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## CORRESPONDENCE

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## The Geneva Crisis and the Crisis of the Versailles System

Moscow, 16th October.

To-day's "Pravda" devotes its leading article to the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations, and to the recalling of its delegation from the "Disarmament" Conference. The "Pravda" writes, under the title of "The Geneva Crisis and the Crisis of the Versailles System":—

The withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations, and the recalling of the German delegation from the Geneva "Disarmament" Conference, indicates before all that the so-called "struggle" of the capitalists for "peace and disarmament" has run into a blind alley. The withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations has plainly shown the extent and intensity of the unbridgeable antagonisms dividing the imperialist groupings in their feuds with one another.

German fascism, from the first moment of its seizure of power, has been ceaselessly challenging the imperialists, especially English imperialism. It speaks continually of its "historical mission" as the faithful guardian of the strongholds of capitalism, and as the rampart against the proletarian revolution in Europe. And for this purpose it demands more armaments.

But it has proved impossible to come to an agreement; the imperialist antagonisms are too great. The objective result and first product of this policy is an even greater foreign political isolation of Germany, as graphically illustrated by its retirement from Geneva.

The withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations deals

a staggering blow at the Geneva institution—this instrument for the oppression of small and weak peoples—the second blow which it has received within a short time.

For fifteen years the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys have deceived and defrauded the toilers in the name of "justice" and "peace" allegedly embodied in this Geneva tribunal. The complete bankruptcy of this Geneva institution, which serves solely to cloak the agreements arrived at among the imperialists, will now become clear to fresh millions of toilers of all countries.

The withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and the recalling of its delegation from the "Disarmament" Conference is not a step towards the "preservation of peace," nor is it calculated to "lessen the danger of war," as the national socialist leaders are endeavouring to make out. It is an action which shows that fascist Germany is setting its hopes on growing armaments, on the Balkanisation of Europe, and that the capitalist world has entered the path of open preparation for new imperialist wars.

In Geneva the German fascists saw themselves confronted by an actual united front of England, France, and the United States. Never before has Germany's foreign political isolation been so complete as now. German fascism, in leaving Geneva, doubtless hopes that its "resolute attitude" will break up the uncertain united front of the imperialist States in the question of the German armaments.

In any case, the "Disarmament" Conference, after dragging on without result for nineteen months, has now landed in a hopeless cul de sac.

But German fascism, too, is in a blind alley, and a very narrow one. Its demonstrative gesture is an inner political manoeuvre, aiming at providing a safety valve for the growing dissatisfaction of the toiling masses, and at saving the fascist dictatorship now heading for bankruptcy.

This foreign political step on Germany's part coincides, and not accidentally, with Hindenburg's decree "dissolving" the Reichstag, or rather what is left of the Reichstag. This measure pursues the same aim of arousing a fresh wave of chauvinism all over the country, of staging an apparent "expression of the will of the people," so much needed by German fascism in its present emergency, on the threshold of the fifth winter of starvation, and after the scandalous fiasco in Leipzig and Berlin, the judicial farce which has exposed to the toilers the mechanism of fascist "home policy," that home policy which consists of blatantly deceiving one section of the toilers and ruthlessly terrorising the rest. The fascists are striving to re-divide Europe, in order to bring about another Versailles robbery. For this they need armaments. They want to secure equal rights, that they may take their part in the suppression and plundering of the small and weak peoples.

And who does not know the adventurous plans of Mr. Rosenberg against the Soviet Union?

The German bourgeoisie is seeking a way out from the foreign political blind alley by means of direct agreement with the imperialist Powers "among themselves." The withdrawal from Geneva is intended to exert pressure on the former allies, and at the same time to consolidate the position of the fascist order at home, enabling it to get through the fifth starvation winter.

Therefore, the real motives behind this step are by no means those advanced by national socialist diplomacy. Fascism requires a moratorium at home. The chauvinist emotions of the petty bourgeoisie are to be stirred up again, so that the situation of the fascists, rendered insecure by the failure of their social demagogy, may be re-established. At the same time the fascists want to demonstrate to their imperialist competitors the "unity between government and people." Therefore, the corpse of the Reichstag is to be resurrected; therefore, in the name of the Reich President, a ridiculous and absurd constitutional ceremony will be gone through, that the "nation may state its opinion on the vital questions of the German people." Both these measures are the clumsiest demagogy. For who does not know perfectly well that the sole constitution in Germany is the truncheon, the sole law the interest of the financial oligarchy, and the sole striving of the fascist leaders to render services to world imperialism and thereby to win its favour?

Germany's withdrawal from Geneva signifies the breaking up of the "Disarmament" Conference and the beginning of open increased armaments in all imperialist States, including fascist Germany.

Now that Japan and Germany, these two most militant of the imperialist countries, have left the League of Nations, what is left of it and of the "Disarmament" Conference? The Japanese bourgeoisie is already waging war on China. German fascism, too, is aiming at war. It is not for nothing that the landowners East of the Elbe and in East Prussia talk of the Baltic countries as "Western Manchuria." Another "Manchuria" upon which the fascists are casting an eye in the centre of Europe, is Austria.

Demagogy at home is combined by fascism with a policy of adventure abroad, and the German fascists are endeavouring to create the necessary situation enabling this policy to be crowned with success.

The Geneva crisis is only one outward expression of the profounder crisis of the Versailles system, pregnant with disaster—the events of the last few days are ample warning of this.

The proletarians and toilers of Germany are recognising more and more clearly where the national socialist leaders are leading the country.

Foreign political isolation on the one hand, unemployment, starvation, and want for the toilers on the other—these are the fruits of the eight months' rule of the German fascists.

Only the German Communist Party—the sole leader of the proletariat and the toilers—will shatter fascism, lead the country out of the blind alley, and victoriously break the fetters of the Versailles system.

## Politics

### The Bolt from the Blue in Geneva

By Gabriel Péri (Paris)

The correspondent of one of the big French daily newspapers telephoned his newspaper on Saturday evening to the effect that all the statesmen assembled in Geneva had the impression that October 14 represented a turning-point in the history of Europe. And in fact Germany's resignation from the League of Nations is without a doubt one of the most important diplomatic moves in the history of the post-war period, quite apart from the fact that it brings the world tremendously much nearer to armed conflicts.

In the few hours which followed the announcement of the news in Paris the action of German nationalism was answered by an outbreak of chauvinism such as that which characterised the pre-war period immediately prior to August 4, 1914. The French newspapers unanimously pointed out that in view of the fact that the League of Nations Pact now no longer bound Germany, of the fact that the disarmament agreement would now never see the light of day, Germany was at least still bound by the provisions of Versailles and Locarno. The Versailles Treaty provides for the imposition of military sanctions under certain circumstances and the majority of the French newspapers are openly in favour of an adventure against which the criminal occupation of the Ruhr would be child's play. The opinion expressed energetically in militarist circles is that Germany must be faced with a sort of Holy Alliance of Great Britain, France and the United States. With hardly noticeable variations this is also the standpoint of *le Populaire*, the official organ of the French socialist party. The "Populaire" rubs its hands at the events of October 14 and recommends the French government to make use of its advantages without loss of time.

In short, with the assistance of the act of the German government the bourgeoisie of France is doing its best to form a new "Holy Alliance" allegedly for the defence of democracy against fascism.

This makes it necessary to examine the origins of the action of October 14 which lie very far back and to examine also the circumstances which immediately preceded it. It is not true to say, as leading circles in France naturally do, that Germany is alone responsible for the situation.

Those chiefly responsible are those who laid the iron yoke of Versailles on to the German people in 1919, those who held parts of German territory by military occupation for years, and those who have fought bitterly since 1927 in Geneva to maintain French military hegemony under cover of the doctrine of security. The contradiction between the development of monopoly capitalism in Germany and the expansionist tendencies of the German bourgeoisie on the one hand and the military clauses of the 1919 treaty cannot be solved peaceably. It is Hitler's intention to solve them with a sudden coup.

But apart from this, the circumstances which preceded October 14 by no means exculpate the French imperialists, but on the contrary place a heavy responsibility on their shoulders. Let us recall the development of events: At the beginning of September negotiations were conducted in Paris between *Daladier*, *Sir John Simon* and *Norman Davis*. Italy was called into the negotiations. The result of these negotiations was the well-known proposals which were to have been presented to the Nazi government as a sort of ultimatum.

This scheme did not even mention any immediate reduction of military forces. The military hegemony enjoyed by France in Europe was fundamentally maintained in the proposals. In a publication which is known to reproduce the opinions of the French Foreign Office faithfully, *Notre Temps*, Jean Luchaire sums up the advantages which the proposals would have given to France as follows:

(1) The solidarity existing between France, Great Britain and the United States would be strengthened. The United States would no longer be able to accuse France of militarism or of hypocritical enmity towards disarmament. Great Britain, which has just solemnly confirmed its undertakings under the Locarno agreements with regard to the guarantee for the security of the eastern frontiers of France and for the de-militarisation of the Rhineland zone, would be immediately and without reservation on the side of France at the least incident.

(2) Theoretical equality in armaments would come into operation only after the period of the "hollow years" (1934 to 1938) and then international control would assure that Germany played the game.

(3) Equality of armaments even when reached would still leave France at a great advantage because in addition to the 200,000 men of the home army would come a further 200,000 men in the French colonial army. Further, Poland would also have an army and equipment equal to those of Germany. Czechoslovakia would also be similarly equipped.

In other words, *complete equality of armaments on the Continent will not mean an equality of military strength between the rival groups of States who will one day face each other in a system of alliances.*

At the congress of the Radical Party of France in Vichy Daladier laid down the leading principles of his proposals and boasted that he had secured the approval of the Soviet Union for them. The truth of the situation, however, is that the Soviet Union, whose proposal for general and complete disarmament and its subsequent proposal for partial disarmament were rejected at Geneva with the active participation of the French delegation, has always been careful to avoid giving any pretext for a competition in armaments and is always prepared to agree to any proposals for the reduction of armaments no matter how suspicious the source of such proposals may be.

However, it is certain that the proposals of the three powers were drawn up with a view to securing their rejection by Germany. With this idea in mind the French government was even prepared to agree to certain concessions in drawing up the proposals and on this account aroused the hypocritical indignation of *General Weygand*. For a long time previously the German government had let it be known that it would demand for Germany "samples" of those categories of arms which are prohibited under the Versailles Treaty, or that, in the alternative, it would demand the abolition of such categories of arms. The refusal of the German government to accept the proposals of the three powers had already been calculated by the French government and correspondingly used in order to increase Germany's isolation.

But on October 13 this complicated manoeuvre of the French government met with the resistance of the representatives of Great Britain and the United States. The declaration of the three powers which was to have been read by *Sir John Simon* was then abandoned. On the morning of October 14 the British representative in Geneva confined himself to explaining once again the attitude of his government. The speech which was subsequently delivered by *Paul Boncour* revealed the fact that serious differences of opinion existed between the two partners. With regard to the question of a test period, and in particular with regard to the question of the armament of the future Reichswehr, *Sir John Simon* opened the door wide for bargaining, but at the same time he announced that the British government would continue its opposition to any concession to Germany in the question of the categories of arms forbidden to Germany under the Versailles Treaty.

The government of the "Third Reich" in Germany had therefore two possibilities open to it: the first was to enter the labyrinth of negotiations at *Sir John Simon's* invitation, and the second was to bring matters suddenly to a head, and it was this second course upon which the Cabinet of the German Reich finally decided.

Its aim was to galvanise the masses of the German people in a nationalist movement, to exploit the justifiable hatred of the masses for the Versailles Treaty and in this way to draw the attention of the impoverished working and middle classes of Germany away from the fiasco of the demagogic programme of national socialism, a fiasco which was becoming more and more obvious and dangerous as the winter months approached. The speech of *Hitler* and his reference to the Leipzig trial leave no room for doubt: with the assistance of a "people's referendum" fascism hopes to justify its intensified terrorist methods against the German revolutionaries.

There is no doubt that the action of the German government brings with it the danger that the governments of Great Britain and the United States will line up against Germany. Apparently *Hitler's* speech of October 14 was an attempt to forestall this danger. Once again he declared that Germany had a great mission to fulfil in the name of the European community, namely, to save Europe from bolshevism. He announced that in order to fulfil this mission it was necessary that Germany's conditions should be

agreed to and he offered Daladier an anti-Soviet alliance of Germany and France.

It would not be correct to assume that such a proposal must necessarily be in vain. In the present situation of international tension the struggle against the Soviet Union may very well offer a solid base for a compromise between the imperialist powers, and therefore the *Communist Party of France* appeals to the working masses to resist the wave of chauvinism and war-mongering incitement and to strengthen the united front for the defence of the Soviet Union.

## The Political Crisis in Greece

By Kostas Grypos

The result of the elections of March 6 last and the abortive putsch of the Venizelos General Plastiras plainly revealed the distribution of political forces in the camp of the Greek bourgeoisie. For the first time since the disaster in Asia Minor in the year 1922, the democratic camp under Venizelos lost parliamentary power. The government was taken over by the Tsaldaris bloc. After the war Tsaldaris' People's Party, in spite of its feudal pre-war traditions and its backwardness, likewise developed into a big capitalist party which gathered into its camp all the big bankers, industrial and other backward capitalist circles which were discontented with Venizelos. The feudal remnants of the people's party (with the exception of a few elements which left it and founded a "national-socialist party") formed, together with many royalist ossified provincial politicians, the right wing of the party, which under the name of the "inexorables" has over 31 seats in parliament and is under the unofficial leadership of the Minister Rallis.

This distribution of the political forces was reflected in the relation of forces in the army, the navy and the air force, which underwent a similar development. For the first time in ten years the Venizelite democratic officers lost their predominant position in the army and navy, and it came to a balance between them and the followers of Tsaldaris, Kondylis and Hadjikyriakos. The Tsaldaris government would never be able to maintain itself in power if, in addition to the very narrow parliamentary majority, it had not achieved this balance in the army and in the navy. Tsaldaris is, of course, doing everything in order to change this relation of forces still more in his own favour. For this purpose he has caused parliament to pass two laws. The one law separates the electoral district of the colonies of refugees (the great majority of whom voted for Venizelos) from the actual electoral district of Athens and Piræus. Tsaldaris hopes thereby to save his majority in the two big towns. He intends by means of a second law to purge the army, the navy and the air force from all important Venizelite officers, giving as a pretext their participation in the Plastiras putsch.

One would assume that after the establishment of the balance inside and outside of parliament the Tsaldaris government would feel safe for some time. This is far from being the case, however. Two events, the attempt on the life of Venizelos and the supplemental elections in Salonica, have shaken the political life of the country and revealed the depth of the capitalist crisis and the inability of Greek capitalism to find even a temporary solution of its difficulties.

The attempt on the life of Venizelos was organised by the head of the police. It has been established to-day that behind the attempted assassination was the "inexorable" wing of the Tsaldaris party, and that the monarchist deputy Mavromichalis and ex-prince Nicholas financed the band of robbers which made the abortive attempt on the life of Venizelos. Up to now the police have taken no effective action against the culprits, whilst an official government paper published on its first page an interview with the robber Karathanassis, who is "in hiding"! The only concession Tsaldaris made to the opposition was that he dismissed the Minister for the Interior Rallis, and replaced the chief of police by a higher judge. During the stormy debate in parliament on the attempted assassination, Tsaldaris refused to make any answer, giving as a reason that he did not wish parliament to be turned into a bear garden.

By declaring void the election results in Salonica and carrying out fresh elections, Tsaldaris hoped to be able completely to defeat Venizelos and win a further 22 seats in parliament. Both bourgeois blocs concentrated their whole forces on Salonica. Venizelos played the game of "saviour of the Republic" against

the "monarchist" Tsaldaris, especially among the refugees. The inadequate work of the C.P. in Salonica (which has been openly criticised by the C.P. of Greece) and the criminally disruptive activity of the Trotskyists (they carried on regular spying activity and created confusion in the ranks of the working class with their election list, for which they polled only 360 votes), enabled the bourgeoisie to break the Communist front. The Communist Party lost 30 per cent. of its previous vote. Tsaldaris, however, was unable to achieve his aim with regard to Venizelos; the supplementary elections resulted in a defeat for him. The composition of forces in parliament remains unchanged. The fight between both blocs continues with the same bitterness.

What is the situation now? The crisis has profoundly shaken the bourgeoisie. The capitalists are concentrating all their efforts on establishing an economic autarchy, of course entirely at the cost of the working masses. The import restrictions, the customs barriers, the dream of a grain autarchy, the enormous subventions to industry, the special support given to the chemical industry, the propaganda for "national products," etc., all mean further cruel sacrifices for the working population.

However, under the leadership of the Communist Party the resistance of the working population is steadily growing. The whole country is swept by one strike wave after the other. Peasant revolts are becoming more frequent. The masses of small shopkeepers and traders often fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers; and the civil servants, likewise under the leadership of the Communists, are organising a large-scale action against the government: they are preparing for a general strike.

Under these conditions the political crisis in the bourgeois camp is becoming more and more acute. The fight of the two bourgeois blocs for power acquires a fresh impulse. Venizelos and his supporters are converting the senate, in which they hold the majority, into a stronghold against the Tsaldaris majority in parliament. The law passed by parliament for purging the army was rejected by the senate, and Tsaldaris is now threatening to dissolve and completely abolish the senate, "which opposes the will of the people." He further threatens to dissolve parliament and immediately prescribe new elections.

The Communist Party, which in the last few years has become the leader of the working masses in important parts of the country and is organising their resistance, is making use of the serious crisis of the bourgeoisie in order to develop into a mass party and to show the working masses the only way out of their hopeless situation.

## The Congress of the Radical Party of France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The Radical Party, which has been in the government since the elections in May last year, has just held its Annual Party Congress in Vichy. As was generally expected, the Congress went off quite smoothly and constituted a demonstration of the unity of the Party in approving the policy of the Daladier government and pledging to support it in the future.

The Radical Party is a party of big capital, which by its "left" demagogy has a considerable mass of electors behind it, including members of the middle classes, small peasants and even workers. The delegates were nearly all Party officials, and the debates were very academic and dominated by the parliamentary leaders. In particular the financial question was only touched upon in order to leave the Cabinet completely free to solve it in accordance with the desires of the big bourgeoisie. Only a very few politicians, in particular those who had come from proletarian districts, were able, with great difficulty, to express the profound disappointment and discontent of the working people with the policy of the Radical Party while in office.

Contrary to the usual custom of dealing first with general politics, the first item on the agenda was the situation in agriculture. This situation is, in fact, very disturbing, and great fermentation prevails among the masses of the peasants owing to the tremendous drop in the prices of their products. The peasants are arranging demonstrations and beginning to resist the seizure of their property for debt. The debate was a eulogy of agrarian protection, which only benefits the big agrarians, but in which numerous small farmers still place their hopes. Nevertheless, the export industries, which are very adversely affected by the high inland prices, found several spokesmen in Vichy whose statements

revealed how thoroughly shaken is the economy of France, which it was hoped to save from the crisis by turning to the home market. It is undeniable, however, that the tendency towards a bigger autarchy predominated at the Congress.

This autarchy is to include the colonies. The delegates insisted on the necessity of strengthening the economic bonds between the motherland and the colonies, while, of course, it was understood that the latter should supply only those products which supplement the products of France.

Fine speeches were made about international co-operation between the nations and about disarmament. But the resolution adopted on foreign policy of course contrasted the "peaceful action" of France within the League of Nations with the nationalistic aggressive policy of the rival countries. The conclusion of the anti-Soviet Four-Power Pact and the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union were placed on a par, and in his concluding speech Daladier endeavoured to cast the responsibility for competition in armaments entirely on Germany. General Brillaud-Desmaitel, who delivered the report on national defence, was enthusiastically applauded when he declared that the military credits (comprising two-fifths of the budget) must under no circumstances be reduced, and that steps must be taken as soon as possible to reorganise the army in order to increase its efficiency.

Whilst no mention was made of the question of balancing the budget, the declarations of Caillaux, Réginer and Daladier were plain enough. Before all the Radicals wish "to bring order in the public finances" by demanding sacrifices from those "who have been spared by the crisis." The heavy offensive which is being prepared must be accelerated in order to take the victims by surprise. At the same time, demagogic attacks were repeatedly made on the "financial oligarchy."

The misery of the masses is to be increased under the cloak of defending democracy. Under the same pretext greater war preparations are to be made. In the name of democracy the democratic rights which the workers have obtained are to be encroached upon.

Never before at a Party Congress of the Radicals were there so many appeals to the authority of the government, so many appeals for the restoration of discipline. Thanks to the Communist Party, the resistance of the masses to the policy of misery, reaction and war is growing and is threatening the bourgeois "order." The Radical Party wish to prove that they are best suited to break this resistance, because their "left" appearance, which still deceives so many people, can facilitate their task of saving the regime. Daladier appealed to the "immortal spirit" of the Republicans, to the Jacobin tradition. The Radicals want to resort to Jacobinism in order to hold down the proletariat and maintain the hegemony of the France of Versailles over Europe. They want to be the best instrument for introducing fascism, and at the same time claim to be the opponents of the "right" reaction."

In order to ensure the success of this monstrous deception, the most important speakers, including the Minister for the Interior, Chautemps, confirmed that their party wish to remain true to the "Union of the 'Lefts,'" including the socialists. It is probable, however, that as a result of the pressure of the masses under the influence of the Communist Party, the majority of the socialist deputies will not even venture to vote for the measures contemplated by the government for the purpose of "restoring the finances." The Radical Party wish to shift the responsibility for the decay of the "Left" Block on to the Socialist Party, and to remain the "left" pillar of a concentration majority which they shall represent as being a concentration of their Jacobinian plans, a concentration aiming at saving democracy and avoiding dictatorship.

The Vichy Party Congress was therefore a true party congress for the fasciation of the Radical Party, which was carefully masked by pacifist and democratic demagogy. The division of labour between the "right" and the "left" of the bourgeoisie—a division of labour which Lenin already in the year 1910 described as "the two fighting methods of the bourgeoisie for their interests and for the defence of their rule"—appears more dangerous than ever. The C.P. of France must expose as soon as possible what lies hidden behind the appeal to Jacobinism. The best means of exposing this new deception consists in leading the workers to the fight for their immediate demands, against fascism and against war.

## Soviet Government Exposes Japanese Plans to Seize the Chinese Eastern Railway

### Revelations of the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union

Moscow, 10th October.

The statements made by the deputy commissar for foreign affairs, Sokolnikov, to the Japanese ambassador Ota on 21st September, and the declaration made by the Soviet ambassador in Tokio, Yurenev, on 28th September, point out that the Soviet government is in possession of documents showing clearly and distinctly that the Japanese government is responsible for the measures taken in Manchuria with regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (Tass) is publishing at the present time a part of the documents concerned, showing the activities of the Japanese military and civil authorities with respect to the robbery of the Chinese Eastern Railway. These documents show plainly the role played by Japan, and confute the official declarations of the independence of Manchukuo and the non-participation of the Japanese government in the predatory actions. These documents demonstrate in particular that the arrests of Soviet employees of the C.E.R. have not been due by any means to offences committed by them, but are a part of the fulfilment of the predatory plans drawn up at conferences taken part in by Japanese military authorities and Japanese Manchukuo authorities.

The first of these documents is a "report of the Japanese Ambassador in Manchukuo to the Foreign Minister at Tokio, 4th September, 1933." This report deals with a number of measures aiming at "turning to our advantage the Tokio negotiations for the purchase of the C.E.R." The Chinese Eastern Railway and its whole apparatus are to be subordinated to the plans of the Manchurian state. Various points of the Mukden and Russo-Chinese agreements are not to be recognised, etc. The report states that the police and the prison authorities must undertake domiciliary visits enabling detailed information to be gained as to the Communist and Y.C.L. organisations, the trade unions, and the other organisations possessing influence on the C.E.R. The report further points out that decided repressive measures can be taken against these organisations. As a provisional measure, in view of the possible seizure of the C.E.R., the mobilisation of the employees for the police and military forces, etc., has been undertaken. The Manchurian Ministry of Ways and Communications has already taken steps in this direction.

On 25th August a telegram arrived from Ohasi, stating that in view of the delay in the Tokio negotiations, the employment of active repressive measures is indicated. On 2nd September a conference was convened, attended by the officials of the Japanese military authorities, and by the Japanese ambassadorial counsellors, Tani and Kanawa. The conference, which took place in the state council of Manchukuo, discussed concrete measures. A declaration was made on behalf of the Kwantung army, stating that although the army agreed with the measures and approved of them, it is of the opinion that the use of force is not advisable at the present time; at least the army considered it necessary that before force is resorted to, all organs involved should be in agreement. The ambassadorial counsellor, Tani, declared that, in view of the successful progress of the Tokio negotiations, and in view of the impossibility of Japan's bringing about conflicts on the Asiatic continent by 1935, incautious steps must be avoided, in spite of the necessity of "assimilating" the Chinese Eastern Railway. Tani pointed out that the measures intended by the Department of Ways and Communications of Manchukuo run counter to the policy of purchasing the C.E.R.

The second document is another report, from the Japanese Ambassador, Hiskari, to the foreign minister in Tokio, dated 9th September. This report refers to the further conference which met to discuss the plans of concrete action. At the conference it was unanimously resolved that the plan submitted should be carried out. Hiskari called upon the foreign minister urgently to telegraph his view on the matter, and pointed out that since the police raid is to be carried out on a large scale, and prominent persons arrested, a general conference is necessary beforehand.

The third document is another report from Hiskari to the foreign minister in Tokio, also dated 9th September. Hiskari reports on the measures resolved upon, including the utilisation

of the control department and other organs of the C.E.R. for finding material on wrongful actions by Soviet functionaries, the sending of this material to the police authorities to be examined and worked up, the taking of legal proceedings, and the arrest of the persons involved. It was resolved that the police raid should only be carried out on a limited scale, and only persons of lesser importance arrested, though the possibility was discussed that in the course of proceedings the raids could be extended and leading functionaries arrested. The report points out that all this is to be carried out with the mutual agreement of the department of justice, the police, and the railway department. It further points out that the Ministry of Ways and Communications in Manchukuo has sent instructions to the president of the C.E.R. to the effect that all the actions and orders of the director of the C.E.R. are subject to the confirmation of the Ministry of Ways and Communications. The president of the C.E.R. management must regard any violation of these regulations as a wrongful action, and must cancel offending regulations or take legal proceedings. The occupation, place of residence, the object of the journey, and the passports of Soviet citizens living in Harbin must be checked up. A sudden revision is to be carried out in the commercial school, the railway clubs, the whole railway line, etc., and a number of other organisations must be thoroughly checked up. The Ministry of Finance is to check up the whole of the activities of the Far Eastern Bank and of the co-operative organisations of the C.E.R. The plan further envisages the sending in of demands to the C.E.R. by its private creditors, and the confiscation of their property. An acceleration of the proceedings, and the release of the Russian White Guardists kept in custody since the Soviet-Chinese conflict, are intended. When these measures are carried out, so states the report, much value is to be attached to their being accomplished rapidly and in the strictest confidence, outwardly entirely independent of the Tokio negotiations. In order to ensure the measures being carried through efficiently, the head of the police, the head of the justice department, and other leading persons, will arrive in Harbin from time to time, so that close communication can be established with the Japanese military mission in Harbin and thereby with the Japanese division in Manchuria and with the gendarmerie division.

The fourth document is a report from the Japanese consul in Harbin to the Japanese ambassador in Manchukuo, dated 19th September. This report states that there was a meeting on 19th September, in the apartments of the Japanese military mission, attended by the head of police, Nagao, the head of the department of justice, Kuritama, the representative of the Ministry of Ways and Communications, Morita, other Japanese officials, and representatives of Japanese and Manchurian authorities and organisations, with the exception of the Manchurian officials. At this conference the arrest and internment of the following Soviet employees were resolved upon: The chief of the secret department, Kalin, the head of the locomotive depot, Lavrov, the chief of the delivery department, Ablov, the chief of the finance department, Kubli, the chief of the depot of the Manchurian station, Sizenko, the station master, Abramenko (Manchuria), the station master of Pogranitschnaya, Katyl. The persons residing in Manchuria and Pogranitschnaya are to be arrested by frontier guard troops and conveyed to Harbin, where all the arrested persons will be examined together. An executive committee is appointed to co-ordinate the actions taken. Private expressions of opinion in the press on these matters are prohibited. Should anyone resist arrest resort should be had to arms at once. After the examination has been concluded, a fresh series of arrests is to follow.

## The Banff Conference of Imperialists of the Pacific

(The Fifth Biennial Conference of the "Institute of Pacific Relations")

By J. K.

For two weeks, from August 14 to 28, the war-makers of the Pacific countries met in the quiet town of Banff, Alberta, among the Canadian Rockies, trying, so they said, to find here a "scientific solution" for the complicated problems of who should rob whom in the region of the Pacific. It was the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The conferences of this Institute, which claims to be a strictly scientific, non-political and non-partisan organisation, have four times been held before. But none of them was a strictly non-

partial affair. Yet this fifth conference was, more than ever, a scene of warfare among the delegates from the imperialist Powers in, or interested in, the Pacific. This, in spite of the "urging" of the chief of its preparatory committee, the Tolstoian ex-Secretary of War of America, **Newton D. Baker**, that all delegates be "objective" in discussion.

The reason that objectivity went into total eclipse was that the world crisis, and the robber war of Japanese imperialism, have aggravated the antagonisms of the Pacific Powers tremendously. At the same time, however, the successes of the Soviet Union, contrasted with the extreme difficulties of the capitalist countries, and the rise of the Chinese Soviets—both were instrumental for another effort of the conference to direct the irritation of their inter-imperialist antagonisms into a channel of concerted action against the U.S.S.R.

All the Pacific countries, with the exception of the U.S.S.R. (and the Japanese colony of "Manchukuo"), took part in the conference. Japanese imperialism, which six months ago announced its intention to withdraw from the League of Nations, and is now on the way to assert a "free hand" in the Far East, nevertheless laboured with special pains to utilise this conference for its selfish ends.

From the very first day the conference was the scene of bitter fighting among delegates of rival imperialist Powers. Each delegation propounded proposals favourable to their own, but detrimental to the others—all in the name of "objective, unprejudiced, fair and purely scientific" arguments.

British delegates, for example, were not slow to bring up the question of Japanese competition in world trade. They were "incignant" at the use of cheap labour by the Japanese capitalists. They shed crocodile tears for the brutally exploited Japanese workers, called Japanese competition "unfair," and said that something must be done to protect both Japanese and British labour (they did **not** say "protect British capitalists against Japanese capitalists").

The Japanese delegates stood up and defended Japanese capitalism most vehemently. And, mind you, they included the economist Takahashi, and the Second International "socialist" Mogi, who, by the way, is an ex-millionaire. One Japanese delegate stated that the reasons why Japanese textiles can compete with and even beat Lancashire are to be sought, not in the Japanese exploitation of cheap labour, but in better organisation (he referred to "strong cartel control of production"), modern equipment, the "higher efficiency" of Japanese labour, etc.

Another Japanese delegate stated that even if Japanese capitalists use cheap labour, they are not to blame for it. It is, he said, the lower standard of the Japanese working class, and not the cruelty of Japanese capitalists.

Americans were at one with the British in assailing the Japanese. They had, however, something to add to what the British said. Thus, James Shotwell, editor of the multi-volumed "History of the World War," published by the Carnegie "Foundation of Peace," together with his boss, the notorious Professor Nicolas Murray Butler, proposed a new tariff system, based inversely, so he said, upon the high or low standard of living of the working class of the particular country.

This scheme, which if adopted would strike hardest at Japanese industrialists, was proposed by the liberal professor under pretext that it "would operate to improve the conditions of labour throughout the world, and by bringing about a more equitable distribution of wealth would open up vast new markets for all types of products." This left-handed admission of prevailing low standards "throughout the world," failed likewise to mention that present high tariffs, instead of helping labour, are only helping monopoly capitalists.

Although united in the fight against Japanese imperialism on the question of cheap labour, British and American delegates on the whole were by no means on speaking terms. Antagonisms between the U.S.A. and Britain are the most bitter of any in the imperialist camp. It was natural, therefore, that a vicious attack was launched by British delegates upon the entire Roosevelt "domestic" programme, and in particular against the "N.R.A." and the unestablished dollar.

Japanese imperialism's occupation of Manchuria was one of the important topics discussed. But discussed differently than ever before. Here Newton D. Baker's urge to "objectivity" succeeded with the Chinese delegation, headed by the notorious Dr. Hu Shieh, who recently stated that "China has much to learn

from Japan" and that "it is not only the Japanese who are to blame for the occupation of Manchuria, but the Chinese themselves, who cannot put their own house in order." The loss of Manchuria was accepted as virtually permanent, by the Chinese delegation. There was only a feeble and philosophical remark by Hu Shieh: "I am confident that the time is not far away when a great statesman, wise and considerate, will appear and save the world from chaos and misery to which it has sunk."

The Japanese delegation, on the whole, were not interested in defending the last two years of their imperialism's bloody aggression. Their attitude was one of intoxication with the lust of military conquest and its temporary success. Hence they had no apologies to offer. Only Prof. Tsurumi, a left-over liberal, made an apologetic speech just to show that liberalism is at its last gasp in Japan. He said: "There have been times when even the strongest statesmen have been forced to bow before social forces beyond their control." He was not among the "strong statesmen" he mentioned, but—he bowed. . . .

As stated, the Japanese delegation regarded the seizure of Manchuria as a fait accompli. Therefore, they proceeded in discussing it from the viewpoint of how best to develop it as a Japanese colony. They even dared to propose complete prohibition of Chinese migration to Manchukuo, giving political reasons.

It must be stated that the absence of any delegates from the **Soviet Union** was taken full advantage of by the delegation of imperialist Powers who want to come to some agreement among themselves to solve, for the time being at least, their antagonisms at the expense of the U.S.S.R. and of Soviet China. Thus, **Lord Snell**, British "labour" delegate, struck a keynote when he, warning the conference, said: "The successes of the Russian Communist experiments at a time when capitalistic nations are failing to solve their economic difficulties, augurs world revolution and chaos." Of course, no British "labour" delegate could find "chaos" present in the capitalist world.

Lord Snell pleaded for unity of action of imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union and Soviet China, in the following words: "Statesmen would do well to heed the suppressed forces which unemployment and the awakening of labouring masses have set afoot." And he concluded: "The significance of these movements are fully as important in the Orient as in the Western countries."

What Lord Snell merely hinted at, was made concrete by the Japanese delegation, who come, as they put it, from the scene of "menace" and "disturbances." On the last days of the conference, Professors Takagi and Yokota, both of the Tokio Imperial University, proposed, obviously with instructions from the foreign office and in anticipation of the "toothache" of Minister Uchida and the consequent appointment of Hirota, the signing of a series of regional non-aggression pacts between China, the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, Britain, France, and—possibly, Canada, and the calling of an early conference of all Pacific Powers (the official diplomats), to consider the outstanding disputes in the Pacific area.

Inasmuch as Japanese imperialism has stubbornly refused so far to sign any non-aggression pact, repeatedly proposed by the U.S.S.R., and in the light of Japanese feverish preparation on a gigantic scale for intervention in the Soviet Far East while waiting for a favourable moment and Western assistance, it cannot be concealed that the real intention of Japan in making this proposal is to secure a united imperialist front against the U.S.S.R. and against Soviet China.

In this connection, one of the Chinese delegates let the Kuomintang cat out of the imperialist bag when he said: "The trouble in Manchuria is not alone a conflict between my country and Japan. Russia will not stand by and accept the present situation. It is merely a matter of time before Russia will take action."

In May, this year, Nanking in "protest" against the Soviet proposal to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway to either Japan or Manchukuo, virtually demanded that the Soviet Union make war on Japan over the C.E.R. The Chinese delegation at Banff could not but express similar ideas, as they are paid by their imperialist masters to echo imperialist ideas.

The "accomplishments" of the Banff Conference, therefore, in so far as they are not entirely futile in "solving" the problems of the Pacific, were "tuned in" to the growing chorus of imperialist world war, dismemberment of China and anti-Soviet Union intervention. It remains for the toiling masses of the world to heed the warning—and prepare resistance.

## Germany

# Letters from Berlin

## I. The Terrorist Laws against the Working Population

Berlin, October 9, 1933.

The "Law to guarantee civil peace" which the government has issued is an unprecedented terrorist measure. Goering already announced this law at the beginning of August. It appears, however, that at that time not all members of the government agreed to its coming into force at once. The government first wanted to ascertain whether the means of power at its disposal were sufficient. The result was not favourable. Hitler and Goering have been forced to realise, for example, that the execution of the four anti-fascist workers in Altona, far from intimidating the workers, only called forth further mass indignation. The Hitler government therefore decided to extend the basis of legal murder. Hence the new law.

According to this new law, anyone who produces abroad any treasonable printed matter, or distributes the same, or engages in any other treasonable activity against the Hitler dictatorship, or introduces treasonable printed matter from abroad or circulates it abroad, will be liable to capital punishment or imprisonment for life or 15 years' imprisonment.

Further, this law provides five years' imprisonment for anybody introducing from abroad printed matter which, while not treasonable, is hostile to the State. Such printed matter includes leaflets and newspapers containing propaganda for prohibited parties, calling for resistance to the State power, or spreading so-called "atrocious stories," i.e., exposing the bestialities of the fascist torturers.

Up to now the practice has been to designate all revolutionary writings as treasonable.

**Any distributor of an anti-fascist newspaper, an anti-fascist leaflet, etc., can, according to this law, be brought to the scaffold.**

Further, under this law members of the armed forces, of the Storm Troops, Special Troops, Stahlhelm, and also all government officials entrusted with political tasks or police functions are placed under "official protection." Anybody making an attempt on the lives of any such persons on account of their official activity or from political motives, will be liable to capital punishment.

According to the methods of Hitler justice, any actual attack can be designated as "an attempt to kill." Thus this provision of the law means the death penalty for anybody who, for example, ventures to defend himself against the members of the fascist pretorian guard.

German fascism, however, not only fears the resistance of the working class, but also any criticism, no matter how mild, by the opposition even in its own camp, in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the Hitler government has passed a second law, which likewise reveals how uncertain it feels its position to be. According to this law on the "employment of editors," in future only those who comply with the following conditions will be allowed to occupy the position of editor: (1) the person in question must be a German citizen, (2) in possession of full civil rights, and (3) must be of Aryan origin and not married to a non-Aryan person.

The editors who fulfil these requirements must undertake the following obligations: They must "publish true reports"; they must not publish anything which is calculated to weaken the power of the German Reich outwardly or inwardly, or the German defensive force, culture or economy, or to offend the religious feelings of others.

These provisions mean a hundred per cent. gagging of the press, which as a matter of fact already existed. Very significant is the special emphasis laid on the protection of the defensive capacity and of economy, under which can be understood almost any report on the actual economic situation in the Third Reich, as well as any opposition to the war policy of the fascist government.

In justification of this law Göbbels delivered a big speech, in the course of which he declared:

"The overwhelming majority of the German people have placed their last hopes in this government; it is possible that this government has made mistakes in minor matters, but it is impossible to assume that this government can be replaced by any better government. Therefore, for every national-minded and responsible citizen there exists no other possibility than to support the decisions of this government and to see that they are effectively carried out."

The worst mistake, said Goebbels, would be if the press, "by grumbling and scepticism, should sabotage a decision which in itself is not clear."

Herr Goebbels thus confessed that the authoritative, infallible leadership does not exist, and that national socialism is not the great panacea which was promised, but only the "lesser evil."

Accordingly, there is still grousing and expressions of scepticism. Thus a few days ago the German press itself reported that "slanderous rumours regarding members of the government are being systematically spread throughout the whole country by irresponsible elements," and that therefore the government had decided on the most drastic measures: anybody spreading rumours will be immediately arrested. All saboteurs of constructive work are to be severely punished. The threats have been promptly carried out. Professor Kettner in Dresden and the head forester Pöpel in Frankenberg have already been arrested for spreading rumours. A number of other arrests are pending.

Nevertheless Herr Papen proclaims that the idea of the class struggle has been overcome!

## II. Anti-Fascist Struggle in the Middle Rhine District

Cologne, October 7, 1933.

The last great wave of terror that swept over Germany for a time tore great gaps in the revolutionary front in the central Rhine district. One must soberly state that at first there was a certain weakening of revolutionary agitation and propaganda. Now, after this last blow, which was to be tantamount to the complete annihilation of the Communist groups of five, one can say without exaggeration that the gaps have been almost completely filled up, and work is being continued at least to the same extent as before and in many places and factories even more vigorously.

Especially symptomatic of the general change in the feeling among the masses of the working population are the events in the workshops and factories, which are the best indicator of the development of mass resistance against the Hitler dictatorship.

In one of the rooms of the printing works of the "West-deutschen Beobachter," a national socialist paper, one morning a few weeks ago there was written up in coloured chalk on the wall the slogan: "Down with Hitler! Ernst Thälmann is our leader!" This caused no small excitement among the Nazi leaders, great and small. Of course, a number of workers were arrested.

The methods with which the Nazi bureaucrats seek to prevent the workers from absenting themselves from their meetings is strikingly illustrated by the following event in the Deutz motor works, an undertaking with a staff of 3,000. A "punishment meeting" was ordered by the leaders of the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation) and of the Labour Front "for poor attendance of the staff at a factory meeting." More than significant of the change in the feeling of the workers is the fact that, of the staff numbering 3,000, only about 400 submitted to the punishment and attended the Nazi meeting, and these only as a result of extreme pressure. The greater part of the staff refused to pay the compulsory contributions to the Labour Front. How strongly the indignation of the workers is seeking an outlet is shown by the fact that even the contribution collectors appointed under terror refuse to carry out their duties.

The development of the resistance is reflected still more strikingly in the events which took place at the firm of Bruggelmann,

in Cologne. The N.S.B.O. leaders convened a factory meeting at which these members who were in arrears with their contributions were to be called to account. A Nazi speaker expatiated at great length on the necessity of guaranteeing the "true community of the people by the punctual payment of contributions," and then dictatorially ordered the workers to pay the compulsory contribution of one mark a week punctually in the future. It should be remarked that wages in this factory amount to 15 marks for a seamstress. A great tumult broke out at the meeting. The indignant seamstresses accused the Nazi bureaucrats of ruthless extortion. A number of the workers left the meeting as a protest. In spite of all threats the resistance of the workers so increased that the Nazi bureaucrats were compelled to promise to reduce the contributions by 50 per cent. But even this promise was received with fresh and increased cries of protest. The leaders of the N.S.B.O. then announced that those who refused to pay contributions would be dismissed.

One must first have some idea of the enormous pressure which the fascist State power, the spy apparatus and the common action of the N.S.B.O. leaders and the employers exert on the workers in order to gauge to some extent the profound ferment which is growing among the working masses.

The mood prevailing in the factories also finds expression in the working-class quarters and among the general public. How susceptible great parts of the population are to revolutionary agitation and propaganda is shown on the most varied occasions. In Central Cologne there took place at the end of September a street demonstration of revolutionary workers. Judged by former demonstrations, this was a small affair, being participated in by sixty workers. But the sensation aroused by this demonstration of courageous anti-fascists was a hundred times greater than at former demonstrations, when the anti-fascist movement was still legal. The news that a demonstration had been held spread through the whole town like wildfire and was the subject of talk and discussion in the streets and taverns.

In the central Rhine district more than 14,000 handbills, leaflets and cell newspapers and over 2,000 copies of the "Sozialistische Republik," the paper issued by the district committee of the illegal C.P. of Germany, were distributed in fourteen days. These figures may seem small, but it must be borne in mind that all revolutionaries who took part in producing and distributing this literature were in constant danger of imprisonment and even death.

Whilst at the present moment no decisive importance is to be attached to the signs of disintegration among the storm troops, the events in the Cologne district show that the spirit of sullen rebellion is seizing ever larger numbers of storm troopers. The old prison at Bonner Wall had for a long time been used for the purpose of isolating mutinous storm troopers, whilst already in the last few weeks large numbers have been conveyed to concentration camps. But it appears that more drastic measures were necessary, so that the whole of the Cologne storm troops have been divided up into three and the special troops into two groups according to the degree of their reliability for the Hitler government. The separation of the political reliable from the political unreliable will, of course, only increase the existing tension. Fresh arrests were carried out in the last few days among the Cologne storm troops. A further significant incident: a storm troop leader who had fled to the Dutch frontier town of Venlo was pursued and shot down.

The economic basis on which all these events are taking place is crumbling more and more under the feet of the leaders of this system, who are nothing more than the agents of the capitalists. The Nazis may lie as much as they like about the decline in unemployment, but they cannot do away with hard facts. Even the incorporated press is compelled to report that in the important industrial districts of Alsdorf and Eschweil unemployment has increased. The situation of the labour market in all pits in the Wurm mining district shows a further increase in unemployment.

In these circumstances the spirit of resistance and the forces of resistance are growing and becoming stronger under the leadership of the Communists. The Communists will exert all their forces in order to co-ordinate and lead the working class, who are now beginning to defend themselves, to still greater and more powerful actions.

### III. The Situation in Southern Germany

Freiburg, October 7, 1933.

So far as the "black system," namely the Centre and the social democracy, is concerned, the seizure of power by Hitler fascism in the Palatinate took place without any friction whatever. The social democratic workers and trade unions remained quite passive the whole time. Even if the opposition of the Freiburg Catholics was strong and is still perceptible to-day, the Catholic clergy, under the leadership of the very reactionary archbishop Gröber, submitted at least outwardly. Between March and May a considerable number of bureaucrats of the Centre and higher officials went over to the national socialist party. To-day, only the minor officials and the lower middle class, as well as the Catholic workers, have remained in opposition.

In the towns and villages with a strong industry the fight is, of course, waged mainly between the brown bands and the revolutionary workers. For instance, in Lörrach and in the Black Forest, where the C.P.G. has increased enormously in the course of the last year, the fight has been particularly bitter since March. Even now workers and small shopkeepers, as well as people from all sections of the population and from all parts of the Palatinate, are being arrested nearly every day. Here are a few cases: At a public bath a lady said to another that things were not very nice in Germany now. Nothing more. Ten minutes later she was arrested by Storm Troops. A Catholic teacher refused to instruct his pupils to give the Hitler greetings. The result: preventive arrest. A war invalid admitted to members of the Stahlhelm that he was a social democrat. Preventive arrest. A woman shop assistant, in reply to the question of a customer why the butter is so dear, said: You must ask Hitler. Preventive arrest. In a small town near Lörrach a youth was watching the Storm Troops drilling. He made a joke about the appearance of the S.A. men. Preventive arrest, etc.

The Freiburg Nazi leaders are for the most part students who have failed to pass their examinations and officials without posts, as well as sons of the big manufacturers. The workers play no rôle. The population of Freiburg, for the most part middle class, easily succumbed to the illusions of national socialism. The monotony of life in the small town makes them welcome any parades, military displays, etc., as a change and diversion. Up to May and June last, flags were to be seen practically everywhere. In the last two months, however, there is to be observed a very great falling off in enthusiasm. The novelty is getting worn off, and the illusions dispelled.

Conflicts are arising in the national socialist party and the Storm Troops between the old party comrades and the new. To-day the old members openly express their resentment against the ambitious "upstarts" and "job-hunters."

Parallel with the weariness following the first excitement, disillusionment is growing after the first "reforms." The house owners are complaining about the insufficient reduction in the property tax. Employees are grumbling about the exorbitant "voluntary gifts," which often exceed a fifth of a month's salary. The Freiburg officials are dissatisfied because they are forbidden to augment their incomes by renting rooms to students.

The workers are resentful because Hitler refuses to hear anything of a second revolution. But by this measure he has pacified many of the petty bourgeoisie. There is considerable discontent among the peasants on account of the disappearance of the Jewish cattle dealers. "Formerly when we wanted to buy a cow, the Jews lent us money until we were able to raise the necessary sum. Who lends us money to-day in order to buy a cow?" Many peasants are suffering as a result of the boycott of Jewish shops. A small peasant who supplied the refreshment room of a Jewish business with milk and cream, and practically lived on the proceeds, is now no longer able to sell this milk, with the result that to-day he is ruined.

The Communists are held in great respect even by the petty bourgeoisie. As, however, their leaders still talk of the "Moscow incendiaries," the petty bourgeoisie change their standpoint regarding the Communists. This will go on until their illusions regarding the Nazi leaders are destroyed. This process can be accelerated by agitation and propaganda.

## The Struggle of the German Metal Workers

The crisis in the German metal industry is increasing, the attacks of the fascists upon the workers are becoming more and more ruthless, but the resistance of the proletariat in the metal industry of Germany is also growing.

It is true, the huge armament orders brought about a certain revival of the smelting industry, but unemployment among the smelting workers was not reduced thereby even temporarily. From July to August the number of workers engaged in the smelting and rolling works increased by 1 per cent., but at the same time the average working day of the smelting workers was reduced from 7.09 to 7.02 hours. This means: increased rationalisation and introduction of short-time work in all works, where fresh workers are engaged.

Production is also declining in the motor-car industry (in July the decline in production amounted to 8 to 11 per cent.). In the Opel works the four and in some cases the three-day week has been introduced.

The worst situation is in the engineering industry. As a result of the decline in the number of subscribers to the wireless, the electrical industry is likewise experiencing a serious crisis.

At the firm of Borsig in Berlin 200 unemployed were taken on, but they were soon told that they would get only a day's work every fortnight. These workers now receive relief as short-time workers, but they are struck off the unemployed register. The same method is being adopted in several departments of the Siemens concern.

Even the "Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung" (German organ of the mining industry) of September 22 was compelled to admit that the engagement of fresh workers in the iron and steel industry of Dortmund was only possible because the working day had been considerably reduced.

In spite of "peace in industry" fresh wage cuts are being carried out. The reduction of work time is one form of wage reduction. But, in addition, the newly engaged workers are simply paid 10 to 20 per cent. below the old hourly wage rates.

The attack on the working women in the metal industry is carried out with particular ruthlessness. In the Siemens Werner works the conveyor is run so fast that the working women cannot keep pace with it. They recently enforced a pause of ten minutes. Owing to many compulsory contributions which are deducted from their wages, the working women of Siemens receive only 20 to 21 marks a week instead of 27.

The commissioners appointed in the factories and trade unions ruthlessly defend the interests of the employers. To give an example of how these people treat the metal workers: the fascist "Deutsche Metallarbeiter-Zeitung" of September 2 slanders the workers of the Hamburg dockyards as follows:—

"Incited elements, brutal, bestial, repulsive products of the lowest mob instincts."

The indignation and resistance of the German metal workers are increasing as a result of these brutal measures. The leaflets of the C.P. of Germany, of the Red Trade Union Opposition and of the class trade unions are passed from hand to hand. Small actions (refusal to subscribe to fascist collection sheets), passive resistance to rationalisation, social-democratic metal workers joining the red metal workers' union, open strikes—these are the individual phases of this growing resistance. Thus in Remscheid a strike broke out on account of the dismissal of workers in the Alexander works. At 11 o'clock, during work time, at an agreed signal, the workers streamed into the yard and demanded the reinstatement of the dismissed workers. The fascists acceded to this demand, nevertheless the dismissals were carried out later.

When in the radio factory "Reico," in Berlin, the wages were paid only after great delay and great arrears of wages accumulated for the individual workers, the staff started passive resistance, as a result of which output greatly declined. Thereupon the factory was closed down by the Nazis on September 2 and the workers dismissed.

Great activity is being displayed by the fascists against the increasing distribution of leaflets. In the Berlin factory "Deutsche Telefon-Werke" the workers were summoned to a meeting and in the meantime all the cloakrooms were searched by troops of Nazis. In spite of the fact that nothing was found, 50 workers were arrested, their places being taken by Storm Troopers. In the A.E.G. Brunnenstrasse, in Berlin, the speaker at a meeting of the N.S.B.O. threatened:—

"If there is any more distribution of Communist leaflets, we shall simply send a number of workers to the concentration camp."

The struggle of the German metal workers is being carried on uninterruptedly. This struggle is led and organised by the only class organisations which the metal workers possess, the Red Trade Union Opposition and the unity Trade Union of the metal workers.

## The Reichstag Fire Trial

### THIRTEENTH DAY OF THE TRIAL

German Frontier, October 10.

**The trial proceedings continued in the Reichstag Building in Berlin. Dimitrov dispels the "Solemnity of German Justice."**

To-day the trial in the Reichstag arson affair was transferred to the Reichstag building in Berlin. The court carried on proceedings in the hall formerly used by the chief Reichstag committee.

The authorities had taken the utmost trouble, by means of cordoning off the Reichstag, by measures in the building itself, by the special solemnity but extreme theatricalness of the judges and officials, and finally by the fact of the temporary transference of the trial to the very building which was set on fire on the orders of the fascist government, to create that atmosphere which was already aimed at in Leipzig—that of the utmost solemnity, of emphasis on the objectivity of the court, in order to impress the foreign press.

In Leipzig things did not go off as Goebbels had planned. The plans drawn up by the fascist court have been upset by the courageous stand taken up by the accused Communists, and by the pitiable spectacle of the human wreck, Van der Lubbe. The International press has come almost unanimously to the conclusion that the prosecution stands on feet of clay, and that even this sorry basis is crumbling away.

In Berlin measures have been taken to make up for former omissions and failures: the Reichstag building is surrounded by detachments of police carrying carbines. Curious spectators are not to be seen. Not that there are not enough curious people; but

they do not venture anywhere near the Reichstag. A few dozen persons in plain clothes may be standing awkwardly about, but these, too, are detectives.

Foreign journalists encounter a double surprise on entering the Reichstag. They are searched twice, and must then pass through three more control cordons. Only the few foreign journalists who have given "favourable" reports passed all these tests successfully—their number can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

In the Reichstag building itself there is scarcely any trace of the fire to be seen. It will be remembered that the fire only touched parts of the gigantic building. In the main Session Hall some repairs are still being carried out, under sharp watch, but the impression given is that this is rather a small demonstration in order to jog the memory of the foreign press.

Proceedings opened half an hour late. At half-past ten the presiding judge, Büniger, entered the hall with the expression of a prisoner called to the Bar, and announced solemnly, in a voice from the tomb, that the proceedings were opened. He called upon the defendants and their defending counsel.

Dimitrov here broke in upon the artificial and theatrical solemnity of the court, deliberately designed to depress the defendants and to influence the foreign press representatives. When the presiding judge called: "The defendant, Dimitrov, defended by the counsel, Dr. Teichert," Dimitrov interjected the brief sentence: "I defend myself!"

The judge replied: "Dimitrov! You are beginning again!"

The presiding judge then proceeded with his opening remarks. In spite of the long, dragged-out trial, in spite of the fatigue

and confusion deliberately caused by the accumulation and repetition of details, the defendants look thoroughly prepared to fight, if somewhat weary. Only Lubbe is in a greater state of collapse than ever, paler and more apathetic. One is reminded of the significant statement of the Telegraph Union: "Van der Lubbe will continue to be kept under constant and careful medical observation during the proceedings in Berlin, so that his health cannot be impaired even during the trial in Berlin." Obviously Lubbe is to be treated with the same medicament now as before.

#### The Swarm of Fascist "Witnesses" Begins to Settle

The President then declared that the actual hearing of witnesses would begin here in Berlin. Among the witnesses cited for Tuesday is the former fire brigade director, Gempp, who made a few statements at the time of the fire which did not suit the scheme of the fascist incendiaries at all, and was therefore dismissed without notice, and even prosecuted for breach of duty.

The first witness called was a robust Nazi student named Fritz Flöter, who advanced with a smart Hitler salute, and boldly asserted that when returning home on the evening of 27th February, before 9 o'clock, he observed the following: A man with a burning object in his hand was climbing over the balcony of the main storey of the Reichstag building. This was on the west front of the Reichstag. The sharp Nordic eyesight of this German youth can only be admired, for he was able to observe, on a dark winter night, and at no small distance, not only the burning point, but the man carrying it. But what achievements are fascist witnesses not capable of when the matter at stake is to be relegated to forgetfulness the unpleasant fact of the subterranean passage. This passage is so disagreeable to the government that it is not even drawn in on the great maps and plans of the Reichstag hung up in the court room at Leipzig.

The student claims that he reported what he had seen to the official at the main entrance of the Reichstag, but this man only looked at him incredulously. This happened shortly after 9 o'clock. He then went home, and at 10 o'clock his landlady told him that the Reichstag was on fire. The witness was amiable enough to admit to the court that he had not been surprised to hear this.

#### German Frontier, 10th October.

#### The Witness Student Flöter Has Good Eyesight But a Poor Memory

After the student Flöter—it must be remembered that to-day it is no longer possible to be a student without holding strictly national views—had related how he had observed in the dark a cat burglar, who had certainly no hat on his head but only a cap, he lost his certainty, for it turned out that in the course of various hearings he had given three descriptions of what the intruder had been carrying in his hand. On 28th February, Flöter was perfectly certain that it was a torch. By 7th April the torch had become a firelighter, and to-day this has been substituted by "something burning." At the first hearing Flöter declared that he had only seen one person, whilst to-day he thinks it might have been two. In short, the witnesses have been well primed on the main point that they must have seen Lubbe entering the Reichstag from outside, thus excluding the subterranean passage, which has not been mentioned at all so far, but when it comes to details they get stuck.

#### Dimitrov May Not Drive the Witnesses Into a Corner

Comrade Dimitrov, aware like the other three Communists what kind of "witnesses" are being brought forward, would like to put a few questions, driving them into even tighter corners than those brought about by their own contradictions. The court, however, fears Dimitrov's questions like the plague, and the presiding judge at once proceeded to give a graphic example of the manner in which his declaration of this morning is to be carried out: "The independence of the court and the freedom of the defence must be in accordance with the free depositions of the witnesses." After thus combining three lies in one sentence, he proceeded to the actual practice: "Dimitrov may put no questions. The presiding judge simply forbids it." Dimitrov made a definite protest, but the judge was not to be induced to abandon his determination to shut the defendant's mouth.

#### A Policeman Who Informs a Private Person that the Matter Must be Reported at the Police Station

Next, two police constables, who patrolled round the Reichstag

building on the night of the fire, were examined. One of these policemen was called upon to support Flöter's remarkable statements. He confirmed the statement that Flöter had come to him and told him that he had heard a window pane being broken, and had seen somebody climb into the Reichstag with something burning in his hand. Flöter was then re-examined. He had meanwhile grasped that the court wants him to say that he saw only one man climbing into the Reichstag. He now confirmed this as desired: the second man may very possibly have been the shadow of the first.

Now the court could no longer restrain Dimitrov from putting a few questions. Among other questions he asked to what party Flöter belongs. This question was obviously disagreeable to Flöter. He did not want to admit openly that he is a fascist. Therefore he replied that he does not belong to any party, and besides this he cannot imagine how the political views of a witness can influence the objectivity of a witness. The public was permitted to express its agreement with this opinion, at which Buenger was obviously pleased.

The second police, Buwert, stated that he, too, had spoken to Flöter. Flöter appears to have been exceedingly active. After Buwert had spoken to Flöter, he said to someone, he does not now know to whom, perhaps to Flöter, that the police at the Brandenburg Tor should be informed. A remarkable police constable, who converses with civilians on the necessity of reporting the matter at the police station, especially when it is remembered that only a few days ago the government had announced that it had received information that the Communists were working out the most dangerous plans.

This police sergeant had also observed—after speaking to Flöter—a light moving about the rooms of the ground floor of the Reichstag. He states that he saw nothing distinctly, as the windows are made of opaque glass. This did not, however, prevent him from being certain that it could only have been one man who was running about the building with something burning in his hand.

#### What Did the Police do After the Fire had been Reported?

The policeman, Buwert, first informed a Reichswehr soldier who happened to pass, and asked him to tell the police sentries at the Brandenburg Tor. Meanwhile a shot had been fired at the figure moving in the Reichstag. It is possible that this shot was the signal agreed upon in case the fire should be noticed from outside. This would then have been the signal for the fascist accomplices of Lubbe to save themselves through the subterranean passage to Göring's house. When the alarm was given at the Brandenburg Tor police station, only one policeman, a lieutenant, arrived at the Reichstag. The lieutenant told Buwert to post himself at Entrance 5. The lieutenant went into the building. How did it happen that when the alarm that the Reichstag was on fire was made at the police station, the only response was that a police lieutenant went across to the Reichstag?

#### How Many Persons Climbed into the Reichstag, One or Two?

Next, a witness named Thaler, was examined, who stated that he was coming from the Brandenburg Tor, and heard the shattering of glass when passing the Reichstag. He declared that he saw two persons climbing in. With his next assertion he put himself entirely in the black books of the prosecution. He saw nothing burning in the hands of the climbers. Parisius and Werner shot wrathful glances at him. He hastened to add that he had been some distance away. Thaler, too, stated that he had informed the policeman, Buwert, of what he had seen. He called upon Buwert to fire a shot, which Buwert did. Hence we have a complete picture of the remarkable activities of the policeman, Buwert: Buwert patrols up and down the south and west sides of the Reichstag, according to orders. He sees and hears nothing. But the clever student, Flöter, sees and hears everything in his place. Flöter speaks with Buwert. The witness Thaler also sees and hears. Buwert permits Thaler to instruct him to fire a shot, and follows these instructions. Buwert then informs a Reichswehr soldier that the Reichstag is on fire. At last the police station is informed of the fire. On receipt of this news, at first only one lieutenant goes to the Reichstag.

This examination was followed by a lengthy discussion as to whether Thaler had seen one person or two. All took part in this discussion—the presiding judge, the other judges, the defending counsel, the other lawyers. A confrontation, Flöter, Buwert, Thaler brought no settlement of the question.

### The Three Main Contradictions in the Evidence

The evidence given by the witnesses, Flöter, Buwert, and Thaler, differ both with respect to the number of persons seen climbing into the Reichstag and with regard to the time, as also with regard to the question of whether the person or persons were carrying something burning.

Again Dimitrov endeavoured to corner the witness, but again the presiding judge prevented his speaking. At this clash between the presiding judge and Dimitrov, Dimitrov exclaimed: "I am not the debtor at this trial, but the creditor!"

### Lubbe Says "Yea" and "Amen" to everything

The leading figure in all this scene, Lubbe, would not say anything. The presiding judge put one suggestive question after another to him, so that the construction was arrived at that Lubbe broke the window with his foot, and then set a firelighter on fire "to see if there were anyone inside" (?).

**Presiding judge** (to Lubbe): "Were you alone, or did two of you climb into the Reichstag?"

**Lubbe**: "Alone."

**Dimitrov**: "That is impossible."

**Barrister Seuffert**: "Then why did you write to your relations that you would never betray your confederates?"

**Lubbe** shrugged his shoulders.

**Presiding judge**: "Did you set on fire material in the Reichstag which other persons may have prepared there?"

**Lubbe**: "I cannot say."

**Dimitrov**: "Then you were not alone, but were the tool of others?"

With this Dimitrov stated, as plainly as it is possible to do so before the fascist court without being immediately expelled from the proceedings, that Lubbe's accomplices must have been national socialists. Dr. Sack declared to this that he felt certain that the Public Prosecutor, in his official capacity, would take up this question.

The hearing of witnesses continued, but brought only the depositions of a few gossiping small citizens of Berlin, who had nothing new to contribute.

Proceedings were then adjourned till Wednesday.

### The Insulted "Defending Counsel."

The "defending counsel," realising that their role as accomplices of the fascist prosecution has been recognised everywhere abroad, are endeavouring to make the best of a bad job. They declare to the foreign journalists that they are so indignant at the accusations brought against them abroad, especially by foreign lawyers, and are so insulted, that they will withdraw themselves from all intercourse with the foreign lawyers taking part in the proceedings. With this they are only seeking for a cheap pretext for avoiding the representations of the foreign lawyers.

### FOURTEENTH DAY OF TRIAL

German Frontier, 11th October.

### Dimitrov Excluded Again

A few minutes after to-day's proceedings began, the court excluded Dimitrov from the proceedings once more, and this time for a longer time. It is not known whether Dimitrov is to be permitted to be present at the proceedings again at all; for the present, at least, the court has achieved its wish. Since the protests from abroad obliged the court to withdraw the ban on Dimitrov's appearance in court a few days ago, the court has this time been careful to substantiate the prohibition more carefully. But in spite of this there is almost complete unanimity among the foreign journalists that it is Dimitrov's increasingly sharply formulated questions as to Lubbe's accomplices which have caused the Senate to exclude Dimitrov again.

At the beginning of to-day's proceedings, the presiding judge called up the witnesses cited for to-day. Dimitrov demanded the right to interrogate these witnesses. The presiding judge, only too well aware that the witnesses would involve themselves in contradictions in any case, and would be likely to prove complete failures in face of Dimitrov's questions, prohibited Dimitrov this interrogation. Dimitrov, however, continued to speak, and the presiding judge shouted at him: "Be silent!" Dimitrov replied: "I am not only a defendant, but my own defending counsel."

On this the presiding judge rose. The Senate withdrew to

consult. When the Senate reappeared it proclaimed: Dimitrov is excluded from the proceedings till further notice (!) for repeated offences against the judge's instructions.

### Teichert Gives to Understand that he Will Not Defend Dimitrov

Dimitrov, before being led away, wanted to give Teichert instructions for the time he is forced to be absent. Teichert assumed a demonstratively indifferent air, shrugged his shoulders, and expressed plainly that he feels himself insulted by Dimitrov and therefore pays little attention to Dimitrov's instructions.

### The Police Lieutenant Who Went to the Reichstag Alone (!) When the Alarm of Fire was Given

The first witness heard was the police lieutenant, **Lateit**. He stated that at nine fifteen he received the alarm that the Reichstag was on fire. The alarm was given by a civilian who can now no longer be found! Lateit then went across to the Reichstag alone, and met the policeman Buwert there. Lateit then entered the Reichstag alone. Yesterday Buwert made quite a different statement: "About nine seventeen a motor lorry arrived with officials, and the fire brigade about five minutes later." (See also "Völkischer Beobachter," 11th Oct.) Lateit described events differently; he entered the building alone. From the lobby he was already able to see the flames blazing to the right and left. He immediately saw a burning cushion and burning door hangings, and the curtains on both sides of the entrance to the main session hall were also on fire. In the lobbies he found an overcoat. As he entered the session hall flames were rising everywhere. The fire burned in a conspicuous manner, the flames rising high, red and white, and without smoke. The strange smell of burning which he had noticed on first entering the Reichstag was stronger than ever in the session hall. In his opinion this smell could not come from the burning curtains, but was much more like the burning of liquid fuel. In the dark cupola room he met a fireman. All the places which he saw burning gave him the impression of having been deliberately set on fire. He tried the various doors and found them all locked.

After making a tour of the Reichstag, which took him about five minutes, Lieutenant Lateit returned to the police station at the Brandenburg Tor. Towards half-past nine he left here with six or seven officials and went back to the Reichstag. Hence this police lieutenant did not arrive at the Reichstag with several officials the first time, as stated by Buwert, but first went there alone. At fifteen minutes past nine he received the alarm, at 9.17 he was at the Reichstag, he spent five minutes there, till 9.22, and then returned to the police station, leaving there again at 9.30 for the Reichstag with a group of officials.

### Who Actually Arrested Van der Lubbe?

Lateit stated further that on arriving at the Reichstag for the second time he was told that meanwhile another police station, the head Tiergarten station, had been alarmed. In any case, on arriving with his men he commenced a thorough investigation. On the steps of Entrance 2 a sports cap, a piece of soap, and a tie were found. He was still holding these objects in his hands when he was informed that the incendiary had been caught. It is not stated by whom. Obviously nobody from the Tiergarten police station, since Lubbe was taken to the Brandenburg Tor police station. It is not known whether witnesses have been questioned on this point.

### At that Time Lubbe did not State that he was a Communist!

When Lateit returned to the station at the Brandenburg Tor he found Lubbe already there. On being asked whether the objects found in the Reichstag were his Lubbe replied in the affirmative. Lubbe gave the impression of a semi lunatic. Lateit states that he asked Lubbe: "Did you set the Reichstag on fire?" Lubbe replied: "Yes!" Lateit asked: "Why did you do it?" to which Lubbe made no reply, only smiled in a peculiar way, but none the less the first official police communiqué reported: "Lubbe has admitted to being a Communist." According to Lateit's statements, Lubbe further stated at this hearing that he had climbed into the Reichstag. Even at this examination Lubbe had sat bent over, though not so utterly collapsed as now.

### The Fire Could Easily Have Been Localised!

One of the fire brigade experts asked Lateit a question, receiving the reply that in Lateit's opinion the fire could have easily been localised. He found no traces of blood on the broken panes, nor

had Lubbe any cuts. On the occasion of a later investigation in the Reichstag, Lubbe knew his way about surprisingly well. Lateit is of the opinion that it would not be possible to find the way so quickly in a building like the Reichstag without knowing it beforehand, especially when climbing in in the dark.

In reply to the Public Prosecutor, Lateit declared that a careful search, including all the smaller rooms, had not brought to light any incendiary materials. The public prosecutor was particularly anxious to emphasise this, since Lateit had commenced his description by mentioning the strange smell of burning, and had stressed that the flames which he noticed on the wood panelling were entirely different in appearance to the smokeless flames blazing metres high on other spots.

The Public Prosecutor further ensured asseverations of the statement—contradicted by large numbers of other observers—to the effect that neither storm troops nor special troops had taken part in cordoning off the Reichstag.

#### Lubbe Preserves Silence About Everything

Lubbe was then asked if Lateit's account of events fitted in with his own story. The prosecution was even accommodating enough to formulate the question with great elasticity, asking whether Lateit's description was right "on the whole." Lubbe replied: "I cannot say." Sack put a question: "You cannot or will not?" Lubbe responded by silence, and by cowering even further down in his seat. Lubbe's apathy is such that at this point Seuffert actually wiped Lubbe's nose with a handkerchief which was offered by Dr. Sack.

The Public Prosecutor, his hand forced by Dimitrov's frequent interpellations on the previous day to the effect that Lubbe must have had accomplices, now thought fit to observe for his part that Lubbe's invariable "I cannot say" in reply to questions about his accomplices, makes the conclusion obvious that Lubbe is concealing some secret.

The presiding judge then announced that there would be no hearing to-morrow, but that in the evening at 8 o'clock the scene of the crime would be inspected. In other words, the fascist stage-managers of the trial are obliged to call a halt for the third time, in order to consider how they may shunt their derailed proceedings onto the desired track again.

Teichert here took the opportunity of making himself observable as Dimitrov's defending counsel, after distinguishing himself by complete passivity up to the present. He applied for permission for Dimitrov to attend the inspection of the scene of the crime. The Senate refused the application.

#### Grand Alarm Not Given Till One-and-a-Quarter Hours After Discovery of Fire

The court then examined the question of the alarming of the fire brigades. Four different alarms were given: at 9.14, at 9.15, at 9.32, and at 9.43. In the Berlin fire brigades there are fifteen degrees of alarm. At 9.32 the 10th degree of alarm was ordered, the police having ascertained by this time that it was a serious fire. **But it was not until 10.30, a good hour and a quarter after the "discovery of the fire," that the order was given for the 15th degree of alarm!**

Up to the present the fire brigade director, Gempp, has not been called upon for his evidence. But his name was now mentioned, giving Dr. Sack the opportunity for what he supposed to be an attack on the "Brown Book." Dr. Sack exclaimed: "So he is still alive!"

#### Propaganda in Court for Aerial Warfare

Next appeared one of those strange "experts" who are arousing considerable astonishment abroad. This time a **Dr. Lepsius**, a chemist and a specialist in "anti-aircraft defence," that is to say, for war in the air. First he gave a lengthy discourse on the aerial warfare of the future. This being concluded, he related that the day following the fire he interviewed Lubbe, with the consent of the Minister of the Interior, for the reason that he was anxious to learn how such a large building can be set on fire in so short a time. Lubbe gave him clear and clever answers.

Then this fascist attempted to play the role of political expert. Lubbe had told him that he had fired the Reichstag as a result of "Communist ideas." The witness speedily exposed the sources of his

wisdom, however, by the statement that he had read beforehand in the newspapers that the fire had been the result of a Communist plot. Hence this chemist and air warfare expert arrived at the conclusion that Lubbe was a Communist anxious to forward his cause by this deed.

Proceedings were then adjourned till Friday.

#### FIFTEENTH DAY OF TRIAL

##### Proceedings in the Reichstag on Thursday Evening

German Frontier, 13th October.

As early as seven o'clock in the evening it was easily observable, in the vicinity of the Reichstag, that all Germany—and especially the workers—are following the trial with the intensest interest. At seven o'clock the neighbourhood of the Reichstag, and the surrounding streets, were cleared by large detachments of police and cordoned off. Tremendous crowds assembled behind the police cordons. But these crowds were of a very different character from the crowds seen during the last few months attending Nazi meetings and demonstrations. The impression given to-day was unique. Probably it is the first time since the seizure of power by the Nazis that such a gathering has been seen in Berlin. The workers of Berlin stood densely packed behind the cordons of police and Storm Troops. But they stood dumbly, only low whispers passing among the groups of workers.

A few minutes before 8 o'clock, the members of the Senate appeared in magnificent motor-cars, in which they drove to the foot of the great steps outside the Reichstag. The cars containing the defending counsel were followed by those with the prisoners. The prison cars were escorted by two police lorries crowded with police, heavily armed. When the defendants descended it was noticed that Dimitrov was not among them. As soon as a prisoner alighted from a car, two policemen walked in front of him and two behind. **When Comrade Torgler descended from the car, someone suddenly shouted from the crowd: "Red Front!"**

There was a sudden movement and pushing in the crowd in the direction from which the shout came. A short tumult, a workman dragged backwards. It is impossible to ascertain if he was arrested, or if the large numbers of workers surrounding him were able to protect him, so that he could disappear unseen. The brief incident was immediately followed by a resumption of the tense and almost uncanny quiet, the atmosphere of nervous strain accompanying the whole of the proceedings of the fascist court of justice, in spite of the enormous police forces on hand.

The President of the Senate, Buenger, then stated that the witnesses who had been heard on Tuesday would now repeat their depositions on the spot. The fascist student, **Flöter**, was called as first witness. To-day he again seemed to be almost bursting with pride at being able to play so important a role, and to help his leaders. Witnesses and examiners now proceeded to the spot where Flöter claims to have been on the night of the fire, at a few minutes past 9, when he saw a man with something burning in his hand climb in through a window of the Reichstag. For the purpose of reconstructing the circumstance, the lamps were turned down to half power, as on the night of the fire. Flöter repeated the statements made on Tuesday. He described how he ran to the policeman on duty near the main entrance to the Reichstag, and repeated how he added emphasis to his information by giving the policeman a dig in the pit of the stomach, a proceeding which was extremely dangerous under the circumstance obtaining at that time, and might have spelt several months in prison for anybody but a fascist student.

The police sergeant, **Buwert**, then pointed out the spot where a civilian informed him of the fire. As on so many points, differences of opinion again arose here. Buwert and Flöter could not agree as to the spot where they had met. The presiding judge again showed annoyance at the bad stage managing. He intervened with the assurance that this slight discrepancy is of no importance.

Next, the second witness to the deed, **Thaler**, was examined. He, too, repeated his former statements, but at the same time stuck to the story that he had seen two persons climbing in. And although the President reminded him warningly, he still could not remember seeing that these persons held something burning in their hands. For the Public Prosecutor and the President the presence of the second man is as inconvenient as the lack of fire-brands in their hands. Both strove their best to induce the witness to say that possibly he saw only one man. They repeatedly suggested that the second person whom Thaler believes he saw could

only have been the shadow of the first, so that at last the witness let himself be persuaded into saying: "It is not impossible that I was mistaken."

With this Dr. Buenger closed the local hearing, declaring with smiles of satisfaction that considering the circumstances the proceeding on the scene of the crime had been exceedingly fruitful.

#### SIXTEENTH DAY OF TRIAL—PRELIMINARY REPORT

##### Remarkable Conclusions Drawn by Presiding Judge Respecting the Hearing in the Reichstag

This morning's session was practically filled with statements and declarations. The presiding judge commenced by summing up the results of yesterday's hearing at the Reichstag itself. His statements caused no little surprise. Anyone present at the local hearing yesterday, and then listening to the judge's resumé to-day, would gain a fair idea of the truly remarkable methods employed by the court in working up the material coming into its hands.

With regard to the total results of the local hearing, the presiding judge has come to amazing conclusions. His version lends an entirely new aspect to yesterday's examinations. The presiding judge ignores the profound contradictions of opinion between the witnesses Buwert and Flöter, both with regard to time and place of their meeting, and sees only complete agreement.

The doubts expressed by Thaler, who continually declared that he saw two men climbing into the Reichstag, and only allowed himself to be persuaded by continual suggestive questions into saying that it was possible to have been mistaken—without saying who might have been mistaken, he or Buwert—have now been interpreted by the President to mean that Thaler no longer insists on having seen two men. Hence the President declares that this point, too, has been fully settled. But at yesterday's local hearing the actual impression given was that the lack of clarity and agreement was greater than ever.

##### Dr. Teichert Makes Pretence of Acting as Defending Counsel

The official defending counsel of the three Bulgarians, Dr. Teichert, now rose to speak. Obviously some fresh device has been worked out behind the scenes, where the Public Prosecutor, the judges, and the defending counsel play zealously into one another's hands, and it has been decided that something must be done to prevent an international scandal on account of the sabotage of the defence of the three Bulgarians. This defence is really Teichert's job, and therefore Teichert must come forward as if he intended doing something about it. Therefore he advances a number of demands for proofs. These demands are, however, only repetitions of those already made by Dimitrov. The court is rather alarmed at not having permitted any of Dimitrov's questions to be answered, and is now going to awaken an appearance of making up for this.

Teichert's first motion is that those witnesses should be called who have asserted that they saw Dimitrov in Berlin at a time when he has been absolutely proved to have been in Munich. By this the idea is to prove—not the readiness with which the court brings forward false witnesses—but "how easily witnesses can confuse persons with others." Further witnesses are to be called in order to enable investigations to be made with regard to the betrothal cards alleged by the prosecution to have been sent out by Dimitrov. Teichert further moved that several waiters from the "Bayern Hof" Hotel should be confronted with the waiter, Hellmer. This is to prove, in opposition to the assertions of Hellmer, who informed against the three Bulgarians, that persons have again been obviously confused. In conclusion, this executioner's assistant, here disguised as a lawyer, makes an "international" gesture. He proposes that some witnesses should be called from Paris, to make statements on the sojourns abroad of the three Bulgarians.

#### Continuation and Conclusion

German Frontier, 13th October.

##### A Disastrous Day for the Prosecution. The Assertions of the Prosecution Refuted One After the Other

Teichert having concluded his demands for substantiation of evidence, the court passed on to the examination of the further witnesses, whose evidence, whether coming from a hard-boiled fascist like Scranewitz, who compromises the prosecution with his over zealousness, or from a man of such incorruptible character as Wendt, who does not permit himself to be intimidated by anything,

and refuses to capitulate to the wrathful cross-questioning of the prosecution.

##### Lateit Adapts Himself to the Tactics of the Prosecution

An expert on fires asked Lateit whether there was any particular smell or taste observable in the Reichstag. When last examined, on Wednesday, Lateit declared: "I do not think it possible that the intense smell of burning could have come from the burning curtains and door hangings." (The actual words noted by the correspondent of the "Basler Nachrichten," 12th Oct., to quote one of the many bourgeois papers reporting this statement of Lateit's.) To-day Lateit declared that he noticed nothing of the kind. It may be seen with increasing clearness that the court and the prosecution are taking up a new line of tactics. Originally the idea was to prove that Lubbe must have had accomplices. Now that it turns out, in the course of the trial, that it will be impossible to adduce any proofs of collaboration on the part of Communists, the thesis of accomplices for Lubbe has been completely dropped. For if it were once proved that Lubbe must have had accomplices, and that these were not Communists, then there remains only one conclusion: they must have been national socialists. Therefore the court has adopted fresh tactics: save himself who can. The endeavours made by the presiding judge and the Public Prosecutor yesterday to work upon the witness Thaler till he withdrew his original statement of having seen two men climbing into the Reichstag, were a distinct step in this direction.

The next witness was a police constable named Losigkeit. All that he has to state is that he saw no combustible materials, nor any Storm Troopers or Special Troops. He confirms this as required of him, and is thereupon dismissed.

##### Another Police Lie Exploded. Lubbe had Neither Membership Card nor Appeal in His Pockets

The next witness was the police constable Pöschel. On the night of the fire Pöschel was on duty in the Reichstag. First of all he, too, confirmed the statement that at 10 minutes past nine all the doors of the Reichstag had been closed. This gives the coup de grace to the Nazi witness, Boguhn, who stated that he had seen a man leave the Reichstag hurriedly at 10 minutes past nine by door 2 of the Reichstag.

Pöschel then described how he arrested Lubbe. He called to him: "Hands up!" and Lubbe obeyed at once. Pöschel searched him at once, and found only the following in his possession: A pocket knife, a pocket handkerchief, and a passport in the name of Van der Lubbe. Where is the passport in the name of van Dergen, on which the "Völkischer Beobachter" reported? Where is the membership card of the Dutch C.P.? Where is the Communist appeal said to have been found in Lubbe's pocket?

Comrade Torgler utilised this opportunity to expose this police lie. He asked if no membership card, no document, no leaflet, or anything of the kind, had been found on Lubbe. Before Pöschel could reply the representative of the prosecution, Parisius, intervened, fearing the imminent exposure of the prosecution. He hoped that by repeating the same question Pöschel would be given time to think the matter over, and give the wished for answer. But Pöschel failed to observe what the prosecution required of him. He stuck to his statement. Now all that can be said of the case for the prosecution is that it is a heap of ruins.

##### The Fairy Tale of Torgler's "Flight" From the Reichstag Finally Refuted

The next witness examined was the night porter of the Reichstag, Wendt, who came on duty at 8 o'clock on the night of the fire. This is the man who let Torgler out of the building, accompanied by Koenen and the fraction secretary, Rehme. The witness first stated that it happened often enough that deputies worked later than 8 o'clock, even if the Reichstag was not sitting. The witness then declared: "I noticed nothing special on that evening. When Torgler and his friends left they spoke of going to the Ashinger Restaurant. After they were gone I locked the door. Later on a postman came. When he had gone it was 5 minutes to nine." Between 10 minutes and 15 minutes past nine a policeman came to him and said: "The Reichstag is on fire." He asked: "Where?" He then telephoned to several of his superiors, and meanwhile the fire brigade arrived at about 17 minutes past nine.

Wendt then reported that shortly before 10 o'clock a man unknown to him, but showing a deputy's identity card, left the build-

ing. He was allowed to go out. Otherwise Wendt let nobody out or in. Wendt is the first to make mention of the "subterranean passage." The court and the Public Prosecutor act as if they were deaf. Wendt returned to the question of the time when Torgler left the Reichstag; so far as he can remember, it was 25 minutes to 9 when Scholz, the attendant in charge of the lights, came to Wendt. Torgler had exchanged a few words with Scholz, and then left the Reichstag quietly, as usual, without any signs of "hasty flight." These statements refute another whole series of police lies, and confirm the times given by Torgler, by Koenen, and by the London counter-trial.

#### A Nazi Witness Shown Up

The janitor of the Reichstag, Scranewitz, who lives in the Reichstag, was then examined. The News Service of the C.P.G. has been able to prove that Scranewitz has long been a registered member of the National Socialist Party. Originally it was the intention of the prosecution to bring Scranewitz forward as one of the star witnesses for the prosecution. But since he resides in the Reichstag itself, and was doubtless not only initiated in the arson plot, but probably took an active part in it, it was thought better to relegate him to the background. Hence he merely reported all manner of hackneyed details, till he came to the description of the various seats of the fire in the Reichstag. The descriptions which he gave here do not tally in the least with Lateit's. But the culmination of his contradictory statements was reached when he suddenly asserted that it was he who had arrested Lubbe. He had not heard Pöschel's previous statement that he, Pöschel, had arrested Lubbe. The fascist stage management of the trial functions less and less efficiently. The witness described graphically how he observed Van der Lubbe and shouted to him "Hands up!" He had struck Lubbe, and Lubbe said: "Protest, protest!" With this Scranewitz obviously intended an indication in the direction of Lubbe's "Communist backgrounds," since Lubbe's act was "in protest against the whole system."

Questioned about Torgler, Scranewitz replied: "I know Mr. Torgler as a very industrious deputy, who often worked late." The examination then returned to the subject of the different places and the nature of the incendiary centres in the Reichstag, and the more questions were put, the more inextricable the contradictions between the statements made by Lateit, Pöschel, and Scranewitz. Bünger, Werner, Parisius, Sack—all put innumerable questions, but the attempts to bring about uniformity resulted in precisely the contrary.

#### Scranewitz Admits Spying in the Cupboards of the C.P.G. fraction

Scranewitz was then asked what party he belongs to and if he is a national socialist. He flatly denied his proved membership of the National Socialist Party, and declared: "I was never in a party, but tend to the 'Right' (!). In reply to the question of how often the cupboards of the Communist fraction were secretly searched, the witness let slip the admission: "The cupboards were only opened on special instructions."

The trial was then adjourned till Saturday.

### SEVENTEENTH DAY OF TRIAL

#### Proceedings in Berlin. Preliminary Report

German frontier, 14th October.

To-day the presiding judge resorted to a desperate measure, by which he hopes, strangely enough, to be able to change the tone of the reports issued by the foreign journalists. This fresh measure placed still further restrictions on the almost non-existent remnants of the defence of the four Communist defendants.

At the beginning of the session he declared that the foreign lawyers, Grigoroff, Detscheff, Gallagher, and Villars, are excluded from the further proceedings. The reason he gave for this unheard-of measure is as follows: These foreign lawyers had sent to the Supreme Court a copy of a letter which they had sent to Dimitrov's "defending counsel," Teichert. This letter furnishes the reason for the exclusion of the four lawyers, for it again refers to the ill-treatment of Dimitrov by police officials.

#### The "Angriff" Demands the Expulsion of the Foreign Lawyers The "Independent" Court Obeys

This incident shows very plainly that the "independence" of these fascist judges, upon which the court is continually insisting, is not worth very much. Yesterday the Berlin Nazi paper, the

"Angriff," the organ of the propaganda Minister Goebbels, demanded that these four foreign lawyers should be excluded from the proceedings. Scarcely twelve hours later the fascist court obeyed its "master's voice." The "Angriff" had even the insolence to support its demand by stating that these lawyers had furnished the foreign journalists with "certain reports."

#### Scranewitz Afraid of being Exposed as Incendiary

The examination of the witness Scranewitz was then continued. It will be remembered that yesterday Scranewitz admitted that the cupboards of the Communist Reichstag fraction were searched on the "orders of superior authorities." Scranewitz now went to much trouble to prove that before and during the fire "everything was quite normal" in the Reichstag. Since he, as a national socialist and the holder of the keys to the subterranean passage, was probably one of the participants in the fascist incendiary plot, his present idea is to pretend that everything was as normal and harmless as possible. In reply to various questions put by the public prosecutor, with reference to supposedly suspicious circumstances in connection with the trial, Scranewitz several times exclaimed repeatedly: "That is a lie!"

#### At 9.20 the Fire in the Reichstag might still have been Localised. At 9.24 the Session Chamber was in a Blaze

The next witness was the fire brigade chief Klotz. He stated that the fire brigade received the first alarm at 9.14. His brigade left its station at once and was at the Reichstag at 9.24. On arriving, he found a fire brigade detachment already there. This statement is in strange contradiction to the statement made by the witness Thaler, who—we quote from the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of 11th October—declared before the court: "It was seventeen minutes past nine. The fire brigade arrived immediately after this. It entered the Reichstag and put the fire out. Then it drove away again, and the people who were standing about all went away." This report was also published by the "Svenska Dagbladet" on 11th October. But the fire brigade chief Klotz states that when his brigade entered the Reichstag at 9.24, such a tremendous heat met them from the Session Chamber that it was almost as if they encountered darting flames—the Session Chamber was blazing, and enveloped in smoke and flames.

The presiding judge, the fire experts, and the public prosecutor all put innumerable questions, in the hope of clearing up the riddle—that is to say, they endeavoured to give this impression, but in reality the impression given was that they were endeavouring to increase the confusion. How is it possible that within a few minutes the Session Chamber could become a sea of flames, whilst a few minutes earlier the fire was so small that it might have been localised—as stated by Lieutenant Lateit?

Klotz then protested excitedly against the evidence given at the London counter-trial, to the effect that at eleven o'clock on the night of the fire he had declared that large quantities of inflammable material of various kinds had been carried out of the Session Chamber. That Klotz denies this to-day makes it all the more incomprehensible why the official Prussian Press Service, on the day after the fire, stated that "police investigations showed that in the whole Reichstag building, from the ground floor up to the cupola, fires had been laid, the materials being tar preparations and torches."

Klotz went on to say that at three minutes before midnight the fire was reported to be extinguished. At a quarter past two in the morning the fire brigade left, leaving watchmen.

Other fire brigade men were then examined, the line of questioning adopted aiming at "proving" that after eleven o'clock combustible materials could have been taken out of the Session Chamber.

### CLOSING REPORT

German frontier, 14th October.

#### The Court Forced to Beat Another Retreat

#### Dimitrov to Take Part in Proceedings Again on Monday

The President called the names of new witnesses, and made some announcements. Among the newly cited witnesses is the name of the former fire brigade chief Gempp. When this name was called, Dr. Sack made an interpellation, breaking a lance once more against the "Brown Book" and the counter-trial. He adopted the tactics of representing the questions put forward by the "Brown Book" and the counter-trial as definite assertions.

These misrepresentations are then trumpeted forth by the fascist press as "deadly blows against the Brown Book." In a most theatrical manner Sack put the ridiculous question of whether the Gempp, who has turned up at last, is really the Gempp who was fire brigade chief at the time of the fire? And, of course, the answer is yes.

Among the announcements made by the President was one showing that on Monday Comrade Dimitrov will again take part in the proceedings. The court has once more been obliged to withdraw his expulsion, under the international pressure, especially the pressure of the letter sent by the four foreign lawyers now excluded from the proceedings.

#### **The Fire Brigade Admits that its First Action Fanned the Fire!**

The next witness, the fire brigade chief Buhle, was in command of the first fire brigade detachment to reach the Reichstag. Buhle declared that the doors of the Reichstag were locked when he reached it, and the first fire brigade men climbed in through the windows. Buhle stated that he had the impression that the breaking of the windows caused a draught which greatly increased the rapid development of the fire! This is obviously to furnish the solution to the riddle of how a fire which could have been easily localised at 9.20—according to Lateit—had developed into a raging sea of flame by 9.21, when Scranewitz looked into the Session Chamber, and it had reached a stage by 9.24 rendering it impossible for the fire brigade men to enter the Session Chamber. Sack asked Buhle if he had seen inflammable material in the Reichstag. Buhle—who appears to have re-learned his rôle as desired—stated that this was not the case. The statements ascribed to Gempp were not made by Gempp at the fire brigade conference following the fire.

#### **No Proceedings Against Gempp, but only Examination by the State Secret Police**

The next witness was Gempp, the fire brigade chief discharged by the Nazis after the fire. Buenger at once nailed him with the statement that reports had appeared in the foreign press to the effect that after the fire Gempp had taken part in a conference of the inspectors and fire brigade leaders, and had stated at this conference that the fire brigade had been alarmed too late, and that Goering had forbidden him to give the grand alarm. Besides this, Gempp is said to have stated at this conference that there had been twenty Storm Troopers at the fire, and that he had seen large quantities of combustible materials in different parts of the Reichstag.

Gempp, before dealing with the actual questions, first stated that he had been examined on these questions by the State Commissioner Lippert and by the State Secret Police—and not, therefore, by the customary courts or examining magistrates. After having expressly stressed this point, Gempp stated that in both cases (before Lippert and the Secret Police) he had designated the above assertions as "utter nonsense." Gempp does not state why he made this denial on 18th June, 1933, for the first time, although the assertions were published on 25th April.

Gempp states that on the night of the fire he made a brief report to Goering, who arrived on the spot about a quarter of an hour after him. Goering had asked him to do his duty. It looks, at any rate, as if he were carrying out his duty towards Goering in his evidence.

#### **Gempp Observed Inflammable Material: Petrol or Benzol and Torches**

Gempp further stated that in the Reichstag he noticed traces of fire leading to the Session Chamber, giving him the impression of having been caused by petrol or benzol. A peculiar smell had confirmed this supposition. It will be remembered that on Wednesday the police lieutenant Lateit also remarked upon this peculiar smell, although by Friday he had followed instructions and declared that he had not noticed any special smell of burning. This statement of Gempp's proves, however, that Lubbe must have had accomplices in the Reichstag—the very point which the court has endeavoured so frantically to deny during the last few days. Gempp made no direct reference to the strange delay in his denial of the statements attributed to him at the fire conference, but merely declared that the denial had not been extorted from him. In reply to a number of questions by Teichert, Gempp stated that he had observed a kind of torch behind an armchair,

and could not explain its origin. Gempp concluded his statement by saying that he had not been under arrest, and has not been persecuted on account of this affair. But those who know what kind of declarations the Nazis lay before their prisoners, forcing them to sign statements precisely the opposite of what they have really experienced, will not be very clearly convinced by Gempp's assurances on the matter, the more that he admits to having been examined by a State Commissioner and the Secret Police.

Proceedings were then adjourned till Monday.

### **EIGHTEENTH DAY OF TRIAL**

#### **Preliminary Report**

German Frontier, 16th October.

#### **The Court Hopes that Public Interest in the Trial is Waning**

The whole atmosphere prevailing in the court after the Sunday interval showed that the fascist court is far from being displeased at the concentration of public attention on the situation created by Germany's actions—the withdrawal from the League of Nations and the breaking up of the Disarmament Conference. The court hopes that the increasingly difficult job of concealing the truth may be carried out more easily if the world's attention is directed elsewhere.

For the first time for many days, Comrade Dimitrov again appeared to-day in the dock. It is observed that his lengthy exclusion from the proceedings has been a severe ordeal to him, for he is aware that with the collapse of the prosecution his attacks on the court and the prosecution have been increasingly effective. But this ordeal has just as obviously failed to lessen his militancy.

Bünger commenced proceedings by a long-winded reading of the Minutes of proceedings since the day that Dimitrov was excluded. Dimitrov followed the reading attentively.

#### **Increased Pressure on the Foreign Journalists**

That the fascist provocations become more and more terrorist in character in proportion as their indictment collapses is being experienced by the foreign journalists themselves. The arrest and expulsion of the four foreign lawyers, an affair in which the foreign press received the unanimous impression that the court was getting rid of four inconvenient observers, in order to be able to proceed without interference in its violation of all the principles of bourgeois justice, have been accompanied by stricter measures for keeping a watch on the foreign journalists, who are being exposed to increasingly open attempts at intimidation. Whilst the President was reading the Minutes, whose contents are already well known to the journalists, these measures formed the chief topic of discussion on the press benches.

#### **The Public Prosecutor Has Lost All Desire to Hear Anything About Lubbe's Accomplices**

After reading the Minutes, the Public Prosecutor returned to the evidence referring to the finding of combustible material in the Reichstag. Werner was at great pains to deny that any such material had been found, and to weaken the evidence of witnesses testifying on the subject. It became increasingly obvious that the prosecution has lost all wish to prove that Lubbe had accomplices. This change of front on the part of the prosecution is comprehensible when it is remembered that all attempts have failed to show that Lubbe had Communist confederates. And as there is no other conclusion to be arrived at but that Lubbe's accomplices (whose existence was established in all official police statements immediately after the fire) must therefore be national socialists, it is easily comprehensible why the prosecution has changed its tactics. It is, however, still a mystery how the prosecution is going to sweep out of existence the traces of fire caused by petrol or benzole, and the torch, seen by Gempp, or the heap of burning paper seen by Scranewitz. Parisius' attempt to attribute the torches found in the Reichstag to the police is too ridiculous to be taken seriously.

The trial is thus developing more and more into a widely ramified attempt to clear the fascists of the suspicion of complicity; at the same time, however, there is no lessening of the danger threatening the four Communists, who will simply be sentenced for high treason.

The first witness heard to-day was the Reichstag secretary, Prodöhl, who fully confirmed Scranewitz's statements.

## FINAL REPORT

German Frontier, 16th October.

### "A Greyish-Yellow Powder Burning in the Inner Rooms of the Reichstag"

The witness, Prodöhl, then retailed a strange story: At 9.16 he heard about the fire; as he ran through the Reichstag he met a policeman, who at once struck him with his rubber truncheon. It was only when the Reichstag inspector, Scranewitz, arrived on the scene that it could be made clear to the policeman that Prodöhl was a Reichstag official. This treatment of a Reichstag official is in strange contradiction to that accorded Lubbe on his arrest, quite apart from the fact that the immediate use of the rubber truncheon, without giving the victim time to explain who he was, is entirely characteristic of the fascist police. Lubbe was not beaten, although his appearance was very different from that of the highly respectable Reichstag official.

Prodöhl further confirmed the statement, which has been corroborated up to the present by every witness, whether fascist or not, that Torgler was one of those Reichstag members who worked very industriously and often till a late hour.

Prodöhl went on to state that when searching the interior rooms of the Reichstag, he had seen a burning greyish-yellow powder. The Public Prosecutor naturally found this statement very unwelcome, and suggested to Prodöhl that the powder might be part of a firelighter (??). Next, a detailed investigation of the conditions of admission of visitors to the Reichstag was made, the prosecution evidently endeavouring to indicate that the control was not sharp enough. The manager of the Reichstag restaurant, Jürgens, was next examined; he had obviously been instructed to state that large numbers of serviettes and towels were missing.

#### Police Guarantee that Non-Inflammable Curtains Burn Excellently

An interior decorator employed in the Reichstag was next examined as a quasi expert. He was asked if hangings and curtains burn easily, and replied in the affirmative. This statement, a flat contradiction of the statement made by the detective, Heisig, who declared on the sixth day of the trial in Leipzig—as reported by the South German edition of the "Völkischer Beobachter," on Thursday, 28th September:—

"It was especially disagreeable to Lubbe that we (the detective police with Heisig) endeavoured to set on fire a door curtain on the west side of the Session Chamber with the aid of a firelighter. He was bound to admit that the curtain simply did not burn."

The decorator further stated that on the day after the fire he had seen slit leather armchairs.

#### Schmal, a Completely Useless Witness for the Prosecution

The next witness was a civil servant named Schmal. His former statements formed one of the main supports of the case against Torgler. If the prosecution had been able to foresee how he would break down, it would certainly not have subpoenaed him. Schmal is the witness who declared that he saw Lubbe in the vicinity of the Reichstag about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the day of the fire. He stated that he recognised him by his ragged clothing and bent figure. An attempt to confront Schmal with Lubbe failed because Lubbe would not raise his head at all, and indeed gave no sign of life whatever. He made no reply to questions from the President.

Whilst Schmal formerly stated with certainty that he had seen Lubbe in Torgler's company, to-day he commenced every sentence with "I think—I believe—I think I remember that. . . ." To-day, therefore, he thinks that he remembers seeing Torgler either on the day of the fire or on the Saturday before, a few minutes after 2 in the afternoon, entering the Reichstag. Much disquieted, the presiding judge and the Public Prosecutor addressed innumerable questions to the witness, in the effort to refresh his memory. But Schmal stuck to it that he could not remember exactly.

A question put by Sack raised the point that the witness stated during the preliminary examinations that he had seen Torgler in the company of Lubbe. To this the witness declared: "I never said that." Sack retorted that it was recorded in the Minutes, and went on to remind the witness that in this connection he had further stated that Torgler had had a "suspicious packet" in his

hand when entering the Reichstag. (Torgler himself has stated that he took a parcel of cakes with him to the Reichstag on the Saturday before the fire.) On this Schmal was bound to admit that he had made the alleged statements during the preliminary examinations. Dimitrov then put the question what party the witness belonged to. Schmal replied: "To the Centre Party till it was dissolved." Dimitrov further asked if Schmal had received a share of the reward offered for finding the incendiaries. This question was obviously disagreeable to Schmal; he replied finally that he had received nothing.

In this connection the witness suddenly stated that his statements had not been properly recorded in the Minutes.

#### A Witness for the Prosecution Confirms Fact of Falsification of Protocol

Scarcely had Comrade Dimitrov heard this statement, when he saw the opportunity of demonstrating, with the aid of a witness for the prosecution, that the police have falsified the Minutes. Dimitrov asked Schmal if the Minutes of his statement had not been read to him. It could be seen from Bünger's mien that he was on thorns to exclude Dimitrov again, but he did not venture to do so. For a moment there was general confusion. With obvious misgivings, Bünger decided to allow the question. And the witness replied: "The Minutes were not read aloud to him."

#### Witnesses Wenig, Holdack, and Gerecke Say They Are Not Quite Sure

"I am not quite sure" has now become the favourite phrase of the witnesses for the prosecution. Up to now not a single witness for the defence has been heard. This same phrase was again used to-day by the Reichstag official, Wenig, who is now no longer sure whether he really saw Lubbe in the company of young journeymen who were sightseeing in the Reichstag shortly before the fire (here the question arises if a group of Storm Troopers might not have been disguised as journeymen, enabling them to make a conducted tour of the Reichstag, in order to make them familiar with the premises for their future work). The same doubts were expressed on the same question by Wenig's assistant, Holdack. And another Reichstag official, Gerecke, can only remember saying to a colleague: "I seem to have seen Lubbe somewhere, I believe he once went through the Reichstag with a group of visitors."

#### The Notorious Pane of Glass in the Communist Fraction Room Not Broken till after the Fire

The lamps inspector of the Reichstag, Scholz, was then examined for the second time. He described how he had gone over the Reichstag premises at 10 minutes past 8 on the night of the fire. In the cloak-room only Torgler's overcoat was hanging. When passing the rooms of the C.P.G. fraction at about half-past eight, he noticed that the upper pane of the door, which once played so important a part in the case of the prosecution as being "broken in a suspicious manner," was quite in order. It was not until the day after the fire that he saw, on switching on the light, that the pane was broken. Scholz then reported again how he returned to the night porter, Wendt, at 8.35 and gave him the keys. At this moment Torgler, Koenen, and Miss Rehme came up. Torgler, too, handed in his keys, and the three left the building as usual, without haste.

In reply to a question from Sack, whether Scholz had noticed anything unusual in the cellars, packages or anything of the kind, on the night of the fire, the witness replied that this was not the case. He did not, however, go through all the cellars.

#### Dimitrov Asks Whether the Incendiaries Could Have Come Through the Subterranean Passage

Here Dimitrov put the decisive question, feared all along by the President and the Public Prosecutor, and awaited by the whole foreign press. Dimitrov put the question clearly: "Does the witness think it possible that the incendiaries came through the subterranean passage?"

In a moment a united front had been formed from Sack via the President to the Public Prosecutor. The President prevented the question from being answered, declaring that it would be dealt with later "in another connection." Sack, Göring's chosen defending counsel, objected to the use of the term "incendiary" in such a connection, stating that this in itself was an assertion.

Proceedings were then adjourned till Tuesday.

## The Role of the Bulgarian Government in the Reichstag Fire Trial

The Bulgarian government has hitherto not ventured to state its attitude with regard to the accusation against the three Bulgarians in the Reichstag fire trial. This deliberate policy of silence is also being pursued by the whole bourgeois press in Bulgaria, on the instructions of the government. This policy is proof of the active collaboration of the Bulgarian government in the preparation for the judicial murder of Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev.

There are two reasons for this policy of silence on the part of the Bulgarian government: firstly, everybody in Bulgaria knows that neither Dimitrov nor Popov nor Tanev had anything to do with the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral; secondly, nobody in Bulgaria can believe that Georg Dimitrov, who is one of the most popular workers' leaders in the country, or his comrades, could play the role of Reichstag incendiaries. A striking proof of this is the telegram sent by five former peasant ministers to the Supreme Court in Leipzig. It is stated in this telegram inter alia:—

"The signatories to this telegram declare that Dimitrov is their political opponent, but his character and his conviction exclude the possibility of any participation on his part in acts of individual terror. The Bulgarian people is convinced of Dimitrov's innocence."

It should be specially mentioned that one of the undersigned Ministers is Mr. Jordanov, up to recently a member of the present Bulgarian government, but who resigned from it on account of differences of political opinions.

The Bulgarian government by its tactics of silence aims at concealing from the Bulgarian public the fact that the Sofia police have submitted false statements to the Reich Court in Leipzig regarding the alleged criminal activity of Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev. The President, Herr Buenger, however, considered it necessary to read out these false statements at the trial, in which it is asserted, for instance, that Popov had been sentenced several times in Bulgaria for criminal activity, whilst Tanev had been prosecuted for his participation in a number of bank raids. These false assertions on the part of the Bulgarian police and its government were at once most emphatically denied and exposed in the court-room.

Vogt, the examining judge, likewise admitted that the Bulgarian police had requested the German authorities to deliver Dimitrov into their hands.

It is not difficult to see that it is intended by these forgeries and their reading out in open court to prepare for the extradition of Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev into the hands of the Bulgarian fascist hangmen.

The Sofia daily newspaper "Echo" publishes the following revelations regarding the participation of the Bulgarian authorities—i.e., of the Bulgarian Embassy in Berlin—in the preliminary examination of Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev: The Bulgarian banker Christov and Dr. Tarapnov, who are living in Berlin, participated in the whole of the preliminary examination, on the instructions of the Bulgarian Embassy and in support of the examining judge Vogt.

The hangman's role of the Bulgarian government in the Reichstag fire trial was also revealed in the brutal and bloody persecution of the protest movement in Bulgaria against the fascist terror in Germany, as well as against the movement in the whole of the country for rescuing Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev and Torgler. Todor Penkin, the author of the pamphlet "The Events in Germany," was sentenced to ten years' hard labour for having written this pamphlet. The editor and the administrator of the organ of the committee "For the Rescue of Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev and Torgler" was arrested and brutally tortured in prison. The organ of this committee, the "Anti-Fascist Front," was prohibited. All the protest meetings and demonstrations against the Reichstag fire trial have been broken up by the police, who fired at the crowd and arrested many demonstrators.

The handing over of Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev to the Bulgarian hangmen is equivalent to a judicial murder in Germany. Precisely at this moment, when the white terror is raging in the whole country, when innumerable death sentences are being pronounced against revolutionary soldiers and anti-war militants, the life of Dimitrov, who has been sentenced to death in Bulgaria, and

also the lives of Popov and Tanev, who are persecuted as political emigrants, are in great danger.

The more the framed-up case against Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev and Popov collapses as a result of their bold stand before the fascist court, the greater becomes the danger that the three Bulgarian comrades will be handed over to their hangmen in order to provide the fascist hangmen in Germany with a way out from the cul de sac into which the Reichstag fire trial has been driven.

It is therefore necessary to stigmatise the hangman's role of the Bulgarian government in the Reichstag fire trial and to strengthen the campaign for the rescue of the accused, as well as for the prevention of the three Bulgarians being delivered into the hands of the fascist hangmen.

## The Paris Session of the Counter-Trial

Paris, 4th October, 1933.

The afternoon sitting of the counter-trial in Paris brought fresh and striking proof that the assertion of the German prosecuting authorities that Dimitrov was one of organisers of the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral in 1925, and is therefore capable of such a crime as setting fire to the Reichstag, is untrue.

Dimitrov's sister, Elena Dimitrova, stated that her brother left Bulgaria already in 1923, and that since then he has never set foot on Bulgarian soil. Dimitrova also informed the court that her brother's hands were chained day and night for five months.

In reply to the question put by Moro-Giafferi, whether she had the impression in Leipzig that her brother is able to defend himself freely, witness stated: "I saw that there exists no possibility for a real defence. Dimitrov was always cut short by the President as soon as he put questions in order to clear up the facts regarding van der Lubbe and to prove his Munich alibi."

The Communist member of the French Chamber, Doriot, stated that on 16th April, 1925, he obtained in Moscow a Turkish visa and on 25th of April travelled to Turkey. From the 16th to the 19th of April he was every day together with his Bulgarian friends Dimitrov and Kolarov. When the news of the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral reached Moscow on April 16, he took part together with Dimitrov and Kolarov in a conference. Both of them spoke very sharply against this provocative outrage. "Dimitrov could not be in Moscow and Sofia at the same time." Doriot made notes of this conference, which were later confiscated by the French police, together with his passport. He has now succeeded in obtaining this document from the archives of the French police. He is ready to submit them personally to the Leipzig Court.

The unknown woman witness X., who lives in the Neukölln district of Berlin and does not wish her name to be made public for fear of endangering her own person and the members of her family in Neukölln, said, regarding the national socialist provocateur Hamann, who was designated by the witness Janecke in the Leipzig trial as the only known terrorist in Neukölln, that already in 1931 this Hamann was expelled from an anti-fascist organisation in Neukölln because he was inclined to terrorist acts. He went over to the national socialist party, and became a leader of the Storm Troops. The witness described an attack made by the Storm Troops under Hamann's leadership on the premises of the Reichsbanner in Neukölln, in which a Communist worker named Werner, who hastened to the aid of the Reichsbanner, was shot. This happened in January, 1933. The police took no action against Hamann. In March, the same Hamann caused several workers to be attacked, taken to a Storm Troops barracks and beaten with iron rods.

The witness, who acknowledges to be a member of the C.P. of Germany, also stated that for about the last five years the membership book of the C.P.G. has been black. Moro-Giafferi stated that at the Leipzig trial it was asserted that Lubbe had shown a red-coloured membership book of the Communist Party.

The Amsterdam journalist, van Minster, stated, with reference to the declaration of the police detective Heisig at the Leipzig trial, that Albada had said to him to him, van Minster, categorically: "There is not a word of truth in what Heisig said at Leipzig." Vink also declared that Heisig's statements were absolutely untrue.

In conclusion, Moro-Giafferi read the findings of the Juridical Commission on the results of the Paris counter-trial. (These findings were published in our issue No. 44 of October 6, together with a report of the morning sitting.—Ed.)

## Hitler's Agents Busy in America

By Bosse (New York)

The *Daily Worker* (New York) has in its possession a secret document sent from the Nazi headquarters in N.Y., Freunde des Neuen Deutschland, to Berlin, which adds to the already tremendous volume of evidence of the clumsy frame-up of the Communist leaders at Leipzig. It states that the Van der Lubbe now on trial will be substituted by some unknown victim who will be hung in his place. Secondly, that the Nazis intend to inoculate Torgler and his co-defendants with syphilis if, as now seems possible, they cannot hang them at once. Thirdly, that Hitler's adherents in New York are carrying on espionage in the Amtorg, the Soviet trading organisation in the United States.

The letter was published in facsimile in the "*Daily Worker*" on October 7, accompanied by an English translation, and was signed by Walter Haag, Hitler's second in command in America. Haag is adjutant to the Nazi national leader in this country, Heinz Spanknoebel, and is in charge of the National Intelligence Office. The letter was addressed to Uschla, Berlin, Alexanderplatz, and was sent on September 23 in answer to a letter from Berlin of September 5.

The translation of this secret letter follows:

The development of the special division cannot take place as rapidly as you desire, since conditions here are more difficult than you suppose. We are being watched and must be careful. Count Sauerma is out of the question for the proposed position, as he lacks experience. It is better to employ him for the Bunaste. Count Norman returned from Berlin bringing his brother with him. Dr. Spanner asks energetically that the General Electric representatives in Germany be watched as they intend to carry on espionage there. The General Electric stole his invention, and he is now going to take steps against them. As his brother in the Medical Centre has done a lot for us—for instance, he has won two of the professors there for our cause—we request that Dr. Spanner's business affairs be speeded up and given protection.

Send us a young lady of good appearance, who is very reliable; it is best if her father and brothers are S.A. men (storm troopers). She should speak some English and Russian fluently and must take the place of our agent in the Amtorg. She should come over on the Europa or Bremen as a hair-dresser, then we'll send another person back to Germany on the ship, thus evading the immigration authorities and avoid a check-up by Untermeyer,

I cannot find a place for Van der Lubbe here; it is best if you throw him overboard into the ocean while en route to another country. Whom do you intend to hang in his place in Germany? I agree with you entirely that it would be good to give the damned Communists in Leipzig an injection of syphilis. Then it can be said that Communism comes from syphilis of the brain.

Send us a new code; we believe the old code can be read by Untermeyer.

Spanknoebel has just entered the room and sends you his best wishes. He would like to have a physicist assigned by the Office for Exchange Students, to do a few little jobs for him. Therein is lazy and wants too much money, and what is more, he seems to be a half-Jewish swine himself. The man betrays his own country and therefore we cannot trust him, despite all assurances. And the little Katja—that is how Count Sauerma calls Konstantinov—is a dumb and conceited girl, who is doing good work on the whole, but is always crying now; therefore I think she would be better taken care of over there. She could be used for Russian translations.

Let us know how things stand with the Hitler book. We must distribute many of them free; we'll have considerable success with it. It is child's play to make good anti-Semites out of the Americans.

Please work fast in the Spanner affair—lots of money for us depends on it.

Heil Hitler!

(Signed) W. Haag,  
Adjutant of the National Leader.

(Seal)

Friends of the New Germany  
National Intelligence Office, U.S.A.

The "*Daily Worker*" published a series of three articles on the work of the organised Nazis in the U.S. (on August 26, 28 and October 6) which throw some light on some of the persons mentioned in the above letter. Count Albert Sauerma-Douglas, referred to in the letter as Sauerma, was active in the bloody clique that engineered the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg in 1919. He and Haag are in charge of the Nazi spy division in this country, Sauerma working particularly on espionage among Jews and in revolutionary workers' organisations. Spanknoebel has been appointed by Hitler to head all Hitler societies in the U.S. and has organised the "Kulturbund," which is for gentlemen Nazis, while the "Freunde" is for the rank and file. One of his associates here is Mentzing, assistant director of the North German Lloyd. Katya is Katherine Konstantinova, wife of L. Therman, a Russian physicist and White Guard who has organised Russian emigres to work with the Nazis in the U.S. Count Gerhard Otto Norman-Spanner (the Count Norman of the letter, also known as Dr. Spanner), works with Sauerma at the Medical Centre in New York, together with a number of other Nazis and Russian professionals. Untermeyer is probably the best-known corporation lawyer in the U.S., prominent in Jewish respectable anti-Nazi circles.

Although the "*Daily Worker*" sent photostatic copies of the original letter incepted from the Nazi spy office here to all New York capitalist newspapers, practically none (except one Jewish-English paper) printed so much as a news item about it, deliberately suppressing it. However, workers' organisations are so indignant and have voiced this so strongly that the democratic politician in Congress, Dickstein, who is Jewish, has promised to hold an investigation within a week. As chairman of the committee on immigration he has jurisdiction over such matters. He states that Hitler has sent to the U.S. over 300 propagandists under the guise of diplomatic or consular employees, all of them personally selected by Goebbels's Ministry for Propaganda. At the end of a long account of the proposed investigation by Dickstein, the N.Y. "*Times*" refers in a brief paragraph to the "*Daily Worker's*" publication of Haag's letter. It does so, however, on account of Haag and Spanknoebel, whom the paper got in touch with for a denial of the authenticity of the secret letter. The "*Times*" is owned by a wealthy Jew, Ochs.

The *Communist Party* is arranging a series of mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the country to expose and protest against Nazi activities in the U.S. and the Leipzig frame-up. In this it is receiving the co-operation of other working-class and liberal and student organisations. A campaign being launched includes demonstrations before German consulates, mass meetings, resolutions and telegrams to consulates and to U.S. local and national authorities, as well as the court in Leipzig, the enrolment of anti-fascists and others sympathetic into rank-and-file committees against fascism, the collection of funds for relief of Nazi victims in Germany, the building up a broad united front around the National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.

## Great Britain

### The British Labour Party Conference

By J. R. Campbell (London)

The first impression that one got from the Labour Party Conference, which took place at Hastings in the first week of October, was that the rank and file delegates asserted themselves more emphatically than at the Trades Union Congress.

There were more of them, for the Labour Party Conference allows representation direct from the local Labour Parties, while the Trades Union Congress does not allow similar representation from the local Trades Councils. Undoubtedly many of those delegates reflected the swing of the British working class to the "left," though the policies which they themselves put forward differed little in fundamentals from the policy of the leaders.

Another obvious feature of this Conference was the loss of prestige, of the Executive Committee—owing to the events of 1931. While the Trades Union Congress General Council emerged from the events surrounding the fall of the first Labour Government largely unscathed, the Labour Party Executive suffered a distinct loss of prestige—from which it has obviously never recovered.

On two occasions the platform suffered a definite defeat. The first was when the Conference, by 1,040,000 votes to 804,000, turned

down a proposal of the Executive Committee, strenuously supported by Henderson for the creation of a new class of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois "associate" members. These members were expected to pay a fairly heavy annual subscription to the head office of the Party, but were not to take part in any Party work in the localities.

The Conference also turned down the proposal of the Executive Committee on "Workers' Control." Workers' Control in Labour Party terminology means the amount of trade union representatives who should be allowed on the boards of management of the semi-autonomous state capitalist trusts of the type of the London Passenger Transport Board. Last year the Executive brought forward a report which recommended that the management of those bodies should be appointed solely on the grounds of ability, i.e., that the management should be composed of ordinary capitalist experts. This was referred back by the Conference.

This year the Executive brought forward a report which they had agreed upon with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to the effect that they agreed with the principle of workers' representation on the Board of Management of those bodies.

The precise degree of representation which was to be allowed was not specified and a resolution moved by the General Workers' Union to the effect that the workers be given "effective representation" was carried despite the resistance of the Executive by 1,223,000 votes to 1,083,000.

It is clear that a large body of the Labour rank and file are in revolt against the "new Socialism" of the Public Corporation, but do not clearly understand that the objectionable features of the public corporation are due to its fundamental capitalist exploiting character and cannot be modified by representation of trade unionists on the Board of Management.

Faced with this situation inside the Conference, the platform policy on a number of other questions was to play up on non-essential matters to the "left" sentiments of the delegates, while doing their utmost to assure the capitalist class that they had the situation well under control and that Labour could be trusted to function as an efficient and, if necessary, ruthless alternative capitalist government.

How this was done can best be seen in relation to the war resolution. There can be no doubt, however, that there is very deep unrest amongst the Labour Party rank and file over the official Labour Party attitude to war. The League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference are heavily discredited amongst the rank and file, yet the Executive had continued to concentrate attention and hope on these bodies. Every attempt to develop a campaign to stop munitions going to Japan or to oppose the war-like policy of the National Government had been frowned upon.

The rank and file of the Labour Party had watched with a certain amount of sympathy the campaigns conducted by the **British Anti-War Council**. The result was the appearance of a number of resolutions on the Agenda calling for the adoption of a vigorous policy against war. How did the Executive react to those resolutions?

In the first place it emasculated them and combined them in a composite resolution. Still it could not altogether eliminate the central tendency of those resolutions, namely, that the British workers must fight against their own war-makers. The Executive did not openly oppose this conception, but after the resolution had been carried, Mr. Henderson got up to interpret the resolution. In a widely applauded speech he declared:—

"The second aspect of the collective peace system is the obligation to withhold all support from a government that breaks its pledge to keep the peace. That is the principle of the international solidarity of all peoples against war; the principle of common refusal to assist the international criminal who breaks the peace.

"We have pledged ourselves to that principle in our resolution: The Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Brussels in July, and the Conference of the Labour and Socialist International in Paris in August, also pledged themselves to that principle.

"The duty to boycott a peace-breaker proclaimed by the workers is raised by Article 16 of the Covenant into the duty of all States Members of the League to sever all relations with a peace-breaking government and to regard that government as an international criminal.

"Here again we find that the obligations and machinery of the League's system constitute a powerful reinforcement and justification of the position adopted by Labour."

Never was there such thoroughly unscrupulous jugglery. The resolution did not pledge itself to support the League of Nations, or Article 16 of the Covenant thereof. It did not support the principle adopted by the International Federation of Trade Unions, of opposing the so-called "peace-breaker." On the contrary it supported the entirely different principle of the workers of each country struggling against their own imperialist governments.

The resolution talked about "the failure of the governments associated at Geneva to check the drift of the international situation towards war; and the manifest determination of governments individually to retain and strengthen their armaments, a policy which, if not checked by itself, makes war a certainty." It referred to "the economic crisis and the deepening of imperialist and capitalist rivalries as a direct cause of war."

Another resolution passed after Henderson's speech referred to the "retrograde attitude of the British Government at the Disarmament Conference." It is clear that the local Labour Parties who framed those resolutions had in mind the anti-war fight against the British Government. The Executive allows them to pass their resolution because it intends to use that resolution as a means of breaking local Labour Parties away from association with the British Anti-War Movement on the ground that as the Labour Party stands for working class action against war, this movement is superfluous. At the same time it interprets this resolution to mean support for a war against any State whom the British and French imperialists, controlling the League of Nations, declare to be a "peace-breaker."

The discussion on Fascism was of the most trivial character. No attempt was made (as at the Trade Union Congress) to analyse the causes which brought Hitler to power in Germany—a wise procedure on the part of the Labour Party.

The only speech from the side of the Executive was that made by Mr. Herbert Morrison, who declared that a united front with the Communists to resist fascism was impossible because that would be a united front with the followers of one dictatorship in order to resist the followers of another. No question of class was allowed to enter into Mr. Morrison's arguments.

There was democracy which was evidently above classes, and there were dictatorships which had evidently nothing to do with classes either. Listening to Mr. Morrison one felt that he envisaged the whole question as an academic discussion as to the best type of efficient governmental administration.

But if Mr. Morrison was opposed to the Labour Party worker joining with the Communist worker in the struggle against fascism, Mr. Henderson was evidently quite prepared to join with some sections of the capitalist class in pursuit of the policy of the "lesser evil" for in the "peace" speech above mentioned he said:—

"Indeed, if the existence of Parliament were ever seriously threatened we should welcome anyone from any quarter who would loyally help us to save Parliament and democracy from would-be dictators."

"We should welcome anyone from any quarter." Clearly the policy of "vote for Hindenburg to keep Hitler out."

Mr. Morrison's second argument was that while the Labour Party were constitutionalists, they would, if fascism became a definite menace, use any and every means to meet and defeat it. The old lying promise of the German and the Austrian social democrats. Its hypocrisy was shown by the fact that the Conference adopted no line of campaign or struggle against the attacks which are being made daily on the economic conditions or political liberties of the working class.

Indeed, the sharpest attack on the liberties of the working class yet made in Britain was launched a few days later, when hundreds of police, assisted by an aeroplane, were mobilised to prevent an unemployed march in South Wales, in an area with a Labour County Council and Labour Urban District Councils. The joint council of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, which met a few days later, passed a resolution against fascism in Austria, but said nothing against this outrage in Great Britain.

The debates on the united front, which took place on the Monday and Thursday, were poor. None of the delegates, who stood for the policy of the united front, put up a clear argument in its favour. Again that master of the manipulated quotation, Mr. Herbert Morrison, was put up to endeavour to prove that the united

front was only a Communist trick to get in contact with the Labour Party workers in order to win them away from the Labour Party. Comrades Kuusinen and Stalin were misquoted in order to prove this.

Morrison, of course, omitted to quote those passages from Comrade Kuusinen's speech at the Twelfth Plenum to the effect that the united front must be built on the basis of working class democracy.

If the Labour Party and the Communist Party were in a united front of struggle, or if the rank and file of both parties were in such a united front, how could the Communists win members away from the Labour Party? The Labour Party is by far the largest party. Why should it not win members away from the Communists?

Obviously the only way in which the Communist Party could win members away from the Labour Party would be that it was able to show in action that its members were the most enthusiastic in developing the common front of struggle, were the most able to give day to day leadership in the struggle, understood most clearly the way forward.

They could only succeed in winning members on a large scale on this basis, provided the Labour leaders were sabotaging the struggle.

This is the crux of the Labour Party leaders' opposition to the united front. They are against the struggle, because the struggle would force them to expose themselves before the workers. The real crime of the Communists, in their eyes, is not that the Communists are insincere on the question of the united front, but that the Communists are sincerely in favour of developing the struggle of the workers to a successful conclusion.

A word may be said about the debate on the proposals of the Socialist League for overcoming Parliamentary obstruction and securing a speedy socialist transformation through Parliament. Supporting this proposal were a number of ex-I.L.P.ers, still playing the pseudo-left in the Labour Party. What was the essence of this debate?

The legislative organ in the British capitalist state is a kind of political holy trinity—king, lords and commons “in Parliament assembled.” Not the House of Commons, but the three sections of this political trinity co-operating together are a parliament in the proper sense of the word.

The Socialist League had to answer the question: How can socialism be brought about through legislative institutions of this description, in the teeth of the resistance of the capitalist class and of two-parts of the so-called democratic system, i.e., the House of Lords and the King?

The Socialist League's answer to this is that the Labour Party should secure a mandate from the electorate. A mandate to pass an Emergency Powers Act to safeguard itself from financial sabotage, and also a mandate to secure the abolition of the House of Lords.

In the event of the House of Lords refusing to pass the Emergency Powers Act, the Government is to go to the King and demand that he create sufficient new peers of a Labour complexion to create a majority in the House of Lords, which will pass not only the Emergency Powers Act, but also a Bill abolishing the House of Lords itself.

If the King refuses to do this, the bold Socialist League would have the Labour Party threaten him with another general election. This other general election would presumably frighten reaction out of its senses and socialism would triumph.

The Socialist League believes, however, that the King is quite as constitutional as Mr. Henderson, and would play the game according to the rules. Major Attlee (of Simon Commission fame) drew a picture of the King and the Labour Party co-operating together against the wicked lords.

Mr. Lees-Smith, however, declared that the King would have his own ideas as to what constituted an emergency and would not grant the Labour Party the Emergency Powers they were asking for. In short, both groups in the debate proved quite effectively that apart from the fact that the Labour Party had no intention of realising socialism through Parliament or any other way, that the legislative institutions of the British capitalist state could not be made to function on behalf of the working class.

No united front, no policy of struggle for immediate demands, support of the line of British imperialism on the question of war, refusal to fight fascism, such was the line the Labour Party leaders fought for and carried in all its essentials at the Labour Party Conference.

## Soviet China

### From the Soviet District in China

By G. Er

It is now as much as five years since the Soviet movement has been developing over a constantly growing area of China under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party, and the Chinese Red Army has been fighting against the imperialist robbers and the power of the Chinese landowners and the Chinese bourgeoisie.

#### The Solution of the Agrarian Question

After the confiscation of the land the task of the agrarian revolution has been the division of the land amongst the small and middle peasants. A communication from the Soviet district of the East river (Huanchen Province) provides information as to the way in which this division of the land is proceeding. In this letter it is stated amongst other things:

“After the seizure of power the Soviets immediately confiscated the seignorial estates and handed them over to the village Soviets, who divided the land amongst the peasants under the slogan of an alliance with the small and middle peasants. Proposals were raised to divide the land according to the existing means of production. But this proposal was rejected, since the poor possessed less means of production than the rich, and such a division would have turned out to the advantage of the rich. The village Soviet helps the poor peasants, gives them rice and means of production. When the family of a Red Army man has no labour, the village Soviet instructs other farms to till the fields of the Red Army man, to harvest them and to provide the necessary assistance.”

By means of a specially organised land commission the Soviet determines the area of the land and the number of the population, and after this a meeting of peasant delegates is called which thoroughly discusses the manner in which the land is to be divided. The Chinese papers have stated that at these meetings the area of land to be apportioned per head of the population has also been discussed.

#### The Workers' Question

With the victory of the Soviet power a decided change occurred in the position of the Chinese workers. Formerly their work-day was 12 to 16 hours. With the exception of the traditional Chinese New Year's holiday there were usually no weekly days of rest. The wages were very small. The Soviet power has introduced the eight-hours day for adults and the six-hours day for young workers. As a rule wages have been raised, according to the minimum standard of existence. The Soviet power is combatting unemployment, and forms co-operatives of workers in public workshops, etc. Social insurance has been introduced in the Soviet districts and the unemployed are registered. The position of apprentices, too, has been substantially raised. They receive a wage, the powers of their masters have been limited, and associations of apprentices have been created.

The labour code passed by the first Soviet Congress in November, 1931, provides for the complete freedom to carry on trade union work, to participate in strikes, and to make collective agreements, etc.

#### Economic Policy

In the theses adopted by the first Soviet Congress “the nationalisation of all key economic resources (concessions, customs, banks, railways, steamship lines, mines, industrial concerns) in the hands of foreign capitalists” is referred to. Nevertheless foreign capitalists may continue production on the basis of concession agreements if they strictly observe all the laws of the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government has temporarily left small businesses and the industrial plants of the Chinese capitalists in the hands of their former owners and has still refrained from nationalising them. But if the capitalists contravene the Soviet laws, indulge in sabotage, close their works, or carry on a struggle against the Soviet Government, their plants are subject to immediate confiscation and nationalisation.

The economic policy of the Soviet power is based on the endeavour to consolidate the economic position of the Soviet districts, as the nuclear points from which the Chinese revolution will develop and grow in the whole of the rest of China too.

In the sphere of trade the Soviet power assures freedom of

trade and does not interfere in the day-to-day trading operations. This does not mean, however, that the Soviets do not carry on a decisive fight against speculation and profiteering.

It is the further endeavour of the Soviet power adequately to maintain the branches of industry which exist in the Soviet districts and to assure their development.

The Soviet power is providing for the improvement of agriculture (extension of cultivated area, increase in yield) for the repairing of the neglected irrigation plants, of canals and dams, and for the distribution of seed, manure, etc., to the peasants.

Producers, consumers and credit co-operatives have been organised in the Soviet districts. Workers' and peasants' banks have been created, which issue Soviet currency.

The Soviet power abolished all old taxes and introduced a progressive income tax in the towns, and a farm tax in the villages, which is also of a progressive nature. The poor peasants are exempted from taxation, the middle peasants pay 5 per cent. of their harvest, the rich peasants 15 to 20 per cent.

Some time ago the Soviet Government issued a loan, the proceeds of which are to be used for the successful struggle against the fifth campaign of the Kuomintang. The loan was subscribed in 15 days.

#### Cultural Construction

After the election of the Central Soviet Government a Special Commissariat for People's Education was instituted.

In place of the old Confucian school a new Soviet school is being created, where the children receive a Marxist-Leninist education. Universal, compulsory and free instruction is being introduced. A university, too, was founded.

A wide anti-religious campaign has been developed under the leadership of the C.P. The youth is organised in the Youth Associations, in the "Young Guard," the children in pioneer groups.

The Soviet power has placed men and women on a status of legal equality, and forbidden the trade in women and children as well as the enslavement of women and slavery. Women can be elected to the Soviets and vote in the elections for them. They receive their portion of land like the men. The emancipation of women has awakened them to public, political activities. It is no longer a rare thing to find women as Presidents of Soviets.

#### Fight Against the Counter-Revolution

The Chinese counter-revolution in the Soviet districts has carried on and is carrying on its work of agitation in the organisations of the Soviet power. At the same time the Soviet power in China has to carry on a struggle against open counter-revolutionary revolts.

The following can be named amongst the large organisations that are active as agents of imperialism and the Nanking counter-revolution: "The association A.B. (anti-Bolshevik association), the reorganisationists, the social democrats, the Trotskyists and the adherents of Tschén Du-su.

In the central Soviet district of Kiangsi it has been the A.B. organisation that has displayed the greatest activity and that succeeded in December, 1930, in organising a counter-revolutionary revolt in Fukien, which was, however, suppressed by the Soviet power. In the Soviet district Honan-Hupeh-Anwhai the counter-revolutionary reorganisationist group has chiefly been at work. As it transpired later, this group prepared a counter-revolutionary revolt on the basis of directives from the military staff of Chiang-Kai-Shek. In the Soviet district of Western Fukien the social democrats (who call themselves the "international socialist party") displayed activity.

The social democrats raised the slogans "Down with the Comintern," "Long live the Second International," "Reconciliation of workers and capitalists." They demanded that the fight against the large peasants should be abandoned, agitated for the liquidation of the C.P., of the Y.C.L., of the Soviets and the Red Army, and raised a slogan against service in the Red Army, etc.

It is characteristic that in Western Fukien a block between the social democrats and the Chinese Trotskyists has existed, that sets itself the task of a joint fight against the Soviet power.

Nevertheless, the Kuomintang counter-revolution, which in this respect is supported by all the imperialist countries in every way, is not in a position to destroy the Soviet movement in China.

Neither the five campaigns of the Kuomintang armies nor the counter-revolutionary revolts in the rear of the Soviet district have been able to stifle the Soviet revolution in China.

## Fight Against Imperialist War

### Alarming Preparations for War in Japan

A whole series of events and actions by Japanese imperialism in recent days prove beyond doubt that preparation for war by Japan against the Soviet Union is being rushed with frantic speed. To mention a few:—

(1) The appropriation of the entire annual income of the government for the army and navy to be used for "improvement" in the fiscal year 1933-34.

(2) In connection with this, the consolidation of the control of the cabinet by the outright anti-Soviet military clique headed by the War Minister General Araki, through the appointment of Hirota as Foreign Minister.

(3) The announcement, on September 20, of the organisation of four new army divisions, under the thin excuse that these are needed "to comply with Japan's obligations under its treaty with Manchukuo."

(4) A "Dempo-Tsushin" (Japanese Telegraph Agency) dispatch from Tokio, of September 21, stating that the new "National Communication Commission" would discuss, in its first general meeting on September 25, "the question of connections between the new ports of Rashin and Seishun, in Korea, and Japanese ports on the Sea of Japan." The dispatch further states:—

"This is to facilitate connection through these ports with the new State of Manchukuo. The Home Department is of the opinion that, of the ports in Japan, Tsuruga is the best. Nevertheless, they are thinking of adding Fukui, Fushiki, Niigata and Sakai."

The significance of this phenomenal building of four new ports in Japan to facilitate transport, through two new ports in Korea, to Manchukuo, must also be understood in light of the fact that these Japanese coastal towns face Vladivostok across the Sea of Japan! But there is more:—

The same Japanese news agency, under date of September 22 from Osaka, tells of still another new transport route, and in the following words:—

"Of late, sea products from Hokkaido are finding their way into Manchuria. For that reason, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha Steamship Line has announced that it is going to open up direct service between Nemuro (in Hokkaido Province in northern Japan) and Dairen (South Manchuria)."

We might wonder at the sudden increase of fish in the diet of the inhabitants of Manchukuo, which necessitates a new, and supposedly "direct" line. We learn, however, that the steamships (some of them 5,000 tons) of this so-called "direct" service only begin their voyages in Hokkaido (where fish come from), but en route to Manchuria will call at many other Japanese ports, among them Muroran (the "Gary of Japan"), where munitions come from! This is given away by the latter part of the dispatch, which says:—

"This line will pass through Kusiro, Muroran, Hakodate, Yokohama and Moji on the outward voyage; on the return, through the Japan Sea."

Thus, the only "direct" service between Dairen and Northern Japan is the return from Manchuria. Therefore the mystery of the recently increased demand in Manchuria for "sea products from Hokkaido" can only be explained by the assumption that on the trip to Manchuria these new vessels will load munitions and war supplies on the other (Pacific Ocean) side of Japan!

Not one of the new ports, either the two in Korea, or the four in Japan has the least justification in ordinary commercial transport. They are and can be of use solely for transport of troops and war supplies, and their very location clearly shows that they are aimed at the Soviet Union!

(5) From working-class sources it is learned that the tremendous shipments of "scrap iron" from Canadian ports to Japan last year were not scrap iron at all, but railroad locomotives and parts manufactured to fit the rail lines (broad gauge) of the Soviet Union, and useful only there. This was old material, true, ordered for the Russian railways shortly before the revolution, but now in Japan's hands to use for transport upon invasion of Soviet territory.

(6) Japanese youth in foreign countries, who although formally bound to serve in the army, have always been excused, are excused no longer. A new rule requires their physical examination abroad, and those able must return at once to Japan for military service.

# The Labour Movement

## Labour Struggles in France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

A big labour struggle is at present proceeding in *Dunkirk*. The importance of this struggle extends far beyond its local significance. Since October 6 3,500 dockers in Dunkirk have been locked out by the decision of the employers' association because the workers refused to accept the scandalous wage and working conditions which the Chamber of Commerce tried to force on to them.

This attack on the dockers in Dunkirk is not a new one. Almost a year ago the employers' association tried to reduce wages on the ground that the cost of living had allegedly sunk. The workers answered with a victorious strike which lasted 35 days, and when work was resumed on January 11 the employers had been compelled to abandon almost all their demands. In April, however, the employers again took the offensive and cut down wages by 1.50 francs a day. In the middle of June a new threat to wages was made and the revolutionary dockers' union began to mobilise the workers for resistance. When the employers made an attempt to force through stricter working conditions a mass meeting of dockers took place and the demands of the employers were unanimously rejected. This refusal on the part of the workers was answered with a general lock-out. The docks are now guarded by a large force of armed police.

The employers had carefully prepared and organised their attack. Before the lock-out was declared about 2,000 members of the notorious garde mobile were drafted into Dunkirk. Further, railwaymen were transferred from Dunkirk to Calais in the expectation that incoming vessels, etc., would be diverted to that town in the event of a struggle in Dunkirk. Further, the government had already given notice to the local authorities not to register the locked-out workers as unemployed workers entitled to support.

The employers and the government also aimed jointly at smashing the revolutionary union of dockers in Dunkirk which enjoys almost an organisational monopoly in the docks. This union joined the revolutionary trade union federation of France (C.G.T.U.) some years ago and exercises almost complete control over employment and dismissals in the docks.

The dockers of Dunkirk were in the front ranks of the solidarity action against fascism. Again and again they have refused to work on vessels flying the swastika flag, and these ships have been compelled to put out and look for other harbours. On a number of occasions they have held joint demonstrations with the crews of German vessels against Hitler fascism.

The French bourgeoisie, however, needs an unchallenged position in Dunkirk because it intends to develop the town into a first-rate war harbour. Dunkirk is to become the principal oil harbour of France and it is to be built to make the docks accessible to large warships. It is also planned to erect a large aerodrome and air field in the neighbourhood.

The revolutionary dockers' union is thus a hindrance in the path of the general offensive of capitalism and the bourgeoisie hopes to break the back of the revolutionary dockers by a long lock-out and to cause them to abandon their revolutionary union. Naturally, the employers and the government would have preferred a strike, but the clever tactics of the revolutionary union prevented this provocation.

The bourgeoisie has secured the co-operation of the reformist trade union federation (C.G.T.) in its plans. The last congress of the reformist federation decided to open up reformist unions in all docks and harbours, including Dunkirk. Reliance was placed on the leaders of the reformist union in Calais which gladly carried out strike-breaking work last year. The socialist local municipal authorities were willing to carry out the instructions of the French government and refuse to pay out unemployment support to the locked-out dockers.

But the revolutionary dockers' union launched an energetic counter-struggle. It formed a committee of the locked-out men consisting of 40 of the most prominent and best-known dockers, and increased the number and strength of the general meetings and street demonstrations. A widespread enlightenment propaganda is also being carried on amongst the population of Dunkirk. Collecting lists are being circulated amongst the small traders and groups of cyclists are collecting food donations from the peasants

of the neighbourhood from whom they have had a good reception. Deputations of the locked-out men have been sent to the dockers in Calais, Ghent and Antwerp, and promises have been made that ships diverted to those towns from Dunkirk will not be loaded or unloaded.

Further, the French Minister of Labour was compelled to receive a deputation of the locked-out men and promise the withdrawal of the ministerial order against the payment of unemployment support. However, the local authorities subsequently attempted to sabotage the payment of unemployment support by making it conditional upon circumstances unacceptable to the workers, such as an agreement to accept any work offered, an undertaking not to attend the demonstrations organised by the union, etc. However, in almost all cases the withdrawal of these conditions has been secured by deputations of locked-out dockers to the local authorities and unemployment support is now being paid out unconditionally.

It is reported from reliable sources that the Chamber of Commerce intends to draft blacklegs into the town to work under the conditions of the employers and under the protection of the armed garde mobile. Whether this is true or not, there will certainly be provocations of all sorts in an attempt to smash the union. The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union federation of France have mobilised their organisations with a view to providing financial support for the locked-out dockers and extending the struggle. The opportunist elements which are still unjustifiably clinging to the leadership of the union are not at all interested in any extension of the fight, however.

Parallel with its attack on the dockers of Dunkirk the French bourgeoisie intends to push forward its general attack on the wages and working conditions of the French masses by reducing the salaries of *officials and employees in the public services* in accordance with the financial plans of the Daladier government. The government has also secured the co-operation of the social democracy in this respect. The reformist organisations of the public employees and officials declare that they are prepared to accept the sacrifices demanded by the government upon condition that such sacrifices are not confined to those social categories which are organised by them, but that the sacrifices are made general.

The lock-out in Dunkirk and the attack on the public officials and employees represent a decisive stage in the offensive of the French bourgeoisie which is to provide capitalist France with a way out of the crisis. The reformists have placed themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie and therefore the revolutionary unions and the French Communist Party shoulder a big responsibility for the formation of a united class front of the working masses and for the organisation of victory in both these important struggles.

## British Suppression in Cyprus

London, October 13, 1933.

In Cyprus searches of workers in the streets and of their houses are taking place daily. A special political section of the police has been formed, and the following workers' organisations declared illegal: The Communist Party of Cyprus, Y.C.L., F.S.U., L.A.I., I.L.D., and the Revolutionary Students' Organisation.

Membership of any of these organisations is punished with from two to five years' imprisonment, proceedings in criminal courts being taken for anybody aged over twelve. The penal code has recently been modified to include these and other provisions for the suppression of the workers' and peasants' organisations.

While the toiling masses are being driven down to the depths of poverty, British imperialism proceeds with its war preparations in the Near East, where Cyprus holds an important strategical position. Over £200,000 has been spent on the enlarging of the port of Famagusta, ostensibly for commercial reasons, but it is quite obvious that the real reason is to increase the number of battleships and seaplanes that it can harbour. In Larnaca a government wireless station has been built, while an aerodrome has been completed near Nicosia.

In an attempt to discredit the Communist Party the following act of provocation was perpetrated: At Limasol a secondary school was set on fire. The fire did not do much damage, but alleged Communist slogans had been chalked on the walls, including this: "If our comrades are not released we will burn every government building in Cyprus." The Party answered this slander with a leaflet, which was distributed on the nights of the 8th and 9th September, notwithstanding the police terrorism.

## Sixteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

# The Soviet Union Shows the Way Out

(Conclusion)

The Second International, and especially its "left" leaders, bring forward as one of the accusations against the October Revolution the fact that it was violent, shedding crocodile tears about the civil war, the inevitable bloodshed and sacrifices demanded by the revolution. The role of the leaders of social democracy during the World War, which swallowed up a thousand times more victims than the revolution, and especially their role as the murderer and executioner of the working class in the post-war period (the November revolution in Germany, the Hungarian proletarian revolution, the Bavarian proletarian revolution, the January days in 1920, and the March days in 1921 in Germany, the bloody vengeance of the Mensheviks against the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus, the general strike in England, the Vienna rising in Austria in 1927, the bloody May Day of Zoergiebel in 1929) clearly showed that if the leaders of the Second International value any blood, it is the blood of the bourgeoisie and not the workers.

The violent suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie by the Soviets in the U.S.S.R. had the result of awakening 150,000,000 people to a new life and construction, creating classless socialist society under the leadership of the working class, where class violence and all the weapons necessary for it will naturally die away in proportion to the further successes of socialism (which at present requires the sharpest class struggle in the conditions of the capitalist encirclement of the U.S.S.R.). But the policy of social democracy led to open civil war, begun by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The brutal crushing of dozens of revolutionary revolts by the bourgeoisie, with the active help of social democracy in the countries of Europe and America and in the numerous colonies of imperialism, the hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers imprisoned in jails of the bourgeoisie, tens of thousands executed or killed by torture—such is the result of the policy of social democracy, carried out under the flag of "democracy." However, these sacrifices have not led to class peace under the cloak of "democracy." The revolutionary class struggle is growing day by day. The new cycle of revolutions and wars confirms once more that **only force** will solve the historic conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Fortunately for the world proletarian revolution and for the proletariat, stern reality is exposing the entire falsity and demagogy which is being carried on at present by social democracy in connection with the victory of Hitler in Germany.

The chatter about the struggle for "power," the demagogy of Otto Bauer, who has turned his coat once more into a supporter of the proletarian dictatorship, show the defeat of all the "theories" of social democracy and show that the leaders of the Second International are feeling the pressure of the great changes taking place among the workers, changes in the direction of **overcoming democratic illusions and the growth of the realisation that only the path of October, only the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Power, the path of the Bolsheviks, will bring the working class and all the toilers out of the unparalleled calamities to which they were doomed by capitalism.**

At the same time, the speeches of the social fascists (the "neo-socialists" at the Paris Conference of the Second International) as open supporters of fascism, the support of the social-fascist legend on the "socialist" essence of fascism and the thesis that Hitler came into power in a "legitimate democratic" manner, that fascism is "above classes" clearly show the rapid tempo of the **fascisation** of social democracy.

Bourgeois democracy was never anything else but the **dictatorship of the bourgeoisie**, and now the role of social democracy, with its theories of the character of democracy and of fascism as being "above classes" are all the more disgraceful. The crisis of bourgeois democracy is the crisis of the whole capitalist system. Together with bourgeois democracy, international social democracy is passing through a crisis, because it is the **chief social buttress of the bourgeois dictatorship.**

The Second International will not succeed in proving that all the calamities of the working class are not due to "democracy." In the countries of "democracy," just as in the countries of fascism,

unemployment, starvation are increasing, fascism is growing. **Fascism has grown on the basis of bourgeois democracy**, as the most open form of **bourgeois dictatorship**, the form most acceptable for the bourgeoisie in the period of the rapid growth of the revolutionary upsurge. Monopolist capital not only tries to monopolise the whole of economy, but also the political power in its own hands. "The political superstructure over the new economy, over monopolist capitalism (imperialism is monopolist capitalism) is a turn from democracy to political reaction. Free competition corresponds to democracy. Political reaction corresponds to monopoly." (Lenin.)

**At the present moment the choice is not between bourgeois democracy and fascism, as far as the working class is concerned, but between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat.** More than ever before, the victory of fascism raises before the working class the **test of winning power.**

**An irreconcilable struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship in both of its forms—the fascist and the democratic form. The struggle for the winning of power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Soviet Power, is the only path which is dictated by the entire experience of the past.** Communists call the workers only along this path, **the path of the October Revolution.**

By means of fascism the bourgeoisie hope to concentrate all their forces, to put an end to the scattering of their powers, and to destroy the forces of the proletarian revolution by a united effort. But they are faced with insurmountable difficulties. The seven months of Hitler's government have not given and could not give to the toilers anything except new sufferings, new oppression and a strengthening of the war danger. Germany is isolated more than ever before. The fever of nationalism cannot hide the approaching economic catastrophe.

More than ever before the flag of **struggle against fascism and war** is gathering around it the **united front** of the revolutionary workers of all countries. In the conditions of intense crisis, the revolutionary workers are everywhere coming forward at the head of the toilers of town and village. In all countries the Communists are the only leaders of the revolutionary workers. **The German Communist Party is leading, and will lead, the working class of Germany to the German October.** In the conditions of fascist terror and illegality, the C.P.G. has already shown that **the revolutionary proletariat of Germany is not beaten**, that its Communist Party is a tremendous force feared by the fascists, that the German proletarian revolution is still alive. United independent China will be won by the Chinese proletariat and peasants only along the path of October, only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, which is leading the victorious Soviet movement of China. The Polish, Balkan and Spanish proletariat, under the leadership of the Communists, are marching forward with confident steps under the banner of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Throughout the world the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is carrying on a struggle under the banner of October, under the banner of the Soviet Power.

Though fascism is becoming active in all countries, embodying national isolation and permeated with race chauvinism, it can never become a united international force capable of defeating the force of the proletariat. Anarchy and the poverty of the masses are growing throughout the capitalist world. Fascism is a source of the most acute military conflicts of classes and nations, the bearer of civil war against the toilers and a source of disorganisation and chaos. The transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars signifies that "in certain very important key positions the antagonistic forces are already being unleashed for the clash." (Twelfth Plenum E.C.C.I.)

In the conditions of growing antagonisms, the Soviet government has already shown itself as the greatest **organising centre** in the world. The Soviet Power has destroyed anarchy and crisis, has rescued the working class from the scourge of unemployment and has ensured a steady growth of its well being. **The historic change on the front of collectivisation, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the organisational and economic consolidation of**

the collective farms, and the decisive successes of socialist agriculture which ensured a fine harvest in 1933, create a powerful basis for the further growth of the wealth of the country and the full satisfaction of all the needs and requirements of the broad masses in the near future.

The further growth of all productive forces is guaranteed by the confident socialist planning of economy, by the inexhaustible strength and the growth of the demands of the toiling masses, set free by the revolution and filled with creative enthusiasm. This growth is ensured by the rapid upsurge of the cultural revolution and by the whole course of the powerful revolutionary process.

Even now, in spite of the frantic preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. by all the imperialist governments without exception, it is a great factor for restraining the fury of war, owing to the possibility of influencing the course of world development by the whole power of the enormous proletarian country. Only the Soviet Power has shown its ability during these years to overcome the tremendous difficulties and achieve enormous historic victories. The eyes of the world are turned towards the U.S.S.R. Its successes not only delight the toilers of all countries, but attract the attention and call forth the wonder of its enemies. The Soviet Union owes these successes to the fact that the revolution is led by the Communist vanguard of the working class, the Party of Lenin, which shows its heroic militant path on the strictest basis of Marxism. The October Revolution and all its great achievements are a mighty triumph for Marxism in the life of an enormous country.

Lenin created a party of a new type, a party of proletarian revolutionaries, which grew from small illegal circles into a party which guaranteed the victory of the October Revolution, which leads the construction of socialism and is the vanguard of the Communist International. The world historic experience of the C.P.S.U. is a tremendous weapon of the proletariat of all countries in its struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the death of Lenin, for ten years already, his best disciple, Comrade Stalin, stands at the head of the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism. His name is the banner of struggle and victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism throughout the world, the banner of the Communist International.

Only under the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, under the banner of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism, under the leadership of the Communist International the proletariat will destroy fascism, put an end to crisis and war and, through the World October, will arrive at the victory of the Soviet Power and socialism throughout the world.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### The Week in the Soviet Union

#### Fifteenth Anniversary of the German Volga Republic

On the 19th October fifteen years ago Lenin signed the decree founding the autonomous German Volga Republic. Thanks to the strict carrying out of Lenin's nationality policy in the Soviet Union, the German Volga Republic has made tremendous socialist progress during these fifteen years. During the carrying out of the first Five-Year Plan in the German Volga Republic fifteen new large-scale factories were built and opened up and numerous older factories were modernised and extended. During the last four years capital investments in the German Volga Republic have been increased to three times the sum invested in the area at the beginning of the Five-Year Plan. Further, the socialist transformation of agriculture in the Republic has made great progress. The German Volga Republic was one of the first of the autonomous Republics of the Soviet Union to carry through 100 per cent. collectivisation in agriculture and to liquidate the kulaks as a class. On the cultural field the achievements of the Republic are no less striking. The Republic now has three high schools, four workers' faculties, fourteen technical high schools and a broad network of trade schools. In connection with the fifteenth anniversary of the existence of the Republic, exhibitions, congresses and a special session of the executive committee will be held.

#### Splendid Achievement of Soviet Aviation

Close on the heels of the Soviet stratosphere flight, which attracted lively attention in the world press and earned the unstinted praise of the aeronautical experts of all countries, the Soviet airmen Demshenko and Konkin have written a new and splendid page in the history of Soviet aeronautical achievements. With the passenger hydroplane S55 they have carried out a flight from Odessa to Kamshatka, a total of 19,670 kilometres. The aim of this flight was to explore the final stage of the tremendous European-Asiatic air connection organised by the Soviet Union, the line Vladivostok-Sachalin-Kamshatka. The length of this stage is 4,670 kilometres.

The significance of aviation for the Far East is very great. The express Moscow-Vladivostok takes ten days, the steamer Vladivostok-Sachalin takes five days, and the journey from Petropavlovsk takes eight days. In addition, connections with numerous remote districts are interrupted during the winter months. The aeroplane does these long journeys in a few hours. The opening of the air line Vladivostok-Kamshatka clears the way for a speedy development of the great riches lying unexploited on the coasts of the Ochotski Sea and the coasts of Kamshatka. The hydroplane S55 and other planes will fly the new route regularly.

#### From the Industrial Front

The little mining town of Prokopyevsk, which had 20,000 inhabitants four years ago, has since developed into an important industrial centre, with 120,000 inhabitants. The town has now dozens of schools, restaurants, hospitals, first-aid stations, etc. Streets and roads have been laid out, old ones have been modernised. Modern drainage and water supply equipment have been laid down. With the growth of industry the situation of the population has also improved. Of the 50 million roubles which were invested in the town this year, no less than 20 millions were spent for cultural works and housing.

On the 10th October the Lenin power station Dnieproges celebrated the first anniversary of its opening. At the present time the station is supplying 1,400,000 kilowatt hours a day. In the first year of its existence the station provided 365 million kilowatt hours. It further provides the cheapest energy in the world. Six turbines are now at work and the seventh and eighth are in course of construction.

The engineering works in Gorlovka are now building giant baggers which can dig out a trench one kilometre long and 1 metre deep in eight hours.

A new sugar refinery has just been opened in Bogoroditzk, in the Moscow district. The works were completed before the time originally planned, and by the end of the present year they will have turned out 70,000 cwts. of sugar. The raw material is provided by the sugar-beet production of the neighbouring collective farms and the collective farms of the Moscow district. The collective farm Krasnaya Shdanka alone provides 200 cwts. per hectare.

The shipbuilding yards in Sormovo (near Gorki) are now being extended into one of the biggest shipbuilding yards in the Soviet Union. In 1935 the yards will turn out 80 big vessels, including 60 for trans-oceanic traffic.

Five factories have now been opened for the production of synthetic ammonia in Temerovo, Magnitogorsk, Bobriki, Lissitchansk and Tchirtchik (near Tashkent) respectively.

#### Socialist Town Planning

The first socialist town in the central Volga district is to be built on the right bank of the river Ural, near Orsk. Three years ago the district was a desert, with here and there a few miserable huts. The discovery of great mineral and other resources in the neighbourhood led to the erection of numerous works and turned the desert into an industrial district. A socialist town is now to be erected for the inhabitants, and in particular for the needs of the miners. Twenty-four kindergartens and crèches will be opened in the near future for the children. All in all, 142 million roubles have been allotted for such and similar social expenditure. A great section of the inhabitants of the now overflowing town of Orsk will migrate to the new socialist town.

In Leningrad a section of the newly-built water supply system has been taken into use. The engineer in charge was specially congratulated by the Leningrad committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for his conduct of the exemplary work. A special premium was granted.

# In the International

## The Extraordinary Party Conference of the C.P.U.S.A.

At the commencement of July there was held in New York an Extraordinary Party Conference of the C.P.U.S.A. The most outstanding event at that Conference was the unanimous adoption of an *Open Letter* to the whole membership of the C.P.U.S.A.

When the leadership of a Communist Party finds it necessary to appeal to the whole Party membership, as the case was, at this Extraordinary Party Conference, there must be some weighty reasons to do so.

In April, 1932, the Fourteenth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A. took place. That Plenum adopted also unanimously two resolutions, one on the Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party, and the second on the Lessons of the Strike Struggles in the U.S.A. The last one contains, in the light of the extensive strike struggles which took place in the United States during the year 1931 and earlier (especially the strikes of the Pennsylvania, East Ohio, West Virginia miners), valuable directives for all sections of the C.I. as to the strategy and tactics of the Communists in initiating, participating and organising the strike struggles.

These resolutions of the Fourteenth C.C. Plenum constituted the basic directives for the whole work of the Party during the last period.

The Fourteenth Plenum resolution on the Situation and Tasks of the Party stated that the Party, notwithstanding certain achievements in the strike struggles, amongst the Negroes and in its unemployed work, still remains a small Party, isolated from the decisive sections of the American working class; that deep-rooted sectarianism still prevails in the Party; that there is lack of collective leadership and that, in a word, the Party still does not carry out in a proper and consistent manner, the revolutionary mass work, first of all among the workers of the big enterprises in the most important industries.

Since that time (April, 1932) big changes have taken place in the United States as elsewhere. The capitalist crisis has sharpened at a speedy rate, the number of unemployed has greatly increased. New strata of the population (war veterans, poor farmers, students, etc.) have been drawn in active struggles against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist state against the toiling masses. The objective situation has thus grown more and more favourable for the work of the Communist Party.

The Fourteenth Plenum resolution put before the Party the following main tasks: (a) The organisation of a firm basis among the decisive strata of the American workers for the Party and Red trade unions; (b) consolidation and strengthening of the revolutionary trade unions, especially among the miners, steel, metal, marine and textile workers and the systematic work inside the reformist trade unions; (c) the organisation and mobilisation of millions of unemployed together with the employed workers for immediate relief and social insurance; (d) the transformation of the *Daily Worker* into a really revolutionary mass paper; (e) the wide development of new cadres from among the American workers. In order more successfully to carry out these tasks, a special plan of concentration on the most important industries and shops was worked out by the Party.

The *Open Letter*, addressed by the Extraordinary Party Conference to the membership more than a year later, states, however, that "these tasks have not been carried out." "The Party has not developed into a mass Party of the proletariat, even though it can point to a number of achievements in its work, such as in the Detroit strike, in the Hunger Marches, in the veterans' movement and in the Farmers' Conference."

As the main reason for such failure to carry out the unanimously adopted resolutions, the *Open Letter* sees in the fact that,

"In the Party, and particularly among the leading cadres, there is a deep-going lack of political understanding of the necessity for strengthening our basis among the decisive sections of the American workers."

The necessity of rooting the Party among the workers in the big factories of the most important industries is the basic idea of the *Open Letter*. The hammering down of this principle, which needless to say, is the basic and elementary principle for every Communist Party, is still more important for the C.P.U.S.A. just

now, in connection with the revolutionary mass movement which is growing in the U.S.A.

During the past year there have taken place not only the struggles of the workers, but also big movements of the non-proletarian masses. It is clear that from this arise the tasks of the C.P. to lead the working class. At the same time the Party must make all efforts to organise all these non-proletarian masses also, jointly with the proletariat for the fight against finance capital and also to be equal to this and other tasks for winning allies for the proletariat. The Communist Party must naturally rally the working class firmly around itself, heightening its leading role in it, making every effort to win the majority of the working class. The *Open Letter* says:

"The more widespread the movement among the non-proletarian masses becomes and more acute the task of winning allies of the proletariat becomes, the more intensive must the Party work to extend and organise its proletarian basis."

Hence, as a most urgent task of the Party, as the *Open Letter* correctly states, arises the necessity to focus the forces and attention of the Party organisations in the direction of winning the influence in the factories, above all in the big factories and the systematic building up of factory nuclei and trade union organisations.

The *Open Letter* indicates the possibility that:

"If the Party does not further make a turn to the work in the large factories, and thus not organise strike movements and movements of the unemployed, if it does not strengthen its proletarian base and build up the revolutionary trade union movement, then the danger exists that the Party, under the elemental pressure of the petty-bourgeois masses, especially the masses of farmers, will be switched to the wrong path, in the direction of a Farmers' Labour Party."

It is just this circumstance, the making impossible of "all danger of the Party going off its proletarian base" which makes it so imperative for the American Party to keep itself strictly to the main task of every Bolshevik Party, to the work among the decisive strata of the working class, in large factories, mills, mines, etc.

The letter contains the most serious self-criticism conceivable. The fact that this self-criticism was timely and justified was quite evident from the many speeches delivered at the Conference which not only substantiated in general but also gave details as to the correctness of the estimation contained in the *Open Letter*.

Let us take some examples.

As to the building up of our revolutionary trade unions in the most important industries, the report of the Pol-Bureau says, among other things, the following:

"In steel, we still have forty to fifty shop groups, initiative groups, not mass organisations—about the same as one year ago. . . . The union still does not play any significant role in the life of the steel workers. . . . Most of the steel workers have not yet heard about the union. . . . In heavy metal manufacturing, activities are equally weak, only some beginnings in small shops. In mining . . . the National Miners' Union organisation of mine locals still cannot count more than 30 to 40 units. Most of the membership is very loosely organised and lacks leadership; the membership has been practically stationary since the end of 1931. There is very little extension (even contraction) of the field of operation of the union. There is no development of cadres. Let us examine the railroad industry; surely this is one of the most important centre fields of work. Yet after years of resolutions and talk about the railroad industry, this remains largely—well, we might call it 'unexplored territory.' In the textile industry, the National Textile Workers' Union is only now, after a long period of passivity, beginning to participate again to some extent in strikes. Its membership remains about a thousand—about the same as in 1929. In the marine industry—the Marine Workers' Industrial Union has conducted a number of small struggles on the ships, has begun concentration work on the Munson Line; has done some serious work among the unemployed; yet the Marine Workers' Industrial Union also remains a small organisation, isolated from the larger masses. In the automobile industry—we have the outstanding example of the great possibilities of big results with even a small measure of correct work. . . . At the same time

the Union shows an entirely unsatisfactory consolidation of the strike wave."

The strengthening and improvement of the *Daily Worker*, the main organ of the Party, was one of the central points in the Fourteenth Plenum resolution. Notwithstanding that, the decline in the circulation of the "Daily Worker" since the Fourteenth Plenum has continued.

According to the reports given at the Conference, the Party doubled its membership during the year 1932. But this achievement has not been consolidated or continued during the present year. The Party membership during the first half of this year has been stationary or has even slightly decreased, notwithstanding the fact that a considerable number of new members have been recruited. It shows that the heavy fluctuation of the Party membership is still taking place.

Except for some scattered achievements here and there, examples of well-conducted shop work here and there, the Party Conference could show only few examples of successful work of the Party organisations in organising the strikes of workers during the months preceding the Party Conference. Such were the nut-pickers' strike in St. Louis, the strike of needle trade workers in Chicago and building up of the miners' union in the state of Utah. Of course, the Party has been active in the tremendous strike movements, which have swept the country from one end to the other and involved more than 300,000 workers in the most varied industries during the last four or five months. But also the A.F. of L., which during the crisis suffered a tremendous decline in its membership, has not remained as a passive onlooker during these strike movements. On the contrary. Helped and encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the government, it has been extremely active and has taken the fullest advantage of the upsurge of the workers. Using all kinds of methods of demagoguery and deception, it has carried on the biggest organisational drive in the history of the A.F. of L. And these activities have not been without a certain success. For instance, the United Mine Workers' Union claims to have organised the miners in Kentucky in the very same area where these miners, under the leadership of our revolutionary trade unions and the Party, fought the bitter fight for the increase in their wages at the beginning of 1932 against the same United Mine Workers' Union officials, who are now organising them.

The Extraordinary Party Conference of the C.P.U.S.A. took place at the time when the long propagandised "New Deal" of the Roosevelt administration had taken shape and gone into record in the form of the *National Industrial Recovery Act*. This law, so far as the class relationships in the country are concerned, means a new concerted attack of finance capital against the toiling masses in the long offensive of the bourgeoisie, which has taken place during the whole period of the crisis. Needless to say the Communist Party is the only organisation which has boldly started to organise the fight of the broad masses against this new attack of the bourgeoisie. The Conference, despite the fact that it did not pass any programmatic statement in the name of the Party against this act, clearly signalled the dangers it contains for the toiling masses and to the revolutionary workers' movement and called upon the workers to be on guard and to struggle.

The big question before the American Party now, as after the Fourteenth Plenum of April, 1932, is what will be the results of that self-criticism the Party leadership has exercised through the Open Letter. Will the Open Letter really become the instrument in the hands of the Party masses to bring about the necessary sharp turn towards revolutionary mass work of the Party in practice?

The Open Letter decisively points out the full possibility of realising the letter.

"Is it possible to carry out such a turn in our work? Of course it is possible. The members of the Party have shown in countless activities in strikes, in Hunger Marches, demonstrations and in painstaking day-to-day work, that they are loyal and self-sacrificing revolutionists. Now all members and all Party organisations must at once proceed to determine how the work of the Party can be improved and what practical methods must be adopted in order to guarantee and carry out the turn in the Party."

The Open Letter contains a programme of action and the guide to improving the work of the Party in all its fields of activity. The American Party has, in its early periods of development, been badly handicapped in its work by factionalism. Its composition is still to-day largely foreign-born as American workers are still

poorly attracted. A large part of the members have been in the Party for a period of only two or three years. The cadres are few. The political level of the Party as a whole still remains very low. Political discussions take place only very seldom in the lower Party organisations. Taking all this into consideration it is not an easy task to carry out throughout the entire Party such political discussions as is presupposed by the Open Letter and the decisions of the Party Conference.

The leading and the carrying out of such discussions presents big demands to the Party leadership. The utmost patience, persistency and systematic work are required from all the active leading forces of the Party members of Central, District and Section committees in order to explain the contents of the Letter to the whole Party membership. Such discussions will not follow by merely publishing the articles explaining how to carry out the Open Letter in practice or telling the Party members of the necessity of fighting against the National Recovery Act. Such discussion must be organised, planned and properly conducted by all leading Party bodies, and first of all by the "Daily Worker" and other Party papers, which in this regard must develop themselves to become not only agitators and propagandists, but also organisers of Party work and the building up of the Party.

Nor will such discussion be brought about by only holding District and Section Conferences and stating in their resolutions that now every Party unit must further discuss the Open Letter.

Therefore, what is needed more is that the leading comrades themselves go to the unit, discuss the things there and not only once but several times; that they personally give to the average and backward Party members such guidance and leadership that they need and are looking for. Only in such a way shall we be able to ensure the necessary leadership and contacts of the leading comrades with the Party masses in the course of the work.

The "Daily Worker" must not only publish the resolutions of various Party organisations (although there have not been any so far during the first month following the Conference), but it must also constantly check-up to see that the discussion is really going on. It must furthermore exercise comradely criticism of weaknesses, bureaucratic methods in developing the discussion, etc. The discussion going on in the ranks of the Party must be reflected in the columns of the "Daily Worker" and in the mass work of the Party.

One of the main tasks of the Party for the present moment is to organise the fight of the largest masses against the N.R.A. and the measures of coercion of the bourgeoisie and the government against the workers and the toiling masses connected with it. This must be connected with the discussion and popularisation of the Open Letter in the Party, as must every local struggle be connected with the popularisation and carrying through of the Open Letter in the lower units of the Party.

One of the big weaknesses of the work in the American Party has been that the Party leadership has, as stated in the Open Letter, allowed itself to be driven by events without working out carefully with the comrades of the lower organisations ways and means for the carrying through of resolutions and checking up on their execution. This must not happen with the Open Letter and with the discussion, which is needed to carry it into practice. If such political discussion, with direct participation and leadership of all active Party cadres, is really carried out throughout the entire Party, there can be no doubt that the Party will make big steps towards becoming, in the very near future, a mass Communist Party of the American proletariat.

## Helene Stassova Sixty Years Old

By Wilhelm Pieck (Berlin)

On October 15, Comrade Helene Stassova celebrated her sixtieth birthday. The proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist world could not let this day pass without thinking of the great life work which Helene Stassova has devoted to the emancipation struggle of the proletariat. Helene Stassova belongs to Lenin's old guard, and not without reason she was held in high esteem by Lenin. Coming from a bourgeois family, in her early youth she turned to the revolutionary fight of the proletariat. She joined the Party already in 1898. During the worst time of the Tsarist persecution she was one of the central secretaries of the Party, which was working illegally, and for this office she possessed the highest Bolshevik virtues: unswerving fidelity to duty, no matter what it might cost her, extreme conscientiousness in carrying out the Party decisions, and a profound knowledge of

Lenin's teachings. In 1912, after repeated arrests, she was sent into exile. Ever since the time of Lenin's hard struggle within the Russian social democracy for the revolutionary leadership Helene Stassova has stood firmly in the ranks of the Bolsheviki, and is one of their best representatives. From 1917 to 1920 she was secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. In 1930 she was elected a member of the Central Control Commission. At present she is chairman of the C.C. of the International Red Aid and member of the Central Commission for Party cleansing.

But Helene Stassova has also rendered a great service to the German proletariat. At a time when the Communist movement was severely persecuted by the government and police organs, which at that time were dominated by the social democracy, she came to Germany in order to help the proletariat and the Communist Party in the fight. In particular the proletarian political prisoners and victims of persecution have much to thank Comrade Stassova for. She exerted all her strength in order to render the Red Aid of Germany capable of fulfilling its great revolutionary tasks. What the Red Aid is to-day, what it is doing for the proletarian political prisoners and the persecuted, is to a great extent due to the work of Comrade Stassova.

She left Germany in order to take over the political and organisational leadership of the International Red Aid, of which Comrade Clara Zetkin was the President. In fulfilling this task she displayed all the great capacities which are characteristic of Helene Stassova as an old Bolshevik. Under her leadership the International Red Aid has grown to be a revolutionary world organisation of the fight against the fascist terror and for the support of its victims.

Comrade Stassova is at the same time president of the most important and largest section of the International Red Aid, the Mopr.

The sixtieth birthday of our Comrade Stassova is a day to be remembered by the whole of the international proletariat. On this day the international proletariat calls to mind not only the great revolutionary work and the great personality of Comrade Stassova, but pledges itself, following her example, to exert all its forces more than ever in order to achieve the victory of the working class over fascism and over the bourgeoisie.

## Organisational Questions

### New Widespread Forms of Strike Struggle

(Conclusion)

In Japan, during the famous strike on the Underground in Tokio the workers seized the narrow-gauge tube railway, closed the entrance to the tube by means of tramcars and wires charged with high tension current. After a strike lasting four days the workers won a complete victory.

The struggle of the Rumanian railway workers in Jassy, Bucharest and Cluj, which involved both the occupation of the railway workshops and barricade fights, deserves particular notice. This strike struggle aroused the most backward and oppressed sections of the workers, hastened the development of campaigns of struggle amongst other proletarian groups, and promoted the entire revolutionary movement as a result of the employment for the first time in Rumania of new forms of mass struggle, here and there intensified to the early stages of open civil war (fraternisation with the troops, employment of electric current in barricade fighting, scalding of the police and troops with hot water from the factory boilers, etc.—employment of machine guns and even artillery by the government).

At the same time, under the influence of reformist and other non-revolutionary elements, new passive methods of struggle have made their appearance in a number of strikes with occupation of the works: declaration of a hunger strike after the occupation of the works had been carried out. Not only do these methods exhaust the strikers and weaken their will to struggle, but they impede the employment of such active methods of struggle as the drawing into the strike of the staffs of other works, organisation of demonstrations, etc. Strikes with a declaration of a hunger strike are, it is true, not in general very widespread, but nevertheless a tendency for them to increase has recently been noticeable in some countries (Czechoslovakia).

Declarations of hunger strikes, however, which contain within themselves elements of passivity, are not typical or characteristic

for this new form of strike struggle—strike with occupation of the works.

The C.P. and the red trade unions must take every measure to see that this form of strike is not employed. Their attitude, however, towards strikes with occupation of the works, but without a hunger strike, must be quite different.

These strikes are the expression of the growing activity and initiative of the working masses in a situation where class conflicts are sharpened to an extreme point. Consequently even hunger strikes call forth widespread movements in the neighbourhood of the works where they occur, and lead to movements on the part not only of the relatives of the strikers but also of workers in neighbouring works. During the hunger strike in the paper mill of Czenstochau, for example, the workers in two neighbouring factories, "Warscha" and "Stradom," demonstrated by leaving their works and marched to the paper mill. During the hunger strikes in the Mortimer and Klimontow pits in Poland the workers in six other pits declared a 24-hour solidarity strike in response to the appeal of the C.P.

This shows us that this kind of strike, a strike with occupation of the works and accompanied by a passive hunger strike, can become the starting point of a more active struggle of the working masses if the C.P. takes up the correct attitude towards it.

Hence the fact can be explained, too, that the press of the bourgeoisie makes these strikes with occupation of the works a pretext for raising an alarm and for demanding from the authorities determined measures against such "arbitrary acts." In some countries (Poland, Japan) the social-democratic leaders and sometimes even the priests of various denominations try to make a pretence of "supporting" the hunger strikes as more passive forms of struggle and of proving the legality and lawfulness of such a form of strike struggle, since they are not in a position to hold the masses back from the struggle and yet wish to divert them from the active strike struggle. Despite these arguments, however, the bourgeois Polish press maintains, like the Czechoslovakian social democrats, that this form of struggle is a result of "the agitation of the Communists and revolutionaries."

It therefore follows that the Communist Parties should add this new form of strike with occupation of the works (but without a hunger strike) to their armoury, should direct the impulse of the working masses towards such strikes, and should by their organisation also extend the strike struggle to other works, by organising solidarity strikes in them and by using the occupied works for mass meetings and also for the starting point for the organisation of mass street demonstrations. The Communists should skilfully connect up the struggle of the striking workers in the occupied works with other strikes and with the struggle in the streets, but in so doing should always keep in mind the fact that the centre of gravity should lie in the extension and raising of the struggle to a higher stage. In all cases in which the occupation of the works can become the starting point for the extension of the struggle to other factories and for the organisation of street demonstrations, for example, in the case of dismissal of workers, in the case of a danger of the works being closed down or a lock-out, in the case of strikes in the works in which the municipal authorities and the bourgeois State are particularly interested, and in the case of which they immediately call in strike breakers and troops—in all these cases the Communist Party should take the initiative in the organisation of strikes with occupation of the works. Nevertheless, "advance-guard" occupation of the works should be avoided when this form of struggle has not the support of the broad masses. This was the case, for instance, in the strike of the artificial silk factory "Asahi Soite" in Japan, where the strikers were worn out as a result of long-continued strikes; twenty of the best active workers occupied the works at the suggestion of the revolutionary trade union opposition and were immediately arrested by the police.

In those cases in which there is no prospect of extending the strike with occupation of the works into a greater struggle, in which the necessary prerequisites for the sharpening of the workers' weapons against the employers are absent, and in which the occupation of the works can assume the form of an isolation of the workers (for example, in pits below bank) the C.P. should enlighten the masses as to the inexpediency of occupying the works and go over to other forms of struggle in accordance with

the concrete circumstances (for example, in the case of miners, occupation of the pit buildings and premises).

In the organisation of a general strike the occupation of the works must in each individual case correspond to the general line of the Party in relation to an extension of the strike front and should only in exceptional cases be accompanied by the striking workers remaining in the works—and only in those cases where it is necessary to hinder strike breaking (e.g., in the most important municipal works, such as power stations, gas-works, etc.).

Solidarity strikes with strikers who have occupied their works, in order to be effective, should not in their turn also be accompanied by the workers remaining in the works. On the contrary, participants in the solidarity strike should be called out to street activities, to demonstrations in the neighbourhood of the occupied works, etc.

In some countries (Spain and Italy) a section of dismissed workers or unemployed penetrate into the works where they were formerly employed, begin to work, and then demand wages from the employers. Such an arbitrary return of dismissed workers to the works could be more effective in connection with a solidarity strike of the other workers—when a demand should be raised for the reinstatement of the dismissed workers. It may frequently be expedient to occupy the works in the case of such a strike.

In China, in the case of strikes with occupation of the works, primitive forms of struggle are sometimes employed—destruction of machines, etc. (in the cotton mill “Juanan,” in “Ussi” Shanghai, in the silk mill “Choton” in Ussi, etc.). Our task is to make it clear that only backward workers, who have been brought to despair by the worst forms of exploitation, enter upon such forms of struggle and that their plan of action must be raised to a higher level of strike struggle.

The moods of passivity, which make their appearance in hunger strikes, sometimes completely exhausting the strikers physically and in this way making them unfit for the struggle, must be decisively combated by the Communists and the R.T.U.O. The masses must be enlightened as to the inexpediency, nay even the harmfulness, of such methods of struggle.

It is clear that a hunger strike in a case in which the C.P. and the red trade unions have taken every measure to advise the workers against a hunger strike, but in which the latter have nevertheless declared a hunger strike, must nevertheless be supported. At the same time, however, efforts must be made to bring about the cessation of the hunger strike, and to lend the strike a character of active struggle, as was the case, for example, in Poland, in the Mortimer and Klimontow pits. The Communist Parties should not permit a too lengthy stay of the strikers in the occupied works, unless the workers in other works are simultaneously mobilised, and if it leads to the exhaustion of the powers of the strikers. The Communists must endeavour “to replace one form of struggle by another at the right moment, a constant tendency thereby being the raising of the forms.” (Lenin.) Where there exists no prospect of success, a suitable moment for the organised calling off of the strike with the greatest possible advantage to the strikers must be chosen as in every other form of strike.

Of course the view must be opposed according to which strikes with occupation of the works are a “lower form” of strike struggle.

It is clear that strikes of this kind with occupation of the works, such as the railway workers' strike in Rumania, the numerous strike struggles in Poland and in other countries are in no way lower forms of strike struggle. At the same time, however, the glorification of every strike with occupation of the works, regardless of its form and concrete conditions, the declaring of every strike with occupation of the works as a higher form of struggle must be combated. The harmful views of some Czechoslovakian Communists must be most decisively rejected, such as the point of view that occupation of the works combined with a hunger strike is a new, higher, and heroic form of struggle.

It should also be made clear that in the present stage of development of the revolutionary movement strikes with occupa-

tion of the works are certainly, on the whole, in connection with other forms of struggle, a more acute form, but are still far from being an occupation of the works such as we saw in Italy in 1920, and which, given a sufficiently strong Communist Party, might have been transformed into an armed revolt. Strikes with occupation of the works are just as far from being control of production. The slogan of control of production can only be raised when a direct revolutionary situation lies ahead and the question arises of the direct struggle for power.

The efforts of the social-fascists and the fascists are directed towards preventing any strikes, or, if they break out, lending them a passive, peaceful character which does not threaten bourgeois order. The task of the Communists, on the other hand, is to mobilise the working masses as much as possible in the case of strikes with occupation of the works, in order to make of them a true weapon of the revolutionary struggle.

The impetus and significance of strikes with occupation of the works depends above all on the correctness of their leadership by the C.P., on the greatest possible activity on the part of Party organisations and the R.T.U.O. The greatest danger in the case of strikes with occupation of the works, as likewise in the case of all other forms of strike, is reliance on spontaneous development, the hope that these strikes will in themselves become starting points for the further development of struggles outside the occupied factory, as well as to regard the stay of the striking workers in the works as an end in itself.

In view of the specific conditions of strikes with occupation of the works, the greatest possible attention must be paid, even at the time of their preparation, and still more when they begin, to the organisation of support for the strikers. In the case of strikes with occupation of the works, as is shown by the Polish experiences, not all the striking workers need remain the whole time in the works. The Party and the R.T.U.O. should endeavour to ensure that a section of active factory workers and of the strike leadership should be told off for the mobilisation of relief.

Strike leaders should be appointed in the occupied works on the basis of the united front from below, together with the drawing in of the women and youth, and a broad workers' self-defence organisation should be formed in accordance with the example of the Rumanian railway workers, the “Hortensia” in Poland, the “Zichen Zelluloid” in Japan, etc. In addition to street demonstrations, noisy demonstrations should be organised in the grounds of the occupied works, with the singing of revolutionary songs, and red flags should be hung out, etc. Endeavours should be made to organise the mutual support of the strikers, i.e., to support those workers who do not get anything from their relatives.

The stay of the strikers in the works must be exploited to raise their political consciousness to the highest point (by means of lectures, wall newspapers, as in the case of the Underground strike in Tokio, etc.), as well as by the organisational consolidation of the Party and the trade union opposition.

The revolutionary strategy consists in the capacity to unite various forms of the revolutionary struggle of the working masses. The Communist Party should make the most thorough efforts to extend the front of the strike movement, to centralise scattered strikes, to strengthen the mass street demonstrations both of the employed and the unemployed workers, and to study and utilise the experiences of other countries, and should endeavour to raise this struggle to an ever-higher political level.

#### Two Young Berlin Communists Sentenced to Death

Berlin, 11th October.

The Berlin assizes have sentenced the 18-years-old Young Communist, **Willi Rochow**, and the 19-years-old Young Communist, **Otto Woihte**, to death for the alleged murder of a Storm Trooper.

This despicable judicial crime was “justified” by the Public Prosecutor by the statement that both these young men “belong to the Young Communist International, which has contributed to infecting them with Communism and rendering them unfit for our state of Society.”

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