedly took place at the instructions of the Hitler government. His drive to uphold the "objectivity" of the court against the report of an American journalist, his continual attempts to discredit the facts contained in the "Brown Book of the Hitler Terror," and proved conclusively in the proceedings of the counter-trial in London concerning the real incendiaries, shows him clearly as in reality a lawyer in the services of the German government. How can he then be the defending lawyer of the accused Communist leader, Torgler, who is accused by the Hitler government of having been an accomplice in the burning of the Reichstag? Dr. Sack declares with his usual insolence that Torgler has confidence in him and that Torgler has requested him to undertake the defence. But Torgler is a member of the Communist Party, whose Central Committee has openly exposed Dr. Sack as an agent of Hitler. And every day at Leipzig Dr. Sack confirms the truth of this exposure.

What is Dr. Sack's intention with regard to Torgler? Does he want to be a real defending lawyer to him? If he did he would have to expose the crime the Hitler government is committing against Torgler and the three Bulgarian Communists and against the whole working class. He would have to expose the Hitler government as the real incendiary. He would have to explain the real aims and tasks of the Communist movement before the court and expose the "insurrectionary plans" and the other slanders charged against the Communist Party by the Hitler government. On the contrary, Dr. Sack is aiming at preventing Torgler, who is the only accused German at the trial, from carrying out these tasks and at the same time play him off against the Communist Party.

Perhaps he will describe Torgler as a "decent" Communist who had nothing to do with the "criminal plans of the Communist Party." Or does Dr. Sack want merely to save "the man" Torgler from the legal crime of the Hitler government? But even that does not come into question for Dr. Sack, for that he is himself far too closely bound up with the crimes of the Hitler government. Dr. Sack aims at making Torgler, the politician, impossible, and it was for this reason that he took over the "voluntary" defence of Torgler in agreement with the Hitler government. The Hitler government has permitted him to declare in public that he does not believe that Torgler is guilty and that he will plead for his acquittal. With the pretext that he also wants to save Torgler from being found guilty of high treason apart from the incendiary charge, he is doing his best to persuade Torgler to refrain from any political indictment of the Hitler government before the court, and in this way to discredit him as a politician in the eyes of the working class.

It is a carefully-laid plan, an infamous plan, which this fascist Dr. Sack is trying to carry out, and it is a plan worthy of him. It was not for nothing that Dr. Sack was appointed to defend the Russian Tchervonetz forgers and the fascist Fehme murderers. Dr. Sack is working with every possible means of deception in order to obtain his ends with regard to Torgler. The visit of Torgler's mother in court was arranged by him with the same end in view. If Torgler declared that he did not want a second defending lawyer together with Dr. Sack as he had complete confidence in Dr. Sack then, assuming that this statement is true and has not been put out by Dr. Sack himself, then this would seem to be for the moment a certain success for Dr. Sack's intrigues. But we are firmly convinced that his infamous intrigue against the Communist, Torgler, will fail. It is possible that influenced by the sufferings of long imprisonment in chains, completely isolated and without any connection with the Communist Party, denied any real legal assistance and support, Torgler did not immediately see through the intrigues of Dr. Sack. We are convinced that he will prove himself worthy of being a member of the Communist Party and of the working class before the fascist court in Leipzig. His declaration before the court that not himself but his Party was at stake, the Party which he supported with his whole heart and for which he stood up valiantly before the court strengthens our conviction. There is no room for sentimental feelings in the political struggle; it is a question of political convictions and revolutionary action.

Thousands of workers have been murdered by the Hitler terror. In the face of certain death workers have stood before the fascist courts and heroically announced their revolutionary convictions. The heroes of Altona went to the scaffold with pledges to the revolutionary cause on their lips. Their last defiant shouts were in support of the Communist Party and the Communist International.

The beginning of the proceedings immediately exposed the legal crime being prepared. The judges showed themselves to be the tools of the fascist murderers. In dealing with van der Lubbe they continued the work of Heisig and Vogt, but they also found themselves faced with men who turned the farcical court proceedings into a tribunal against fascism. Torgler's first statement in the court was a courageous declaration of his loyalty to the Communist Party and against fascism and social fascism. The Bulgarian revolutionary Dimitrov, hunted by the police agents of all capitalist countries, put the fascist court in the pillory. He not only acted as accuser, but as an avenging judge with international fascism at the bar, so that the flabbergasted president of the fascist court exclaimed: "To hear you one would think that you are conducting these proceedings and not I."

The working class of Germany and of the whole world is closely following the trial in Leipzig which has as its basis the unparalleled crime of the Hitler government. This crime will find its judgment with the victory of the proletarian revolution. The Communist Party is working strenuously and with increasing successes to mobilise the working masses against the Hitler government and attain the proletarian revolution.

Politics

"The Fascist Idea has Triumphed in Austria"

By Oesterreicher (Vienna)

Interviewed by a representative of the Innsbruck "Neueste Zeitung," Prince Starhemberg characterised the situation after the change in the Dollfuss government with the words: "The fascist idea has triumphed." If the federal leader of the Heimwehr fascists meant by this that Dollfuss, in view of the vacillations in the camp of the bourgeoisie, had decided in favour of the Heimwehr programme, he was right. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to believe that Dollfuss has only now adopted the policy of fascisation and that the formation of the second Dollfuss government meant any break in the development.

Austria, in fact, furnishes a clear example of the simple, straightforward development from bourgeois democracy to fascism, where the social democrats, in order to deceive the masses, are still allowed to speak of the "democratic Republic" and "constitutional order." There has been no change in this respect. Nevertheless the second Dollfuss government shows a new feature.

It is the result of a serious crisis in the policy of the Austrian bourgeoisie. Immediately after the Catholic Conference in Vienna, an open conflict broke out among the coalition partners in the government, which set all three groups at loggerheads. At a meeting of the nationalist front in Graz, the Vice-Chancellor, Winkler (of the Land League), emphatically opposed the plans of "Austro-fascism" to take over the whole power in the State. On the same day Prince Starhemberg, at a meeting in Kufstein, spoke in the most abusive terms of the representatives of "corrupt democracy" who are striving to take a part in the reconstruction of the State. In addition, Starhemberg issued an order in which he forbade any member of the Heimatschutz to take part in the demonstrations of the fatherland front, to wear its badges or to make propaganda for it, either directly or indirectly.

What was still remarkable was the fact that the Minister for Defence, Vaugoin, one of the most notorious anti-"Marxists" of the Christian social party, during a tour of inspection in Salzburg, suddenly allowed himself to be courted by the social democrats and discovered, to his admiration, their "loyalty to the State and native country."

This hubbub and confusion among the fascist brothers was caused by the courageous action of the Styrian miners, who, snapping their fingers at all the strike prohibitions of the authorities and the government, took up the fight against the emergency decree dictatorship. Out of fear of the workers, the bourgeoisie began to discuss what tempo of fascisation would be most suited to the situation. It was a historical moment. An extension of the fight would have meant its developing to a higher stage, would have called forth greater efforts on the part of fascism, but also led to a strengthening of the position of the workers, to further strikes, fresh mass struggles and the possibility of rolling up the fascist front. The Dollfuss government, powerless in face of the striking miners in the Alpine works, would have been unable to offer any resistance to an extension of the fight to all mining undertakings and also to the whole of the smelting and heavy industry of Austria. Great revolutionary prospects opened—then the social democracy intervened and saved the government and fascism.

The strike front had scarcely been broken by the reformists when Dollfuss put an end to all hesitations and all uncertainty in his camp. He threw out of the government the Reichs Chancellor, Winkler, the Minister for the Interior, Schumy, State Secretary, Bachinger (all three of them members of the Land League), and Vaugoin, who had held the post of Minister for Defence for twelve years. Dollfuss appointed the leader of the Heimwehr and Minister for Security, Fey, Vice-Chancellor, the old monarchist general, Prince Schönburg-Hartenstein, Minister for Defence, while he himself took over the office of Foreign Minister, Minister for Security, and Minister for Agriculture. The nationalist front was graciously allowed to send one Minister and one State Secretary into the government.

This new Dollfuss government has a very concrete programme of action. It will solve the problem of the Constitution. The appointment of a Provisional Council, combining representatives of the provinces and the estates, has already been announced.

Fey has just signed a decree under which persons can be placed under lock and key before having committed any unlawful

act. In a word, they can be punished for holding certain opinions. Already in his speech on May 11, Dollfuss announced the incorporation of the trade unions. Judging from the cry of the fascist press, the installation of a government commissioner in the Vienna Town Hall is only a question of time. Then, however, as the "Linzer Volksblatt" wrote, the whole question of the social democratic party will be raised.

That is the result of the victory of the government over the Styrian miners; the fruit of the treachery of the social democracy.

That the C.P. of Austria and the Red Trade Union Opposition were too weak in Styria to take over the leadership of the fight, that the strikers once again succumbed to the influence of the reformists and broke off the fight without their essential demands being granted, will have to be paid by the Austrian proletariat with increased oppression and intensified exploitation.

The Communists, in spite of the police terror and in spite of the concentration camps, will now intensify the fight against the reformists for the leadership of the masses. The most important lesson the Austrian working class has to draw from the events of the last few days is that the chief enemy is reformism, the deceitful policy of the "lesser evil." Were it not for the profound influence of the social democrats over the workers of Austria the triumph of the fascist idea would have been impossible.

Away with Concentration Camps!

(From an Appeal of the C.P. of Austria)

Workers! Toilers!

The fascist Dollfuss government has delivered a fresh blow at the working people. It has issued an emergency decree which provides for the introduction of concentration camps.

Just as in Hitler Germany, the police can intern in a concentration camp for an indefinite period any person "suspected of preparing, favouring, promoting or encouraging actions hostile to the State or otherwise endangering the public safety."

The capitalist class, through its government, is shamefully violating the rights and liberties "guaranteed" by the bourgeois constitution. This introduction of concentration camps means the unrestricted despotic rule of the fascist dictatorship.

The assertion that the concentration camps are intended for the Nazis is a lie. Even if in the near future a number of Nazis should be temporarily interned in the concentration camps, while the competitive struggle between the brown and black-green fascists continues in its sharp forms, the blow is directed in reality in the first place and mainly against the Communists and revolutionary workers, as well as against the militant working people in general.

The fascist government of Dollfuss and Fey is planning ever fresh blows against the rights and the standard of living of the working people.

Winter is coming, and with it enormously increased mass misery of the working people. Attacks on wages, worsening of working conditions in the factories and workshops, destruction of the last remnants of the social protective laws and achievements, reduction of unemployment benefit and deprivation of masses of workers of unemployment benefit are coming. Reduction of poor-law relief, increased militarisation of work, fresh taxes for the masses of workers and peasants, further increases in the customs duties threaten. The peasants are threatened with shameful plundering by the tax authorities and banks. Forcible fascist incorporation of the trade unions and co-operatives, robbery of the rights of the workers in the factories, the doing away with the factory councils and further plundering of the masses for the benefit of the money bags threaten. The installation of fascist commissioners in Vienna and other municipalities is threatened as well as the dissolution of further proletarian organisations.

The rulers fear the indignation and resistance of the working masses. This is the reason for ever fresh coercive measures and the establishment of fascist concentration camps.

But the only means of repelling all the attacks of the capitalist class and its fascist government is the fight against the despotic rule, the fight against fascist union with Hitler Germany, the fight of the workers and all toilers regardless of all party barriers in a firm, revolutionary united front.

Away with the concentration camps! Repeal of the fascist emergency decrees! Against any fascist Constitution! Against any fascist government! For the restoration of all the rights of the workers! For the withdrawal of all prohibitions of workers' organisations, especially the C.P. of Austria! For the release of Kopenig and all proletarian political prisoners! Bring to naught

all the attacks on wages, unemployment benefit, social insurance, and poor-law relief!

Protest, demonstrate! Form organs of self-help and of self-defence! Follow the slogans of the C.P. of Austria for organising a general strike! Down with the fascist dictatorship! Long live the mass struggle for freedom, bread and Socialism!

Central Committee of the C.P. of Austria.

The Swedish Social Democrats as Pacemakers of Fascism

By A. J. Smolan (Stockholm)

After the setting up of the open fascist dictatorship in Germany, many Swedish workers hoped that the social democratic leaders would take a warning from the bankruptcy of their German party comrades and, in order to escape the same fate, would at last begin a real fight against fascism and reaction. These hopes have proved illusory. Instead of the expected swing to the "left," the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has caused a further rightward development of the Swedish social democracy.

In view of the indignation of the masses called forth by the fascist terror and the Hitler bands, the social democratic leaders used very radical language, but as soon as the first excitement had abated they directed a fierce fire against the "left." They attempted in malicious articles to prove that the "Communist Party of Germany had rendered possible the establishment of the fascist dictatorship by its insane policy of splitting the working class," and emphatically declared at the same time that there could be no question of co-operation between their party and the Communists. The social democratic press, it is true, criticised their German comrades, but not because they paved the way for open fascism, but because they acted too feebly and irresolutely against the Communists. The Swedish social democrats are continuing their fight against the revolutionary working class on the economic and also on the political field.

A glance at the official statistics shows how the Swedish working class (the best organised in the world) have been plundered in the course of one year with the aid of the social democratic bureaucracy. Wages have been reduced as follows: In the metal industry, 6 per cent.; in the iron smelting industry, 4 per cent.; in the sawmill industry, 9 per cent.; the paper industry, 4 per cent.; cellulose industry, 7 per cent.; glass and porcelain industry, 7 per cent.; navigation, 5 per cent.; taxi drivers, 5 per cent.; building material industry, 10 per cent.; central Swedish mining industry, 10 per cent.; North-Swedish iron mines, 15 to 17 per cent.; printers and typographical workers, 5 per cent.; milling industry, 10 per cent.; garment workers, 5 to 10 per cent.; painters and grainers (Stockholm), 12 per cent. To these are to be added the two largest groups of wage workers: The land and lumber workers. The first-named have been forced to accept a wage cut of from 3 to 13 per cent., and the lumber workers have had their wages reduced by 20 to 25 per cent.

The earnings of the workers are reduced still further as a result of short-time work. According to statistics covering 240,000 workers, 8,250 of these were working at most three days a week, 7,500 3½ days, 8,800 4 days, 17,600 4½ days, 21,000 5 days, and 25,800 5½ days a week. Thus over a third of the workers included in these statistics have had their earnings reduced as a result of short-time work. As a matter of fact, however, the actual wage reductions are greater than the above figures show because recently the prices of the most important articles of food have been greatly increased.

The social democrats are preparing the way for fascism even more ruthlessly on the political field in order to demonstrate to their bourgeois coalition partners how indispensable they are in the fight against Communism. They have passed a measure in Parliament prohibiting the wearing of uniforms, which measure is directed in the first place against the revolutionary workers. It affects not only the Red Front Fighters' League, but also the revolutionary pioneer groups, whilst the bourgeois boy scout movement, which is led by reactionary officers, is left undisturbed as being "non-political." Further, the social democrats, at the behest of the "rights," have declared themselves prepared for a speedy investigation of the necessity of more drastic legislation against "political excesses."

These "labour representatives" openly showed their anti-working class attitude when, at the end of July last, the mutiny of the sailors at the naval base of **Karlskrona** filled the ruling class

with fear and terror. The social democratic press adopted just the same attitude as the bourgeois press against the sailors and demanded the "most severe punishment of the Communist agitators."

The "Labour government" made use of the mutiny as an occasion for introducing new exceptional measures against the Communists, whom they made responsible for the mutiny. In direct violation of the Constitution, they prohibited all open-air demonstrations of the Communists in **Karlskrona**, and induced the bourgeois owners of public halls to refuse to let them to the Communist Party, whilst the social democratic party refused them the use of the People's House, which they had always willingly placed at the disposal of bourgeois organisations.

The social democracy, however, was unable by its exceptional measures to prevent the influence of the Communist Party and also of the Young Communist League of Sweden from increasing among the soldiers as well as among the workers. Shortly after the mutiny in **Karlskrona**, thanks to the systematic work of the Y.C.L., it came to similar occurrences among the soldiers in **Udevalla**, where thousands of recruits practised passive resistance, rejected the food and refused to "respect the national flag." That the confidence of the young soldiers in the C.P. of Sweden has increased is shown by the voluntary collections made by the soldiers in **Stockholm** and **Karlskrona**, and also by the fact that numerous soldiers and sailors in full uniform took part in the meetings of the Communists, in spite of the fact that they were spied upon by their officers.

The increased anti-Communist incitement of the social democratic government party has encouraged the reactionary bodies to make fresh attacks on the labour movement. The activity of the whole reaction, which is being encouraged by the social democrats, was expressed the other day in a demonstration of the combined reactionary front in **Goteborg**, the big commercial and industrial centre of West Sweden, where the Conservative party organised a mass demonstration "against Bolshevism and trade union tyranny," which was participated in by all the reactionary organisations in the neighbourhood. The chairman of the Conservative party, the former admiral and Minister, **Lindman**, before an audience numbering 15,000, made fierce attacks on the revolutionary workers and the alleged terror of the monopolist trade unions, and demanded legislation against them.

As soon as this demonstration of the reactionary front was announced the Communist Party proceeded to organise the defensive action of the workers. The social democratic saboteurs saw that if they still continued to hold aloof from the struggles of the workers against reaction they would find themselves isolated. They therefore decided to carry out a demonstration of their own along with the Trades Council in order to prevent the workers from flocking to the Communist demonstration. The social democratic demonstration was attended by 9-10,000 and the Communist demonstration by over 8,000 workers.

In response to the demand of the German government press, the Swedish "Labour" government caused the German Communist, **Maria Reese** (former member of the Reichstag), to be arrested and expelled from the country. The police also forbid German refugees to speak at workers' meetings. At the same time, however, they allow numerous emissaries of the Hitler government to travel about in the country and to deliver propaganda speeches. The police courts have sentenced numerous anti-fascists to imprisonment for months for protesting against the swastika flag at the German consulates.

The servility of this "Labour" government to Hitler reached the limit in July, when they instructed the Public Prosecutor to commence an action against the central organ of the Communist Party of Sweden, "**Ny Dag**," and the syndicalist organ, "**Arbitaren**," for publishing offensive articles against Göring.

Of course the social democracy is undertaking various manoeuvres in order to make out to the masses that it is conducting a fight against German fascism. Thus, together with the reformist trade union federation, it has just proclaimed a "boycott of German goods." This action, however, is confined to calling upon the public not to purchase German goods. If they seriously meant to carry out a boycott the trade unions could at any time hold up all imports from Germany. Of course they do not want to do this.

Thus it is seen that the social democratic leaders of Sweden are the pace-makers of fascism. They "combat" fascism by increasing their fight against Communism and against the revolutionary labour movement and thereby win the applause of the whole reaction.

The Fight of the Irish Unemployed

By Aodh MacManus (Dublin)

De Valera's eagerly awaited Bill to solve the problems of the unemployed in the Free State is now out, and within a few days of publication has been given its second reading by the Dail (parliament). Glory follows virtue like a shadow, saith Cicero, and press and platform are combining to sing the praises of this latest achievement of the Fianna Fail government. A "recognition of the right of every able-bodied citizen to assistance from the state if he or she, being unable to secure employment, has either no means or not sufficient to provide a livelihood"—thus the claim of the government *Irish Press* (28-9-1933). Fair words enough, but the Bill must first be looked into! As for the opponents of de Valera, they have scarcely troubled even to stage the accepted modicum of Pickwickian opposition in the Dail. "For once the Dail ceased to witness a conflict of parties," purred the *Irish Press* above quoted. The new imperial fascist combination, the United Ireland Party (O'Duffy and Cosgrave) merely remarked that it was the government's disastrous attitude towards England that made such a measure necessary, but the party did not vote against the Bill. Mr. Norton of the Irish Labour Party noted that de Valera's tariff policy was inadequate, and he and his followers voted for the Bill.

Such strange unanimity may well make the Irish unemployed look this gift horse closely in the mouth. And as soon as its measures are examined it is seen that the Bill is a swindle, a mockery of the needs of the Free State's workless and hungry.

The Bill divides the Free State into three grades: cities and county boroughs; urban districts with a population of over 7,000; and rural districts—each grade having different scales. The measure is intended to cover all persons at present excluded from the statutory unemployment benefit; in other words, the workers who are at present dependent on relief. The scales for single and married men are sufficient indication of the hunger level of life intended:—

	County boroughs		Urban districts		Rural districts	
	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Man with no dependents	9 0	7 0	6 0			
Man with dependent wife and no other dependents	13 0	10 0	9 0			
Man with dependent wife and one other dependent	14 6	11 6	10 0			
Man with dependent wife and two other dependents	16 0	12 6	11 0			
Man with dependent wife and three other dependents	17 6	13 6	12 0			
Man with dependent wife and four other dependents	19 0	14 6	12 6			
Man with dependent wife and five or more other dependents ...	20 0	15 6	12 6			

Similar scales are provided for widows, etc. Agricultural labourers and single men are brought under the scheme. The finance is to be provided in such a way that the burden of relief is lifted from the local authorities. The money will be raised from three sources: £250,000 will be taken annually from the unemployment insurance funds, the fund meeting this by raising the workers' contributions from 6d. to 9d. for men and from 5d. to 7d. for women, employers also paying extra; local authorities will abolish the poor rate in favour of a special rate of 1s. 6d. in the £ for county boroughs, 9d. in the £ for urban districts, and the rural areas escaping altogether; while the government will provide the remainder from the central funds. Thus the workers in industry are to be compelled to assist in maintaining their less fortunate brothers, and the big ratepayers are to receive a considerable alleviation of their local charges.

In *Dublin* the scales will mean an actual reduction for many workers with big families who are at present getting up to 28s. a week and will now be cut to 20s. And the more one studies the conditions under which assistance will be paid, the more evident it becomes that the Bill is cunningly designed to give the impression that *all* unemployed will benefit, while in reality excluding thousands. Single men will get benefit, for instance, only if their parents or *other relatives* are unable to maintain them and if they are not "ordinarily maintained" by these relatives. Single girls

must not only comply with these conditions, but must have one or more dependents in addition! Persons dismissed from work for what their employers like to call "misconduct" or who leave their employment "without cause" will be disqualified for three months.

Worst of all, the most damnable kind of "Means Test" is introduced. To get benefit one must have an income of less than 2s. a week. The rates will be reduced according to the amount of income from other sources which exceeds 2s. Thus a single man in Dublin with a pension of 11s. gets nothing. A married man with four children, and who has a pension of 15s. will get only 6s. in Dublin, 1s. 6d. in towns, and nothing in the country districts. In all cases, benefit will be reduced by 1s. for every 1s. of means over 2s.

A vigorous protest against the Bill has been issued by the Irish Unemployed Workers' Movement. After exposing the scales, the statement declares:

"This Bill is an insult to the sufferings of the unemployed. It meets none of our needs. Such a scale this winter will mean wholesale hunger in every part of the country. The Unemployed Movement is going ahead in the fight for the scale placed before the government last winter: Relief at Labour Exchange rates for all unemployed, married and single.

"We cannot agree to this Bill. It is a betrayal of the unemployed by the government. It is an attack on the employed. It must not go through as it stands. We must force the government to—

"Give relief at Labour Exchange rates to *all* unemployed married and single, without any qualifications.

"Drop the proposal to raise the contributions of the workers in industry.

"Provide extra milk and turf firing this winter."

The *march* of the *Dublin unemployed* to *Belfast* commencing on October 6 will be a living protest against the Bill. The march is taking place in connection with the Belfast workers' commemoration of the first anniversary of their great struggle of last October. A contingent of over 100 will take a message of solidarity from the Southern unemployed, and burst through the borders and barriers imposed by imperialism. Contingents will also march from Derry and Newry.

The demonstrations in Belfast will rally the Northern unemployed for the struggle facing them this winter. Already the shadow of the struggle is across the Northern city. The Six-County government threatens to withdraw the subsidy of £150,000 given to the Belfast Corporation to enable them to pay the relief workers and meet its relief charges. The amount was forced from the government by the struggle of last October, and its withdrawal would bring destitution to thousands of working-class homes. So aware are the local authorities of the feeling of the hungry masses that they are afraid of the consequences if the subsidy is withdrawn and the more astute members of the corporation threaten to resign.

The Belfast demonstrations will be a rallying point for the unemployed of the North. The march from Dublin will be the starting point of a great mass struggle against de Valera's new Hunger Bill. The two will bring the workers of Ireland to shake hands across both geographical borders and the borders of artificial racial and religious divisions and initiate a united struggle against British imperialism and Irish capitalism.

Support the Emancipation Struggle of the Toilers of Cuba!

Appeal of the World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism

To the opponents of imperialist war in all countries!
To the toilers of the United States of America!

The people of Cuba are waging a heroic struggle against their exploiters and oppressors, the dollar capitalists.

Hundreds of thousands of proletarians in the factories and in the transport industry have ceased work in order to put an end to the unceasing attacks upon their last crust of bread, to the bloody dictatorship of the rulers in Cuba and the exploitation of the American capitalists. The army of unemployed, numbering more than 500,000, the thousands of agricultural workers on the sugar plantations, the masses of toiling peasants and of the city petty bourgeoisie, and finally the sons of the working people in uniform have joined this struggle.

The rising of the people is general in Cuba. It has driven out the lackeys of American finance capital.

The people of Cuba are no longer prepared to starve in the interests of American capitalists; they wish to extricate themselves from the catastrophic situation into which they have been thrown by the American imperialists and their agents.

The American imperialists see endangered their rich profits which they draw from Cuba's exploitation. The American imperialists, who pose as "protectors" of the liberty of the South American States and the American Islands against English imperialism, are preparing for a bloody settlement with the insurgent people of Cuba.

They are trampling under foot the constitutional political independence of Cuba. More than half a dozen American warships are already lying in Cuban ports in order to open a murderous fire against the population fighting for its freedom and to send Roosevelt's mercenary troops into the country under the notorious pretext of restoring "law and order."

Opponents of imperialism in the whole world!

Toilers of all countries!

Do not forget the mass murder which the imperialists are carrying out under the same cynical pretext in India, Iraq, Morocco, and in China.

By your energetic mass protest you can prevent the immediate danger threatening the lives of many thousands of Cuban workers, their wives and children.

Demand everywhere the withdrawal of American warships and troops from Cuba.

Support the only just national and social emancipation struggle of the toiling Cuban population!

Stay the hands of the imperialists in all colonies, in all war conflicts.

Toilers of the United States of America!

Strengthen the fight against your own imperialists! Their victory over the insurgents in Cuba will enormously strengthen reaction at home.

Stay the arm of your own bourgeoisie!

Prevent by energetic action in the American ports the transport of troops to Cuba.

Down with the imperialism of the bourgeoisie of the United States!

Long live the emancipation struggle of the people of Cuba!

World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism.

Middle of September, 1933.

Support the Cuban Masses!

The following Manifesto, signed by the Communist Parties of ten countries of the Americas, was issued on September 17 last.

"To all toilers and oppressed peoples of Latin America!

"To all workers, farmers and anti-imperialists of the United States!

"Brothers, sisters, comrades!

"Thirty Yankee warships are in the harbour of Cuba. Dozens of bombing planes are being held in readiness in Florida. Thousands of marines are being concentrated in Quantico, Virginia, for the invasion. With their hands not yet dry of the blood of the Nicaraguan and Haitian masses, the Wall Street bankers and their Washington government are preparing a wholesale slaughter of the Cuban people who are rising ever more against the barbarous system of colonial expansion and oppression.

"Intervention is a fact. The warships are in the harbours of Cuba. Deeds speak, even though the 'Revolutionary Junta' now in power and the whole camarilla of bourgeois landlord groups and all of the lickspittles and lackeys of Yankee imperialism, shout loud that 'there shall be no intervention,' in this manner trying to lull the vigilance of the masses and to weaken and disrupt the anti-intervention battles.

"The Wall Street sharks maintained the bloody regime of Machado for eight years. There was no intervention when he slaughtered hundreds and thousands of workers, peasants and students. There was no intervention when he aided the Yankee bankers squeeze the last drop of blood out of the people of Cuba. **But there is intervention now, when the fight of the masses, led**

by the working class and its Communist Party and the Confederation Nacional Obrero de Cuba, having caused the ousting of Machado, is now assuming ever higher forms of struggle for **bread, land and freedom.**

"This fight places the private interests of the imperialists and the native bourgeoisie and landlords in great danger. Workers through organised struggle have won great increases in wages, amounting to 50 to 100 per cent. Peasants and agricultural workers have seized land in some instances. Serious breaches have been made in the barbarous system of countryside exploitation, which was primarily preserved and strengthened by Yankee plantation and sugar interests and the native landlords. Dissatisfaction within the rank and file of the hitherto servile Cuban armed forces has instilled terror in the hearts of the imperialist exploiters and oppressors and of their native allies. Intervention comes to drown in blood the struggles of the Cuban masses!

"Brothers, Sisters, Comrades:—

"In this historic moment, when the Cuban masses are faced with the tremendous display of armed force of the imperialist bandits, you must come to the aid of the Cuban people. Its fight is the fight against the same Yankee imperialist rule of oppression by blood and iron as keeps in subjugation millions of white, Negro and Indian workers and peasants and entire peoples of Latin America. It is a fight against the same enemy who has yesterday drowned in blood the liberation struggles of the Nicaraguan, Haitian and Santo Dominican peoples, who caused the murder of the people of Mexico in numerous interventions, who has implanted a military rule over the people of Panama and who has under the pretext of fighting for freedom robbed Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands from their peoples. It is a fight against the horror of the war in the Chaco, between Bolivia and Paraguay, instigated by the Anglo-American rivalries. It is a common enemy. Unite to fight against it!

"The same Wall Street bankers and their Washington government of the 'New Deal,' who send warships to slaughter the people of Cuba, are those who exploit and maintain in hunger and misery the workers and farmers of the United States. They have used the low standard of living of the Cuban people as a whip against the United States toilers.

"If now they succeed to drive the Cuban workers and peasants back into previous conditions of hunger and misery, then they will attack even more energetically the living conditions of the toiling masses of the U.S.A. and use the defeat of the Cuban masses to further increase the brutal regime of colonial oppression of the peoples of Latin America.

"Workers and farmers of the United States: Come to the support of the Cuban people. Defeat the plans of your bankers. Fight to stop the sending of warships. Demand the withdrawal of ships already in Cuba waters.

"Toilers: Raise high the banner of protest against the planned massacre! Organise militant and powerful demonstrations in every city and village! Demonstrate before the American Embassies! Demand the immediate withdrawal of all Yankee armed forces from Cuba! Demand the abrogation of the Platt Amendment! Build a powerful united front of all exploited in the Americas! Through powerful united struggle defeat the murderous designs of the imperialist masters! Support the forces of the rising revolutionary struggle of the Cuban masses!

"Long live the workers', peasants' and soldiers' Soviet government of Cuba!

"Long live the liberation struggles of the Latin American peoples!

"Down with imperialist oppression!

"Communist Party of Cuba.

"Communist Party of Mexico.

"Communist Party of the U.S.

"Communist Party of Panama.

"Communist Party of Colombia.

"Communist Party of Venezuela.

"Communist Party of Honduras.

"Communist Party of Salvador.

"Communist Party of Costa Rica.

"Communist Party of Guatemala."

Germany

Letters from Berlin

I. Feverish Preparations for War

The more difficult the economic situation of fascist Germany becomes, the greater the anxiety prevailing among government circles regarding the approaching winter, the more anti-fascist feeling increases in spite of the increased wave of terror, the more obvious become the efforts of the Hitler government to solve the disastrous situation by a foreign-political coup de main.

In our former report on the Nuremberg party congress of the national socialists we described the actual meaning of this party congress as a deliberate war demonstration of the Hitler dictatorship. But that which in Nuremberg was veiled by theories about the claims of the superior Aryan race to rule over the other, inferior, races, in the meantime is becoming more and more clearly exposed as the *war programme of German fascism*. Neurath, the Foreign Minister for the Reich, recently delivered a speech to the representatives of the foreign press in which he declared that Germany is tired of being treated as pariah, and no power in the world will prevent Germany from resorting to the measures necessary to protect itself. Herr von Neurath, however, at the same time revealed the actual foreign-political impotency of Germany, which is increased by its complete isolation, when—in striking contradiction to a whole number of official declarations made recently, before all by *Papen* and *Göring*, which had propagated the plan contained in the Hugenberg memorandum for compensating Germany in the East at the cost of the Soviet Union—he suddenly declared that the friendly relations of Germany with the Soviet Union, “as well as with all other States” (he only specifically mentioned the Soviet Union), would be maintained. The nervousness which the whole of the German press betrayed in its comments on Herriot's visit to the Soviet Union and his favourable reports, the still greater nervousness displayed in the comments on the improvement in the relations between Warsaw and Moscow, betokened the despair which is bound to fill every German foreign politician in view of the prospects of the next war, in which Germany would be squeezed in a pincer-grip between the West and the East.

In view of this situation one might regard Neurath's war threats, the military displays in Nuremberg, Tannenberg and in the Saar, as well as the continuation of the propaganda against Dollfuss as a paradox. But it would imply an underestimation of the political adventurism of the Hitler dictatorship to describe these military displays as mere agitation. As a matter of fact, the more hopeless the situation at home becomes, the greater the chances for the war plans of the fascist adventurers, who see in a new war the only means of escape from the threatening inner collapse and the victory of the anti-fascist mass movement. This is the sole explanation of the rapprochement between the Reichswehr generals and the government in the last few weeks. This rapprochement is expressed not only outwardly in the official participation of the higher Reichswehr generals in all the parades and demonstrations of the national socialist party, Storm Troops and Special Troops, but is also expressed in the decidedly friendly speech of the Reichswehr Minister on the occasion of Hitler's inspection of the Reichswehr in Ulm, in Blomberg's promotion to the rank of major-general and Göring's promotion to infantry-general. This does not mean, of course, that there do not still exist certain differences between the Reichswehr and the Storm Troops, as were reported again recently in East Prussia. It is precisely in the Eastern frontier districts that armaments have been greatly increased. The number of troops stationed in East Prussia have been increased by nearly 50 per cent. All the settlements created in the Eastern districts are occupied by men who have seen long service in the army, most of them being non-commissioned officers at least. Another significant fact is that these Eastern settlements are the only ones which possess a sound economic basis for the settlers. The gas and the air defence manoeuvres, which are carried out at a considerable cost, the strict military regime in the labour service camps and the uninterrupted military training of civil defence corps, are sufficient evidence that the government is preparing for war.

Great advances have been made in the last month in the mili-

tarisation of the population. Placards are posted up at the railway stations and other prominent places, containing figures showing how many aircraft, tanks, and heavy guns are possessed by Germany's neighbours. Germany is represented as being defenceless. In the schools, children of eight years have explained to them the effects of aircraft bombs. There is no limit to the glorification of a “heroes' death” for the profit of the capitalists. The cinema, wireless and the press are all engaged in carrying on propaganda for armaments. The word “armaments” is generally substituted by “equality in armaments.” The sports grounds have again become drilling places. Where once football was played there is now heard the raucous voice of the drill sergeant. Bomb-throwing and machine-gun practice, of course, form part of the “military sports.”

Under the slogan “Defence against air attacks,” such organisations as the “Technische Nothilfe” (organisation for the maintenance of supplies) and the ambulance organisations have been completely reorganised.

Not only is military music given over the wireless, but military lectures are being broadcasted. On September 19, for instance, General-Lieutenant von Metsch (retired), speaking over the wireless, openly demanded that the country should “adapt itself to the threatening armaments of the surrounding world.” Hitler has restored to the Prussian Eagle (the Prussian coat of arms) the sword and the lightning. In his speech at the opening of the Prussian State council, Göring described Parliament's rejection of the military estimates as the greatest crime.

All this shows that the Hitler government is definitely driving for war.

II. The Result of the Meeting of the General Economic Council

On September 20, on the invitation of Hitler, the “*General Economic Council*” met for the first time in Berlin. The morning session was taken up with a report of the Reich Minister for Economy and the afternoon session with a speech by *Hitler*. The proceedings themselves were not open to the public, obviously in order that the internal deliberations of this gathering of the worst and most brutal exploiters it is possible to find in the whole of Germany should not be made known, as nothing would be more calculated to expose the real character of the Hitler dictatorship as the tool of German finance capital. Nevertheless, the official report of this meeting of the General Economic Council which was published by the whole of the press on September 21, conveys a clear picture of the unprecedented starvation measures which have been decided on in the economic field.

The official communiqué states at the beginning that the Reichs Minister for Economy, Dr. Schmidt, after outlining the functions of the General Council as the advisory body on economic questions, announced the economic plan of the government. The first thing that this economic plan establishes as the basis, so to speak, for analysis of the present situation must tend to dispel the illusions which have been fostered by the unbounded press propaganda. The communiqué states:

“All the successes cannot and must not hide from the German people the fact that only the first stage of the fight on the labour front has been won, and that it is still a long way to the final victory over economic difficulties.”

The economic plan of the Reichs government regards as the “fundamental cause of the crisis” the fact that the expenditure on renovations, replacements and new investments in economy has declined to a small fraction of what it amounted to before the crisis. The following three points are given as representing the fundamental line of the economic plan of the Reichs government:

(1) Restoration of communal finances by the consolidation of short-term debts and balancing of the budget by drastic reduction of expenditure on poor-law relief.

- (2) Energetic continuation of the provision of work.
 (3) More elasticity on the money and credit market.

In plain language this programme means:

(1) A moratorium or, better said, declaration of bankruptcy of the municipalities and at the same time a ruthless reduction of the scales of poor-law relief.

(2) Continuation of the policy of dismissing women and young workers in the factories, discharging those workers who have no claim to unemployment benefit and replacing them by those who have hitherto been in receipt of unemployment benefit, fight against two persons in a family earning money.

- (3) A more or less open transition to inflation.

That in the sphere of communal finances the actual insolvency of most of the municipalities would be legally recognised in some form or other was to be foreseen. The law regarding municipal debts empowers all German municipalities which are unable to pay their short-term debts (under which term is included debts already due or which fall due by the 31st of March, 1935), with the sanction of the Supreme State authorities, to become members of a debtors' organisation. The municipalities in question can offer their creditors at home the conversion of their short-term claims into municipal debt bonds. These bonds, which are issued by the debtors' association, shall bear interest at 4 per cent. Interest and repayment is to be guaranteed by the Reichs Minister for Finance.

The whole arrangement not only amounts to a regular declaration of bankruptcy of the municipal finances, but what in normal times would be regarded as a downright fraud and punished as such.

The far-reaching reduction of the burden of poor-law relief which was discussed by the General Economic Council, is embodied in a law which came into force on October 1, under which the expenditure of the municipalities on poor-law relief for the unemployed has been fixed at 26,666,000 marks for the period from October 1, 1933, to March 31, 1934.

This amount is absolutely inadequate to meet the demands for poor-law relief, so that a great number of unemployed will be deprived of relief. In addition, the law provides that the workers engaged in agriculture and forestry and sea and inland fishing are to be excluded from unemployment insurance. The law expresses the expectation—what a mockery!—"that those employers in the above-mentioned branches of industry will give generous aid to their workers during the winter."

The economic programme further provides for a fresh present of 500 millions to house property owners for repairs and renovations and a reduction of the burden on agriculture by lowering the turnover tax by 1 per cent. and reducing the agricultural land tax from October 1, 1933, by 100 millions a year.

The official communiqué speaks only in general terms and in intentionally vague language about the measures for the formation of the capital market. The capital market has "not yet reflected the improvement (?) which has taken place in various spheres of economy." The Reichs Bank, which has hitherto had no adequate possibility of intervening by supplying the capital market with means which have obviously been held back, must now obtain this possibility. The extension of its freedom of movement and activity will of course be made use of only with the most conscientious consideration for the currency (?) Finally, a further reduction of wages and fresh measures resulting in increased prices are directly announced by the formula "rendering wages and prices more elastic."

Briefly stated, the economic plan of the Reichs government, which is announced on the threshold of the winter after long discussions by the captains of industry and finance, means a monstrous starvation campaign against the working masses, an unparalleled robbery of the unemployed and recipients of poor-law relief, the proclamation of fresh wage reductions and further profiteering, and in the sphere of municipal finances the continuation of the policy of financial juggling, and last but not least an open policy of inflation.

The effect of this starvation programme, which is bound to lead to a tremendous increase of the misery of the masses, has another side. The rising wave of economic struggles in the factories in town and country already announces the inevitable big social struggles which we shall witness in winter, and which the present starvation measures now decided on will accelerate.

The Proceedings at the Leipzig Trial

SIXTH DAY OF TRIAL

From the German frontier, September 27.

At the beginning of the sixth day of the trial, the President called upon Lubbe "to pull himself together" and to answer more distinctly. This manoeuvre, intended to give the foreign press the impression that the judge really wants Lubbe to give clear answers, was responded to by Lubbe in the customary manner, enabling the court to make what it likes of his incomprehensible replies as passed on by the "interpreter" and to adapt his "answers" to the fascist plans of the trial. Lubbe continues, that is to say, to reply in incomprehensible murmurs.

Next the "witnesses" were examined, first those subpoenaed in connection with the three cases of arson preceding the Reichstag fire.

The first witness was the "Swedish" professor of medicine Södermann, from Stockholm. The journalists were not a little surprised to hear Södermann answer with an unmistakable Berlin accent. This professor of medicine, who gives the impression of being a thorough fascist, declared that he had asked Lubbe if he had been maltreated. Lubbe had not replied, but only made movements with his head.

Sack, Torgler's "counsel," now found it in place to remind the court that he is present for the purpose of defending the fascist government against the Brown Book. He stated that rumours had been spread in foreign countries that Lubbe had been ill-treated when in custody. In reality the foreign press assumed, and assumes it more than ever to-day, that Lubbe has been put under pressure in custody. A number of papers have even advanced the theory, under the impression given by Lubbe's behaviour during the first days of the trial, that Lubbe has been hypnotised, or that some sort of poison has been mixed with his food, in order to reduce him to the strange condition in which he now is.

The Swedish "medical professor" is at once on hand to refute what nobody has ever asserted. He states that he has examined Lubbe, and he is in an excellent state of health! Hence all the correspondents of foreign papers present in Leipzig must have made a profound error, for if they have not actually described him to be in a dying condition, they have at least stated that he is obviously seriously ill. And this is not enough. Lubbe is not only physically in excellent condition, "mentally" too he is in a "perfectly normal condition." A very unclear point is the statement of the professor that Lubbe asked, in the course of the examination in his cell, to be left alone with the professor. The other persons present, among them the representative of the reactionary Dutch newspaper "Telegraaf," thereupon left the cell. Södermann stated that his thorough examination of Lubbe then showed that there are no traces of ill-treatment on his body.

Witnesses were then heard with regard to Lubbe's attempt to set the public assistance office in Neukölln on fire. Among these witnesses the inevitable police commissioner Heisig appears again; on the previous days of the trial he already showed clearly enough that he is snatching at the opportunity of advancing his career. The hearing of these witnesses was carried on in such a strange manner that a number of foreign correspondents openly expressed their astonishment.

The President maintained the tactics already compromised by the foreign press reports. He puts a detailed question requiring only "yes" or "no" as reply. The court is so uncertain of these "witnesses" that it cannot risk letting them speak for themselves. No more is expected of their intelligence than the ability to answer "yes" or "no" in accordance with the instructions which they have been given. At the same time the questions put by the President are frequently so nebulous and general that they demonstrate very graphically the increasing embarrassment of the court.

The questions put by the President refer almost exclusively to statements which Lubbe is alleged to have made during the preliminary examinations. Heisig was asked if it is true that Lubbe stated in the examinations that public buildings must be set on fire "in order to arouse the workers." Heisig simply burst out with his "Yes."

Dimitrov had only been waiting for the moment when he could come forward to the attack again. He asked the President for permission to question the witnesses directly. The President, who always loses his head as soon as Comrade Dimitrov intervenes, at once roared at him: "Silence!" Nevertheless Dimitrov put a

question to one of the witnesses, Zerpless, who acted as "interpreter," and asked him if Lubbe had read and understood the protocols. It will be remembered that on the previous day the President had prohibited this question from being put. The witness replied in the affirmative (though it is common knowledge that during the first days of the trial Lubbe declared that he had not even read the indictment), and added in his over-zeal that Lubbe had even had corrections made in the protocols.

Completion of Forenoon Report and Close of Sitting

From the German frontier, September 27.

Fascist justice resorted to-day to a cruel attempt to intimidate the four accused Communists, in the hope that they might abstain from further attacks on the court. Precisely in the prison courtyard overlooked by the cell windows of the defendants, a criminal named Kuntze was executed this morning.

Among the important details made known in the course of to-day's forenoon session is that, according to the statements of the fascist officials, Lubbe has been receiving specially choice food since the beginning of the proceedings—cutlets, wine, veal, etc. It has been definitely ascertained that this food is much superior to that given the other defendants.

Commissioner Heisig added an assurance that Lubbe had made the statements ascribed to him at the preliminary examination "personally." The constant asseverations that Lubbe's alleged statements really emanate from Lubbe "personally" are becoming increasingly suspicious in effect. The commissioner further stated that Lubbe had told him that he had acted alone in his acts of incendiarism. When confronted with Torgler, Lubbe had not recognised Torgler.

Among the various questions put this morning to the police commissioner and "interpreter" Zirpitz was a question by Dimitrov, why there was no interpreter called upon to aid at Lubbe's first examination. Zirpitz declared that he had understood Lubbe very well, and Lubbe had understood him. Dimitrov interjected: "A strange thing then that the examining judge could not understand him, and needed an interpreter!" The President again called Dimitrov to order for this interjection, and declared: "Dimitrov, to-day my patience is exhausted!" Dimitrov was however not intimidated, and attacked the whole preliminary examination and all the methods used at it. He declared: "The whole pre-examination was tendentious, brutal and wrong!" The President again interrupted him, but Dimitrov continued speaking. He declared that during the preliminary examinations an attempt had been made to lay the firing of the Berlin royal palace at his door, merely because a picture postcard of the palace had been found in his possession. Dimitrov was not permitted to speak further.

A definite contradiction in Zirpitz's statements is the fact that at first he asserted that he could not deny the possibility of Lubbe's being a pyromaniac. Subsequently, however, he stated that this was "only apparently." In the preliminary examination the "political cause" certainly occupied the foreground.

Next came the examination of the great gun of the prosecution, the notorious state counsellor of justice, Vogt, who has conducted the preliminary examinations in innumerable Communist trials. He is well known for alternating methods of cajolery and bullying.

Vogt is the main hope of the prosecution. Since everything now depends for the prosecution on saving the whole indictment from the collapse rendered imminent by Lubbe's failure to play his part, Vogt has now to declare that the whole tissue of lies ascribed to Lubbe does really originate from Lubbe, and not from the fascist stage-managers, to which company Vogt obviously belongs.

In order to prove this point, Vogt draws a portrait of Lubbe in no way resembling the real Lubbe, as seen day by day by the foreign correspondents.

Vogt declared: Lubbe has given clear information. His answers have been lucid and well thought out. Lubbe has a perfectly splendid memory. Vogt further boasted that he had examined many Communists, and has had much practice in this art.

A very suspicious utterance of Vogt's is that Lubbe has caused him special difficulties by "wanting to know everything exactly." It might be thought that it would be the inquiry judge who would want to know everything from the examinee, and not vice versa.

In order to cover the great weakness in the prosecution's case

which has arisen from the fact that Lubbe has refused, in spite of all instructions, to state before the court that he had confederates, Vogt now asserted that he had the greatest difficulties with the examination of Lubbe as soon as he put this question of whether he had acted alone.

Vogt resorted to an especially fantastic assertion: The "Bridge" between van der Lubbe and the C.C. of the C.P.G. had been formed, in his opinion, by the conversations held in the street in front of the Welfare office in Neukölln between Lubbe and a number of unemployed. The absurdity of this assertion—as if a bridge could be constructed between the C.C. of such a mass Party as the C.P.G. and this man turning up at random, after working for years against the Third International and against the C.P. of Holland and unable to make headway even at this—is further emphasised by Vogt's assertion that besides this there is much more "convincing circumstantial evidence!"

The inquiry judge Vogt then continued his endeavours to save the case for the prosecution by declaring that he had "not included one word in the protocols which did not originate from Lubbe himself." Here Vogt made a rapid side-thrust at Dimitrov, who is most feared by the court and the prosecution. Aware of the weakness of the "proofs" against Dimitrov, the prosecution endeavours to discredit his private life. Vogt asserts that Dimitrov possessed a "wide circle of feminine friends," and states that on this point Dimitrov was extremely nonchalant during the preliminary examination. This assertion is a flat contradiction to the incident now known to the whole world, that on the first day of the trial Dimitrov stigmatised as a crude falsification a betrothal card supposed to have been sent out by him, but never mentioned in the preliminary examinations. That Dimitrov spoke the truth was confirmed by the silence of the court and the prosecution. And Dimitrov showed himself so little "nonchalant" on the subject that the President roared at him in his customary manner.

All this became so painful to even the President that he diverted the trend of the examination by asking if Lubbe has been refractory. This police brain brought out the reply: "I know that Communists have to be handled gently if anything is to be got out of them. But van der Lubbe has always been polite!" The behaviour of the defendants being discussed, Vogt threw himself into his pose and declared that it was he who had advocated the chains being removed from the defendants. He declared, however, expressly that in Dimitrov's case he had been in favour of the fetters being retained, as this was "a case for itself."

Dimitrov now asked Vogt if he had not caused publication in the press of a statement that the three accused Bulgarians were the same men who were involved in the explosion in the Sofia cathedral. Vogt was much taken aback by this question, and declared that a notice to this effect had been sent to the press, but that he had had nothing to do with it. But the term chosen by Vogt "sent to the press" shows that it was the inquiry authorities who sent systematic news to the fascist press for the purpose of discrediting the defendants.

Comrade Dimitrov then asked further if Vogt had informed the press that the three Bulgarians were in communication with van der Lubbe. Vogt admitted this, "justifying" it by stating cynically that the proofs of the truth of the assertion would be brought later.

Comrade Dimitrov, however, raised energetic protest, declaring that these facts again demonstrate how utterly tendentious the preliminary examinations have been. The President thundered in proper drill-sergeant tone: "Hold your tongue! You have not to insult the court of inquiry!"

Dimitrov replied: "When the inquiry judge informs the press that I and the other two Bulgarians have been connected with Lubbe, I am supposed to put up with this in silence. But when I tell the inquiry judge that he is publicly designating us as Lubbe's allies, and thereby misleading the public, then this is an insult! For five months I have been in chains, and all my written complaints have been refused!" The President again interrupted Dimitrov in his customary bullying tone. Dimitrov attempted to continue speaking, but one of the policemen sitting next him seized him brutally and forced him back into his seat. This incident gave the signal for a general tumult in the court room. People sprang from their seats, the judges gesticulated wildly, rose, and left the court.

They returned in a short time, and the President stated: The Senate has resolved: If Dimitrov again speaks one single word

without having been asked, he will be removed from the court, and not permitted to be present any longer at the proceedings.

The court then adjourned till next day.

The foreign journalists had already learnt, through a sentence let fall by one of the court officials, that the court had already practically decided to adjourn, and was only waiting for a suitable moment.

SEVENTH DAY OF TRIAL

German frontier, September 28.

It has been announced to-day that after to-morrow's sitting the trial is to be interrupted for a few days. The pretext offered is the Judicial Congress convening in Leipzig, which Hitler is said to be going to attend. To-day's proceedings are already dominated by the idea of the coming adjournment, and the court is exerting every effort to drag out proceedings, in order not to lose more prestige than it has already done in the last few days. In order to gain as much time as possible, and to shunt the trial as far as possible on to the new track which is to lead out of the hopeless situation—that is, the imputing of the "moral" or at least the "intellectual" responsibility of the Reichstag fire to the Communists—witnesses are being permitted to give evidence for hours on matters having nothing whatever to do with the fire.

The fourteen witnesses heard to-day have marched in and clicked their heels together in military fashion, given the Hitler salute and stood at attention the whole time.

First came the entirely superfluous deposition of a Berlin police sergeant named Albrecht, who gave evidence on the three unsuccessful attempts at arson which Lubbe is alleged to have made before the Reichstag fire.

Next a former Welfare Office official from Neukölln, von Frank, was examined. Frank gave no evidence on anything even remotely to do with the Reichstag fire. Instead of this he gave an utterly lying description of the "atmosphere of Communist terror" in Neukölln. The President, who roars with fury as soon as Dimitrov puts a question with regard to any detail not directly connected with the fire, let this witness talk as long as he wanted about attacks alleged to have been planned by the Communists against the Welfare Office in Neukölln. These attacks were, of course, prepared by the "Central Committee of the Neukölln Communists." They were, however, frustrated by being betrayed by a certain Hintze. How anything can be "betrayed" which had been "announced by the Communists in leaflets" remains a mystery. One can understand why Bünger permitted this "witness" to speak unhindered; he explained that six of the participants in the attack which never took place "had been furnished with arms by the Central Committee of the C.P." The witness made no attempt to bring forward any proof of this.

The next witness was a machine foreman named Kiekbusch, got up to look like a simple workman. He related how he had extinguished the fire in the City Hall. After this a pensioner named Schönfelder was examined: this man lives as attendant in the Royal Palace, and spoke with considerable pathos of the "fire" in the palace.

The next witness was a former Welfare Service employee in Neukölln, Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer declared in reply to questions that he had been a member of the Communist Party. Two "workmen," Jahnike and Starker, had "introduced" Lubbe to Pfeiffer. These two men are undoubtedly Nazi spies. To Pfeiffer they pretended to be Communists, and it was as such that they brought Lubbe to Pfeiffer. In this manner a connection was to be made between the provocateur Lubbe and the Communist Party. Pfeiffer stated that he had given Lubbe an overcoat and hat, as Lubbe was badly in need of them. Lubbe told Pfeiffer that he was a Communist. Pfeiffer had, however, not believed this. Lubbe asked him strange questions, such as: "When is the fight against fascism going to be taken up?" It is especially characteristic that the spies Jahnike and Starker induced Lubbe to say in Pfeiffer's presence that "extremely radical measures must be taken."

The President asked Pfeiffer why he had not believed Lubbe to be a Communist, although Lubbe declared himself to be one. Pfeiffer explained: "Yes, he said so, but one hears so many lies. And a politically organised workman does not let himself get into such a bedraggled state; he thinks more of himself." Obviously Pfeiffer was endeavouring to indicate that he had had no faith in Lubbe, and considered him to be a suspicious character. The fact

that Pfeiffer gave Lubbe an overcoat and hat is explicable by the fact that Pfeiffer, as head of the Welfare Service centre, was accustomed to come into contact with many such people.

This affair is obviously one of the points on which the prosecution is endeavouring to construct a "connection" between the C.P.G. and the provocateur Lubbe. It will be remembered that the prosecution states that it was in Neukölln that the "bridge between Lubbe and the Central Committee of the C.P.G. was built." The preparations appear to have consisted in having the two Nazi spies Jahnike and Starker take the agent provocateur Lubbe to a well-known Communist functionary, in this case Pfeiffer, who was accessible to everyone in consequence of his office in the Welfare Service centre.

Pfeiffer's examination was followed by that of a certain E. Panknin. This equally suspicious character stated that he had made Lubbe's acquaintance at the Welfare centre. He added that he had reported himself as witness after seeing Lubbe's photo in the papers. Lubbe had "certified" himself as a Communist by a red Party ticket. The witness was, however, obliged to admit that he had not opened this Party book, and did not know what was in it. He stated that Lubbe had asked him about the Central Committee of the C.P., and that Lubbe had declared to him that the day of the revolution had come and that arson would have to be the prelude to it. In reply to a question, this highly questionable witness stated that in February he had been a member of the German National Party.

A number of different questions enabled it to be "ascertained" that not Lubbe, but a certain Zachov, had spoken of setting fire to buildings. This Zachov was then examined. First he was asked if he were a Communist or had been one. He denied this in such a remarkably suspicious manner that a strong impression was given that he had been given instructions to deny it as awkwardly as possible. All the statements made by this witness were so uncertain and so confused, and he was evidently in such a state of terror, either because he was afraid that he would not play his role properly, or because he was really afraid he might be thought to be a former Communist, that it is difficult to form any definite idea about him.

It turned out that he had been brought from a concentration camp. He stated that he had been present at a conversation at which Lubbe and a certain Binge had spoken about arson. When he was asked if he, Zachov, had commenced the conversation about setting public buildings on fire, he exclaimed suddenly: "Your lordship, I never spoke about setting fires at all, nor about politics. I had already been once imprisoned in a concentration camp. I said nothing about the Storm Troops, and I am saying nothing about them now. I was at the front in the war for full four years!" In reply to all other questions there was nothing more to be got out of him except that he could not remember.

After the "examination," proceedings were adjourned till Friday.

EIGHTH DAY OF TRIAL

German frontier, September 29.

To-day's proceedings commenced with the continuation of the examination of the witnesses with regard to the legendary "incendiary conversations" supposed to have been conducted by Lubbe and others in Neukölln.

The first witness to be heard was Paul Binge, who was unexpectedly not put on oath. The reason given for this is that this witness is giving evidence before the court which differs considerably, according to the assurances of the attorney general, from his depositions during the preliminary examinations. A question interjected by Dimitrov brought to light the fact that this witness was in prison from 10th March till 12th July. The depositions alleged to have been made by him in the preliminary examinations emanate from this period. The judges and prosecution are both dismayed that the "confessions" obviously forced from the witness at that time against his own convictions, but forming an essential part of the indictment, are now being withdrawn. Binge admits having taken part in conversations with Lubbe, but now declares that he never made the remark attributed to him: "This boy is all right, this is the kind we can make use of." Nor has he ever heard anything about "arousing the people" or about the "necessity of a revolution."

The court is unable, in the presence of the foreign journalists, to use the methods employed in the preliminary examinations for

extorting statements from witnesses unwilling to support the prosecution. Therefore the President endeavours to get round the prisoner with the insinuating question: "Perhaps you cannot remember it now, but still you may have heard it at the time?" But the witness refused to fall into this trap, and repeated his assurances that he never said anything which could have sounded revolutionary, or ever heard anything of the sort.

The President observed: "You are very hard of hearing?"

Binge replied: "Yes, I don't hear very well."

Binge declared that what he had really heard was confined to a very general conversation on the seizure of power by the workers. He had kept his own ideas to himself. He remembered very well that Lubbe had asked him about the Central Committee of the C.P.G. Lubbe had, however, not given him the impression of being a Communist, though he had recognised him to be a foreigner.

The counsel for the prosecution, Parisius, next cross-examined the witness, and gave himself a great deal of trouble to induce the witness to declare at least that he had sympathised with the C.P.G. But the witness declared categorically: I was never a member of the C.P.G., never voted for it, and never sympathised with it. His favourite newspaper was the "Morgenpost" (democratic).

This examination was visibly disagreeable to the public prosecutor and the presiding judge. The witness failed to react to any of the hints given him to maintain his former statements. The public prosecutor revenged himself for this by declaring he would not have the witness put on oath, as he was suspected of complicity. Should he have spoken untruths (and to the fascist court everything is "untrue" which endangers the indictment) he will be prosecuted by the law.

The next witness called was Jahnicke, whose statements in previous examinations make it highly probable that he is a spy in the employ of the fascists, was at once given the oath.

He appeared to be only too anxious to admit being a Communist, and declared that he had been a member of the C.P.G. up till June, 1932, leaving the Party for purely personal reasons. A change has obviously taken place in this witness, but its reasons and aim are not yet ascertainable.

First he gave a fairly detailed account of the structure of the C.P.G. He declared expressly that terrorist acts had not been discussed in the Neukölln organisation of the C.P.G. It is true that there were some elements which were inclined to terrorist actions, but the influence of the Party had been used to instruct them that this was not permissible. Jahnicke then made a declaration on the programme of the Communist Party: The C.P. worked for the revolution, but it did not want to bring about the revolution by means of terror. The general strike, insurrection, and the seizure of power were the way to revolution. The members were schooled in this sense in the cells of the C.P.

The President wanted to know for what date the revolution was envisaged. Jahnicke replied that no definite time had been fixed. The programme of the Communists makes this dependent on the development of the situation, and this programme is still valid. The President was much taken aback at this reply, and observed in a highly annoyed tone: "Is that so?"

Jahnicke then declared very definitely that the "Schaffke" tavern in Neukölln could not be designated as a Communist meeting place, as it was a gathering place for all unemployed workers.

Jahnicke was now confronted with Lubbe. Jahnicke asked him: "Well, don't you remember me? I gave you something to eat." Lubbe broke into one of his well-known noiseless laughs, but did not answer by a single word or movement. Jahnicke then reported how lively and high spirited Lubbe had been at that time: "I asked him if he were a member of the C.P., and if he could prove himself to be such. Lubbe answered that he was not in the Party. He was a member of an organisation which does not exist in Germany, the A.A.U. (General Workers' Union).

The president, as also the "great expert" in questions of the international labour movement, Parisius, observed that they did not know what this organisation was. Torgler explained that it was an anarcho-syndicalist organisation.

Jahnicke then explained the difference between Lubbe's ideas

and the views of the Communists. Lubbe was entirely undisciplined, and his ideas are unclear and nebulous.

Here Torgler again put a question, and Jahnicke replied that in the cells of the C.P.G. almost the only subject discussed was the political questions of the day. Elections, votes, and social questions were spoken of. In reply to another question from Torgler, Jahnicke declared that during the second half of 1932, and in January and February, 1933, the Communist Party's attitude of opposition to terror remained unchanged.

Finally, Jahnicke spoke of the charge brought against him of having organised an attack on the Neukölln Welfare office. He denied this energetically. It was true that a man called Hintze had mentioned such an attack, but already at that time this Hintze had been pointed out by the C.P.G. as an agent provocateur. This closed Jahnicke's examination.

The witness Panknin, whose role as spy had already been shown up clearly enough on the previous day by the various questions put by Torgler and Dimitrov, put in an appearance to-day with a Storm Troop badge. On the whole, Panknin confirmed Jahnicke's statements, and, strangely enough, precisely those statements showing that in the organisations of the C.P.G. individual terror is not only rejected, but that the Party functionaries have employed their influence expressly against individual terror, and have constantly instructed the members of the Party against it.

Dimitrov put the question to Panknin: "Since you are a 'good German,' why did you not inform the police about the people whom you heard talking of setting buildings on fire?" The President appeared to be in danger of one of his accustomed attacks of rage, but could not prevent Panknin from answering that he had not taken the incendiary conversations seriously. The President thought it advisable to call an adjournment.

After the interval, the last witness in the matter of the "incendiary conversations" was heard, the dining-car waiter Starker, who declared that he had been a member of the C.P.G. till the end of November, 1932, and had continued to sympathise with it after he had been expelled from the C.P.G. for failing to pay his subscriptions. Starker is one of the two men who introduced Lubbe to the Welfare office employee Pfeiffer. He declared that Lubbe had told him he was not an adherent of the C.P., which was too flabby for him, and had not the right leaders. He, Starker, had therefore come to the conclusion that Lubbe was not a Communist. He had heard nothing of any utterances from Lubbe to the effect that buildings should be set on fire.

In order to weaken somewhat the catastrophic impression created abroad by the trial up to now, especially the last day, Lubbe was then given a final "hearing" before the close of the sitting, and before the adjournment of the trial till next Wednesday (announced on the threadbare pretext of the Judicial Congress in Leipzig). This "hearing" was in reality merely a lengthy speech on the part of the President. Lubbe had meanwhile once more been reduced to a condition in which he said yea and amen to everything, or at least nodded his head.

The burning of the Reichstag itself was the subject of this examination, the first question being how Lubbe got into the Reichstag, and how he set fire to the building in various places.

Lubbe first narrated that after the attempt to set fire to the City Hall in the night from 25th to 26th February he spent the night at the men's home in Alexanderstrasse. On Sunday, 26th February, he strolled through the city, taking a tram to Henningsdorf in order to sleep there. He registered with the police authorities in Henningsdorf, giving his right name, and the police gave him accommodation overnight.

It looks as if Lubbe's tale of having spent the night in the police shelter is intended to furnish the prosecution with the alibi proving that Lubbe was not with Nazis overnight. Why he chose precisely Henningsdorf for spending the night and registering with the police is completely incomprehensible. He took care to give no reason for this unaccountable action. Lubbe further stated that he had been in Spandau, but again without saying why. He asserts that he left Spandau at eight o'clock in the morning. No explanation is given as to how this is supposed to agree with his having spent the night from 26th till 27th in the Henningsdorf police shelter.

Although Lubbe retailed all this connectedly, the first time he

has spoken coherently for a long time, the President was dissatisfied. He appeared to fear that Lubbe would fall once more to carry out his role, and found it advisable to return to his old method. That is, he presented all he wanted said in the form of a detailed question only requiring yes or no in reply. This method he justified by stating that Lubbe's behaviour to-day was "almost equivalent to a refusal to give evidence."

The President then made a long speech, interrupted only by a brief pause now and again, in order that Lubbe might say "Yes." In this manner the judge put the assertions into Lubbe's mouth: He had bought fire-lighters in the Müllerstrasse and then went to the Reichstag buildings. He walked all round the building, and observed that it is especially easy to climb up outside on the West side, near the Bismarck monument. He first walked round the building between two and five in the afternoon. The police investigations agree with this. Big plans and maps hang in the court room.

At nine o'clock in the evening Lubbe climbed over the railings in front of the Reichstag building. Then he climbed up on the outer wall of the building. He climbed over the balustrade into the first window of the restaurant, thus landing on the main floor. He lit the fire-lighters and laid some of them, burning, on a wooden table in the restaurant. Traces of this fire were found afterwards. He also set fire to the tapestry hangings in this room. Some of the fire-lighters fell on the floor, as they were burning his fingers.

Lubbe then went into the lobby, took off his overcoat, coat, and shirt, in order to obtain combustible material. The statement goes on to say that he returned to the refreshment hall with the burning shirt in his hand. Here he took a towel out of a press and set it on fire with the remainder of his burning shirt. With the flaming towel he then descended the stairs to the ground floor. Here he broke a glass door, and reached the kitchen through a small ante-room. From there he mounted through the service lift to the officials' room. At this moment he heard a shot, given by one of the officials (is it not possible that this shot was the signal to the national socialists busy setting fire to other parts of the building to return to Goering's residence through the subterranean passage?—Ed.). Lubbe then crossed several rooms on the ground floor, returning over the main staircase to the lobby, where he found his coat and overcoat again. From here he made his way into the west side of the Session Chamber, where he set some inflammable objects on fire: a wooden stand and several other articles, including a curtain. With miraculous speed he succeeded in setting a wooden table on fire at the north side of the Chamber, proceeding from here to the presidium, where he set the curtains on fire with the remains of his burning coat. With a burning curtain in his hand he proceeded back through the Session Chamber and from here again to the presidium. He then set fire to the south corridor and to the curtains in the other corridors of the building. The whole business took fifteen to twenty minutes.

Van der Lubbe confirmed this whole account of his actions.

Dimitrov wished to say something to a journalist, but the policeman guarding him dragged him back brutally, threatening to strike him.

It will be seen that the thesis of the indictment and of the police, according to which van der Lubbe must have had accomplices, has been dropped, and now Lubbe is stated to have carried out the whole act of incendiarism alone. It will be remembered that the police reports state the impossibility of this great piece of "work" having been accomplished by one man alone.

But since the proceedings of the trial up to the present have practically destroyed the profoundest wish of the prosecution, the establishment of a previous "connection with the Central Committee of the C.P.G.," then at least every measure must be taken to save the actual perpetrators of the deed, the national socialists, by means of the assertion that the whole fire was accomplished by one man. The President put every word into Lubbe's mouth, and though it was not quite possible to make Lubbe relate the whole fairy tale for himself, at least he was reduced to a condition to-day in which he said yes to everything.

The President then announced the adjournment of the trial till Wednesday.

Declaration of the C.C. of the C.P. of Holland

Who are the "International (!) Communists?"

Amsterdam, September 24.

The newspapers of 22nd September published a report on the declarations made by the police commissioner Heisig at the Reichstag arson trial in Leipzig.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Holland declares with reference to these statements by Heisig:—

(1) It is not true that the so-called "international communists" are adherents of the programme of the Communist Party; on the contrary, they combat it in every respect.

(2) It is not true that van der Lubbe gained "a certain prestige" in the Communist Party of Holland; on the contrary, during the time when van der Lubbe was a member of the C.P.H. he was in constant conflict with the local leaders, as he would not subordinate himself to the policy of the Party.

(3) In April, 1931, van der Lubbe left the Party, in order to anticipate the expulsion with which he was inevitably faced on account of his constant attacks on the policy of the Party.

Therefore he did not remain a member of the Party after his public withdrawal, as Heisig declares the witnesses van Albada and de Vink to have stated. Nor has he been in any connection, direct or indirect, with the C.P.H. since then. On the other hand, at several meetings and other public gatherings he attacked the C.P.H. in the presence of hundreds of workers, and combated it fanatically.

(4) It is not true that on the day before 1st March note-books or any other papers belonging to Lubbe were fetched away from his rooms on behalf of the C.P.H. or on its orders. We know nothing of an "old passport" of Lubbe's. As to van der Lubbe's diary, this is in the hands of the so-called "international communists," who are the express enemies of the C.P.H. They have published this diary in the so-called "Red Book," which has just appeared, a book filled from the first page to the last with savage attacks on the Communist Party and the Communist International.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Holland.

An Interim Summary of the Proceedings at the Leipzig Juridical Farce

German frontier, September 30.

The court of justice meeting in Leipzig, acting on the orders of the actual incendiaries, for the purpose of finding a verdict of guilty at any price against not only the fascist provocateur van der Lubbe, but against the four accused Communists, has adjourned for four days, before the main subject of the indictment, the setting on fire of the Reichstag itself, has been discussed. In order, however, to keep up the appearance that the trial has not been adjourned before the Reichstag arson was brought up, the court dealt with it briefly immediately before adjourning on the threadbare pretext of the Leipzig Judicial Congress.

With this adjournment the fascist court admits what has been proved to the whole world by the whole course of the trial up to now—and proved not only to the proletarian public—that the three Bulgarian Communists and Torgler, the German Communist, are innocent; van der Lubbe was an agent provocateur of the fascists, and is still continuing to-day to play the game of the prosecution.

This has been proved first of all by the courageous and bold stand taken by the four accused Communists, and especially by the conduct of Comrades Dimitrov and Torgler. In actual fact, as repeatedly commented on by even bourgeois papers, the Communists assumed the role of the accusers, whilst the fascist court of justice, with its police spies and mercenaries, found itself on the defensive. The defendants have all boldly declared to the court that they are communists, and have stated with the utmost clarity that as members of different Sections of the Communist International they are unanimous with their Parties in rejecting individual terror. Above and beyond this, they have gone over to the offensive against the fascist court, exposing one fascist spy after another with their searching questions, demonstrating the untenability of the assertions, and announcing to the world the tortures, the threats, and the extortions employed by the examining judges in their efforts to wear down the resistance of the prisoners and to wring confessions from them. The fascist exam-

ining authorities have broken their teeth on the steadfastness and courage of the proletarian revolutionists Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev and Torgler. Again and again the defendants, above all Comrade Dimitrov, drove the fascist court and the public prosecutor into such tight corners that the fascist judges saw no other means of escape but to stop the mouths of the defendants and have them taken out of court.

To this must be added that the defendants have had to face not only the fascist court with all its powers. At the same time they have had to take up the struggle against the "defending counsel" appointed by the same court, counsel whose sole task is to furnish material to the court against the men they are supposed to "defend." Otherwise the "defence" has confined itself to taking up arms for the prosecution on every possible occasion. The fascist Dr. Sack, for instance, denounced to the court some South American newspapers for designating the trial as a juridical farce. In other respects, too, the defendants are greatly at a disadvantage in their defence. Among other papers, the great French daily "*Quotidien*" comments on the fact that the Bulgarian interpreter does not know Bulgarian properly, and has "translated" entirely inadequate "summaries" of whole sections of the trial for the information of the Bulgarian defendants.

Whilst the innocence of the defendants has thus been demonstrated—as confirmed by the press of the whole world—chiefly by their courageous stand, and by the preliminary work of the counter-trial, this result has also been contributed to by the absurdity and futility of the "proofs" adduced by fascist justice.

A press opinion very characteristic of the conclusions drawn by the bourgeois press is that expressed by the "*Paris Midi*" of 28th September: "In a word: it is an incontestable fact that the Leipzig defendants, naturally with the exception of van der Lubbe, have won the first stage of the trial."

The fascist court itself and the fascist ministry of propaganda cannot but be aware of this. Therefore they have endeavoured, practically from the beginning of the trial, to meet this fact by a new manoeuvre. It is true that van der Lubbe continues to play the game of the prosecution. But though he is by no means a complete idiot, still he is not capable of repeating the detailed confessions which he is supposed to have made during the preliminary examinations, and which figure in the protocols. And it is precisely these statements upon which the whole structure of the indictment stands or falls. Lubbe not being capable of repeating the confessions alleged to have been made by him in the first place, two methods are taken of helping matters. First the presiding judge repeats a sentence taken from the alleged confession made by Lubbe, in reality a statement compiled by police experts. To this Lubbe has to answer with Yes or No. As a rule this arrangement passes off successfully. But if Lubbe happens to give the wrong reply, then he is asked again, and this time he is absolutely certain to say the opposite of what he said the first time.

There is only one point on which this method has failed. However great the endeavour expended, it has not been possible to induce Lubbe to designate himself a Communist.

Should it occur that Lubbe does not answer, as desired with Yes or No, but sticks to a wrong answer or preserves entire silence, then the police witnesses are called. These suborned witnesses then march up and swear that Lubbe has made the statements contained in the protocol, the statements wanted by the prosecution.

The exposure of two of the witnesses has been particularly impressive. The detective Heisig repeated statements which he alleged had been made to him during his "investigations" in Holland. But he had the bad luck that the two chief witnesses whose statements he "repeated" sent in signed declarations to the effect that Heisig had reversed the meaning of their statements. Out of the great Dutch bourgeois newspapers publishing these declarations we only need mention the "*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*" and the "*Haagsche Courant*."

The examining judge Vogt was driven into such a corner by Dimitrov that he was compelled to admit having sent a notice to the press which he confesses to be false—the statement that the three Bulgarian defendants had been involved in the blowing up of the cathedral in Sofia.

All the tactics employed by the court have only discredited the conduct of the trial, without making the evidence for the prosecution more credible. Therefore the President of the Senate,

Bünger, took a further step. At the close of the Friday sitting he read aloud Lubbe's alleged statements regarding his breaking into the Reichstag and the incendiary act itself, and this time not sentence by sentence, or asking for Lubbe's agreement after every sentence. He declared that he would read the whole at once, and Lubbe should interrupt him if anything did not accord with the facts. At the end Lubbe was asked if he agreed. He is alleged to have answered in the affirmative by a slight nod. And then the President read aloud the fairy story which the police have rapidly concocted, stating that Lubbe set the Reichstag on fire quite alone. This representation, Bünger assured the court, accords on the whole with the investigations of the police and the preliminary examinations. At the conclusion Lubbe was asked if the statement thus given was true, and, as desired, he declared to the President—or at least the interpreter said he did—that it was.

Why has the prosecution set up this new thesis, that Lubbe set the Reichstag on fire entirely by himself? The prosecution has been forced to this change of tactics by the course taken by the trial. The cross-examination of the Neukölln witnesses was to have brought the proof that the "bridge" from Lubbe to the Central Committee of the C.P.G. had been made precisely in the street in front of Neukölln Welfare Office of all places. But this examination of witnesses, planned so expertly by the fascist executioners, failed to come off according to programme. Nothing has come of the proofs of the connection between Lubbe and the C.C. of the C.P.G.

Hence it has been found advisable to drop the assertion that Lubbe set the Reichstag on fire "on the orders of the C.C. of the C.P.G.," and was aided thereby by a whole crowd of Communists. If the prosecution insists that Lubbe had so and so many accomplices, but the corresponding Communists cannot be found, then it becomes clearer that only national socialists could have helped Lubbe.

The court of justice and the prosecution, and with them the fascist leaders of Germany, stand before a heap of ruins. One pillar of the indictment after another has collapsed, and the international press is already giving the names of the real incendiaries. The "*Manchester Guardian*," the most prominent of liberal world-known papers, the great Paris daily "*Journal*," the "*Thurgauer Zeitung*," closely connected with the Swiss juridical authorities, the influential "*Göteborgs Handels-och Sjöfarts Tidning*," the "*Washington Post*," one of the oldest American newspapers, the "*Illustro Wany Kurjer Zodzenny*," the most read Polish newspaper—all these agree that the Reichstag was set on fire by the national socialists in the interests of the National Socialist Party.

The "*Völkischer Beobachter*" is already sounding the retreat. It is already reckoning with the fact that the attempt to "prove" the Communists guilty of the fire has failed. Therefore it writes: "However this may be, the moral instigation and the intellectual responsibility of the Communists can no longer be contested."

Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels meant to "prove" that this crime has been committed by the Communists, and thus to show that German fascism has saved the world from Bolshevism. The Leipzig trial was to be a trial of world Communism. The juridical farce has become bitter earnest! To-day it is fascism which is on trial in Leipzig. Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev are the accusers.

Further Findings of the Legal Commission of Inquiry Into the Burning of the Reichstag

The Legal Commission of Inquiry into the Burning of the Reichstag, at its session held on October 4, in Paris, adopted a report which contains the following conclusions:—

Referring to the findings contained in the report which was published by the Commission of Inquiry in London;

after hearing a report of the proceedings of the trial in Leipzig (this report was delivered at a private meeting);

after hearing the report of the lawyer, M. Bergery, regarding the new facts which have come to light since the London session;

after the cross-examination of fresh witnesses;

in view of the fact that the report of the proceedings of the trial in Leipzig, and finally the new facts and the evidence of witnesses, which were submitted to the Commission of Inquiry,

confirm on many points the conclusions contained in the London report:

in view of the fact that it is necessary to ascertain the reason for the strange behaviour of the defendant, Van der Lubbe;

in view of the fact that up to now there has been no proof of any connection having existed between the C.P. of Germany and the Reichstag arson;

in view of the fact that after seven months of imprisonment on remand, during the whole of which time the accused Communists were kept in chains, and after nine days of trial the Public Prosecutor was unable to bring forward the evidence of a single witness, or any proofs or elements of proofs of any kind against Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Taney;

in view of the fact that the innocence of these four accused, which was already evident from the evidence adduced in the previous report is irrefutably confirmed to-day by the new facts;

in spite of the fact that the accused were not given free choice of defending counsel (viz, Dimitrov's declaration in Leipzig and Dimitrova's declaration in Paris);

in view of the fact that the hypothesis, according to which Van der Lubbe acted alone—a hypothesis which is improbable on the face of it—was designated as impossible even by the examining judge himself;

in view of the fact that the suspicion as to leading personalities of the national socialist party of Germany being accessories to the crime—a suspicion which had arisen already on the basis of considerations contained in the previous report—is strengthened by the above-mentioned facts as well as by new facts;

has arrived at the opinion, on the basis of these considerations, that the German judicial authorities—even within the frame of the principles of German jurisdiction—cannot without committing a breach of the law, refrain from examining not only that which will exculpate the accused but everything that is calculated to discover the real culprits;

and declares that the Leipzig Court of Justice, if it neglects to commence and carry out this investigation, will only strengthen the opinion, which already exists to-day, that an attempt is made to prevent the discovery of the truth;

and decided to instruct a permanent bureau to follow the proceedings at the trial in Leipzig, to collect fresh information which is being constantly received from all parts of the world, as well as to convene a fresh session of the Commission as soon as the facts render such a session necessary;

and expresses its thanks to public opinion, which has given it its confidence, and issues an urgent appeal to all members of the public who are concerned for justice to collaborate with the Commission in order to prevent a miscarriage of justice.

Signed by:

V. Moro-Giafferi (France).
Lawson (England).
Dr. Bakker-Nort (Holland).
Dr. Bergery (France).
Georg Branting (Sweden).
Arthur Garfield-Hays (U.S.A.).
Vermeylen (Belgium).

China

The New Imperialist Intervention Against Soviet China

Appeal of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic

To the Workers, Peasants and Intellectuals of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, Germany!

To all Working People, to all Enemies of Imperialism, to all Friends of the Chinese People!

Dear Brothers, Sisters, Comrades and Friends!

We workers, peasants, poor people of the town and country, revolutionary soldiers, students and workers in the free professions, who did not wish to remain for ever slaves of foreign capital, of our own feudal big landlords, big capitalists and other usurers,

commenced to build up a new, free, life worthy of human beings. We are now conducting the emancipation struggle of a people numbering 500 million. We have set up with our own resources the Soviet power, the only real people's power. We have built up the red workers' and peasants' army of the Chinese people in order to protect from its enemies the freedom won with our blood. The people's power of the Chinese Soviets already extends over a sixth of China, in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Anwei and Szechuan.

We have made it our aim fundamentally to change the situation of the workers, peasants, the urban and rural poor. They are to become the rulers of their own fate. We wish to make out of starving, freezing, homeless, unemployed and illiterate people, well-fed, warmly clothed people who live in houses, have work, know how to read and write and enjoy a level of culture worthy of human beings. In order to achieve this aim, we, the Soviet government, have given them land, houses and work. We have built houses and schools in which children and adults are taught reading and writing free. We have established hospitals in which the sick and old folk are cared for. We have introduced the eight-hour day. We have relieved the women from the fetters of household slavery.

A handful of parasites who rule China have refused and still refuse our people these elementary rights and conditions of a decent human life. They are foreign imperialists, the native militarists, big landowners, big capitalists and the rich extortioners.

Because we have begun to build up a new, free life, Chiang-Kai-Shek, Wang-Tin-Wei and other Kuomintang leaders describe us as red bandits. They organised one punitive expedition after another, one campaign after another against us.

When the Japanese imperialists commenced the robber-war against China, and the English, American and French imperialists commenced the redistribution of China, we appealed again and again to the masses of the Chinese people and the armies. Even now we call to them every day: Defend China along with us against its being carved up by the imperialists.

We have appealed to all: Cease the attack on the Soviet districts; give the Chinese working people the elementary democratic rights, freedom of press and meetings, right of combination and strike. Do not prevent the masses of the people from voluntarily organising troops in order to offer resistance to the Japanese conquerors.

To all armies in China we have made the honest proposal: conclude a fighting alliance with us against the Japanese conquerors for the protection of the elementary rights of the Chinese people, for securing an independent national existence, for the emancipation of the great Chinese people from the imperialist yoke!

The reply of the Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang-Kai-Shek and Wang-Ting-Wei was and is fresh bloody and ever bloodier campaigns against the emancipated people of Soviet China.

The Kuomintang armies are now conducting the sixth campaign against our emancipated territory. The governments of Nanking and Canton have sent against the Central Soviet district (Kiangsi, Fukien and Hunan) armies numbering 440,000 men; armies equipped with all the technical means of present-day warfare—with heavy artillery, aeroplanes, tanks and poison gas.

From where do the Kuomintang generals obtain these means of warfare? From where do they obtain the enormous sums which are necessary for conducting a war lasting for years? They received and receive them from the American, British, Japanese, French and German imperialists.

The weapons with which they annihilate the Chinese fighters for freedom are produced by you! The money with which the Chinese militarists equip their armies is squeezed out of you!

The English, American and Japanese imperialists have more than once bombarded Canton and its neighbourhood. They helped to drown the Canton commune in blood. The troops of the French imperialists have bombarded the Soviet district of Hunan. All this and the continued attacks on the lives of the Chinese people are facts of the recent past.

The imperialists of all these countries are taking part in the

campaign of the Kuomintang which is now proceeding not only by supplying money and weapons but with their own forces. The American imperialists have given the Nanking government 50 million dollars under the cloak of a cotton and grain loan, and in addition 40 million dollars aircraft credits, which serve to finance military intervention against Soviet China. One hundred and fifty American aircraft, with American airmen, are taking part in this military intervention. Under the leadership of American military experts, about ten steamers, equipped with guns and tanks, hundreds of machine guns, means of chemical warfare produced in America are devastating our country and destroying the lives of our countrymen.

The British Ambassador in China, Miles Lampson, has granted a big loan to the Chinese militarist Liu-Sia. He has equipped him with weapons and munitions in order that this bloody general can continue his campaign against our fourth Red Army in Szechuan. The English, American and Japanese imperialists, who are all quarrelling with each other over the division of the spoils in China, are egging on the Northern and Southern generals to intervene together with Chiang-Kai-Shek against Soviet China. The German General von Seeckt, aided by the German generals Wetzel and Kriebel, drew up the plan of Chiang-Kai-Shek's sixth campaign. Under his leadership, 70 German staff officers are working in Nanchang, on Chiang-Kai-Shek's staff, and taking part in the leadership of the operations of the Kuomintang armies against Soviet China.

The League of Nations has sent to Nanking a commission which is at the disposal of the Nanking government as technical aid and actually serves the purpose of organising military intervention against Soviet China.

Brothers and sisters, comrades and friends! The democratic pilots of the United States, the fascist officers of Germany, the American, English, Japanese, French and German aeroplanes, tanks, guns, poison gases are working together in order to aid the Chinese Kuomintang militarists, our bloody hangmen! Defenceless Chinese workers, peasants, poor people in town and country, are being exterminated by the most terrible means of aerial and gas warfare. Their aim is to destroy the young Chinese Soviet Republic and its Red Armies in order to force us back from our new free life into the old bloody slavery.

Brothers and sisters, comrades and friends!

In this perilous moment of the young Chinese Soviet Republic, which in heroic fights, in which men and women, young and old took part, has already repelled five attacks of the forces of the counter-revolution superior in numbers and technique, we appeal to you:—

Help us against those who wish to throw us back into an inhuman life, who wish to take our lives. The international imperialists have resolved to choke the Soviet Revolution of the Chinese people in blood. They are assembling their fleets, their armed forces in the neighbourhood of the Chinese Soviet districts. They are directing these forces against us, after which they will commence a war among themselves, the new imperialist world war under which the whole of humanity will suffer.

The highest organ of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the Central Executive Committee, summons you to the mass struggle together with your brothers:—

Against imperialist intervention against Soviet China!

Against the partitioning of China by the imperialist Powers!

Against the intervention of American, English and Japanese imperialists, German generals and general staff officers, who are conducting aerial bombardments and chemical warfare against Soviet China!

Against the transport of weapons and munitions to China!

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the whole world!

The chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic:

Mau Tze-Dun.

The deputy-chairmen of the Central Executive Committee:

Sjan-In, Chang-Goi-Tau.

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Chinese Red Army:

Chu-Dej.

Trade Union Movement

Two Trade Union Congresses

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The two great trade union federations of France have just held simultaneous congresses in Paris. The press adopts very different attitudes to these two congresses. It devotes long reports to the debates at the congress of the C.G.T., the reformist trade union organisation, the semi-official organisation of the government. On the other hand, the congress of the C.G.T.U., the revolutionary trade union federation, was completely ignored by the journalists, although the last congress of the C.G.T.U. which took place two years ago attracted their interest. At that congress of the C.G.T.U. the opportunist opposition made its last great attempt to split the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat and the hostile class had hoped that the revolutionary organisation would be disrupted in this way. To-day, however, the enemy realises that the attempts at disruption have failed and that the revolutionary C.G.T.U. is a firm bloc of fighting class-conscious workers.

In his closing speech at the congress of the C.G.T.U. **Gitton** pointed out in comparing the proceedings of the two congresses that only the congress of the C.G.T.U. had given a thorough answer to all the cares and aims of the workers. Almost for a week the 1,100 delegates at the congress of the C.G.T.U. discussed thoroughly and without interruption the three reports which were placed before them: the report of **Racamongd** on the activity of the organisation during the past two years, the report of **Frachon** on the united front struggle and on trade union unity, and the report of **Mauvais** on the construction, working and organisational tasks of the trade unions.

The experiences of the workers' movements took a big role in the discussions. The officials and factory workers who had taken a leading part in the strikes of the textile workers in Armentières, of the dockers in Dunkirk, the officials, the metal workers at the Citroen factory, the building workers of Alsace-Lorraine, the inland water workers of Northern France, etc., reported the progress which had been made in these strikes where the instructions of the C.G.T.U. were followed, the progress made in securing an independent leadership of the strikes with the assistance of the strike committees elected by the broad masses of the workers themselves, progress in the creation of the united front from below, etc. They concealed none of the failures and deficiencies: insufficient preparation of the strikes which often broke out spontaneously, the continued existence of the illusion that joint action could be obtained by the "loyal agreement" of the leaderships, vacillation with regard to the extension of the partial struggles, etc.

All the speakers exposed and condemned the repeated treachery of the reformist leaders and the C.G.T., and stressed the necessity of still more systematic work to mobilise the workers irrespective of their political or other affiliations for united action, coupled with still more severe criticism of the traitors who represent the chief hindrance to this mobilisation.

Numerous speeches in the discussion deal with the immediate demands of the workers: higher wages, shorter working hours, the fight against capitalist rationalisation, the fight for a real social insurance scheme, etc. There has been a real change in this respect. There were fewer general speeches heard at this congress about the world situation. The officials of the C.G.T.U. are beginning to understand that they must concentrate chiefly on the elementary need of the workers, and in particular on the needs of the most exploited of the social categories: the women, the young workers, the immigrant and colonial workers, the land workers, etc.

Certainly there is still much to be done on this field. Numerous organisations are still insufficiently informed concerning the exact situation of the workers in their district, and do not yet understand how to find just that link in the chain which at a given moment would permit them to win the whole of the workers of a factory or a workshop. They are inclined to leave this sort of thing to the "experts." But, all in all, the discussions showed a strong determination to overcome these weaknesses.

The fact that several sessions of the discussion were devoted to the usually very much neglected question of organisational tasks must be considered as a big step forward. The discussions

were certainly not completely free from weakness and confusion, but they showed a firmly sketched tendency towards definite aims: trade union organisation on the basis of the factory, decentralisation with a view to bringing the trade unions closer to the workers, the creation of an elastic basis permitting the trade unions to develop into permanent organisations for the daily defence of the interests of the workers, and the organisation of a successful struggle against fluctuations in the membership of the unions.

In a number of difficult questions the congress brought a considerable amount of political clarity; for instance, concerning the exact significance of bourgeois "democracy" as a method of bourgeois dominance, concerning the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the increased danger of an imperialist attack upon the proletarian State, the international action against fascism, etc. However, it is still necessary to learn how to connect up better the work for the defence of the immediate demands of the workers with the struggle against fascism and war.

The **minority** in the C.G.T.U. expressed its attitude chiefly through the mouth of the leader of the Teachers' Union and showed how little it is really interested in the organisation of a counter-action against the offensive of the government, and how hostile it is to the mass united front from below and to the organisation of factory sections, and did not hesitate to spread the most slanderous falsehoods against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International. But the minority found no support amongst the congress delegates, and the report on the activities of the federation was adopted with 1,166 votes against 30 votes, two votes being withheld. At the conclusion of the congress the defeated opposition had lost all courage and did not even dare to vote against the resolutions put forward.

The great majority of the delegates were imbued with a powerful feeling of confidence and revolutionary faith. This feeling was based on the successes won and in the recent wave of strikes and in the struggle for the establishment of the united front from below, successes which have greatly increased the influence of the C.G.T.U., stopped the decline in membership and made possible in some places considerable progress. Each mention of the successful advance of socialism in the Soviet Union produced bursts of applause and enthusiasm. The speech of the representatives of the revolutionary trade union opposition in Germany, who described the heroic struggle of the revolutionary trade unionists against fascism in the factories, was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm.

The course of the **C.G.T. congress**, which was whipped through all its stages in four days, was very different. The discussion was hindered and throttled from the beginning; the number of speakers in the discussions was limited. All the direct delegates of the unions strongly criticised the policy of the C.G.T. during the discussion on the activity of the organisation, and condemned in particular the participation of the leaders of the C.G.T. in the official organisations for labour co-operation in Paris and Geneva. Again and again these delegates demanded a "more manly attitude" and a turn to the left in policy. Only the leaders of the reformist general staff of the trade unions completely supported the activity of the executive.

A resolution which was brought forward condemning the hostile attitude adopted by the official organ of the C.G.T., "le Peuple," towards the Communists and the Soviet Union received the very considerable number of 823 votes against 3,569 votes, 346 votes being withheld. Another resolution which demanded that the reformist leader Jouhaux should immediately leave the disarmament conference also received about 800 votes against 4,560 votes. It is clear that these figures express the feelings of the workers organised in the C.G.T. only very inaccurately, for the majority of the unions affiliated to the C.G.T. did not hold general meetings in order to prepare for the congress and to discuss the questions at issue, so that hundreds of delegates represented their own opinions only.

The C.G.T. congress did not spare a minute of its time to examine the recent movements. Only a quarter of an hour was given to deal with the demands of the workers. Chevalme spoke on the economic crisis and its consequences to a half-empty hall. The aims of the congress were quite different ones: a confirmation of the defence of the bourgeois democracy and the defence of the foreign policy of French imperialism under the cloak of a

struggle against Hitlerism, the glorification of the experiment of Roosevelt to save capitalism, and, finally, an attack on the Soviet Union.

The will of the proletariat to unity in the struggle against capitalism is so strong that it could not be completely ignored by the reformist congress. A delegate from the railwaymen's union demanded that a delegation should be sent to the congress of the revolutionary C.G.T.U. in order to arrange for a joint discussion of the problem of trade union unity. Naturally, his proposal was ridiculed. Jouhaux declared that unity was possible only on the basis of a return of the members of the C.G.T.U. to the C.G.T., whereby, naturally, any such return would not in any way alter the policy pursued by the C.G.T.

If the resolutions of the congress of the revolutionary C.G.T.U. are carried into action everywhere, if the officials of the C.G.T.U. succeed in planting their unions firmly in the factories, and in organising successfully and extending even the smallest struggles by raising their level, and, above all, if they succeed in raising the banner of proletarian unity and trade union class unity and rallying the masses of the workers around it, then the masses of the workers of France will soon be freed from the fatal influence of the reformist C.G.T.

Declaration of the Congress of the C.G.T.U.

The following declaration was unanimously adopted at the Congress of the C.G.T.U. in Paris on September 29, 1933:—

We, the representatives of the revolutionary trade union organisations of France, Germany, England, Italy, Belgium, Spain and Czechoslovakia, assembled at the Congress of the C.G.T.U. in Paris, viewing with alarm the extremely serious present-day situation, the growth of the international danger of fascism and of fresh imperialist wars (Saar district, Austria, etc.) and before all fresh provocations (Japan) and the threatening attack upon the Soviet Union, as well as the rising wave of economic and political fights in the mother countries and in the colonies, fights which are developing into armed uprisings on the weakest points of the imperialist front (Cuba), consider the strengthening of the solidarity actions and of international connections to be one of the most imperative necessities of the present hour.

We declare that we shall redouble our efforts in every country in order to carry out the following, most urgent and important international tasks:

(1) Strengthening of active, moral and material international solidarity in the course of strikes of international importance (the recent strikes in Poland and Spain, in Strassburg and Zurich, the approaching struggle of the miners in Belgium). Ruthless struggle against the international action of the strike-breakers (I.F.T.U. in Sweden, etc.). Closest connection between the international economic and political fights.

(2) Active support of the heroic proletariat and the revolutionary trade union organisations of Germany by the consistent carrying out of the decisions regarding patronage, particularly in the districts bordering on Germany, by means of the immediate connection of trade unions and factories with trade unions and factories in Germany, by means of collections for the anti-fascist front, by unconditional refusal to load or unload ships flying the swastika flag, by means of struggle against the fascist press, etc. Before all this fight must be supported by the struggle in every country against our own bourgeoisie and imperialists.

Active support for the proletariat of Italy, Poland and the other fascist countries.

Fight against the fascist system which is being established in Austria, and support of the Austrian proletariat in the neighbouring countries and in France by means of demonstrations and strikes, in particular in the transport industry.

Active solidarity, before all of the C.G.T.U. and of the French proletariat, with the Spanish revolutionaries who are waging a fight against the pro-fascist Lerroux government and against all fascist attacks.

(3) Strengthening of the protest campaign against the Leipzig trial in the trade unions and the factories, employment and popularisation of fresh and broader forms of struggle: mass demonstrations, demonstrations against the agents of the Hitler government abroad, conferences and demonstrations on the frontiers and before all by short or longer strike actions. The street demonstrations and protest strikes (Reichenberg in Czechoslovakia, Saar,

etc.) must be extended, and linked up with each other, in this manner developing a great international campaign.

(4) Ruthless struggle against all manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism, before all in the so-called democratic countries, the countries which benefit by the Versailles Treaty, the governments of which make use of the deceitful slogans of fight against fascism and defence of democracy in order to cloak their development to fascism and their preparation for imperialist war.

Increased fight against anti-foreign prejudice in the immigration countries and against the sabotaging of the joint struggle of the workers in the frontier districts (France-Belgium, etc.).

(5) Intensification of the struggle against imperialist war, before all by increased and extended agitation and organisational work in the munition factories, in the docks and on the railways, closer connection of this work between adjoining countries. Increased fight for the defence of the Chinese Soviets and the revolution in Cuba by refusal to transport the war material of the imperialist countries.

Increased fight for the defence of the Soviet Union and unmasking of all the pacifist manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie.

(6) Ruthless fight against the tremendous exploitation and oppression of the colonial peoples, which is assuming the character of colonial wars (Morocco, Annam, Indonesia). Broadest support by the revolutionary trade union organisations in the mother countries for the purpose of setting up trade unions in the colonies; fight for the right of combination, the right to strike, etc., in the colonies; solidarity for the strikes which are becoming more frequent; fight for the complete emancipation of the colonies from the imperialist yoke.

(7) Making a decisive turn in the work among the unemployed and the young workers, who are of particular importance for the struggle against fascism and imperialist war; popularisation and carrying out of the decisions of the factory conferences and of Youth Congress against war and fascism.

(8) Strengthening of international connections by means of active and systematic participation in frontier conferences and international conferences; permanent work of frontier committees for closer connection of the factories and trade unions between the various countries and before all with the Soviet Union, at the same time fighting against national narrowness which is still rampant in the trade union work. Material and organisational strengthening of the International Propaganda Committee is one of the most important tasks of the international revolutionary trade union movement, particularly in view of the decay of the international trade secretariats of the I.F.T.U.

In order to fulfil these tasks the fight against the I.F.T.U. and against reformism must be increased in the trade unions and among the working class. The Congress of the I.F.T.U. in Brussels, the British Trades Union Congress, the Congress of the C.G.T. in France, as well as the whole reformist practice show the working class that reformism is the main support of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, the most important instrument for disintegrating its ranks in order to foster nationalism and the imperialist spirit, to pave the way for fascism, imperialist war and before all the war against the Soviet Union, the country of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revolutionary trade union organisations must exert all their forces in order to win the workers of the reformist trade unions and all workers for the revolutionary struggle and for the revolutionary ideology as well as for international solidarity.

All Austrian Railwaymen Forced to Join the Fatherland Front

Vienna, October 1.

The general management of the Austrian Federal Railways has issued instructions on the organisation of the Federal Railways in the Fatherland Front, by which all railwaymen may be forced to join this front. According to these regulations, the higher railway officials are the "leaders" of the sections of the Fatherland Front formed by the men under them. The managers of the Federal Railways are the "leaders" over the branches of the service under them. The head "leader" is the general director.

The Christian social provincial press reports that everywhere the national socialist railway officials of the railway management are joining the Fatherland Front.

Proletarian Youth Movement

Manifesto of the World Youth Congress Against War and Fascism

To the Youth of the whole World!

To all young men, young women, workers, students, peasants, clerical workers, soldiers, sailors and unemployed workers!

From all parts of the world we have come together in a world congress of youth against fascism and war to discuss our common fate and our common aims in the future.

Knowing the great need of the younger generation, its cares and its will, we have worked together fraternally to draw up a fighting programme for the youth, a programme of salvation, a programme of victory.

We have examined the conditions under which the youth live in all capitalist countries and we have come to the conclusion that the fate of the young generation is almost similar in all these countries: shameless exploitation, starvation wages, unemployment and general exclusion from public and political life. The capitalist regime has no place for the youth.

But we have also discovered that an increasing number of the youth are rising indignantly against this terrible situation.

Formerly one spoke of civilisation. It was possible to believe in a certain measure of social progress. But all that has collapsed. The ruling classes can no longer provide the toilers with bread and work. They can no longer utilise the accumulated riches at their disposal. They can use the gigantic forces of production and new discoveries and inventions only for the purposes of destruction. Hundreds of millions of hands have been condemned to idleness; fifty millions of people are condemned to slow starvation whilst the ruling classes deliberately destroy the goods that have been produced and destroy even the means of production themselves. The great war they carried on to enliven their anarchic economic system by the destruction of men and things has made the collapse only more absolute.

But the ruling classes will never voluntarily abandon their claim to rule, and in order to maintain their dominance they are now resorting to two methods which in the last resort are but two sides of the same thing—fascism and war!

Fascism and war, slavery and hecatombs of corpses, that is the picture of the future which is opening up for the youth, which is being prepared for the youth by the ruling classes. In a chaos of hopelessness these are the only possibilities offered to youth. All over the world we are already in the middle of this picture.

There is war in China, in India, in America, in Cuba, in Africa, wars for whom no one else is responsible but the big imperialist powers. There are dangerous seats of war also in Central Europe.

And what will the morrow bring us? At what point in the world will the feverishly increasing and scientifically perfected armaments, the real mark of present-day civilisation, first be let loose? Without a doubt they will first be let loose against the Soviet Union. The desire of the big imperialist powers to unite against the Soviet Union intensifies as their own internal contradictions grow greater and more intense. Against the Soviet Union is their slogan. The crushing of the Soviet Union offers them not only booty in enormous quantities, but it also means the end of the most powerful bulwark of the workers of all countries.

The fascist experiment which they hold up to us as worthy of emulation—we know it! Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary and the Balkan States have shown us clearly what it means.

In other countries, in Czechoslovakia, in Belgium, in Switzerland, in Spain, in France, in Great Britain, in the United States and in the Far East the same experiment is being prepared with the same arguments, with the same unscrupulous lying and the same trickery—democracy upheld with emergency laws—and with the same persecution of the workers.

A section of the youth is prepared to fall victim to this deceit. Long rows in various uniforms are already drawn up and are extending, thousands of young men are marching trustfully and confidently by the side of those who are being sent into Manchuria, into the Gran Chaco, to Morocco.

Hundreds of thousands of young men have enrolled in the fascio, in the fascist storm detachments, in the blue shirts, in the Civil Conservation Corps of the U.S.A., and in the Jeunesse patriotique, intoxicated by the sounding and deceitful slogans set

before them, believing blindly in the demagogues who rule the peoples to-day.

They have been deceived. They have conquered Manchuria, but neither for themselves nor for their Manchurian brothers, but for the speculators, for the parasites who batten on their own people. They have advanced into the green hell of the Gran Chaco and have thus paved the way for the bankers and the petroleum magnates. They have hunted the people of Morocco from their fields and into the mountains in order to hand over the country to the mercies of big exploiters. They have helped to oppress foreign peoples and thereby they have strengthened the oppression in their own countries. They have delivered blows which fall back upon themselves.

Deceived and misled workers have assisted the fascists to destroy working-class organisations, to murder Marxists, to burn books. They are deceived tools with bloodstained hands. The promises which were made to them have not been kept. Instead there are forced labour camps and concentration camps. The capitalist exploitation which they were supposed to be fighting has been intensified by their actions.

Chauvinism, fascism and war can bring only misfortune. We have always said so and we say so again:

Reject the slogans which the imperialists present to you. Should you defend the peace treaty of Versailles? No, the treaty of Versailles is not a peace treaty. It is war which has resulted from war. Reject it.

Should you support the League of Nations? No, the League of Nations is a council of imperialist victors. Its task is to maintain the "peace," the bloody and explosive peace which crowned the great industrial and commercial operation which was conducted from 1914 to 1918. It is wrong to support the League of Nations. It is a crime not to fight against it.

Should you support democracy? If this expression has any sense at all it can mean only the defence of the hard-won rights of the proletariat, but this is not the sense which the apostles of democracy preach to you. In their mouths it means the defence of bourgeois institutions, the consolidation of the exceptional laws against the people and *carte blanche* for their exploiters. In their mouths it means exactly what it meant in Germany in 1931 and everywhere else, the beginning of fascism.

Should the democracies form a united front against the dictatorships? This is the latest slogan of "democratic" imperialism. In reality it means an imperialist block against an imperialist block, a war for profits. It is the screen which covers a new and gigantic commercial operation which will end with still further impoverishment for the masses.

Should you support the policy of the reformist socialists? Should you save the exploiters from the revolution under the pretext of saving the proletariat from reaction? Reformism is the word with which the false socialists betray socialism.

Should you adopt a passive attitude of opposition to war and the preparations for war which are proceeding everywhere? No, for that would mean to hand yourself over bound hand and foot to the imperialists who are armed to the teeth. We must fight because we know that imperialism can be destroyed only by the powerful struggle of the working masses.

All these methods are capitalist methods, remain within the framework of capitalism and lead again and again to war and to an intensification of the capitalist terror. And therefore we must look elsewhere. There is another world, than the one we are living in. It is the world of labour and the world of peace, and in it there is neither crisis nor unemployment. Each inhabitant of this other world is a worker taking his part in the building up of a free and more fortunate society. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is a part of the future existing in the history of our day.

If there is a struggle in which you should take part it is the struggle on the side of the new order of society which frees humanity against the old regime which has outlived its usefulness. Capitalism is old and represents the evil yesterday; socialism is young and represents the glorious morrow. The place of the youth is in the ranks of socialism.

The struggle of these two principles, decline and death on the one hand, life and progress on the other, is being carried out simultaneously in all countries. Not countries and races are opposed to each other, but in the lap of all nations and races, the exploiters and their victims.

The Amsterdam anti-war movement and the international anti-fascist movement have now united under the slogan of a

struggle against the old regime which bears within it the cause of fascism and war. The youth must take part in this movement and in the world, national and district committees which we are forming. Let us work side by side with the committees against fascism and war in conscious discipline and in enthusiastic alliance with all those who, like ourselves, want to fight against fascism and war.

We undertake to make the decisions of the Amsterdam congress against war, of the European anti-fascist congress and of the world congress of youth widely known amongst the masses of the youth of all countries and to fight to carry these decisions into action.

We declare war on the chauvinist, nationalist and war-mongering propaganda which is being conducted by the bourgeoisie of all countries, irrespective of whether it pretends to be democratic or is openly fascist. We consider it as our duty to fight against all preparations for war everywhere at all times and with all energy, and we know that this means an irreconcilable struggle against imperialism itself. And in case of war we shall conduct this struggle with still greater energy in our own countries.

We undertake in our own interests to defend the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as the home of international peace and freedom, and in the coming months we intend to send a delegation of our movement into the country of socialism.

We shall support with all energy the struggle of the colonial peoples for their emancipation, and at the same time demand the military evacuation of the colonies.

Our first task is to mobilise the workers of the world in order to help our brothers in Germany and in all other fascist countries to overthrow their exploiters and oppressors in a revolutionary struggle.

In order that our decisions shall become effective they must be daily put into practice, and in this spirit our movement will concentrate its activities chiefly on the following points:—

(1) To make every factory, harbour and every place where workers gather a fortress of the struggle against fascism and war. Closely connected with the fight for the economic demands of the working youth we must conduct active propaganda in all these centres against fascism and war in order to organise the great majority of the youth in our committees of action. We must expose the production and transport of war materials to the workers and work to prevent the transport of war materials to the belligerent countries, and above all to Japan.

(2) We must oppose all chauvinist and militarist activity in the mass organisations for sport and military preparation and in the labour service camps. We must demand the removal of all officers and military instructors from these camps and organisations, and the democratic election of the camp committees. We must form committees of action and fight for the dissolution of the labour service camps.

(3) We must carry our slogans against fascism and war onto the warships and into the barracks, and win new supporters for our movement amongst the soldiers and sailors. We must conduct similar propaganda amongst the recruits and secure the affiliation of the associations of recruits to our movement.

(4) We must defend the rights of the young workers of both sexes against the fascist terrorist measures. We must fight for the political rights of the youth. We must organise a mass self-defence organisation of the youth against the fascist terror bands. We must drive out the Russian white-guardists and the agents of Hitler, Mussolini and Pilsudski.

(5) We must secure a footing in the villages and amongst the peasant youth who will be the first victims of the coming war. The fascist recruiters are trying to win them for fascism, but we must win them for a joint struggle with us against fascism.

(6) We must form a network of committees embracing all universities and schools and support the demands of the student youth and energetically oppose the fascist and militarist machinations.

(7) For the year 1934 we must prepare and organise national congresses of the youth against fascism and war in all capitalist countries.

Let us carry the fighting spirit and the enthusiasm which developed at this congress into the ranks of the youth. Let us organise a great and victorious army of youth under the banner of a new civilisation against the decadent capitalist world of fascism and war.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

In Voroniesh, The Capital of "Zetcheo"*

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

In Voroniesh not only the means of production, but also the air has been wrested by the proletarian revolution from those who monopolised it and placed at the disposal of the working population.

Voroniesh has many beautiful parks and gardens. Before the revolution, however, all these gardens were hidden behind the high walls of the houses of the governor and other high Tsarist officials or rich merchants, whilst on the gates there were seen such notices as: "Beware of the dog," "Strangers not admitted." These gardens have now been placed at the disposal of the workers. When one walks through the main street (Revolution Alley) one finds in this street alone dozens of such workers' parks: "First of May Park," "Karl Marx Park," "Comintern Club Park," "Park of the Red Army," "Health Workers' Park," "Engineers' Park," and others. In the gardens there are cinemas, theatres, kindergartens, crèches, etc. Before the revolution Voroniesh itself was a quite insignificant town with about 90,000 inhabitants. Altogether the whole of the present central black earth district had only six per cent. urban workers. There was hardly any trace of industry in this district. On the other hand, the four gubernias, Voroniesh, Oriol, Kursk and Tambov comprising the black earth district, possessed the most fruitful soil in the whole of Russia, except perhaps some Ukrainian districts.

But those who tilled this fruitful soil experienced only misery and starvation. The average size of a peasant's farm before the revolution was 1½ hectares, whilst the livestock amounted on an average to one sheep, a quarter of a horse and not quite two-thirds of a cow. When, however, it is remembered that this average ownership was divided between kulaks, middle peasants and village poor, then it becomes evident that for the overwhelming majority of peasants in this district the above calculated average appeared to be unobtainable wealth. One can just imagine what kind of income these masses managed to derive from their farms. In addition, it should also be borne in mind that more than 53 per cent., or more than half of the yield had to be paid to the State and the landowners in the form of taxes, rent and other outgoings.

Who enjoyed the fruits of this wonderful soil and the work of millions of peasants? A few landowners of the type of a Panin or Orlov, on each of whose former estates 60,000 to 70,000 people are now working for themselves. To-day, 80 per cent. of the whole of the fertile soil of the Central Black Earth District belongs to the collective peasants of 17,000 collective farms and 800 Soviet farms. The remaining 20 per cent. belongs to the individual farms, which, however, will not be able to resist for long the tempting successes of collective farming.

Like all other formerly agricultural districts of the Soviet Union, the Central Black Earth District is rapidly changing its whole appearance. In Lipiezk, where formerly the only big undertaking in the district—an insignificant smelting works—stood, there are now two big blast furnaces at work and four others under construction. In Oskol a huge smelting works is being built and extensive iron mining works opened up. In Novopokrovsk and Ertil two new big sugar refineries are working up the big sugar beet harvest. The factory in Ertil, it should be mentioned, is the largest sugar refinery in the Union. But these two new sugar refineries and the many similar refineries in the other districts of the country in no way suffice to meet the tremendous demand of the masses of the people for sugar, which in the old Russian village was regarded as a great luxury. If in many districts of Zetcheo, this centre of sugar beet production, the average annual con-

sumption of sugar before the war amounted to not more than 200 grammes (this may seem incredibly small to the reader, but it is the actual amount), then one can quite understand that, in view of the tremendous increase in the requirements of the population as a result of the revolution, there is still not enough sugar to be had, in spite of the many new sugar factories, in order to completely satisfy these requirements.

In Oriol a factory for the production of agricultural machinery was recently opened; in Tambov a factory for the production of electrical machinery and apparatus; in Podgornja a cement factory; in Yevdakovo a margarine combine, etc.

The capital town, Voroniesh, itself does not occupy first place among the new industrial towns of the Union. Nevertheless the fact that the population of the town has increased from 90,000 to about a quarter of a million is no trifle. At the same time, the town possesses such big undertakings as the factory for the production of synthetic rubber (there are only three such factories in the world, all of them in the Soviet Union). In addition, there is the Dzershinski locomotive repairing works with 8,000 workers, the Thälmann railway carriage repairing workshop with 7,000 workers, the Lenin engine works, the "Comintern" works producing machinery and plant for bread factories and other food factories, and numerous others. There is a high school district, and the agricultural research institution, the pride of old Voroniesh, has been enlarged many times over.

Undoubtedly the most interesting, although not the largest, undertaking in Voroniesh is the synthetic rubber factory. It is a genuine Soviet enterprise from top to bottom. The manufacture of synthetic rubber from alcohol and waste products is a new branch of production introduced as a result of the invention of the Soviet academician Lebedev. The equipment, with the exception of some measuring instruments, was produced entirely in Soviet factories. The workers in the undertaking are almost exclusively new workers, for the greater part peasant women recruited from the collective farms, who were given special courses of training. Skilled workers with factory experience were only employed on the installation work. Most of the departmental managers are young workers.

Three years ago this site was only a heap of sand. To-day there has sprung up a factory in which 4,000 workers are employed.

Out of a heap of sand—a big undertaking, out of illiterate and semi-illiterate people—skilled men and women workers who attend complicated apparatuses and make chemical analyses—this is symptomatic of the greatness and heroism of the whole of socialist construction and also accounts for the many difficulties of growth.

The influx of fresh workers is becoming ever broader and deeper. A fresh training course has just commenced here in which 41 collective farmers and 73 women collective farmers are being taught to produce rubber. Most of them have come fresh from the village. Some were employed as charwomen or as labourers in the building of the rubber factory. I glance through the applications for admittance to the training course. The following is one out of many: "Dear comrades, I wish to attend the course of training. I wish to learn how to work, I do not want to remain without skill and knowledge. Comrades, do not reject my request." In this letter from a peasant woman and in the other 113 letters there is expressed the burning desire for training and education, as if they wished to make up in a day what their fathers and mothers were deprived of for centuries. The fear of the writer of this letter that her request would be rejected was quite unfounded, for the whole of the 114 applicants were admitted to the course.

* Central Black Earth District.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Stratosphere Balloon "U.S.S.R." Beats World Record

On September 30, at 8.41 a.m., the giant stratosphere balloon U.S.S.R., with the commander, Pilot Propkoviev, his assistant Birnbaum and the constructor Bodunov, made its ascent. The balloon was in constant touch with the earth by wireless. At 9.48 it had reached an altitude of 17,200 metres. At two minutes past eleven it was at the same height. Just after noon it had reached an altitude of 18,400 metres. The outside temperature was 67 centigrade degrees below zero, while inside the car the temperature was as high as 30 degrees above zero. When the balloon was at its greatest height the atmospheric pressure was 50 millimetres. The oxygen apparatus functioned well. The steering valves were in good order. The aeronauts sent wireless greetings to the workers in the factories in which the gondola and the envelope of the balloon were made. They reported that the earth was plainly visible. The balloon was visible with the naked eye from the Moscow aerodrome. The balloon made an easy landing at 5 p.m. near Koloma, after having been in the air 8 hours 15 minutes, reaching an altitude of 18,000 metres and carrying out its programme.

Successful Completion of the Motor Car Journey from Moscow to Kara Kum and Back

The 23 automobiles produced in the Soviet Union which on July 6 started on a journey of over 10,000 kilometres have returned to Moscow after having made a successful journey which led them through the district of Kara Kum. This tour constitutes a magnificent achievement of the young automobile industry of the Soviet Union. In particular the successful crossing of the desert of Kara Kum by motor cars constitutes a new world record achieved by the Soviet Union.

Two Years of the "Stalin" Auto Works

The Stalin auto works are able to record tremendous successes in the two years of their existence. Instead of motor lorries of 1½ tons they are now building complicated motor lorries with a carrying capacity of 2½ tons, and in the last two years turned out 32,958 such motor lorries. At the present time the works are producing 93 cars a day. They have considerably improved the quality of their products, increased the productivity of labour and considerably reduced overhead charges.

Further Successes in the Carrying Out of the Financial Plan

The carrying out of the financial plan for the third quarter is still proceeding successfully. In a further number of districts it has been completed before the fixed time.

White Russia, which engaged in a competition with the Western district in regard to the financial plan, fulfilled the plan 100.2 per cent. before the fixed time.

The industrial district of Ivano has carried out the plan 110 per cent., the Central Volga district 100 per cent., and the North Caucasus 100.2 per cent.

The Ukraine carried out the plan 102.4 per cent. before the fixed time. This success is to be attributed to the socialist competition between the various regions, towns and districts.

On the Front of Industrialisation

The "Electrosilo" works in Leningrad has completed the construction of the third hydrogenerators produced in the Soviet Union. The generator, which has a capacity of 62,000 kilowatt hours, has been constructed for Dnieprostroy.

The Kharkov mechanical works has completed the first motor generator produced in the Soviet Union. Each of these generators has a capacity of 2,000 kilowatt hours. The preliminary tests showed that these generators are in every way equal to those imported from abroad.

Factories for the manufacture of musical instruments are being built in the Ukraine. The first piano factory in the Ukraine, capable of turning out 3,000 pianos a year is being built in Odessa. In Chernigov a factory for the manufacture of string instruments is being erected. In Kiev a factory for the manufacture of wind instruments is being extended and from next year will turn out instruments for 1,000 brass bands. A harmonium factory is being built in Shitomir.

The Kharkov metal stamping works "Pioneer" are being con-

verted into works for the production of technical instruction instruments. The works are already turning out the finest metal constructions, with which school children can build models of various machines. The new works "Pioneer constructor" is utilising the waste products of the metal industry. In this year 155,000 boxes of mechanical models are being produced.

The "Electrostahl" works has fulfilled the programme of the first quarter before the scheduled time and worked up 8,011 tons of metal instead of 7,840 tons, thus fulfilling the plan 102.2 per cent.

The Promotion of Shipbuilding

In the neighbourhood of Tuapse, in the north Caucasus, work has commenced on the construction of a new shipyard, which shall turn out 1,000 small ships a year.

The programme for the construction of wooden ships for 1934 has been already drawn up. It envisages the construction of 184 cargo boats with a total loading capacity of 900,000 tons, the building of seven docks, etc. The total expenditure of the building work is calculated at 80,500,000 roubles.

A Baltic-White-Sea Canal Museum

An expedition of the Academy of Anthropology has commenced a journey through the Baltic-White-Sea Canal in order to examine the remnants of old settlements which have been brought to light by the excavation works in connection with the construction of the Canal. After the completion of the research work the finds will be placed in the Baltic-White-Sea Canal which is now being organised and will be used for a monograph on the Canal.

One of the Largest Hospitals in the World Being Built in Kharkov

In Kharkov the erection of two pavilions of the new central hospital is nearing completion. The hospital is to contain 2,500 beds. It will be the largest hospital in the Soviet Union and one of the largest in the whole world. The area of this huge institution is 450,000 cubic metres. It will be equipped with the latest achievements of medical science. The building costs amount to 30 million roubles.

Writing the History of the Factories

Forty Leningrad works and factories are writing their histories. The "Red Putilov works" and the "Baltic works" have already completed the first volumes. The best engineers and technicians of Leningrad are taking part in the working out of the technical-economical questions connected with the history of the works.

Exemplary Preparation for the School Year

The Committee for Universal Education and the Presidium of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union have given premiums to the schools, districts and works which have performed exemplary work in preparing for the school year. The district of Staraya Russij in the Leningrad region and the Rebrichin district in West Siberia have each received a premium of 100,000 roubles for the erection of new schools. The Aimak district of the Autonomous Oriot Republic received 25,000 roubles for technical equipment. Eight districts received honourable mention and 3,000 roubles each for the best shock brigaders in preparing for the apprentice year.

Prosperity for the Collective Peasants

The slogan issued by the Communist Party that "each collective peasant must have his own cow and his poultry" is now being carried out. From the 1st January of this year, up to the 15th August, the big collective farms have sold 386,538 animals to the collective peasants or handed them over as the reward of their labour. 43,750 of these animals were cows, the remainder pigs, sheep, etc.

Moscow Shock Brigaders Sail Through New White Sea Baltic Canal

The best shock brigaders of 112 factories in the town and district of Moscow who had more than fulfilled the plan for the first seven months of the second Five-Year Plan, have now begun a pleasure journey which will take them through the newly-opened White Sea and Baltic canal via Chibinogorsk.

Organisational Questions

The General Strike of the Belostok Textile Workers

By Danishevski

The heroic form of strike of 2,000 textile workers in Belostok and district, together with the great general strike of textile workers in the Lodz district and the two-week general strike of miners in three coalfields, is clear evidence of the rapid growth of the prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis in Poland. The unusually stubborn struggle of the Belostok textile workers takes on still greater importance if we remember that for three months before the strike a large majority of the textile factories had not been at work. The workers started the strike in an extremely exhausted condition owing to unemployment and starvation.

It is not surprising that among the Belostok textile workers, who only began to work in March, there were hesitations at the very start regarding the declaration of a strike. The fact that the workers nevertheless decided on a strike can be explained chiefly as follows:—(1) The sharp lowering of wages (30-50 per cent. during the year, and a further 10-15 per cent. at the beginning of the season); (2) The great influence of the general strike at Lodz on March 6 with 120,000 textile workers, which roused even the most backward sections of workers throughout Poland; (3) The growing activity, though still insufficient, of the Belostok party organisation of the C.P. West White Russia in preparing itself and the workers for the strike.

Immediately after the declaration of the strike in Lodz, the Party and the R.T.U.O. issued leaflets to the textile workers of Belostok and the whole district, calling on them to strike for their demands, to elect strike committees on the basis of the united front from below, and delegates to the Central Strike Committee. In a number of factories the Communists carried on mass work, holding meetings, talks with groups of workers (in the factories of Sokov, Poliak, Schmidt). At the Frenkel textile factory, under the influence of our agitation, the workers immediately declared a strike against mass dismissals, and the employer was obliged to give way.

The R.T.U.O. worked out demands which were read out at meetings of workers. At the beginning of the strike demands were put forward for a new collective agreement on the basis of the 1928 scale, which was put forward at the same time by the Lodz strikers. But among the broad masses of Belostok textile workers these demands were found not to be very popular. The difference between the actual wages and the 1928 scale was extremely great. Then in the course of the struggle the Party organisation and the R.T.U.O. put forward a demand which was seized by all the strikers to draw up a new collective agreement on the basis of the 1932 scale (which meant a considerable wage increase), the recognition of factory delegates, the 8-hour day, paid vacations, the English week, etc.

This platform of demands was also adopted at a meeting of factory delegates in Belostok called by the R.T.U.O. In contradistinction to former practice, when such meetings were most illegal, this one was held in the building of the reformist textile union and many workers were present. There were only twelve delegates present from textile factories, but there was great enthusiasm. It was decided to declare a strike, to support the demands of the R.T.U.O., and with this aim to call a meeting of textile workers.

At the meeting of textile workers, which took place on March 12 with 400 workers, the social-fascist T.U. bureaucrats, Kapitulko and Reginelli, spoke against the declaration of a strike, saying that there was no need to strike for these demands because the decision rested in Lodz, and if the Lodz workers won, we should win also. But the workers did not support them. It was decided to declare a strike. The list of thirteen candidates proposed by the Communists for the Central Strike Committee was unanimously adopted.

The following day the delegates of the Central Strike Committee went to the "Christian-Democratic" Union to a meeting of 100 textile workers and raised the question of a strike. The workers there supported them and decided that their factory delegates (in most cases rank and file workers) should be considered as factory committees. At a general meeting of all the textile workers of Belostok, these delegates were confirmed and included in the Central Strike Committee. Later, other delegates came from big textile factories, so that the number of members of the Central Strike Committee reached 35.

Neither the leaders of the P.P.S. nor the Christian-Democrats nor the "Bund" joined the Central Strike Committee. It contained both workers from the trade union opposition and rank and file workers who were members of the P.P.S., unorganised workers and also representatives of the women and the youth. The strike committee included the following:—11 from the R.T.U.O., 4 from the P.P.S., the remainder non-Party, but most of them tending towards the R.T.U.O. It was a genuine expression of the united front of the masses under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. The masses knew that the Central Strike Committee was in danger of arrest. At the initiative of the R.T.U.O. a reserve strike committee was elected, which acted as a "distributing committee." This was of great importance for training a wider circle of active workers for the leadership of the strike.

From the very beginning of the strike, Kapitulko and Korbut (Christian-Democrats) tried to get the leadership of the strike handed over to the trade union committee. The workers did not agree. Only the Central Strike Committee was authorised to negotiate with the factory owners. The fascist Voyevod and the factory owners in practice were compelled to recognise the Central Strike Committee. This fact is the best proof of the enormous strength and authority of the Central Strike Committee, based on a broad mass movement. But in spite of this the workers considered it necessary to keep a constant check on the committee. The Central Strike Committee held all its meetings with open doors.

The most serious shortcoming in the organisation of the striking textile workers was the absence of strike committees at the various textile factories. Some comrades held the opinion that the formation of a net-work of strike committees in the factories might weaken the Central Strike Committee. The extreme incorrectness of such a view is shown by the general textile strike in Lodz, where, in addition to the Central Strike Committee, there were 35 factory committees almost entirely under the influence of the R.T.U.O. The Central Strike Committee was able to ensure the leadership of the Lodz strike only because it firmly relied on these strike committees and was closely connected with the masses through them.

In Belostok the R.T.U.O. took into account the experience of last year's textile strike, where the Central Strike Committee was destroyed by the police before it had time to carry on a mass campaign. Almost every day before the strike a delegate meeting was held. The strike began on March 16, and at first only included a few of the factories, chiefly small and medium. It was only as the result of the tremendous efforts of the Party organisation and the R.T.U.O. day after day that it was possible to convert the partial strike of the textile workers into a general strike in which all the textile workers in Belostok and district, i.e., over 2,000 workers, took part.

At their own initiative the strikers adopted a method of spreading the strike to other centres which had never been tried before in West White Russia, namely, demonstrative marches to the factories still at work. In this way, about 500 workers were brought out even on the first day of the strike. One of the strikers describes the demonstration as follows:—

"A column of several hundred people, headed by the Central Strike Committee, marched to the Sokol factory. They were met by the police. Women stood at the head of the demonstration. The police, who had received orders to shoot, were compelled to retreat. They allowed a delegation of 50 people into the factory. The mass of striking workers agitated among the still wavering workers in the Sokol factory. The workers quit their work and came out onto the street where they joined the demonstration. The procession then marched to another factory which was still working. When the workers were being brought out at the Marcus factory, the representatives of the Central Strike Committee and the youth delegate on this committee were arrested. The demonstration of working women forced the police to release the prisoners."

Specially popular marches were those from Belostok to Vasilkovo (7 km. from the town), to Pishanniki (10 km.), and to Suprasl (14 km.) for the purpose of stopping the textile factories in these places.

There were sharp conflicts with the police. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the strikers can be seen by extracts from workers' letters:—

"The whole demonstration returned from Vasilkovo to Belostok in a fighting mood. They sang the 'International'."

An old working woman took a red kerchief from her head to serve as a red flag for the workers."

A great role in the mobilisation of the masses was also played by meetings of textile workers, which, in contradistinction to those of last year, were much larger, and had 700 to 2,000 workers. The workers were very active at these meetings. Though it was not always possible after a meeting to form a street demonstration, this can be explained partly by the legalist feelings of some of the comrades who wished to keep the strike in legal limits.

Special attention should be paid to the active participation of working women and youth in the strike. Strike pickets consisted mainly of young workers who organised youth meetings, put forward their demands, elected a strike committee of the youth and sent a delegate to the general Central Strike Committee.

During the whole campaign, women textile workers fought in the first ranks. The very women who, owing to their backwardness, spoke at meetings "against politics and for an economic strike" were the ones who gave the strike a political character, struggling against the police, demonstrating before the district law courts and police stations, etc. When it was announced at a meeting of 800 women that the Brest peasants had sent potatoes for the strikers, a joyful shout rose from the hall, "Long live the Communist potatoes!"

At the beginning of April the Lodz strike ended. The factory owners tried to take advantage of the moment, so critical for the Belostok textile workers, and demanded a wage-cut of 20-30 per cent. instead of the previous 10-15 per cent. The social-fascist T.U. bureaucrats energetically called on the workers to make concessions. At one time even the president of the strike committee began to vacillate. The bourgeoisie and the authorities made every effort to break the strike before May 1. There was a sharp increase of police terror. The culminating point of this terror was the arrest of all the prominent workers on the Central Strike Committee on April 20-21. The next day, in response to the appeal of the C.P., West White Russia, about 1,500 workers demonstrated and demanded the release of the prisoners. The police were greeted with a hail of stones. As the result of the conflict, 13 workers and several of the police were severely injured. A resolution was passed at a meeting of the textile workers not to conduct any negotiations with the factory owners until all the prisoners were released. The strike took on a more definite political character.

Immediately before May 1, the factory owners tried the following provocation:—On April 28, all the factory whistles began to blow in the early morning so as to deceive the workers. But the Communists, who had found out in advance about this, put pickets in front of the factories at 4 o'clock in the morning. Not a single worker went to the factory. The social-fascists hastened to the assistance of the employers. A notice was hung up that only those with a trade union card or a sick benefit society card could come to trade union meetings. But the workers tricked the social-fascists. They gathered in groups of 50 and went into the trade union building, showing their cards. Then one of the group gathered all the cards, went out into the street, and brought in another group who had no cards. In this way 700 people were gathered.

The strike of the Belostok textile workers, the murder of four workers by the police in Pabianitsi, the strike of the Lodz textile workers, all helped to popularise the slogan of the general strike. At the proposal of the R.T.U.O., the trade union conference in Belostok elected a so-called "committee of solidarity" to organise a general strike in Belostok. A decision for a sympathy strike was passed at two big meetings, of which one was entirely under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. and the other partly. On April 3 there was a one-day sympathy strike in which a considerable part of the Belostok proletariat participated. On April 20 there was a second sympathy strike which lasted three days. About 5,500 workers struck together with the textile workers. On May 18 there was the third sympathy strike. The textile strike was already in its third month. This time not only the workers of Belostok came out, but also the woodworkers of Beloveji and the leather workers of the whole district. The strike spread to Grodno. However, it should be pointed out that the communal workers and the railwaymen did not participate in these movements.

The Belostok strike had a tremendous influence on the workers of all West White Russia. It found an echo in a series of strikes such as the saw-mill strike in Gainovka, the boot-makers' strike, the strike of the Vilno brickworks, the strike of the veneer factories in Grodno and Mosti, etc. Almost all these strikes were under the leadership of the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O.

Solidarity with the Belostok strikers was shown also by the material aid given by the workers of Belostok, Lodz and Warsaw. The peasants of Brestovitz and Belsk sent 150 poods of potatoes for the strikers, and the peasants of Prujanschina gathered products for the children of the striking textile workers. The political significance of this solidarity of the peasants with the workers, especially the solidarity of the White Russian peasants with the Polish and Jewish textile workers, is enormous.

When the bourgeoisie saw that the stubbornness of the strikers could not be broken, they carried on the most beastly slander in their press. The fascist, Voyevod, wrote a letter about the "demoralising" influence of the strike, that "the strike is a disgrace to society." The government telegraph agency threatened the strikers that they would lose the right to receive relief for the whole of the coming year if they did not start work by June 1. The social-fascist leaders tried to sow panic at meetings of workers. But the strikers, under firm, revolutionary leadership, did not let themselves be frightened.

The social-fascists set traps for the workers. In a speech by the P.P.S. trade union bureaucrat, Kapitulko, he hypocritically called for a united front with the Communists and declared his agreement with the Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. The striking textile workers did not fall into the trap, did not give way to the strike-breaking agitation of the T.U. bureaucrats, and therefore achieved favourable results. It is true that in the new collective agreement it was unavoidable to agree to a wage scale which was slightly lower than the 1932 scale, but nevertheless there was an increase of 6-10 per cent. in wages.

At Suprasl and Pishanniki, where the employers did not carry out the conditions of the new agreement, the strike still continues. On July 9, one of the demonstrations in Suprasl came into conflict with the police. According to official reports, two workers were killed and several wounded. Among the police about 15 were injured. On July 12, in Belostok, there was the fourth general political strike of protest against the fascist terror, and all the factories were involved. The funeral of the murdered workers became a mighty revolutionary demonstration against the fascist government, the government of starvation, terror and war.

Among the organisational shortcomings which were apparent in the Belostok strike, we should note: (a) insufficient preparational work, which to some extent was the result of the disbelief of some of the Party activists in the possibility of conducting the strike; (b) the absence of local strike committees; (c) not sufficient efforts were made to draw the communal workers and railwaymen into the strike; (d) a certain underestimation of the work in the trade unions; (e) poor organisational consolidation of the enormous political influence of the Communist Party. We should here point out that the comrades did not expose the social-fascist T.U. bureaucrats with sufficient concreteness and consistency, owing to which fact they were not completely isolated from the strikers.

In addition to these shortcomings we should emphasise the tremendous achievements obtained by the Belostok Party organisation in the textile strike. For the first time in recent years, the Communists here succeeded in wresting the leadership out of the hands of the social-fascists and leading the strike of a decisive proletarian section of West White Russia. Besides the Central Strike Committee, there were formed many other organs of the united front such as the reserve strike committee, the committee for the organisation of strike pickets, the pickets themselves, solidarity committees, etc. Owing to the activity of the Party organisation, the strike was spread wider than last year, and it was possible, for example, to bring out the textile workers from the Citroen factory in Suprasl, which was considered as a stronghold of the Christian-Democratic Trade Union. Even the most backward section of workers were thrown into the strike. For the first time after a long interval the masses in Belostok came out onto the streets and won the streets. Demonstrations, accompanied by fierce fighting with the police, the unprecedented extent of the movement, with which four general sympathy strikes were closely connected, the political character of the entire strike campaign, the exceptional activity of the women and youth, the increase of Communist influence among the Christian-Democratic workers—such are the achievements of the last strike of the Belostok textile workers, led by the C.P. of West White Russia.

The Belostok textile strike once again demonstrates the falsity of the opportunist theory that it is "impossible" to win strikes during the crisis. It is the best evidence of the inexhaustible reserve of revolutionary energy possessed by the proletariat of

Poland. The wide scope of the strike movement, the new upsurge of the mass activity of the peasants in the village, the growth of the national liberation movement in West Ukraine and West White Russia once more prove how correct was the analysis of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the Sixth Congress of the C.P.P., that Poland is closely approaching a revolutionary crisis.

“Sekki” (Red Flag) in the Struggle against Provocateurs and Traitors

By G.

“Sekki” (Red Flag), the central organ of the C.P. of Japan, shows in its issues of January 10, 20, 25, and March 5 that the question of the struggle against provocation occupies a considerable place in the work of the Party.

“It is the class duty of all Party members and all workers to struggle for the bolshevisation and the strengthening of the Party and to resist all provocation.” (“Sekki,” January 20, 1933.)

Such a position of the central organ of the Party fully corresponds to the serious danger which all the time threatens the Party from police provocation and the serious blows which have been delivered against the Party.

The paper deals with the provocation work carried on by the government, and raises the question of the necessity of defending the Party against provocateurs, spies and their willing and unwilling assistants.

“It has now become clear that the cause of the arrests and the brutal murders of Party members since October 30* was a despicable provocateur, Momose (Okamoto), who was sent into our Party by the terrified representatives of the military-police monarchy with the aim of destroying it from within, and an unreliable and corrupt petty-bourgeois element, Kuki, who in combination with the provocateur, violating the rules of the Party, distorting the policy of the Party, by his adventurous actions, objectively supported the policy of the cunning and clever spy of the monarchist government and tried to disrupt the belief of the masses in the policy of our Party.” (“Sekki,” March 5, 1933.)

The paper further gives biographical information about the provocateur Okamoto (Momose) and states:

“(1) In connection with the events of October 30, Okamoto, together with Tagawa, participated in the selection of the place for a meeting (the people at the meeting were arrested). This place was known to the authorities several days before the arrests.

“(2) In connection with the events of December 1 (the meeting where all the leading comrades were arrested), Okamoto was really the person responsible and he himself confirmed and well knew the nature of the forthcoming meeting and its place.

“(3) Okamoto was responsible for the arrest of two members of the Editorial Board on December 9 in the streets of Ginza.” (“Sekki,” March 5, 1933.)

But not only the provocateurs who were sent into our ranks by the class enemy must be mercilessly exposed, but those who cannot act as Bolsheviks when arrested and who betray the names of their comrades or inform the police of any Party business must be branded with shame and expelled from the Party. Even anyone who confirms the evidence of other prisoners is a traitor. The police usually obtain their agents from such weak and unreliable people. The betrayal of Party secrets and Party members to the class enemy is treachery, and no “objective” reasons (tortures, etc.) can justify such treachery.

But the Party organ focuses the attention of the comrades also on another kind of treachery—renegacy concealed by flowery phrases and attempts to provide an “ideological basis.”

“A group of vacillating and inactive elements under the influence of the propaganda of the enemy about the breaking up of the Party centre and the existence of spies in the Party apparatus, voluntarily broke their contacts with the Party and did not try to restore these contacts. At the most serious moment they abandoned the struggle and retreated,” we read in “Sekki” of January 20, 1933.

* The events referred to are the mass arrests which began on October 30, 1932.

Further, we read that a group of Party members (workers of the financial section) of their own accord took on the name of “C.C. of the Japanese Communist Party, Section of the Comintern,” and on December 24, 1933, they published a “special” number of “Sekki” on a duplicator in which they falsely stated that the Editorial Board and the printing machines of “Sekki” had been seized by provocateurs and called for the dissolution of this organisation. This unprincipled group hid behind flowery phrases about the “restoration of Party work through the hands of the workers of the big factories.” This same group hindered the distribution of No. 109 and 110 of “Sekki” which were published at a moment when the Party was being severely persecuted by the police, and they attempted to tear the central organ away from the Party leaders.

“Sekki” stated correctly that

“Such actions are nothing but collaboration with the military-police government of the capitalists, landlords and emperor, and they are counter-revolutionary deeds which betray the interests of the workers and peasants.”

At the moment when the Party was suffering heavy blows, when unceasing arrests of Communists took place, beginning with October, 1932, the weakest elements in the Party began to waver, to leave the Party or to become absolute enemies.

Renegades deserve nothing but contempt and expulsion from our ranks, and we note with satisfaction the decision of the C.C. C.P.J.:

“Fudzivara, who shamelessly in the name of the Party centre carried on uncontrolled disorganising Party work and proposed to disband the Party apparatus is hereby *expelled from the Party.*” (“Sekki,” January 20, 1933.)

Other participators in this adventure who admitted their mistakes were removed by the C.C. from responsible Party positions which they had occupied, and administered a severe reprimand and final warning.

From the resolutions which are published in “Sekki” on January 20, 1933 (Resolution of the C.C. Y.C.L., C.C. Red Aid, Dzenkil and a number of mass workers’ and peasants’ organisations), we see that the expulsion of the provocateurs, renegades and liquidators from the Party was fully approved and supported by the Party and non-Party workers and the peasants. This is the great strength of the Party and the C.C.

The great merit of our Party consists in the fact that, despite the wide development of provocation and police terror, it has succeeded in restoring its ranks with truly Bolshevik organisation and steadily continuing its work. “The centre of our Party menacingly exists,” writes “Sekki” on January 20, “and is carrying on firm leadership among the raging whirlwinds of the white terror.” And not only the centre of the Japanese Communist Party but also the lower Party organisations exist firmly and menacingly. The Japanese Party is alive and will continue to live. It will not be crushed by the murderers and provocateurs of the Japanese Empire. The very fact that “Sekki” is coming out regularly is a clear proof of how firmly the Japanese Bolshevik Party stands on its feet, how firm are its contacts with the proletariat and the toiling masses.

While speaking of all these facts which point to the good work of our Party, we must not omit mentioning the shortcomings which exist in the given section of the work and which have not been dealt with sufficiently in our ranks.

First of all we must examine whether the Party has done all in its power to guard its ranks against the penetration of provocateurs and whether it has shown sufficient vigilance on this question.

In reply to the question as to who was the provocateur Momose, how he got into the Party and what was his role in it, we find the following information in “Sekki”:

“Okamoto or Okamura (real name Momose Satsio), 25 years old. Son of the owner of baths at the health resort of Asama in the town of Matsumoto. After graduating from the commercial school in Matsumoto he was closely connected with the editors of an artistic and literary journal ‘Patanamu.’ In April, 1931, he joined the League of Proletarian Singers. He began to approach the Party in autumn, 1931, when he got into contact with a member of the technical department

through a member of the League of Proletarian Singers. In summer, 1932, he became a member of the financial department and at the time of the events of October 30, 1932, he was the head of the house sub-department of the Financial Section." ("Sekki," January 10, 1933.)

Thus we see firstly that Momose originated from a hostile environment. It was only in autumn, 1931, that he began to approach the Party. We are specially struck by the fact that he at once got into contact with the workers of the *Technical Department*. It is natural and plain that this department was specially interesting for a provocateur and he tried to make firm contacts precisely with this department because in the technical department he could get hold of all the threads of conspirative work. But it is not at all natural or plain why the Party organisation did not show the necessary vigilance and did not hinder the provocateur in reaching his aim. It is equally inconceivable that in less than a year after Momose got into contact with the Party, he was already a member of the Financial Department of the C.C. and closely connected with the centre of the Party leadership.

Such facts can only be described as a very light-minded attitude to the work, and all the Party organisations must immediately draw the necessary conclusions from them.

The central organ must also pay attention to the question of the correct construction of the Party apparatus and the relations between the Party and non-Party organisations.

In the Japanese Party we see a situation in which in some cases the illegal Party organisations have been connected with the non-Party legal mass organisations in such a way that provocateurs were able to penetrate into the illegal Party organisations and even into the Party committees through the mass organisations as was the case with Momose. The Party must carry on a most decided struggle against such abnormal facts.

The wide circles of sympathisers who surround our Party must serve as a transmission belt to the masses. But in all conditions the boundary between the Party and non-Party organisations must never be destroyed. We must always remember that through these channels the provocateurs will always try to penetrate into our Party. Therefore it is the task of the Party to prevent that illegal Party work and the leading workers of the Party abandon the conspiratorial methods towards sympathisers. The attraction of the best elements among the sympathisers to the Party must be preceded by their most serious preparations for the severe trials which Party members will have to undergo in the struggle against the despotism of the Mikado.

By mercilessly and boldly exposing the provocateurs and renegades and the adventurists, by giving a mass character to the struggle against provocateurs and mobilising all the Party members and the broad masses of non-Party workers and peasants for this struggle, and also by submitting its own mistakes and omissions to the sternest self-criticism, "Sekki" helps towards the greater strengthening of the steel ranks of the Communist Party and becomes the true *red banner* of the great revolutionary struggle of the Japanese proletariat.

Book Review

The Cuban Revolution

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

"Who Fights for a Free Cuba?" a 38-page pamphlet by Martin Kaye and Louise Perry, written for the Anti-Imperialist League of the U.S. (Workers' Library Publishers, New York, Sept., 1933, 30 cents), is a timely review of developments in the chief island possession of American imperialism. It summarises the present political situation, as well as the struggle for freedom of the past

hundred years. Opening with a graphic and detailed account of the general strike and revolution that overthrew Machado, it goes on to describe the activities of Welles and the U.S. State Dept. in installing Cespedes and ringing the island around with its entire Atlantic fleet in an attempt to oust or modify the Junta that succeeded him. It is a good research job, interestingly written, one shortcoming being the somewhat inadequate space given to the role of the C.P. and Anti-Imperialist League of Cuba in the revolution and to their activities under the Junta.

The history of American relations with Cuba during the past hundred years is one of constant endeavour to annex it. During the early decades of the last century the purpose was military defence against Great Britain; prior to the Civil War of 1860, it was to strengthen the slave power of the south against the rising capitalism of the northern states; and in the last quarter of the century to extend imperialist penetration, particularly in the sugar industry. The brutality of Spanish domination, which the U.S. had persistently refused to notice, suddenly became a stench in its nostrils when the imperialist phase of American development became dominant, and the economic pressure of the 1894 tariff was followed by the atrocity propaganda which ended in provoking war against Spain and acquiring an island empire in the West Indies and Pacific. The Platt Amendment was put through the U.S. Congress in virtual secrecy and made a part of the Cuban Constitution, and for a third of a century has been the political basis of Yankee rule.

The billion and a quarter dollars invested by Wall Street in Cuba is guaranteed by the marines and naval base at Guantanamo, plus the entire fleet when necessary. Nearly half this greatest investment in any Caribbean or South American country is in sugar alone. Such names as the National City and Chase Banks, Bethlehem Steel, Armour Packing, United Fruit, Standard Oil, American Sugar, etc., indicate the masters of Cuban economic life. Military intervention was resorted to four times since 1906 to maintain their sway, and the present imminent intervention, with some 40 warships in or near Cuban waters, is the fifth. Economic developments since the world war, the transference of Machado from Morgan's Electric Bond and Share Co. into the presidency, and the effects of the economic crisis of the last four years are gone into briefly, but adequately, as well as the results of the ravages of unemployment and of racial oppression (a quarter of the population of 4,000,000 are Negroes).

The C.P. of Cuba was founded in 1925, and though it has been illegal since, it has embedded its roots among the masses (the C.N.O.C.—National Labour Confederation of Cuba—is a mass "left-wing" organisation). The wave of strikes initiated in 1929 by the C.P. and C.N.O.C. culminated in the political general strike of March, 1930, and the great May Day demonstration following it. Other strikes followed in 1931 in Havana, and in 1932 in Santiago, and in the spring of this year 20,000 sugar workers struck in a well-prepared struggle against imperialism. It involved the solidarity of white and Negro and foreign workers, of peasants and towns people, increasing the power of the union confederation greatly, doubling the membership of the C.P., and strengthening the Anti-Imperialist League.

Considerable space is given to Machado's reign of terror against the revolutionary movement. Three thousand workers, peasants and students were murdered from 1925 on, among the leaders being Lopez, Varona, Brouzon, Mella, Wong, Brook, etc. The last section discusses the Cespedes regime, its overthrow and the rise of the revolutionary Junta, with the pressure upon the latter of the U.S. navy on the one hand, and of the revolutionary masses on the other. The pamphlet closes with the August 3 programme of action of the C.P. On the whole it is a simple and succinct story of Cuban developments.

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