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The "People's Court" of the Hitler Dictatorship

By Wilhelm Pieck

On May 1, 1933, the German fascists celebrated "Labour Day." Their speeches revolved around the so-called "Commonwealth" of the people." On May 2 they occupied the offices of the trade unions, robbed the working class of its buildings, arrested thousands of trade union officials and murdered hundreds of workers in Berlin, Duisburg and other towns.

On May 1, 1934, the fascists again celebrated "Labour Day," again they made a mockery of the workers, again they spoke of the "Commonwealth of the people," again they announced that the class struggle had been abolished. And on May 2 they published the Thaelmann law, the law establishing the bloody dictatorial courts they decorate with the title "People's Courts."

Read this new law! Every line of it reveals their thirst for working-class blood, their desire for revenge, their insane hatred of the working people. Every line of it is backed up with the gallows and the executioner's axe. Every line of it exposes the fear and vengefulness, the real features of the enemy of the people Hitler and his associates Goering and Goebbels.

All actions and even all intentions directed against the dictatorship are punishable with death. There is no constitution in Germany. The constitution is the open terrorist dictatorship of

fascism, the dictatorship of Thyssen, Krupp, Siemens, Schacht and Schmidt. Whoever dares to oppose this "constitution" is to be punished with the death penalty. The gallows awaits anyone who dares to talk against the dictatorship, who dares to think against it, who opposes it by word of mouth, in writing, by the use of gramophone records, by the use of pictures, by the use of wireless or the telephone inside and outside Germany. Whoever "attempts to create any organised body" is the prey of the gallows. The new law is a bloody attack on all anti-fascist organisations, against any anti-fascist word, deed or even intention. And do not believe that this law is directed exclusively against the Communists although, of course, it is directed primarily against them. Above all it is directed against the leaders of the Communist Party and in particular against our Comrade Thaelmann. This law means the death sentence against Thaelmann. It means the death sentence for the fighters in the ranks of the German Communist Party who are working with unexampled courage, revolutionary determination and proletarian self-sacrifice against the raging of the fascist dictatorship. However, the fascists will use this terrible law against anyone who stands in their way.

To-day the law is directed against Thaelmann and his com-

rades. To-morrow it can be used against the Catholic priests and the Protestant parsons who dare to oppose Hitler. All the opponents of fascism are to be exterminated physically by this law.

The German fascists are preparing for war. They are arming. They want to plunge the workers of Europe into another bloody war in the interests of Thyssen, Krupp, the industrialists and the rich landowners. Whoever dares to fight against this criminal plan of the fascists, whoever dares to expose their foul scheme, whoever dares to condemn their war-mongering policy commits "high treason" and high treason is also punishable with death. The new law is a law for the preparation of imperialist war. It is one of the weapons of fascist Germany for the approaching war.

In a class State the legal system is class-justice and the courts are class courts. The justice of the Weimar Republic was also not above the classes, and the social democrats who are now shrieking for justice are anxious to forget that their State too was a bourgeois State and its courts the instruments of a class State. The social democracy created the infamous Law for the Protection of the Republic and used it exclusively against the revolutionary proletariat. The Law for the Protection of the Republic was the forerunner of the present bloody fascist law introducing the so-called "People's Courts." However, normal class-justice is not sufficient for the fascist dictatorship. Over and above this and in the framework of class-justice they are creating their own party justice, in the framework of the class courts, their own fascist party courts.

Their bloody court is to consist of five judges, but only the president of the court and one further member are to be official judges. The three further members of the court are to be appointed by Hitler himself. They are to be appointed from out of the ranks of "such persons who have a certain experience in the struggle against anti-State activity." In other words the majority of the members of this bloody fascist court are to be tried and trusted fascist bloodhounds. The German judges showed in the era of the Weimar Republic that they served the most reactionary elements in the German bourgeoisie. However, the fascist dictatorship is not content with the Buengers.

Despite everything our heroic Comrade Dimitrov, supported by an indignant storm of protest which arose all over the world organised by the toilers, administered a severe defeat to the fascists in Leipzig. For the trial of Thaelmann the fascists want their own party court and for this reason the Thaelmann law was issued.

Their bloody court is to be called a "People's Court." But the people, the toiling, creating, suffering, fighting, hungry, but still unbroken masses have already judged the fascist dictatorship. The "leader" himself raged in his May-Day Speech against the "critics and cavillers," and on May 2 the national propaganda department of the national socialist party announced that "a powerful campaign of meetings and propaganda" was to be held throughout Germany "against the critics, the cavillers, the rumour-mongers, against the incapable, the saboteurs and the inciters." The "critics and the cavillers, the rumour-mongers and the incapable, the saboteurs and the inciters"—that is the German people, the German workers who have been condemned to starvation and robbed of all their rights, who are to be degraded to the level of Pariah among the peoples, the German peasant who has been betrayed and robbed by the fascists, the German petty-bourgeois who has been promised a new heaven and a new earth and who has received nothing at all, who has been handed over by the fascists to the tender mercies of the monopolist capitalist, the German intellectuals who are trodden under foot if they dare to show the vestige of an independent idea. "The critics and the cavillers, the rumour-mongers and the incapable, the saboteurs and the inciters" that is the German people which is rising against the fascist dictatorship. They admit themselves, that "criticism" has become a plague all over the country. The fascists themselves confirm the fact that the people are opposed to the fascist dictatorship, and therefore they have issued the law establishing the bloody court of oppression. They seek to drown the indignation of the people in a drumfire of deceit and treachery, but this weapon will no longer serve them. The lying weapon of Goebbels has already been blunted. To-day it must be supplemented by the axe of the headsman. Fascist lying and the axe of the headsman, lying and the death sentence go well together.

The German workers have given the fascists an answer of no

uncertain nature. Despite terror, threats, treachery, promises, despite the concentration camps, prison and dismissal and despite years of unemployment, the overwhelming majority of the German working class has expressed its hatred of fascism, its indignation against the crimes of fascism, its will to fight against the fascist dictatorship in the elections which have just taken place in the factories. Over two-thirds of the German workers voted against the lists of the fascist candidates, and in some of the big undertakings the fascists were unable to obtain even ten per cent. of the total votes polled. Our heroic working class has delivered a blow right between the eyes of fascism, a blow which it will not forget so easily. Despite this, however, they still intend to conduct their new general attack on the wages of the workers. The fascist "Labour Law," this shameful introduction of slavery for the workers is to be forced through at all costs. And for this reason the new law and the new so-called "People's Court" have been introduced. The hungry worker is to be compelled to remain passive whilst his wages are still further reduced under threat of the gallows and the axe of the executioner.

In Italy Mussolini's Special Tribunals are at work. In Hungary the fascist dictatorship intends to bring our heroic comrade Rakosi to trial once again although he has already served eight and a half years in gaol. The former People's Commissar of the Hungarian Soviet Republic is to be physically destroyed. In Hamburg eight death sentences have just been passed on anti-fascist workers and Goering is raging and threatening mass executions. The bestial bloodhounds of the German fascist dictatorship are preparing to outdo themselves in bloody savagery and therefore they have issued this new law for the establishment of a special court.

The German fascists are crying for blood. They want the blood of our Comrade Thaelmann. They want the blood of all anti-fascist fighters.

The struggle against this new vile law both inside and outside Germany is not only a matter for the revolutionary workers, for all anti-fascist fighters, for the workers, peasants and intellectuals everywhere, but for all men and women all over the world who still retain a spark of decency in their composition. They must stand together to resist this foul crime of German fascism against the elementary rights of humanity. The bloodhounds of the fascist dictatorship in Germany can feel that the ground under their feet is shaking dangerously. They seek to save themselves by the imposition of a still bloodier terror against the German people and in a bloody war of conquest against other peoples. The fight against the new fascist party court is a part of the fight for peace and against the war-mongers who are preparing to plunge the world into another bloody war.

Politics

The Imperialist Conflicts in the Far and Near East

After considerable diplomatic fencing, the Japanese government has explained its declaration regarding China. "Japan has not undertaken any action against the independence or the interests of China, nor does it intend to undertake any such action. On the contrary, Japan is sincerely desirous of maintaining the territorial integrity, unity and prosperity of China. Japan has no intention of violating the rights of other powers in China. Japan endorses the principle of the Open Door and of equal possibilities in China. It will strictly observe all treaties and agreements in regard to China."

This is what is said in the Japanese declaration. There is no need whatever to point out that every word of it is a lie. Japan has already occupied Manchuria and great parts of Inner Mongolia, and thereby most ruthlessly violated the integrity of China. Japan is creating its groups of Chinese militarists in North China and converting it into its sphere of influence. It is stirring up wars between the Generals in order to prevent the national unity of China. Japan has torn up the Washington agreements and abolished the principle of the Open Door, i.e., the principle of equal opportunities of robbery in China.

Does the Japanese declaration mean a retreat? In order to reply to this question one must consider the last part of this

declaration, where it is stated that "Japan cannot remain indifferent to any eventual intervention of third powers which oppose the maintenance of law and order in the Far East and in the territories in which Japan, owing to its geographical position, is vitally interested. Consequently, Japan cannot permit the Chinese question to be dealt with by third powers which pursue an egoistic policy without consideration for these interests." The Japanese declaration is therefore only formally a retreat. Actually it confirms the Japanese Monroe doctrine not only in the Far East but also in all regions in which Japan is "vitally interested owing to its geographical position." It should be added that Japanese imperialism is striving to obtain a monopoly position in regard to China. It is interesting to record that England simply took note of the Japanese declaration without demur and that the English Foreign Minister, *Sir John Simon*, declared in the House of Commons that Japan has special interests in China. England's recognition of Japan's special interests in China shows how far British imperialism is prepared to go in its endeavours to carry out the partitioning of China together with Japan and to enter into an alliance with Japan in this question. This does not contradict the fact that perhaps in the next few days a regular tariff wall will break out between England and Japan for the textile markets in the whole world. The United States, when commenting on the Japanese declaration, pointed out the necessity of maintaining the existing treaties. At the same time Roosevelt gave orders to accelerate the carrying out of the programme of naval construction. That is also an answer.

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The war in the *Near East*, on the Arabian Peninsula, between the king of Hejas, Ibn Saud, and the king of Yemen is not a local war between two oriental despots. This war sharply raises the whole Arab national question. The Arabian peoples in the Arabian Peninsula, as well as in Egypt and Morocco, are divided among four imperialist powers. *England* dominates Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq and Egypt; *French imperialism* holds Syria, Tunis, Algiers and the greater part of Morocco in its hands; *Italy* dominates Libya and *Spain* a part of Morocco. Hejas and Yemen remain formally independent States. This national dismemberment, the oppression by the imperialists has made the Arab national movement one of the most important factors of the national revolutionary movements in the Near East. The feudal dynasts, supported by the big landowners, and the big trading capitalists as well as by the Mohamedan clergy, are endeavouring to use the striving for national unity in their own reactionary interests. The king of Iraq, just like Ibn Saud, advocates the union of the Arab peoples under his sceptre. *English* imperialism is making use of these efforts of the reactionary classes in the Arab countries in the fight against the revolutionary movement, and at the same time is seeking to use these tendencies against France and Italy. Ibn Saud at one time fought against English imperialism and its lackeys because his kingdom was cut off from all the important trade routes. However, after Ibn Saud's Wahabites occupied Mecca and Medina, Ibn Saud concluded peace with British imperialism. It was not without conflict and differences of opinion that Ibn Saud gradually submitted to British control. The king of Yemen has linked his fate with that of *Italian* imperialism. It was not without reason that Mussolini declared that the future greatness of Italy lies in Asia and Africa. And Italian imperialism is particularly active in Abyssinia and Yemen, in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. Mussolini's claims to Asia and Africa have not aroused any great enthusiasm in England, and the war between Ibn Saud and the king of Yemen, apparently, is England's reply to Mussolini's expansionist aims. English and Italian warships are already off the coast of the two belligerent Arab countries. *France* is also already adopting measures. The war, it is true, is a colonial war, but at the same time it forms part of the fight between the imperialists in the Near East. And this war has set the whole of the Arab world in a ferment. The *Communist Parties* in these countries are opposed to this dynastic war in the interests of the various imperialist countries. Ibn Saud's kingdom is not an Arabian Piedmont. The union of the Arab peoples can be achieved only in the fight against imperialism, against the feudal dynasties and for the agrarian revolution. The slogan of the All-Arab Workers' and Peasants' Federation is more appropriate to-day than ever.

"Civil Peace" with Emergency Decrees and Revolvers

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

A few days ago the organ of the C.G.T. (reformist trade union federation) asked with studied harmlessness: "Is the Doumergue government really a government of pacification and civil peace?" The fact that this question was raised at all by the reformists is another proof of how the social democracy is striving to deceive the workers concerning the real character of the Ministry of National Concentration and to facilitate the work of the latter to develop fascism.

When Doumergue-Tardieu and Co., signed the decree ordering economies at the cost of the State officials and public servants, the ex-soldiers and the old-age pensioners, **Léon Blum** and his socialist friends represented the government as a collection of unfortunate individuals who had been forced into this error against their will and without quite knowing how. And now that the government is preparing a reform of the taxation system which will provide facilities for the rich and intensify the taxation of small incomes, Léon Blum and his friends come forward with the same song: Some of them have been "misled" by the system, others are drawn into the business by "ignorance and frivolity," and only a few are driven on by "deliberately reactionary aims." "Unfortunate country! Unfortunate government!" sighs Léon Blum sadly and assures his readers that parliament will not give its approval to these plans.

The social-democratic "**Populaire**" would like to persuade its readers that there are serious differences of opinion and policy in the government camp between the "pacifists" and the "militarists." The upshot of this socialist attitude is that as the financial experiments of the government will fail and as there are differences of opinion in the camp of the bourgeoisie with regard to both home and foreign policy, it is not necessary to organise any resistance on the part of the working masses, all that is necessary is to wait for the "unfortunate government" to declare its bankruptcy.

Although it is quite certain that the measures of the government cannot overcome the economic crisis, yet they can ease the situation of the bourgeoisie at the cost of the working masses and intensify the impoverishment of the latter. Six milliard francs are to be "economised" at the cost of the State officials, the pensioners, the railwaymen, etc., and another two milliard francs are to be obtained from the toiling masses by increased taxation, whilst at the same time the rich are to enjoy tax facilities. The General Staff will put the sons of the workers and peasants into the barracks for two years instead of one as hitherto.

The government of national concentration is proceeding rapidly along the road to fascism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The system of emergency decrees which up to the moment has been applied to budgetary measures only is now to be extended to the whole taxation policy. The police force is being reorganised, centralised and strengthened in order to deal more effectively with the revolutionary movement. The system of oppression is steadily becoming more intense. An old law is being dug out of the records of the year 1848 in order to punish any "appeal for assemblies," in other words, any call to the working masses to demonstrate. There is a proposal to use the death sentence against workers guilty of no more than throwing stones against the police who attack their homes with revolvers. Above all, the authorities want to get at the "instigators" behind the resistance, in other words, the Communist Party. By virtue of the emergency decrees employees and officials of the State "suspected of treasonable activities" may be dismissed, and hundreds of officials who have helped to organise the resistance against the hunger decrees of the government have been degraded as a punishment. In Alsace-Lorraine, the laboratory of French fascism, the Prefect already prohibits workers' meetings whenever he feels inclined. The policy of the French government is a clear-cut class policy and the democratic mask is being abandoned. The French social democracy is tolerating the march towards fascism just as the German social democracy tolerated Bruening and prepared the way for Hitler.

This complicity of the social democracy was seen clearly on the 1st May. The C.G.T. strained every nerve to emasculate this traditional fighting day of the working class. It deliberately sabotaged the strike of the State officials and employees, of the railwaymen and the Parisian traffic workers. It did nothing whatever to organise picketing and it issued no fighting slogans. It instructed its affiliated organisations to refuse all proposals for united front

demonstrations and conducted a vile campaign of vilification against the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.) and the Communist Party. It exercised all its influence in order to demoralise the workers and its efforts coincided with the efforts of the government to cow the workers by an enormous display of armed force, machine-guns, tanks and field guns in the working-class quarters, etc.

And despite the sabotage of the reformists, the 1st May in France was a fighting day. Despite regrettable weaknesses which showed themselves amongst the State officials and employees, the railwaymen and the metal workers, thanks to the policy of the C.G.T., the May Day strikes were more powerful than in earlier years. Despite the huge array of armed forces brought out by the government, the number of demonstrators on the streets was greater than in former years and in many cases the greatest since 1920. In North Africa the movement was particularly powerful, and under the pressure of the masses the reformist leaders were compelled in numerous cases to agree to united front demonstrations and meetings. Many meetings at which only members of the C.G.T. were present, and even a number of the unions affiliated to the C.G.T., have adopted resolutions condemning the disruptive policy of the reformist trade union leader, Jouhaux, and his plan of national recovery within the framework of capitalism.

The 1st May demonstrations were a barometer for the rise of the fighting spirit of the working class. The attempts of the government to intimidate the workers failed utterly and all provocations were ignored or completely defeated, as was the case in Paris, where street battles occurred and the workers registered successes.

In Alfortville strike pickets who stopped tramcars were attacked by the police. The workers then retired to the nearby houses and erected barricades in the streets to prevent the police cars entering. The police opened fire on the workers and hundreds of shots were fired. The unarmed workers defended themselves with brickbats and other missiles. Seven workers were wounded. The net result was that the police were compelled to retire, and when a tentative trial of strength in the evening showed that the fighting spirit of the workers was still unbroken, the police Prefect withdrew his men altogether, leaving the workers victorious.

Groups of workers returning from the main demonstration in Vincennes were attacked by the police in the XIII. Arrondissement when they demanded the release of the Communist deputy, Monjauvis, who had been arrested in the morning for picketing together with the workers. Barricades were set up by the workers in the Cité Jean d'Arc, one of the poorest quarters in Paris, and the revolver attacks of the police were repulsed with stones and other missiles. To provide sufficient ammunition many workers were kept busy breaking up paving stones with hammers. For seven hours the police besieged the Cité and continually the strains of the "International" arose and shouts of "Long live the Soviet Union!" from the undaunted defenders.

Despite the technical equipment at the disposal of the police, searchlights, armoured cars, machine-guns, revolvers and carbines, tear-gas grenades and water hoses, the attacks were repulsed again and again, and only in the early hours of the morning, when day broke, did the police succeed in penetrating into the Cité and arresting a few workers. The whole district was in such an uproar and shaken with such indignation against the police that the original plan for a mass search of all the buildings was abandoned.

The heroic resistance of the workers in Alfortville and Cité Jean d'Arc produced such a wave of enthusiasm amongst the masses that the press was given instructions to pass over the fighting in silence as far as possible, and naturally, the social-democratic newspapers were the most loyal in carrying out these instructions.

Another effect of the May Day demonstrations and struggles was naturally to intensify the will of the government to continue its policy of terrorism against the working class. Not only does the government dig out the most repressive laws from its archives and continue its work for the development of the police into a military force for civil war purposes, but it also openly encourages the formation of armed fascist bands. The authorities have deliberately ignored the detailed revelations published in "l'Humanité" concerning the purchases of arms made by the fascists abroad. The government protects the demonstrations of the various bands of fascists and brutally attacks any workers who dare to protest against them. The use of the armed fascist bands as supplementary police is being prepared, and at the same time

the industrialists are systematically employing groups of fascists to serve as a strike-breaking nucleus when the great offensive against wages is opened up.

The great demonstrations on the 1st May, the fact that not a single fascist meeting can take place without serious resistance on the part of the workers, the great success of the preparatory work for the anti-fascist meetings on the 20th May and the fact that ever-new branches of the Socialist Party and the reformist trade unions are joining the united front movement, demonstrate that the working class of France is on its guard against fascism. However, there is a sad and dangerous disproportion between the energy of the actions against fascism which have taken place on the streets and those which should take place in the factories. The struggle against fascism has not yet been sufficiently linked up with the day-to-day struggle of the working masses for their immediate demands. In this respect our activity must be rapidly improved.

We are in a period of accelerated preparations for fascism under the cloak of "civil peace and pacification," and we shall succeed in opposing these preparations to the extent to which we succeed in exposing the real nature of the "experiment" of the government of national concentration and the support which the French social democracy is giving to that "experiment" under the cloak of pseudo-radical phrases.

Great Anti-Fascist Day in Spain

By Vicente Arroyo (Madrid)

The big fascist parade which was organised by the *Accion Popular* (People's Action) before the *Escorial Palace* was a signal failure. After a campaign of propaganda lasting over four months all over Spain and conducted with all possible means of bribery and corruption and with the active protection of the government, the fascist leader *Gil Robles* succeeded in getting no more than 10,000 fascists from all parts of Spain, although a few days before he had announced boastfully that 50,000 persons would take part in his parade. Obviously *Gil Robles* had not reckoned with the answer of the Spanish proletariat, and the answer when it came was rapid, energetic and effective.

Without the protection given by the "republican" government *Lerroux* under the pretext of guaranteeing the freedom of assembly, although at the same time the government closed down the meeting places of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade unions, not a single fascist would ever have reached the *Escorial Palace*, such was the fighting spirit of the masses of the Spanish workers mobilised on that day by the Communist Party.

The advance guard of the workers on the great day was composed of the proletariat of *Madrid* which came on to the streets and fought courageously against both the fascists and the armed forces of the bourgeois State and carried out a general strike which completely paralysed the life of the capital for 24 hours. The answer of the proletariat to the fascist provocation was given all over Spain with great unanimity. General strikes took place in *Madrid*, in the *Basque* province, in *Asturia*, in *Guipuzcoa*, *Orense* and other places. Mass anti-fascist demonstrations took place and collisions occurred with the police in *Barcelona*, *Malaga*, *Granada*, *Aranuez*, *Sabadell*, *Reus*, *Crevillente*, *Elche* and other parts. Big anti-fascist meetings were held in Central Spain.

Amongst all the forms of the mass action of the proletariat of Spain against fascism, the most important one was the great demonstration which was held on April 20 by the anti-fascist workers in front of the headquarters of the *Accion Popular* and at three or four other spots in Madrid. Thousands of socialist and anarchist workers took part in these demonstrations in defiance of their leaders and stood shoulder to shoulder with the Communist workers under the banner of the Communist Party and fought against the fascists and against the armed forces of the State. It was a great day of proletarian solidarity and without it the grand strike on April 22 would hardly have taken place.

The proletariat has compelled fascism to retreat with its baleful plans. *Gil Robles*, who had planned a "March on Madrid" with his "Falanges" (Phalanx) to follow his demonstration before the *Escorial Palace*, was compelled to limit himself to delivering a speech, surrounded by police and members of the *Garde Civile*, to a few thousand people, the friendly bourgeois press grants him ten thousand hearers. The leader of the *Accion Popular*, who had planned to outdo both Hitler and Mussolini, had to content

himself with the parody of a mass meeting and a high mass. The proletariat of Spain and in particular the workers of Madrid had made it clear to him two days before that it was prepared to do battle with him if necessary.

Although the government succeeded in "guaranteeing" the carrying through of the fascist meeting by turning the Escorial Palace into an armed camp, and by placing strong armed guards at the railway stations and every few hundred yards along the roads leading into the Escorial, by refusing all non-fascists permission to pass the cordons and placing the whole of the armed forces of the State at the disposal of Gil Robles, it could not prevent the anti-fascist demonstrations which took place throughout Spain despite the boasting of the authorities that they would prevent them, and fierce collisions with the armed forces took place. The government was still less able to prevent the general strike in Madrid which took it by surprise and paralysed the life of the capital.

On this great day the *Socialist Party of Spain* was also defeated. The Socialist Party and the Young Socialist League announced boastfully that the mobilisation of the fascists would not take place without meeting with energetic resistance from the socialists and in fact a special socialist demonstration was organised to take place on the same day and in the same place, for the mayor of the town is a socialist, but in fact the socialists did nothing. This did not surprise the Communists. The socialist "threats" were intended simply and solely to deceive the working masses and above all those workers who still follow the socialist party into believing that the socialist party also fights against fascism, and to stop the socialist workers from joining hands with the Communist workers in organising the anti-fascist struggle through the united front committees, and in this way the socialists thought to make the path clear for Gil Robles and the government. Despite the socialist leaders the proletariat of Madrid and of the whole of Spain, together with very many socialist workers, established a united front against fascism, delivered a severe blow against the fascists and at the same time exposed the socialist leaders.

The defeat of the socialist leaders was seen most clearly in the outbreak of the general strike in Madrid. The general strike was to all appearances ordered by the reformist U.G.T., but it would be a great error to think that these reformist leaders ordered the strike on their own initiative. Two days previously the workers of Madrid were in the front line fighting against fascism under the slogans of the Communist Party and repulsing the attacks of the fascists and the armed forces of the State. Filled with a heroic fighting spirit the workers, on April 20, fought in front of the offices of the reactionary "El Debate" and were determined not to let the fascists pass. This demonstration of the fighting spirit of the workers of Madrid, under the leadership of the Communist Party, compelled the reformists to order the strike at a time when it was already a fact owing to the action of the workers themselves.

The fascist leaders blame the government for not having prevented the strike. The social-fascist leaders have excused themselves to the government, and thus to the fascists, by saying that they did not order the strike. This was one of the rare occasions when the social-fascist leaders were telling the truth. The strike was forced on them by the proletariat in the struggle against fascism, from a proletariat which was led into the struggle by the Communist Party.

The Communist Party was the real and only victor of the day. The Communist Party showed all over Spain that it really fights against fascism, and in Madrid, Malaga, Barcelona, in the Basque province and in other parts of the country the masses of the workers recognised the Communist Party as the leader of the anti-fascist struggle and placed themselves under its banner.

April 22 in Spain was a day of victory for the proletariat and for its revolutionary leadership, the Communist Party. On this day the Communist Party administered the first great defeat to fascism, to the protectors of fascism, the government and the assisters of fascism, the social fascists. However, this threefold victory must not blind the Communist Party to the fact that although fascism in Spain has suffered a serious defeat it still remains a great danger. Social fascism was run off its feet by the masses, even by those who still follow its leadership, but its influence on the masses is still far from being broken. The govern-

ment did not succeed in breaking the fighting spirit of the masses, but it will continue to deal out harder and harder blows to the proletariat. The first great battle has been won by the proletariat, but the struggle has only just begun.

The task of the Communist Party is now to give this fighting spirit an organised and systematic form in the *anti-fascist united front committees* which must be utilised to mobilise the masses of the workers for the next struggles. The proletariat of Spain is on the watch against reaction and fascism and against all its accomplices. The revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, the Communist Party, will lead it into still greater battles and still greater victories.

Joint Declaration of the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland and C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia Against National Agitation of the Polish and Czech Bourgeoisie

The Polish and Czech Communist Parties protest against the nationalist agitation being carried on by the Polish and Czech bourgeoisies, aiming at arousing antagonism between the working masses on both sides of the frontier. Of late the nationalist agitation has increased to pogrom propaganda. This agitation is an expression of the competitive struggle between Polish and Czech imperialisms for power in the system of imperialist Powers. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia are anxious to play leading roles in the bloc of States created by the Versailles Treaty. The Great Power strivings of annexationist Polish imperialism, which have greatly increased since the signing of the friendship pact with Hitler Germany, encounter to an increasing extent the Great Power pretensions of Czech imperialism. A bitter struggle is being carried on for prestige, for influence, for a share of the crumbs falling from the table of the great imperialist Powers.

The Communist Parties of Poland and Czechoslovakia place on record that the chauvinist agitation going on in both countries, and, charged with the atmosphere of sharpening imperialist antagonisms, is a means in the hands of the bourgeoisie for forcing the toiling masses into fresh preparations for war, into the impending imperialist massacre. The struggle between Polish and Czech imperialism shows the profound crisis in the predatory system of the Versailles Treaty, and the bourgeoisie wish to let the toiling population on both sides of the frontier bear the full brunt of this struggle.

The nationalist agitation serves at the same time the purpose of distracting the attention of the working masses of Poland and Czechoslovakia from the policy of pillage, oppression, deprivation of political rights and social achievements, pursued by the Polish and Czech bourgeoisies against the toiling masses. This policy finds expression in the increase of fascist terror in Poland and in the forced fascistisation proceeding in Czechoslovakia.

The Communist Parties of Poland and Czechoslovakia stigmatise the role played by the social-fascist parties in both countries, and by the P.P.S. and the P.S.R.P., and the Czechoslovakian social democrats, who are acting, as ever, in support of the imperialist policy of their own bourgeoisie.

The Polish and Czech Communist Parties call upon the toiling masses of Poland and Czechoslovakia to offer their resistance to this nationalist agitation, to form a firm front of international proletarian solidarity, to strengthen the joint revolutionary struggle against the policy of capital, against political and national oppression, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the struggle for the Soviet Republics in Poland and Czechoslovakia, in order that these countries may break the chains of the imperialist treaties, may destroy every kind of national oppression, as has been done in the Soviet Union, and may advance, on the principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples, including the right to separation from the State, to the stage of the abolition of imperialist wars, annexations, and occupations for ever.

Down with imperialism! Down with nationalism! Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat! Down with imperialist war! We shall convert imperialist war into civil war! Long live the Communist International—the World Party of proletarian revolution!

Central Committee of the C.P. of Poland.

Central Committee of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia.

Germany

How the National Socialists are Seeking to Win the "Soul of the Workers"

While last autumn the fascist rulers could still hope, by means of the chauvinist incitement worked up in connection with Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations and the "Plebiscite" swindle, to divert the attention of the toiling masses from their daily privations, from the constant worsening of their material situation, from the non-fulfilment of all the promises made by the Nazis before coming into power, the brown bureaucrats are to-day compelled to deal with material and social questions, although in this field they have nothing positive to offer.

The "leader" of the German Labour Front, Dr. Ley, has again gone on one of his tours in order to win "the soul of the German worker." But the results achieved by Dr. Ley and the other "labour leaders" appointed by Hitler are exceedingly negative. They have not been able to prevent the growing strike movement in the last few months. The resistance offered by the workers in three such important works as Krupp, Opel and Henkel are a signal, the importance and significance of which the fascist rulers cannot fail to recognise. The first result of the confidential council elections which have just been made known show even more plainly the complete failure of the fascist attempts to establish a foothold in the factories and workshops. After the suppression of all legal organisations, after the victimisation of all revolutionary functionaries, after millions of workers had been compelled to join the fascist organisations, after the constant threats of dismissal and internment in concentration camps of all opponents of the ruling system, there is only a small minority of the staffs which is prepared to vote for the lists set up jointly by the capitalists and the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation) leadership. According to the reports of the results of the elections at a number of works, published in the "Arbeitsrat," out of 2,492 workers entitled to vote, only 553, that is not much more than a fifth, voted for the Nazi list! All the rest gave in spoilt voting papers as a sign of protest. In two offices, out of 75 clerks, only ten voted for the Nazi list.

Thus the factory elections, which took place under conditions of the severest terror, confirm our assertion that since they have been in power the national socialists, in spite of their most unscrupulous utilisation of every means of influencing the masses, in spite of the most brutal suppression of any hostile propaganda, have not increased the number of their followers among the working masses, but have already lost a great many of them.

This fact explains the various clumsy attempts of the Nazi bureaucrats to gain the favour of the workers. The Nazis, however, cannot make any serious concessions to the workers because finance-capital, with its increasing economic difficulties, will not consent to the least reduction of its profits.

A striking example of this is seen in the question of holidays. The Nazi leaders of the Labour Front, who know that they are not able to offer the workers anything in regard to better wages, are attempting to achieve demagogic successes with promises that national socialism, contrary to "Marxism," will secure an adequate holiday for every worker. The employers were ready to do this. As they are already overstaffed, why should they not send some of the workers away on a holiday? But this must not cost them anything. Thus in the Wurm Colliery a few miners were sent away on a holiday to the Bavarian mountains with the aid of the organisation "Strength through Joy." The cost of the journey and the board and lodging was paid, and the incorporated press made no little fuss about this tremendous social achievement. When, however, the workers returned to work, they learnt that the cost of their holiday was to be deducted from their wages!

In the Ruhr mining area Dr. Ley attempted in vain to wring from his party comrades, the heavy industrialists, some concessions in regard to the question of holidays. They refused, however, to grant holidays with pay owing to the "serious economic situation." The situation is, of course, always described as splendid in the speeches on the successes of the "labour battle," but when it comes to a question of paying the situation is always serious. What did Herr Ley do? Did he mobilise the staffs in order to enforce the demand for holidays with pay? No, that would be Bolshevism. Or

did he complain to the national socialist party authorities against the drawers of "income without work"? No, he is not such a fool as to appeal to Thyssen against the heavy industrialists. He knew another way out of the situation. He declared at a meeting of the miners in Gelsenkirchen that if the mining syndicate refused to pay, then the Labour Front would pay for the holidays. This declaration, the incorporated press reports, was received with enormous applause.

The workers can easily see that they themselves are to raise the money, which will then, with a generous gesture, be used in order to pay for their holidays. With the Marxists it is a principle that the employer must pay for holidays; the Nazis, however, consider it a great social achievement that the workers are to meet the cost of their holidays out of the union contributions they pay. As, however, the income of the fascist trade unions is declining and the Nazi bureaucrats spend much more than their social-fascist predecessors, the money for this purpose will not go far, although nothing is now spent on strike pay and relief for victimised workers.

The "labour leader," Ley, showed the same lack of understanding for the workers' demands when he dealt with the question of women's labour at a meeting of women tobacco workers in Aix-la-Chapelle on April 17. This impudent ignoramus produced the following gems of wisdom:—

"It is wrong to assume that the woman suffers in health as a result of work in the factory. Statistics prove that since women went to work in the factory we have healthier women. The chief thing is that the proper work is selected for the women.

It is therefore only a question of finding out what work a woman can do without injury to her health. Such work includes work in cigar and cigarette factories. It would be a good thing if the work would be made more congenial, for instance, by beautifying the places of work."

The Nazis are ousting the women from all responsible and better paid work, but the miserably-paid and injurious work in the tobacco industry is described by Ley as work which is not injurious to women's health. In addition, the Nazis advocate the substitution of handwork for machines. There is hardly any work which is more injurious to health than the making of cigars and cigarettes when this is done by hand, but this does not bother the Nazi bureaucrats in the least.

Dr. Ley displayed just as little understanding for the ideas of the workers when, speaking at a meeting of functionaries of the Labour Front in Berlin, he recommended the economic leaders to follow the example of the drill sergeants, who could bully their men as much as they liked, but nevertheless were loved and respected by them. It is scarcely necessary for the Nazi bureaucrats to encourage the "factory leaders" to employ barrack yard methods towards the workers. Dr. Ley, however, gave the workers the following wise counsel: It is no use striking against employers who have no sense of responsibility; these people must be fetched out and sterilised!

These unscrupulous demagogues obviously want the workers to vent their indignation at the unbearable working conditions against a few "non-aryan" small employers in order thereby to divert the masses from their most effective weapon, the strike.

Hitler, too, has lately been indulging in socialistic phrases. In a conversation with the head of the Winter Relief swindle he announced that the Winter Relief action must be carried out next winter as well, firstly in order to relieve distress, which cannot be overcome by official measures—the misery of the masses is therefore one of the permanent features of German socialism—but also in order to educate the people in socialist ideas. It is therefore a question of developing a socialist communal feeling. Robbery on a large scale and charity on a small scale, that is this socialist communal feeling.

In the same conversation Hitler said:—

"If we succeed in reducing the number of unemployed to about one million, then we shall be able to consider the problem of unemployment as solved."

Before the war there were about one million unemployed. Hitler thus admits that wholesale unemployment is a permanent feature of national-socialist Germany, and it cannot be otherwise, as fascism does not destroy capitalism but defends it by means of the most brutal terror.

The Fight for the Release of Ernst Thaelmann

By Germain Gautier (Paris)

"We must fight for the release of our comrade, Thaelmann, as if we were fighting a battle." These classic words of Comrade **Henri Barbusse** express the difficulties of the task now confronting the international working class.

We must also remember some other words of this revolutionary poet: "They want to cut off Thaelmann's head because it is the head of the German working class."

It was a hard job to wrest **Dimitrov**, **Tanev** and **Popov** from the clutches of the fascist executioner. The fight for the final release of Comrade **Torgler** is also a hard fight. But still harder is the fight to save the life and secure the release of Ernst Thaelmann.

The Prosecution are not charging him with any definite act. They do not want court proceedings with concrete accusations. In Ernst Thaelmann they wish to place Communism in the dock; they want to secure their shaky and tottering capitalist dictatorship for some time, and by means of terror to hold back the masses from anti-fascist actions.

On April 16 Ernst Thaelmann was 48 years old. On this day the world proletariat and the toilers of all countries fought a great battle for him. We can say without exaggeration that the number of letters sent to Ernst Thaelmann from France, Holland, Switzerland, Spain, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and England ran into thousands. We cite only the example of the working-class suburb of Vitry sur Seine, in Paris, where on April 15 340 postcards and letters were placed in the letter-boxes and all bearing the address: Ernst Thaelmann, Berlin-Moabit, Untersuchungsgefängnis.

The number of telegrams sent to Thaelmann from all parts of the world was not much less than a thousand. Wherever one inquires, whether at the anti-fascist organisations, the trade unions, the sport and cultural organisations, they all show copies of telegrams protesting against the ill-treatment of Thaelmann and demanding his release.

In some of the capital towns of Europe there developed a novel form of action by telephone against the fascist embassies. Long queues stood in front of the public telephone boxes. One call was followed by another. The fascist officials at the telephone switchboards in the embassies, acting on the orders of the higher Nazi functionaries, refused to connect anyone demanding to speak with the Embassy officials, and cut them off. The workers, however, knew how to get over this. One worker rang up purporting to be speaking from the police headquarters and asked whether the Embassy was in need of police protection. Another rang up giving the name of an international travel bureau and requested information regarding the freedom of foreigners in Germany. A third rang up giving the name of a big reactionary paper—and the telephone operator at the Embassy had thereupon to connect all these callers with the Embassy counsel or secretary, who were then told by these workers their very plain opinion regarding the fascist terror.

Delegation after delegation, representing factory workers, unemployed and big mass organisations, went to the embassies and consulates. The Embassy buildings were surrounded by police. In the best cases one member of the delegation was allowed to enter the Embassy in order to submit the protests and demands.

In the midst of this mass movement workers in North France and Paris, in Alsace-Lorraine and in Switzerland, in Holland and Czechoslovakia decided to send worker delegations direct to Thaelmann, as the letters, for which advice of delivery had been paid were not received by Thaelmann, as was to be seen from the fact that the return slips were not signed by him, but bore the prison stamp and the signature of a warder. The senders of these letters therefore made the sharpest protest at the German embassies, to the German Post Office and to the postal authorities of their own countries, and informed the embassies that they would now go to Berlin themselves to see how things were, because it was quite clear that their letters had not been given to Ernst Thaelmann.

It must be specially pointed out that this great mass action developed on the basis of the factories, the revolutionary trade unions, and the workers' mass organisations which are leading the anti-fascist fight in all countries. Among the letters were many containing hundreds of signatures, which were collected under the

greatest difficulties in the workshops. The majority of the telegrams came from class-conscious trade unionists and the trade union opposition.

Of the main forces which rendered it possible to develop this mass action for Thaelmann in such an effective manner, special mention should be made of the Communist Parties, which are leading and organising the whole class struggle on all fronts. The International Labour Defence, which placed the whole of its resources in the service of the solidarity action for Thaelmann and all the German anti-fascists also deserves great credit. In America, Scandinavia, France, Holland, in Switzerland and England the I.L.D. sections carried on effective mass work. Pamphlets, picture postcards of Thaelmann, Thaelmann stamps, mass meetings to elect delegations formed part of this campaign. Special reference should be made to the German I.L.D., which in Germany itself is actively supporting the great international campaign. The Paris passenger transport workers organised a collection which immediately yielded 1,400 francs. The Paris workers have already received the news that the money sent has been received in Berlin by the Red factory cell of the Berlin Traffic Company. A copy of the "Red Signal," the illegal organ of the Berlin traffic workers, produced on a duplicating apparatus bought with the money sent by their Paris fellow workers, has arrived in Paris.

It must be said, however, that without the energetic work of the Red International of Labour Unions the Thaelmann campaign would not have developed to the extent it has in the factories, in the trade unions and among the unemployed. We will mention here the example of the French C.G.T.U., which, at its National Congress held recently, adopted the decision to launch a nationwide solidarity action for Thaelmann and the German anti-fascists and to make the cause of the German fight for freedom the cause of the French working class.

The Communist Parties, the International Labour Defence, the Red International of Labour Unions, these are the main forces which have mobilised the masses, numbering millions, for the fight against fascism and for the protection and release of the anti-fascist fighters.

The World Committee Against War and Fascism, under the leadership of Henri Barbusse, is also fighting, together with the big international organisations, to save Thaelmann and secure the release of the German anti-fascists. All the examples of work carried out in Germany itself for the release of Thaelmann would be impossible without the great aid rendered by the patronage committees of the World Committee. The first workers' delegation to Thaelmann came from Paris, and was elected by a conference of factory delegates from 14 Paris factories convened by the Paris Patronage Committee. The reports delivered by this first workers' delegation, on its return, prepared the ground for the organisation of other workers' delegations.

We must not, however, refrain from mentioning our weaknesses. The number of social-democratic workers who are actively taking part in our campaign is exceedingly small, as is also the number of reformist trade union organisations which are supporting our campaign. Nor have we succeeded in winning for the fight for the release of Thaelmann and the German anti-fascists the many thousands of intellectuals who supported the accused in the Reichstag fire trial. Also the great peasant masses are not actively participating in this Thaelmann campaign. We perceive these weaknesses and are working to overcome them, aided by the revolutionary upsurge in many countries.

International Thaelmann Release Campaign

Brussels, May 6.

The workers' delegation which travelled to Berlin recently to visit Comrade Thaelmann, and to intervene for his release, has held five great workers' meetings since its return, aided by the Belgian Red Aid, in order to report on its journey. A total of over 6,000 workers took part in these five meetings. At all five meetings unanimous protest resolutions were passed and sent to the German embassy in Brussels, demanding the immediate release of Comrade Thaelmann, and of all the imprisoned anti-fascists.

Nazi Justice Threatens New Judicial Murders

Harassed by the growing economic and foreign political difficulties, frightened by the growing ferment in their own camp, rendered furious by the constantly increasing activity of the Communist Party, by the defeats suffered at the factory elections, by the steadfastness of Comrade Thaelmann and the other imprisoned proletarian fighters in spite of all tortures, the Nazi leaders have decided to let loose a new wave of fascist terror. The demagogic socialistic speeches and manoeuvres, such as the law for the payment of wages on May 1, this concession to the masses, are only intended as the accompanying music to fresh death sentences, executions, torture and murder of anti-fascist fighters.

We quote from the threatening speech which Goering delivered on the occasion of the introduction into office of the new head of the State Secret Police:—

“We who are responsible for the maintenance of the State and our glorious country, should we hesitate to *crush underfoot* those who wish to overthrow the Reich? No, we shall not hesitate to crush them ruthlessly, we shall not torment or torture anybody but *shoot* them.”

How the miserable creatures in the Nazi judicial apparatus are hastening to emulate their model Goering is shown by the eight death sentences pronounced on May 2 in Hamburg on eight members of the “Red Marine” for having allegedly killed an S.A. man.

Still greater political importance, however, attaches to the trial now proceeding in Berlin of 25 workers, most of whom are Communist functionaries. The trial is held in connection with the collision which took place in Buelow Square on August 9, 1931, in the course of which two police officers, *Anlauf* and *Lenk*, were killed and police constable *Willig* was seriously wounded. As was usual on election days, the Communist Party had called upon the Berlin workers to gather in the evening in the Buelow Square in front of the Karl Liebknecht House in order to hear the results of the plebiscite against the Braun-Severing government which took place on that day. The social-fascist police authorities, at the last moment, forbade the workers to assemble in the Buelow Square, and when many hundreds of workers began to assemble, the police waggons drove up and the police, with rifles at full cock and swinging their truncheons, cleared the square. During the ensuing tumult shots were fired and the two particularly hated police officers were shot down.

It was not at all surprising if, among the workers who at that time were forced to observe how day after day workers' demonstrations were savagely broken up and dispersed by Herr Severing's police, how the police fired at workers' meetings, while the fascists were allowed to carry out their provocations under the protection of the police—it was not at all surprising if, under these circumstances, there were to be found impulsive proletarians who, against the warnings of the Communist Party not to use the methods of individual terror, resorted to weapons in order to make an example of the uniformed murderers of workers. It was therefore clear that this shooting was a spontaneous action of individual workers with which the Communist Party had nothing to do. At that time neither the police nor the judicial authorities ventured to charge the Communist Party organisations with this deed.

The Nazi police and justice have made it their task to carry out an act of vengeance on behalf of their social-fascist predecessors and to use it in order to deliver a blow at the Communist Party. The police-socialists helped the Nazis to come into power; the Nazis, it is true, drove Severing, Grzesinsky, Zoergiebel and Co. from their offices, but they regard themselves as the lawful successors of these social fascists and consider it their task to avenge the death of social-fascist police officers.

Already in the summer of 1933 fantastic police inventions appeared in the whole of the German press about an alleged explanation of the killing of these police officers by the Communist Party. Leading functionaries of the Central Committee and of the Berlin-Brandenburg district party committee of the C.P.G. such as Comrades *Ulbricht* and *Kippenberger*, who were known to the proletariat for decades, were accused of having personally instigated the killing of the police officers in the Buelow Square. Portraits of these two comrades were published in all newspapers and a warrant was issued for their arrest. But the fascists did not succeed in arresting one of these leaders of the C.P.G.

The Nazi hangmen therefore sought for other victims among their political prisoners. Comrade *Albert Kunz*, known to the workers of Frankfurt by his indefatigable activity in the labour movement and a member of the Prussian Diet, was a leading functionary of the Berlin organisation in the year 1931. He was arrested in Frankfurt-on-Maine in the first months of the Hitler dictatorship. Comrade Kunz, a metal worker possessing enormous physical strength, was so severely mishandled by S.A. men on his arrest that for weeks he was unable to move. He was held under preventive arrest until it occurred to an ingenious Nazi jurist that it would be possible to involve him, as one of the leading Berlin functionaries, in a trial for murder in connection with the shooting in the Beulow Square.

According to the prosecuting authorities, the shots were fired by two young workers, *Erich Mielke* and *Erich Ziemer*. Both of them, however, escaped arrest. But two other workers, *Wilhelm Peschky* and *Wilhelm Becker*, who according to the Nazis immediately took part in the affair, are also not in the hands of the police. There is obviously no other proof of the participation of Comrade Kunz and the other 24 accused in the whole affair than the statements invented by Nazi spies or extorted by Nazi torturers. Comrades *Kunz*, *Klause* and *Broede* are accused of having been at the head of a group of marshals which organised the shooting. And in such a situation and without a shred of evidence the Public Prosecutor ventures to charge our comrades with being accessories to the crime.

It is perfectly clear that bourgeois justice, in trumping up these charges against Comrade Kunz and his 24 fellow accused, wishes to deliver a blow at the Communist Party, at the whole revolutionary proletariat, the whole anti-fascist movement. It was intended by means of the Reichstag Fire Trial to discredit the Communist Party and the Communist International as a band of incendiaries. This plan was completely frustrated by the courageous behaviour of Comrade *Dimitrov* and by the powerful international protest movement. The Nazi leaders were exposed before the whole world as incendiaries. The trial of Comrade Kunz and his comrades for murder is to serve to discredit the Communists as murderers and instigators of murder. The Nazis will be disappointed. Just as the social democrats in 1931 failed to stir up feeling against the Communist Party, so the Nazis will fail in 1934.

But the lives of our brave Comrades *Albert Kunz* and the other 24 Berlin proletarians are in danger. The Nazi brutes in Hamburg, Altona, Cologne and Dessau have shown that they will not shrink from slaughtering revolutionary workers with the headman's axe. Goering has just refused to pardon the young Frankfurt anti-fascist *Reitinger*, who has been innocently condemned to death. Eight Hamburg workers have just been sentenced to death. Goering's wild threats are having their effect on the Berlin judges.

We must oppose to the fascist pressure the counter-pressure of the international proletarian class struggle. The Nazi rulers must be made to realise that they are being closely watched in all their provocations by millions of workers throughout the world and that the sympathies of millions of toilers are on the side of the proletarians who are being brought to trial on a framed-up charge of murder. If fascist justice succeeds by means of its trumped-up charges in securing a verdict against the leading functionaries of the C.P.G. it will have created a precedent which it will make use of in the trial of Comrade Thaelmann and all other Communist functionaries.

International Thaelmann Release Campaign

Paris, May 5.

The International Release Committee has received an appeal published by the C.C. of the Communist Party of Japan for the release of Ernst Thaelmann. This appeal states: “To the Japanese working class, Comrade Thaelmann is indivisibly bound up with the glorious history of the C.P.G., the Party of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the strongest Leninist Party in the capitalist countries. . . . Precisely for this reason the toiling masses of Japan feel impelled to come forward with their protest against the inhuman treatment of Comrade Thaelmann behind the prison walls of the Third Reich at the hands of the Hitler-Goering murderers.”

Austria

The C.P. of Austria After the February Revolt

By Johann Kopleng

In the fire of the February fights, when Communists and Schutzbundlers together faced the rain of bullets from the enemy machine-guns, the wall which the social-democratic leaders had set up between the Communists and the masses of social-democratic workers collapsed. The lessons of the February fighting are more and more penetrating the minds of the social-democratic workers. From the experiences of the fighting which they have themselves gone through there is growing up the recognition that only the path of Bolshevism can lead to victory, and the advanced sections of the social-democratic workers and Schutzbundlers are already coming over to the Communist Party.

One can only give an estimate of the total number of workers who have joined the Communist Party in the last few weeks. There is not a single Party organisation which is unable to record an increase of membership. In the most important industrial centres this increase is already several times greater than the strength of the membership before the February revolt. Almost everywhere workers have joined the Party not singly but in groups, and in a number of cases whole lower organisations of the social democracy and the Schutzbund have come over in a body to the Communist Party. Among the new members are many former social-democratic worker functionaries and the best of the advanced workers who hitherto formed the active proletarian cadres of the social democracy.

Of special importance is the founding of new factory cells in undertakings where the Communist Party previously had no influence. Thus, in the last few weeks not less than twenty new factory cells have been founded in Vienna alone. Numerous new local Party groups and cells are being established in the provinces. The great initiative being displayed by social-democratic workers in building up new organisations of the Communist Party is to be seen from an example in an industrial locality in Lower Austria, where two Communist organisations were formed at the same time by different groups of workers on their own initiative. The Young Communist League, which in many places was very active and performed exemplary work during the February days, is now also able to record considerable successes in the winning of former members of the socialist youth.

There is also a very big and eager demand among the masses for revolutionary literature. The "Rote Fahne," the organ of the illegal Communist Party, appeared four times during the month of April with a total edition of 100,000. In addition, there appeared numerous newspapers issued by the lower organisations themselves. But all this does not suffice to satisfy the big demand for Communist literature.

The way in which the influx of new members is affecting the structure of the Party organisations and the composition of the Party cadres is shown by some reports from important industrial areas in the provinces:—

In **Villach**, where before the February events the Party numbered only a few dozen members, thirteen local groups with 36 street cells and thirteen factory cells were represented at a district delegate conference held at the end of March. Among the 41 delegates present there were only eight who belonged to the Party already before the February days; all the rest, including a considerable number of former functionaries of the social-democratic party, had first joined the Party after the February fights.

In **Graz**, immediately after the February days, the greater part of the local group of the "Revolutionary Lefts in the S.P. of Austria" came over to the Communist Party. Our Party organisation in Graz to-day is quite changed from what it was; a new District Party Committee and four Sub-District Committees, consisting mainly of workers and worker-functionaries who have newly entered the Party, have been elected and a network of new cells created. The organisation has set itself the task of rapidly winning the majority of the working class.

The same development is also to be seen in **Linz**, where, thanks to the energetic work of our comrades and by winning many social-democratic workers, the influence of the Party, already relatively strong in this area, has been organisationally consolidated, especially in the factories.

Already immediately after the February days the greater part of the followers of the "Revolutionary Lefts in the S.P. of Austria" in Graz, Linz and in some districts of Vienna came over to the C.P. Some leading comrades of the "Left" have now joined the Party, and this will undoubtedly give a further impetus to the coming over of the workers to the C.P. There can therefore no longer be any doubt that the C.P. of Austria is now succeeding in winning the politically most advanced sections of the social-democratic workers.

The situation in Austria to-day, however, confronts the Communist Party with the task of winning the great decisive masses of the proletariat and leading them in new revolutionary struggles. The mood of the masses of workers and the rapid growth of the C.P. show that there is no interruption in the revolutionary upsurge which led to the armed fighting in February. The slogan: "We shall come again," which is repeatedly and spontaneously voiced by the masses, is an expression of the unbroken fighting spirit of the Austrian proletariat. The Party must recognise the danger which will arise if in its growth and in its revolutionary work it lags behind this unbroken will to fight of the masses.

There exist for the Communist Party of Austria to-day all the conditions necessary for acquiring mass influence. But the Communist mass Party can arise only in the fire of daily struggle. The chief thing now is to convert the broad sympathy which now exists towards Communism into firm confidence in the Party and its leadership. In view of the decay and disintegration of the social democracy, the question of a correct united front policy on the part of the Party is more than ever of decisive importance. The first steps in this direction were already taken by the Party in the preparation for May Day, when it came forward as the organiser of the revolutionary united front.

The groups of the Republican Schutzbund continue after the February days to play a big role in the fight against fascism. The Schutzbund formations, which still exist almost everywhere, embrace many thousands of courageous proletarian fighters. In several cases such formations have come over in a body to the Communist Party. But even where they are not yet prepared to take this step they are seeking to establish contact with the Party. But there still exists a great lack of clarity among considerable sections of the Schutzbundlers. It is necessary for the C.P., by means of the united front, and by joint actions, to make clear to the Schutzbundlers the role of the Communist Party in the anti-fascist mass struggle and to realise this role in practice.

A broad united front exists already in the carrying out of solidarity actions for the victims of the February fights. One can say without exaggeration that in Austria to-day only the Communist Party and the International Labour Defence are rendering relief to the victims of Dollfuss fascism in the spirit of true, revolutionary class solidarity and conducting the fight for the release of the prisoners, whilst the social democracy on the other hand is hiding its face behind the bourgeois reactionary organisations of the Quakers. The Austrian section of the International Labour Defence enjoys great popularity and prestige to-day among the masses. In the last few weeks a number of demonstrations of women and children have been held outside the prisons. Thus the solidarity movement for the victims of Dollfuss fascism is assuming more and more the character of a mass movement, and at the head of it stand the I.L.D. and the Communist Party.

The development of the C.P. of Austria into the mass party of the Austrian proletariat depends upon whether it will succeed in bringing under its influence the workers who have been organised hitherto in the reformist trade unions, in the sport, cultural and other mass organisations. These masses are for the greater part disappointed with the social democracy; they have lost organisational contact with it, but they are filled with feelings of hatred and deep mistrust towards the Dollfuss dictatorship. The national socialists have not succeeded up to now in gaining influence over great masses of workers.

In the most important big undertakings and decisive branches of industry the masses are boycotting the endeavours of the government to create a State-fascist united trade union. Here there is seen the special weakness of the Dollfuss dictatorship and its exceedingly narrow mass basis. Here also, however, is the starting point from which the C.P. of Austria must set up the revolutionary class front against the Dollfuss dictatorship. Very much depends now upon whether the Party will prove able to place itself at the head of the boycott movement against the fascist trade

unions and against the fascist factory councils. If the Party succeeds in developing, in the form of demonstrations, strikes and political mass actions, a broad united fighting front against every kind of fascist oppression and attack on the working class, then it will become the leading mass party of the Austrian proletariat; and it will also be in a position to lead the masses into the decisive fights for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and for the Soviet Power.

It would be a grave mistake if the Party, in the fight against the Dollfuss dictatorship and its brown reserve, the national socialists, were to underestimate the mass influence which the social democracy still possesses and the role which the social democracy plays to-day. The February revolt, it is true, has revealed the bankruptcy of the social democratic policy. The Party of Austro-Marxism is disintegrating, but social democracy is not yet dead. The Austrian social democracy, even after the February days, is still continuing its policy of splitting the proletarian class front and helping the Dollfuss dictatorship. The Dollfuss dictatorship is making use to-day of a great part of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which is endeavouring to entice the workers into the Patriotic Front. While a part of the socialist leaders in Austria are building new bridges to Dollfuss, Otto Bauer is continuing abroad his policy of "Left" deception and manoeuvres in order to keep the workers from finding their way to Communism. Thus in No. 7 of the "*Arbeiter-Zeitung*," under the title: "The Communists and Ourselves," Otto Bauer writes:—

"... Austrian socialism, as a result of the glorious tradition of the February rising and the revolutionary necessities imposed upon it by the fascist dictatorship, has drawn nearer to the revolutionary socialism of the East. On the other hand, it is closely connected with the democratic socialism of the West, which precisely in these days has displayed admirable self-sacrificing solidarity towards us. Thus Austrian socialism has become the natural connecting link between the revolutionary socialism of the East and the democratic socialism of the West. It will be one of our most important tasks to work for the reunion of the world proletariat for the fight against capitalism and fascism and for the defence of the Soviet Union. But Austrian socialism will be able to fulfil this task only if it itself remains united."

The purpose of this new manoeuvre is obvious; it is to prevent the workers from coming over to Communism. Therefore the Party must not cease for a moment its fight against the social democracy and to expose its deceitful and treacherous activity, but must explain to the masses that only the complete overcoming and destruction of the influence of social democracy will free the path for the victory of the proletarian revolution. The path for the setting up of the class unity of the Austrian proletariat, that is the unity of all class-conscious militant workers in the C.P. of Austria, under the tried leadership of the Communist International.

The Communist Party of Austria owes its present successes to the irreconcilable struggle it has conducted against the social democracy, and also to its correct united front policy, by means of which it showed the masses in the decisive situation the path of victorious struggle. But the C.P. of Austria is confronted to-day with the task not only of showing the masses the correct path, but of guiding them in the struggle and leading them in the decisive battles.

The social democratic workers and *Schutzbundlers* who are now joining the Party have proved in the fight on the barricades their devotion to the cause of the proletariat, and they are bringing into the Party a great wealth of practical experience in daily mass work, as well as numerous mass connections. It is one of the most important tasks of the C.P.A. to draw these cadres into the daily Party work, to train them as Bolsheviks and rapidly to weld them with the old cadres of the Party into a firm political and organisational unity.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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The Banking Situation in Austria

By Gustav (Vienna)

The last bank fusion in Austria sealed the fate of the Austrian banking system, but it did not by any means represent the final act in a long-drawn-out process of considerable expense to the workers of Austria. Despite all the official optimism displayed, the newly-formed bodies are not in the least secure or stable. The Austrian bank crashes merely gave a concentrated picture of the general decay of Austrian capitalism. At the same time they aggravated the extraordinarily difficult economic situation of the country and developed into elements making for new economic catastrophes and new class struggles.

The Vienna banking system was one of the links of the old Austro-Hungary monarchy together with the dynasty itself, the military and the bureaucracy. With the assistance of this banking system Austro-German capitalism sucked huge sums out of the dominated areas. The greater part of industry in the succession States was dependent on the Vienna money centre which worked not only with its own capital, but which was also to a very great extent a mediating centre for capital export from the west, including Germany, to the east and south of Europe.

Nevertheless, like the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Austrian banking system stood on none too firm feet. After the collapse of the monarchy the situation of the Vienna banks seemed to improve, for they did their best to continue their operations as a mediating centre for the capital needs of the developing industries in the succession States, and on the other hand inflation and speculation made tremendous profits possible. New banks shot up out of the ground like mushrooms.

However, this second spring was deceptive. The succession States ceased to use the Vienna banks as a mediating centre and began to develop their own banking systems which took away the business of the Vienna banks. The profits made in the inflation disappeared as quickly as they had been made, and the stabilisation of the French franc dealt the final blow at the major portion of the Austrian banks, which had speculated with immense sums in the operations against the franc. The American banker Morgan who stabilised the franc overnight pocketed the greater portion of the resources of the Austrian banks. This was the point at which the Austrian State began to intervene to put the hard-hit banks on to their feet again, and this process took on catastrophic forms.

Most of the involved banks were directed by bourgeois and in particular Christian-social politicians or their protégés, and in consequence the succeeding governments of Austria used the influence of the State and the money of the toilers to put the banks on their feet again. First of all the involved banks were taken over by larger banks with the assistance of the State. This was done with the Zentral Bank deutscher Sparkassen and with the Union Bank of Herr Bosel which was taken over with the assistance or in a roundabout fashion over the Post Office Savings Bank by the Bodenkredit Anstalt of Herr Sieghart. In this way the Bodenkredit Anstalt swallowed one competitor after the other, but it was swallowing nothing but debts until one day it found itself faced with ruin and the Austrian Prime Minister of the day, Dr. Schober, ran wringing his hands to the house of Rothschild for assistance. Within a few hours, and without any accurate examination of the real situation, the Kredit Anstalt of Rothschild took over the Bodenkredit Anstalt. With this it united into its hands no less than 75 per cent. of Austrian industry. However, this operation merely postponed the final crash and could not prevent it.

As a result of the economic crisis which affected Austria with particular severity the Austrian industrial undertakings not only failed to produce any profit, but swallowed up enormous sums in investments and credits which were all frozen. In 1931 the sums involved represented a total many times in excess of the share capital of the Kredit Anstalt. This fact was not unknown to the creditors and depositors of the bank, and the result was that depositors began to withdraw their deposits and creditors to give notice to end the credits. The Kredit Anstalt looked around for assistance. The second largest banking undertaking in Vienna, the Wiener Bankverein, refused to come to its assistance and all that remained was government intervention. Typical of the ignorance and frivolity of the bourgeois politicians involved was the fact that they thought that the matter could be settled with a

credit of 100 million schillings in 15 annual instalments. Finally on May 11, 1931, they decided to come over with 152.5 million schillings in cash. Hardly two weeks later the Austrian government solemnly took over all responsibility for all the deposits in the Kredit Anstalt and with this, of course, the undertaking to pay all the debts of the bank.

The Austrian social democracy gave its blessing to this action. Otto Bauer solemnly declared it to be the beginning of "State capitalism" and the opening up of the path to socialism. On the other hand, the Austrian Communist Party carried out an energetic mass campaign against the action, which it termed "the Rothschild subsidy," and pointed out that this alleged State socialism was in fact nothing but a transaction whereby the debts of bankrupt financiers were paid out of the money of the toilers without the dominance of the financiers being threatened in any way. The Communist Party also exposed the dishonest argumentation of the social democracy that the government action was necessary in order to maintain the workers in employment. The Austrian social democracy maintained the existence of capitalism all right, but the factories were closed down, undertakings amalgamated, their staffs cut down, workers dismissed and robbed of wages and unemployment support. In addition the currency began to fall and prices and taxes began to rise.

The action on behalf of the Kredit Anstalt lasted for years and devoured enormous sums. In the meantime the remaining banks were drawn into the vortex. The Mercur Bank, which was dependent on Germany, was saved from disaster in the nick of time with the assistance of German capital, and the Laender Bank which was equally dependent on France, was saved in the same way with French capital. But with regard to the big Austrian banks there was no other way out but renewed government assistance. Twice last year the Wiener Bank Verein had to receive State support and then the Niederoesterreiche Eskompte Gesellschaft also. But although the sums advanced were very great they were insufficient. For over a year negotiations were conducted to secure an amalgamation and in this way at least a provisional stabilisation. However, there was not sufficient money available for the purpose.

In the end the situation became so critical and threatening that despite its shortage of money the government had to take over the reorganisation of the Austrian banking system last week. The two last banks disappear completely. The Wiener Bank Verein is now amalgamated with the Kredit Anstalt and the latter takes over further the banking business of the Eskompte Gesellschaft. The industrial business of the Eskompte Gesellschaft, which concerns chiefly electrical undertakings, is being taken over by a successor, the Austrian Industrial Credit Company. The necessary finances are being advanced by the State.

For the moment the sums involved are 41 million schillings for the Kredit Anstalt and 29.9 million schillings for the Eskompte Gesellschaft, and these sums are being raised by the State and the National Bank with inflationist measures which remain inflationist despite the high-sounding phrases which are being used to cloak them.

The sums which are being squeezed out of the Austrian toilers in order to keep the Austrian banks solvent are now reaching an insane volume. Prior to the government action in support of the house of Rothschild 80 million schillings were expended for the Zentral Bank deutscher Sparkassen, 133 million schillings from the Post Office Savings Bank for the Union Bank and other banks, 24 million schillings for annual grants, and 17.6 million schillings to make good the losses of the semi-State Kredit Anstalt, making 254.6 million schillings in all. Other losses sustained by the State in its operations to bolster up various banks have not been revealed in their entirety.

During the action to save the house of Rothschild 100 million schillings were expended to bring the balance into order and provide new share capital, 571.4 million schillings were advanced to cover a financial bill of exchange for the National Bank, 212 million schillings to meet the importunities of foreign creditors, 57 million schillings as a supplementary sum to bring the value of these repayments up to the par of exchange, an action made necessary by the fall of the Austrian schilling, 30 million schillings as capital payments due for 1930, and 14 million schillings in exchange for accounts abroad, making a total of 984.4 million schillings.

The action in support of the two last banks cost 54.69 million schillings for the Wiener Bank Verein and 93.65 million schillings

for the Eskompte Gesellschaft, making together approximately 150 million schillings. Added to this must be the latest 71 million schillings so that all in all the grand total of expenditure to bolster up the banks amounts admittedly to 1.5 milliard schillings, a sum to which no other country has even approximated.

What are the results of this enormous operation to support the Austrian banks? First of all it must be stressed that the newly-founded banking institutes are by no means stable. The Kredit Anstalt has taken over the banking business of the Eskompte Gesellschaft together with a debit of 70 million schillings and credits which balance exactly. Here the comment must be made that the real value of these items on the credit side is by no means as great actually because for the most part they consist of frozen credits. Sooner or later new sacrifices will have to be made. In addition the provincial banks in Austria are in difficulties and nothing has been done to put them on their feet yet.

The direct and immediate sufferers from these operations will be the bank employees and the workers of trustified industry. From 1,000 to 1,200 of the 2,000 bank employees are to be dismissed and at that they are to be robbed either wholly or in part of the pensions and compensation due to them. The situation of the workers will be even worse. The industrial cemetery which is Austria will be tremendously extended. The whole of large-scale industry is now in one hand, and the government has already announced that there is to be a ruthless campaign "to get rid of the superfluous." But all the industrial undertakings in Austria are more or less in a state of decay. The government announcement therefore means that similar undertakings are to be amalgamated with the consequent dismissal of tens of thousands of workers. This will result not only in a great intensification of the economic crisis, but also in a great intensification of the political struggles of the Austrian masses.

The fascist dictatorship will not have much time in which to enjoy the fruits of its victory in peace. Austria is faced with such an intensification of the class struggle that the question of revolution will very soon be placed on the agenda again.

Letter to the Austrian Workers

By Georgi Dimitrov

I.

I have before me a letter dated December 7, 1933, which I received in the Leipzig jail only on January 15, 1934, from a group of workers in the Karl Marx House, which now—after the February events in Austria—has become known to the whole world.

Here is the text of the letter:—

Karl Marx House, Vienna.
Dec. 7, 1933.

Dear Comrade Dimitrov,

On behalf of many we give you our warmest greetings. Millions are listening to your courageous words.

You give new strength to millions. Your struggle shall not be in vain. It is also our struggle. The great army of the class-conscious proletariat stands behind you in serried ranks.

We ask you, Comrade Dimitrov, to send us a few lines in reply. With greetings for freedom . . .

(A number of signatures follow.*)

* On the very same day that I received this letter I tried to send the following short reply through the strict police censorship:—

To-day I received your friendly letter of December 7, last year, and read it with great joy and thankfulness. As far as my conduct at the trial is concerned, I was only trying to fulfil my proletarian duty and to remain faithful to my heroic class right to the very end.

With militant fraternal greetings . . .

I do not know whether even this short reply reached its destination.

I read and re-read the letter from the Austrian workers many times while in the dungeons of Goering's secret police in Berlin, when I learned from the German fascist press about the heroic battles of the Austrian workers. With a throbbing heart I followed the development of events and the outcome of the armed battles between the Austrian proletariat and fascism, feeling great joy over the manifestations of proletarian heroism and deep hatred for the treacherous policy of the leadership of social democracy.

After arriving in the U.S.S.R., although I was still ill as a con-

sequence of the hardships of imprisonment and the tension at the trial, nevertheless, as soon as my health permitted, I tried first of all to acquaint myself with the Austrian events and the historical lessons which followed from them not only for the workers of Austria but also for the workers of all capitalist countries.

I would now like to share my impressions and some of my thoughts about the Austrian events with those comrades who wrote to me, as well as with all the Austrian fighters for the proletarian cause.

I do not know how many of those who wrote this letter are still alive. But now every Communist feels that in the struggle for the common cause of the workers he is linked up by indissoluble bonds with the Austrian workers who remained alive as well as with those who have fallen in the battles.

We Communists feel drawn still closer to the workers who have fought and are still fighting, now that Austrian reaction is celebrating its sanguinary victory over the working class. Thousands of slain and wounded workers, thousands of prisoners, terror raging throughout the country, a regime of tyranny for the proletariat, comparable only to the fascist regime in Germany—this is the result of the hangman's work of the Dollfuss government.

The bourgeoisie is covering with glory the Dollfusses and the Feys, who used howitzers to shoot down the workers and their wives and children. The Papal Nuncio sends these hangmen his blessings. And at the same time the cowardly leaders of Austrian social democracy read the workers a lesson telling them that it was not necessary to resort to arms, that the working class committed an error by answering with an armed struggle the general offensive of fascism which threatened to sweep away not only all the economic and political gains of practically half a century of struggle of the Austrian working class, but even threatened its bare existence.

But would capitulation without struggle have saved the Austrian proletariat from reaction? No, it would only have made the reactionary forces more arrogant and more sure of their strength.

The Austrian proletariat was right in its determination not to betray its own class, in refusing to submit without struggle to a fate resembling that of the working class of Germany which was betrayed by German social democracy. The armed struggle of the Austrian proletariat served as a clear warning not only for the Austrian bourgeoisie but also for the bourgeoisie of other countries. It showed that the proletariat will not reconcile itself to the reign of fascism.

No, it was not the armed struggle of the Austrian working class that was a mistake; the mistake was that this struggle was not organised and led in a revolutionary Bolshevik way.

The fundamental weakness of the February struggles of the Austrian workers who succumbed to the pernicious influence of social democracy, was that they failed to understand that it was necessary not only to defend themselves from the attack of fascism, but also to turn their armed resistance into a struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the seizure of power by the proletariat. The armed resistance of the Austrian proletariat to fascism did not grow into a genuine armed insurrection. This was the main mistake.

Reaction has triumphed in Austria. But this victory is temporary; it is of such a nature that it even now contains elements of the future defeat of the bourgeoisie. What is necessary at present is that the Austrian workers should not despair, should not lose confidence in the strength of their class, but, on the contrary, should draw all the necessary political and organisational conclusions from the lessons of the February struggle, especially with regard to social democracy.

Remember 1905 in Russia, comrades. At that time tsarism quelled the heroic uprising of the Russian workers. But who, however, does not know that it was just this uprising that was the historical prerequisite for the victorious October in 1917? In 1923, the September insurrection of the Bulgarian proletariat was suppressed. But just as in 1905 the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of Lenin, was able to benefit by all the lessons of the insurrection, gain confidence in its cause and carry its struggle to final victory, so the Bulgarian workers, with their Communist Party at the head and under the leadership of the Communist International, after the bloody suppression of the uprising, became even more steeled, strengthened their Party and are now unswervingly carrying on the struggle against Bulgarian fascism. After the experience of the September insurrection, the Bulgarian proletariat

clearly perceived the roots of its weaknesses and the correctness of the theory and practice of Bolshevism. The Bulgarian proletariat and its Communist Party, which was driven underground, accepted the doctrines of Bolshevism as the foundation for their activity and struggle and converted the defeat of the September uprising into the prerequisites for the victorious development of the revolutionary proletarian movement in Bulgaria. And now, even the class enemy is compelled to admit that the Bulgarian proletariat and its Party have become much stronger than they were before the September insurrection in 1923.

The Austrian workers should take these historical lessons to heart. And as in 1905 in Russia and in 1923 in Bulgaria, so now in Austria, as a result of the sanguinary suppression of the working class combatants, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie have become separated by an unbridgeable gulf, which is one of the conditions necessary for the future victories of the proletariat.

II.

Otto Bauer speaks of the catastrophe in Austria. Yes, there is a catastrophe, but it is the catastrophe of the whole Second International, of its theory, policy and tactics. It is the catastrophe of the social democratic theory of the peaceful, painless growing of capitalism into socialism through bourgeois parliamentary democracy; the catastrophe of the reformist policy which tries to patch up disintegrating capitalism; the catastrophe of the tactics aimed at averting the proletarian revolution.

After the collapse of German social democracy this is the second catastrophe, a catastrophe towards which the social-democratic parties of other capitalist countries are similarly heading. It is in vain that Otto Bauer, in order to prove that the coming to power of fascism was inevitable, refers to the example of Germany where, upon Hitler's coming to power, as he says, neither the powerful social-democratic party nor the strong Communist Party offered any resistance. But if the German social democracy had not throughout this entire period, through its Severings, Zoergiebel, and Grzechinskis, conducted a sanguinary struggle against the anti-fascist front which was rallying under the leadership of the German Communist Party; if it had not sabotaged the numerous proposals made to it by the Communist Party, including that of January, 1933, to form a united front against fascism; if it had not rejected the proposals made at that time by the Communist Party for immediate proclamation of the general strike and if it had not broken up the joint actions of the Communist and the social-democratic workers against fascism, then we can confidently assert that the German proletariat would have been able to prevent the fascists from coming to power and the German people would not have become victims of the fascist orgy. The Communist Party of Germany, unfortunately, was not at that time strong enough to overcome the sabotage and betrayal of social democracy and to lead the German workers to an open armed fight against the Hitler bands. It is clear that in Germany, just as in Austria now, social democracy bears full responsibility for the victory of fascism.

The events in Austria and Germany and the victorious construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. constitute the greatest historical test, based on the experience of millions of people, of the two policies—the policy of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the policy of the Comintern, on the one hand, and the policy of Austrian and German social democracy, the policy of the Second International, on the other. The first policy, the policy of the proletarian revolution, has already brought the working class in the U.S.S.R., as well as the basic masses of the peasantry which are under its influence, to socialism. The second policy, the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, as has been strikingly shown by the events in Italy, Germany, and Austria, has led to the victory of the counter-revolution, to the triumph of fascism.

The U.S.S.R., the great creation of the Bolsheviks, stands firm like a rock—the bourgeoisie and the landowners have been crushed, the power of the working class has been established, a strong proletarian State has been set up, a powerful workers' and peasants' Red Army has been formed, a new, socialist economic system has been built up, unemployment and pauperisation in the villages have been abolished, and there is a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the toiling masses in town and country. But in Austria and Germany there is not a trace of "democratic socialism" left. There, Dollfuss and Fey, Hitler and Goering hold absolute sway. The working class have had all rights taken from them, arms are in the hands of the bourgeoisie,

the Vienna town hall is occupied by the Heimwehr and the communal workers' houses which social democracy held up as a symbol of the "peaceful growing into socialism" have been partly destroyed by artillery fire and are being taken away from the Austrian proletariat.

But, comrades, in 1918 you had everything in your hands. You had arms, you formed your Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. You were flanked on two sides by the Soviet Republics of Hungary and Bavaria. The bourgeoisie lost their heads. They were afraid that you would deal with them as the Russian workers dealt with their bourgeoisie in 1917. They were afraid that you would confiscate their houses and palaces for the workers. Now they bombard your workers' houses with artillery and give them to the murderers of your wives and children to live in. They expected that you would disband all their political parties; now they have suppressed your organisations. They expected that you would close down the whole bourgeois press; now they have closed down your press. They were afraid that you would fill up the prisons with the Dollfussess and the Feys, the Starhembergs and the other hangmen of the workers; now they fill them with workers and execute the revolutionaries.

If the Austrian and German proletariat had in 1918 followed the policy of the Russian Bolsheviks there would now be no fascism whatever in Austria, Germany, Italy, Poland and in the Balkan countries. And there is no doubt that the working class and not the bourgeoisie would have been master of the situation in Europe.

But Austrian social democracy, with Fritz Adler and Otto Bauer at the head, misled the working class. It made an alliance with the bourgeoisie against the revolution. It tried to frighten the Austrian workers by the difficulties of the heroic struggle of the Russian workers and peasants, it promised the workers to establish socialism without revolution, without bloodshed—solely by means of the ballot and parliamentary strategems. It urged the workers not to fight the bourgeoisie, but to compromise with them on the basis of small, temporary concessions, which for the bourgeoisie were a means to save themselves from the revolution. You, comrades, unfortunately, did not listen to the voice of the Communists who were trying to convince you of the fatal effects of this policy. For years you tolerated the treachery of the leadership of the social-democratic party which, with its policy of capitulation to reaction, led the working class from retreat to retreat and from defeat to defeat. For fifteen years reaction and fascism had been organising their forces systematically and unhindered under the very nose of the social-democratic party.

Was it possible, however, to hinder this consolidation of the forces of reaction and to hold Austrian fascism in check? There is no doubt that this was possible, but only through revolutionary struggle. Remember, comrades, July 15, 1927, when the masses went out on the streets upon the acquittal of the fascist murderers of Shattendorf. That moment was a turning point in the class struggle and in the relation of the class forces in Austria. It gave the bourgeoisie a great advantage over the proletariat and the bourgeoisie commenced to make feverish preparations to establish a fascist dictatorship in Austria. If the social-democratic party had had even the least desire to struggle, it could have easily converted the movement of July, 1927, into a proletarian revolution; but even if it had not had sufficient courage to do this, it could still have achieved the defeat of fascism—the only thing that was necessary was not to hold back the workers. But social democracy broke up this powerful action of the Austrian proletariat against fascism. It surrendered the arms of the workers' arsenal in 1927, it concluded the Hüttenberg Pact in 1928, opening the doors of the factories to the fascists, it introduced the law of Julius Deutsch on discipline in the army, which permitted the government to clear the army of proletarian elements; it gave its consent to the reform of the constitution of December 8, 1929, in accordance with the demands of the Heimwehr. Since 1930, through the agency of Seitz, it permitted fascist demonstrations and banned Communist demonstrations.

Social democracy had its military organisation (the Schutzbund), stores of arms, two-thirds of the entire population of Vienna behind it and held almost undivided sway over the working class of the whole country. And yet the fascists killed one worker after another with impunity, and every time social democracy retreated, it threatened that at the next murder it would compel the bourgeoisie to put a stop to the terror "by the force of the organised

working class." The Dollfussess, the Feys and the Heimwehr went on with their work, knowing the worth of such statements. By endless retreat you do not demonstrate the strength of the organised working class.

III.

And yet the Austrian proletariat could have won in February, 1934, too, if you, social-democratic workers, had refused to follow the social-democratic leaders, who from the very beginning demoralised your struggle by their policy of capitulation and defeatism, if you, together with the Communists, had taken the organisation and the leadership of the struggle into your own hands at the proper time.

An armed struggle cannot be considered an act which is separated from the general policy of a party. A party which is constantly retreating, which in the course of fifteen years calls on the workers to evade the struggle, cannot in the course of twenty-four hours politically and organisationally adopt the line of armed struggle.

Otto Bauer in his pamphlet, "Austrian Democracy Under Fire," is now complaining that the general strike was not successful. But had social democracy taken pains to prepare it? No. On the contrary, the social-democratic leadership tried beforehand to clear itself in the eyes of the bourgeoisie from all responsibility for the strike, declaring that under the four conditions (violation of the constitution, suppression of the social-democratic party, suppression of the trade unions, appointment of a commissar for Vienna) the workers would themselves take the initiative of declaring such a strike.

Otto Bauer himself relates in his pamphlet: "In the factories and in the Party branches the greater became the number of those who gave voice to their impatience, their longing to fight. Why wait? they said. By the time one of these four points materialises we shall no longer be in a condition to fight. Let us strike now while we are still ready for battle. Otherwise we shall share the same fate of our comrades in Germany."*

These workers were a thousand times right.

Bauer himself now affirms that during the February days the leadership of the social-democratic party was opposed to struggle, but could no longer hold back the spontaneous movement of the workers. Otto Bauer drags in the crisis to justify the treachery of the railway union bureaucrats, who frustrated the strike on the railways and thus allowed the government to bring in artillery from Burgenland while the workers of Floridsdorf were shedding their blood.

He tries to whitewash the printers' union officials, who on February 13, on the second day of the armed struggle, called on the printers to end the strike and return to work.

In his pamphlet Otto Bauer relates that the social-democratic leaders allowed themselves to be arrested so that they might not be obliged to join the workers in the fight, and precisely those leaders were arrested "who had taken no part whatever in the fighting, who were sitting on that Monday, as on other days, in the trade union offices at their desks in the Vienna Town Hall, in the provincial government offices, in the offices of the district and municipal administrations."†

Yes, it was so. That is how the traitors to the working class always act. But is the secretary of the Second International, the leader of the Austrian social democracy, Fritz Adler, who shamefully stole away from the struggle and who, at the time when the Austrian workers were fighting with weapons in hand, publicly declared that he could not take part in their struggle "because he was busy with current affairs"—is he any better than these cowardly deserters who call themselves leaders of the working class?

Comrades, can we go into struggle with such deserters in our ranks? These deserters are people who before the battle already wail about defeat, who attempt to bring panic into the ranks of the combatants at the first shot. These people do not want the victory of the working class; they are afraid of it. They only want to scare the bourgeoisie a little, to make it more ready to come to terms with them. Thus, they first hold the workers back, and then deliberately limit the scope of their action, trying to keep the broad masses out of it. To the workers who wanted to support the Schutzbund in its struggle their reply was: "Go home and cook your dinners while there is gas; armed struggle is the business of the Schutzbund and

* Otto Bauer, *Austrian Democracy Under Fire*, p. 23.

† *Ibid*, p. 7.

doesn't concern you." They refused to give arms to workers who wanted to fight.

One's heart aches at the thought of the sufferings which the Austrian working class is now enduring as a retribution for the crimes of the social-democratic leadership.

My consciousness, as that of a soldier of the revolution, cannot reconcile itself to the fact that the glorious fighters of the Karl Marx House were members of the same party as the functionaries of the Carinthian and Vorarlberg organisations of social democracy, who deserted to the camp of the Heimwehr at the first shot in Linz. It is hard to realise that the social-democratic proletarians who fought and died with so much heroism were for many years led by such miserable political philistines and cowards as Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler, Deutsch and Seitz.

* * * * *

Your armed struggle was in fact a struggle for the re-establishment of the constitution which Dollfuss had violated, and it did not go beyond these limits, it did not turn into a struggle for power. And yet in the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism, when the bourgeoisie is no longer able to govern by the methods of parliamentary democracy and enters upon the road of fascism, the fundamental question of the struggle of the working class is not the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy, which has outlived itself historically, but the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only the slogan of Soviet power brought to the consciousness of the broad toiling masses could have cemented the ranks of the fighters and created an indissoluble bond between the workers in action and the rest of the proletarians and peasantry. Only if the Austrian workers had set themselves the aim of fighting for Soviet power could their armed action have grown into a genuine armed uprising.

Yes, comrades, unfortunately, your armed struggle was not a struggle for power and thus, as Marx and Lenin have taught, it was not a genuine armed uprising. The fact that your armed struggle lacked this aim—the seizure of power—was the fundamental defect of your heroic action.

But it was by no means an accident that in that struggle the Austrian workers did not go beyond armed resistance. It followed from all the political principles of the Austrian social democracy. "We do not intend to overthrow either capitalism or the bourgeoisie," was the political thesis of the social-democratic leadership. In other words, in that concrete situation it meant: You, the fighting workers, must not attack the enemy, you must only defend yourselves against him in your communal houses. Guided by such principles, the workers let the initiative in this struggle slip out of their hands—they surrendered it entirely to the enemy.

What was the fate that overtook the workers who followed this principle of social-democratic leadership? Locked in their houses, isolated from each other, they were held as if in a mouse-trap. They did not secure possession of either the approaches to these houses or the hills from which the enemy's artillery could with impunity bombard such positions of the workers as the Karl Marx House. By advising the workers to stay at home and wait for the outcome of the struggle of the Schutzbund, the leaders of social democracy cleared the streets of the working-class districts of the city for the government troops, which moved over them completely unimpeded. The government troops had the opportunity of taking one stronghold after another from the workers who were on the defensive, whereas offensive tactics on the part of the workers could have brought confusion among the troops and drawn the wavering elements among them to the side of the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie did not stand on ceremony in requisitioning privately-owned means of transport for the struggle against the workers nor in taking prisoners as hostages, whereas the fighting workers, trained in the school of Austrian social democracy, starved but would not violate private property by requisitioning provisions. It did not occur to them that they must also take hostages from the bourgeoisie. And now Otto Bauer and the leader of the Schutzbund, Julius Deutsch, are flaunting this petty bourgeois lack of stamina as a model of civic virtue. If the Russian workers had in their time adopted this sort of tactics, they, too, would now have the Dollfusses and the Feys riding on their backs.

What heroism, what self-sacrificing courage on the part of the workers, and what a criminal waste of workers' blood on the part of the social-democratic leaders!

IV.

What is to be done now, comrades? The first thing to do is to analyse seriously the experiences of the period beginning with 1918 and ending with the armed struggle of February, 1934, to use the lessons of this struggle, which like a mirror fully reflects the bankruptcy of the social-democratic policy. And the sooner this is done the better it will be for you and for the whole of the Austrian working class, the nearer it will bring this working class to decisive victory.

As against Bauer's "criticism," in which he glosses over his own crimes and those of the whole social-democratic leadership, you must, in my opinion, subject to the severest and most ruthless criticism the system of views with which the social-democratic leadership poisoned the workers. You must cast a glance back on the road which you traversed under the leadership of social democracy and ponder over it, you must remember what the social-democratic press wrote, what the social-democratic leaders said in defending the choice of this road, and compare these with the inexorable facts. You must critically think over the pamphlet of Otto Bauer, which is, in fact, an indictment against the author himself and against the whole social-democratic policy. You must recall what the Communist International said to you during these fifteen years. And you must tell your class the whole truth, no matter how bitter it may be.

And this truth will bring you to the conclusion that the Communists have proved right, and not the social democrats, the Comintern and not the Second International. The Communists were right when they said that Austrian social democracy was leading to the defeat of the revolution of 1918. They were right when they warned you that the policy of social democracy was leading to the strengthening of the bourgeois dictatorship. The Communists were right when they said that social democracy was safeguarding the rule of capitalism instead of leading the workers to socialism. They were right when they said that unless the bourgeoisie was deprived of its power all the economic, political and social concessions which the working class wrested from the bourgeoisie, all its communal houses, and so on, were in constant danger of being taken away again. The Communists were right when they said that the interests of the proletariat would be safeguarded not by compromising with the bourgeoisie, but by an irreconcilable class struggle against it.

The truth will further compel you to admit that Austrian social democracy is now politically bankrupt. The party to which so much was given, and which lost and ruined everything, has no more right to exist. Such a party only deserves the hatred of the working class. Only after overcoming the political and organisational influence of social democracy will the Austrian proletariat get on to a new road which will lead it to victory over the Dollfusses and Feys, over the Heimwehr, and over fascism.

You must break with the social democracy organisationally, and together with the Communist workers establish a genuine fighting unity of the working class of Austria. This fighting unity is possible only on the basis of revolutionary struggle. This unity will increase tenfold the strength of the working class, will make many times weaker the offensive of fascism, will increase the revolutionary influence of the proletariat on the peasantry and create the conditions for the victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie and capitalism, for the struggle for Soviet Power.

At the present time the greatest danger for the revolutionary unity of the working class of Austria would be to attempt to resuscitate and save Austrian social democracy, even on a basis of a new "Left" programme. Such attempts would bring nothing but the disruption of the working-class movement of Austria. For are there not among you people who in the course of these fifteen years did nothing but "strengthen" the policy of social democracy in a "Leftward" direction? You see the results.

For the workers who are disappointed in social democracy, it would be an equally fatal mistake, if in the struggle against Dollfuss fascism, they were to think of seeking support in Hitler fascism. Remember that the Austrian National-Socialists were on the side of the slaughterers of the workers during the armed struggle of the Austrian proletariat. Now like "brown" ravens they flock to the field of battle and, using the sacrifices and sufferings endured by the proletariat for their demagogic ends, attempt to draw the Austrian workers, who are disappointed in social democracy and are at the parting of the ways, to the side of Hitler fascism.

We Communists look with the greatest confidence to the future

of the Austrian working class. We are firmly convinced of the final victory of the proletariat throughout the world. This firm conviction gave me the strength during the Leipzig trial to look the ferocious enemy straight in the face just as the glorious fighters of the Karl Marx House looked in the face of death. Beyond the incendiary fires and ruin, beyond the slavery and misery which fascism is bringing, we saw in the East the U.S.S.R.—the gigantic stronghold of the working class of the world. There is no force which can stay the historic march of humanity to socialism. One of the battles is over, the fighters count those who have fallen, but their strength is not broken; the great proletarian army is marching onward to its final victory.

Perhaps, comrades social-democratic workers, the thoughts expressed in this letter may seem to you difficult to accept. Nevertheless, I hope that this letter will help you in your critical evaluation of the past, to draw the proper conclusions. But if anything in this letter is not quite clear or gives cause for doubts I should be very glad if you would let me know quite frankly.

Moscow Hospital, March, 1934 Georgi Dimitrov.

This letter had already been written when at the end of March I received from one of the authors of the first letter the following letter, written on March 2, 1934:—

Karl Marx House, Vienna, March 2, 1934.

Dear Comrade Dimitrov,—

I hear with joy that you and the other two comrades—Popov and Tanev—have escaped from the Brown hell and are already in the Soviet Union. Thousands of proletarians heaved a sigh of relief when they heard this news, for we need such heroic fighters as you in our ranks. If we had had them the working class of Austria would not have suffered such a shameful defeat through treachery. It was a sanguinary lesson for us. It was the same as 1905 in Russia, and we hope that we shall not have to wait so long for the establishment of a Soviet Austria, when we shall be able to extend a fraternal hand to Russia and jointly build a new State, a pure workers' State,* in which only proletarians will be permitted to live.

Dear Comrade Dimitrov, do us a favour and write a few lines so that we may know that you are really in Russia, because we have turned into pessimists.

With greetings of freedom.

(Signed).

Yes, comrades, you are right. If your ranks had been headed by real Bolshevik fighters your heroic struggle would certainly have ended differently. But such fighters can develop only in the process of irreconcilable class struggle against the bourgeoisie. However, social democracy failed to carry on such a struggle; moreover, the Otto Bauers and Friedrich Adlers prevented this struggle. Only in constant struggle in a united revolutionary front against fascism will new steeled, fearless fighters grow up. Only under the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin will new Bolshevik leaders grow up, and the Austrian proletariat will at last obtain what it needed for victory in its heroic struggle—a powerful Bolshevik Party.

G. Dimitrov.

* There is something wrong here, comrades. Of course, you mean a Soviet State, which is the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But in it there are not only workers but all the toilers building socialism under the leadership of the proletariat.

The Manifesto of the Three Hundred and Five

We, 305 Austrian Schutzbundler, are about to leave for the Soviet Union.

We have defended the Austrian proletariat against fascism. We have fought for the revolution. We have lost the first battle.

We come from bombarded municipal tenements, from shattered mass organisations, from the ruins of democracy. We turn towards the East, to the land where the factories and the dwelling houses, the arms and the books, the State and all culture belong to the working class. Our path leads to the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics.

We want to learn from our Russian comrades how capitalism is overcome, how socialism is being realised. We have lost a battle, and now we want to prepare to win the war. We want to fill ourselves with the victorious strength of the Russian revolution.

Before we leave capitalist Europe we thank the workers of

Czechoslovakia for the solidarity which they have shown us, and for the hospitality which they have given us.

We do not want to impose further on this hospitality. We do not want either to waste our lives in concentration camps or to take the work-places from the proletariat of this country. We want to work for socialist construction, for the future of the international proletariat.

In this last hour before our departure we speak once more to our friends, to our class brothers in Austria. We remember the dead, the immortal victims of the February uprising. We greet the comrades in the prisons of the executioners' dictatorship of "Christian" Austria. We call upon the masses to continue our fight.

You must learn the lesson of our defeat, comrades, you must recognise the errors which led to this defeat, and must draw the conclusions from this recognition.

Our leaders only wanted to defend democracy, instead of attacking capitalism, instead of taking up the struggle for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. That democracy had long since been an illusion; the government of the big bankers, the big industrialists, the secular and ecclesiastical big landowners, was working deliberately towards fascism. The cohort leaders and honorary generals of capitalism declared outright that the counter-revolution had commenced, Marxism must be exterminated, fascism established. The organisations of the working class were prohibited, our social rights were curtailed, our military leaders arrested. It became self-evident that democracy had ceased to exist, that the struggle was now a struggle for power, open and unrestrained. And yet our leaders continued to impress patience upon us, continued to tell us to wait. In the face of the facts of the situation they continued to declare that our sole task was to defend democracy. And after shots had actually been fired in Linz, and dead lay in the streets, some of our leaders took up negotiations with Christian social politicians, with the idea of inducing them to form a coalition government. Even in the midst of the civil war they hoped for a resurrection of democracy.

The defence of democracy was in reality nothing but a steady retreat before the advance of the class enemy. On the instructions of our leaders we abandoned one position after another before and after 15th March, 1933. On 15th March, after the coup d'état, we were convinced that now there was no going back, now the general strike and the revolution must come. The masses were ready for the struggle. We Schutzbundler were armed for the fight. The class-conscious proletariat was prepared to rise in mighty fighting unity. But the expected parole was not issued, our leaders evaded the decision. This had a frightful effect; the masses were thrown into confusion, their fighting powers diminished. But in spite of the severe set-back, we still hoped that our leaders would make better use of the next fighting opportunity. We were to be disappointed.

To-day there are many who maintain that the masses failed to rise. We ourselves missed the uprising of the masses more bitterly than anyone else. And yet we do not arraign the masses. They could not but fail, for they were not trained for revolution, they were not systematically prepared for the decisive struggle. Strike movements were not encouraged, but strangled. The agitation made by the leaders gave vivid descriptions of the horrors of civil war, designated revolution as a catastrophe to be avoided at any price, discouraged instead of encouraging . . . and finally, on the decisive day, the slogan of the general strike was issued in a half-hearted manner, in many works and factories not at all, and many trade union leaders sabotaged the strike altogether.

Why do we recall these errors, comrades? We do not recall them for the purpose of airing our grievances, but we are determined that these errors shall be made known to you, that you may learn to avoid them next time. We are fully convinced that you have buried all democratic illusions, but you must bury them so deeply in the past that they can never rise again, not in any new form or disguise. We are fully convinced that you no longer dream of the return of parliamentarism, of regaining bygone forms of State and society, and that you are preparing for the proletarian revolution, for the armed uprising against fascism. But the aim of this revolution must be the dictatorship of the proletariat, the shattering of the bourgeois apparatus of State, the abolition of capitalism, the building up of a socialist Soviet republic on the lines of the Soviet Union.

Do not permit yourselves to be diverted from this goal, do not permit yourselves to be persuaded to half-measures; all half-measures

tures in the labour movement end in the defeat of the working class. "The Communists scorn to conceal their views and intentions" states the Communist Manifesto, and this is the spirit in which we shall be victorious, and in this spirit only, not by means of craft and strategem, not by means of diplomacy and adaptability. It is not enough to be an enemy of fascism; we must also state plainly and unequivocally that we are combating fascism, in order that we may carry out our programme, the definite programme which is our inheritance from Marx, Engels, and Lenin. In February we fought for this programme; perhaps we were inadequately conscious of it, but in our feeling it was a living reality. We did not defend democracy, we fought for the socialist future of the working class. With our struggle the last remnants of democracy collapsed. With our struggle the proletarian revolution commenced. Make sure that it continues! Make sure that it triumphs!

Do not let yourselves be cheated by the "Christian" murderers of the workers! When they preach conciliation to you—remember that they bombarded your wives and children with shells, that they have robbed you of your rights, your homes, your money which you collected in membership subscriptions. Remember that they have killed, tortured, imprisoned your class brothers. When they come, dripping with blood and holy water, to talk to you of right and justice, remember that they have always deceived you, that they have even broken hundreds of times their cheap promise to grant you "pardon." They need you because they feel themselves weak. They will dismiss you with a kick as soon as they need you no longer, as soon as they feel themselves strong enough without you. Give the traitors and deserters the reply which they deserve; turn your backs on them with contempt. Your hatred must remain unabated, your determination unbroken. Dollfuss and Fey, Schnitz and Starhemberg, and all their confederates, must see in your attitude the sentence you pass upon them—the death sentence.

Do not fall into the Nazi trap. The Nazis talked much about the combat against Dollfuss—but when we took up the struggle they stood aside like cowards. Their militant determination reached as far as paper bombs, and as soon as the howitzers commenced to thunder, the Storm Troopers were called off by their leaders. The Nazi bureaucrats had not intended to fight the Dollfuss system on such lines. Their idea is not to drive away the exploiters and oppressors, but to share the profits of counter-revolution. In Austria the gallows, in Germany the axe; in Austria detention camps, in Germany concentration camps; in Austria deprivations of rights under the crook cross, in Germany under the swastika—this is the sole difference between green-white and brown fascism. Crook cross and swastika followers alike intend to carry out their private struggle for power at your expense, and they solicit your support like two executioners pointing out the various advantages of death on the gallows and death by the axe. Display your contempt and hate to both executioners alike! Oppose the revolutionary class struggle to the crook cross and the swastika! The blood shed in February must not be dyed brown, it must remain red!

We have gained by our fight the right to urge and warn you. For a time we are divided from you, but we do not intend to become a mere memory to you, we intend to remain part of the urgent present. And when we celebrate the 1st May in Moscow, we shall come forward before the Russian proletariat on your behalf, on behalf of the Austrian working class. And in the name of the Austrian working class we shall say: "We have fought. We shall continue to fight. And soon you shall celebrate the 1st May with us in Vienna as we celebrate it with you in Moscow to-day."

We know that you will keep your word to us, and will carry out our oath, comrades in Austria!

Prepare for the decisive struggle! Defend yourselves against wage reductions, fight for the restoration of your social rights! Above all, fight for the release of the prisoners! Celebrate the 1st May as a day of the Red United Front against Innitzer, Dollfuss, and Fey! Death to fascism! Long live the revolution!

* * * * *

This declaration was signed by the Schutzbundler who travelled to the Soviet Union, and also by another hundred Schutzbundler still in Czechoslovakia.

The Labour Movement

Strike Wave in the U.S.A.

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The first year of Roosevelt's incumbency, ending in March, saw the greatest series of strikes in U.S. history. Babson's Reports, a bourgeois and statistical agency, estimates that in this year 2,654 strikes took place. During the first quarter of 1934 strikes were more numerous than in any similar period since the great strike wave of 1920. Babson expects the two following months (April and May) to "record further increases."

Hundreds of thousands of workers struck against the attacks of the bosses and their N.R.A. (National Recovery Act), were forced back, and struck again. The Communist Party estimates that during 1933 over a million workers struck. A basic purpose in passing the N.R.A. was to break strikes, which had become widespread and quite successful during the first half of last year (before the passage of the N.R.A.). A second aim was to foist company unions upon the workers in order to forestall the organisation of real unions. The chief expectation, which was realised to a great extent, was to increase profits, by intensified rationalisation and exploitation of the workers.

The answer of the workers to this speed-up and anti-union drive was a further series of actual strikes, and the threats of millions of auto, steel, railway, ship, and coal and other workers to strike. At present (in April) tens of thousands of workers are on strike, despite the efforts of Roosevelt and the A.F.L. officials to force them back. A significant aspect of the various recent strikes is their openly political orientation; they are directed more and more against the government (the N.R.A. and federal conciliation), as the government more openly represents the employers. In Detroit auto workers, in Philadelphia ball-bearing workers, in West Virginia coal miners, to take but a few examples, have booted down and defied N.R.A. representatives and their own A.F.L. officials, when the latter spoke in the name of Roosevelt and the N.R.A.

We shall discuss a few of the scores of strikes on which information is available. In New York City 35,000 taxi workers struck early in March for the second time in a month, this time under the leadership of the Left wing and with the support of the C.P. They fought against the company union and for the organisation of a trade union, against starvation wages and long hours, and against N.R.A. arbitration which had betrayed them in the first strike. They picketed militantly, Negro and white workers in solidarity, despite the terror of the police and bosses' thugs, press slander, and opposition of the A.F.L. and S.P. union officials in other industries.

At the beginning of the strike the owners, the N.R.A. Labour Board, and the Mayor agreed to a plebiscite on the company versus the trade union, but later they refused to hold it, stating they favoured a plan similar to that by which Roosevelt had stopped the threatened strike of 250,000 auto workers (virtually legalising the company unions and vaguely promising to "arbitrate" the other issues). When the union insisted upon the plebiscite (the agreement which had already been signed by Mayor La Guardia and the union) the Mayor started a police terror, aided by the company thugs. (Morgan's General Motor Co. owns one of the largest taxi companies, and La Guardia is practically an agent of the Morgan and Rockefeller banking groups, though he was elected as a liberal.)

The strike was lost, the chief demand, that for union recognition, being refused. However, the union was not smashed and continues to lead the majority of the men. They won reinstatement of all strikers, a promise of no discrimination, grievance committees in all garages, etc. The S.P. and A.F.L., who worked with the bosses and the company union during the strike, are now trying to split the union and oust the Communists and Left-wing officials. The "Daily Worker" and various Left-wing organisations gained great prestige in the strike by their moral, financial, and organisational support.

An important strike now in progress is that of 30,000 coal miners in West Virginia, who went out April 3 against the "yellow dog" (company union) contract the operators were trying to force upon them. Another 15,000 have been locked out by the bosses, who were protesting against the wage increase ordered by the N.R.A. on March 31. Pending hearings on their protest the

owners locked out the miners, showing what contempt they have for decisions of the N.R.A. when these favour the workers somewhat.

In West Virginia 20,000 miners struck for wage increases, despite the orders of the A.F.L. union officials to return to work. As soon as the N.R.A. code was posted up the men struck, and remained out in defiance of the A.F.L. organisers who were shipped in to smash the strike. In the Logan field 7,000 men voted to return, but in the Fairmont field 12,000 have decided to stay out until after the N.R.A. hearings on the coal code. Militant pickets have been attacked by tear gas of police and sheriffs and guns of company thugs, but picketing was not stopped.

In South Illinois the operators are locking out 10,000 miners in preparation for cutting the wages of 40,000 men, and in protest against the seven-hour day. In the Pittsburgh district there have been a score of strikes since the N.R.A. was passed, at first to enforce its promises, later, when the workers became disillusioned, against the N.R.A. and its arbitration. Substantial increases in wages and decreases in hours have been won (though the increases of 10 per cent. were for only part of the men; hours were cut to the seven-hour, five-day week). In Ohio and Pennsylvania 2,000 miners are now striking and in Kentucky 500.

In Camden and Buffalo 5,000 armaments workers are striking for wage increases and union recognition. In Camden 3,000 shipyard workers, led by an independent (non-A.F.L.) union, demand a 35 per cent. increase, union recognition, and no piece-work. They are opposing N.R.A. arbitration militantly, as well as interference by the A.F.L. misleaders. The owners, who are working on 43,000,000 dollars of warship contracts at huge profits, refuse to pay higher wages than 14 dollars 23 cents a week. The strike threat resulted in an offer of a 6 per cent. rise, but the workers rejected this when union recognition was refused; picketing 24 hours a day to keep out imported scabs and rejection of government conciliators who tried to "settle" the strike show the spirit of the men.

At Buffalo 2,000 airplane workers, working at two plants on 4,200,000 dollars of army and navy orders, are demanding increases and union recognition. Though the companies are making huge profits (a government inquiry disclosed profits of 36 per cent, and gains of 50,000,000 dollars from a 500,000 dollars investment by other companies) they refused to grant the workers an increase. They even cut wages and hired new men in violation of the agreement. N.R.A. conciliators brought in to break the strike tried the usual tactic—to get the men to return to work and then arbitrate later. They were told to get the bosses to increase wages and grant union recognition, and the strike would be over. The strike has continued solid for the past two weeks, despite police terror. Militant picketing continues, with women and children participating. A police attack was beaten off and a number of police hospitalised. The C.P. is in the thick of the strike and the "Daily Worker" is virtually the organ of the strikers.

Five thousand shoe workers in Haverhill have been striking for five weeks. Two thousand of them returned, winning a small increase, while 3,000 remain out pending the signing up of other shops. (Previously 10,000 struck in four other shoe cities and 7,000 in three tannery cities.) In Haverhill the Lovestoneites, like the socialists in the Camden shipyard strike, have advocated selling out the strike through arbitration. In Philadelphia 4,000 A.F.L. knitgoods strikers are battling the police, the underworld, and the bosses, demanding wage increases, union recognition, and shorter hours. Picketing continues day and night, with women doing their part.

One can hardly mention a city or industry where there are not strikes. In Indianapolis it is 2,500 hosiery workers, in Cleveland 600 textile workers, in Hayward (California) 4,000 pea pickers, in Philadelphia 2,000 cannery, in Chicago 2,000 rubber, in Buffalo 1,100 chemical, Wisconsin 5,000 auto, Detroit a similar number of auto mechanics, etc.

In Hartford 2,000 electrical workers are on strike, while 9,000 airplane, revolver, motor and typewriter workers are presenting wage demands and threatening to strike. The Buffalo correspondent of the "New York Times" reports that recently thousands of workers in a dozen industries were doing likewise. In California there were half a dozen bloody strikes of farm workers last summer, of American, Filipino, Mexican, and Hindu workers, led by the Left-wing union. Now fruit and vegetable workers are again striking, amid the most brutal terror, killing of strikers, kidnapping and torturing of leaders and even of liberal lawyers for the men.

First of May

The First of May in Czechoslovakia

By G. Fr. (Prague)

The 1st of May in Czechoslovakia was a considerable victory for the Communist Party. All the efforts of the bourgeoisie, and all the measures of the bourgeois-cum-social-fascist government to gag the Communist Party were unsuccessful. On the contrary the 1st of May was a day of triumph for Communism.

For months now the Communist Party has been working under semi-illegal conditions. Almost all its newspapers have been suppressed, all public meetings are prohibited and broken up by police violence and almost all legal possibilities of propaganda have been abolished. The Communist Party has to cope not only with a fierce campaign of persecution and oppression on the part of the authorities, but its enemies, from the fascists to the social democrats, vie with each other in anti-Communist lies and slanders and in the organisation of vile campaigns of calumny against the Party in order to discredit it in the eyes of the masses. And despite all this it was the May-Day slogans of the Communist Party which triumphed on the streets on May 1 and hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated in the ranks of the Communist Party.

The Prague demonstration of the Communist Party in particular was a triumph for Communism. No less than four different May-Day demonstrations took place in the town. The Czech social democrats had even eliminated the word "socialism" from their May-Day manifesto and in their May-Day meetings they expressed their willingness to continue to work together with the bourgeoisie. The May-Day demonstration of the Czech socialists was noteworthy in that for the first time the praetorian guard of the party appeared in its new Hitler uniforms which are very similar to the uniforms of the Czech gendarmerie. The two "socialist" parties, the social democrats and the Benes party, the Czech "socialists" did their best to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie in their May-Day meetings, etc., that they were willing to continue in the service of the bourgeoisie and to lead the workers into the yoke of fascist exploitation and slavery. The national democrats had also chosen May 1 in order to lead their followers on to the streets under definitely fascist slogans. All these three demonstrations showed the Czech workers clearly that the forces at the disposal of the bourgeoisie were on the streets.

The procession of the Communist Party was cheered by tens of thousands of sympathisers who lined the streets. The whole of Prague was under the influence of this powerful Communist May-Day demonstration. The masses in the Wenzel Platz observed the demonstrations of the social democrats, the socialists and the national democrats pass by in icy silence, but when the Communist procession arrived the scene changed. There were roars of cheering and active demonstrations of sympathy.

At one point on the way the police arrested two workers out of the procession, whereupon the tens of thousands stood still and refused to proceed, demanding angrily the release of the arrested men. The masses refused to move forward an inch until the workers were released and the police were powerless. The masses stood in the streets in the centre of the town for over half an hour dislocating all traffic. The thousands who lined the streets actively demonstrated their solidarity with the workers and the police were finally compelled to release the two workers.

Powerful Communist demonstrations also took place in other parts of the country. In Brunn 15,000 workers took part in the Communist demonstration and 16,000 in Kladno where the whole town was under the influence of the celebrations. In Oelmütz 4,000 took part, in Moravia-Ostrau 3,000, in Brux 2,000, in Pilsen 2,500, in Ortau 10,000, in Uzhorod 2,000, in Bratislava (Pressburg) 2,500, in Munkachevo 2,000, in Ossegg 3,000, and further tens of thousands of workers at 300 other Communist May-Day demonstrations under red flags and shouting Communist slogans. The demonstration in Ossegg was particularly powerful and impressive. A great mining disaster took place here recently and the representatives of the Communist Party were the only ones who wholeheartedly supported the demands of the miners on behalf of the dependents of the dead and injured men. In consequence the Communist May-Day demonstration received a welcome of extra warmth. In Brux a former member of the Czech Legion spoke to

the masses as the representative of the united front committee against fascism and war. In *Orlav*, *Teschen* and *Trinetch* representatives of the Polish workers addressed the masses and scenes of fraternisation occurred as a counter-blast to the nationalist and chauvinist incitement which has been whipped up of late by the Polish and Czech bourgeoisies.

In many places serious collisions with the police took place. In *Kladno* the police declared the great meeting dispersed immediately the speaker began to deal with the socialist successes in the Soviet Union. The police, who had been kept in waiting, then charged furiously at the masses, who defended themselves against the armed police heroically. Three workers, including a woman, were seriously injured, and numerous workers were arrested. In *Prague*, *Ostrau* and *Brunn* serious collisions took place between police and demonstrators at the points of assembly. The police attempted to seize the banners and slogans of the workers and fierce fights took place. In *Brunn* a police inspector was so seriously injured in one of these fights that he had to be taken to hospital. In *Moravia-Ostrau* mounted police charged the crowds and here also a number of workers were injured and many arrested. In *Kositch* the May-Day demonstration was prohibited altogether, and on the eve of May 1 thirty-four officials of the Communist Party were arrested as a precautionary measure. Numerous arrests are reported from all parts of the country.

A particular feature of the Communist May-Day demonstrations in the German-speaking districts was the fact that numerous social-democratic workers marched with the Communists. In many places these social-democratic workers came to the Communist demonstrations from their own meetings. In *Brunn* and *Bratislava* the members of the Austrian social-democratic Republican Defence League took part in the Communist demonstrations.

At all the Communist demonstrations a prominent demand was that for the release of the leader of the German working class, *Comrade Thaelmann*, and for the release of all other anti-fascist fighters. The mention of the names *Dimitrov* and *Stalin* produced roars of applause at all the meetings and demonstrations. Numerous portraits of Lenin, Stalin and Dimitrov were carried in the processions. Characteristic of the enthusiasm and determination of the Communist demonstrations everywhere was the slogan, "*We are following the path of Lenin and Stalin!*"

Another feature of this year's May-Day demonstrations was the increased participation of the youth. Taking everything into consideration, therefore, *Comrade Gottwald*, the leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was justified when he summed up the results of the Communist May-Day demonstrations in Czechoslovakia in the following words:—

"The 1st May was a great parade of the revolutionary front against fascism and war. The parade was a good one, but it must be still further improved. Hundreds of new factories, thousands of new districts and tens of thousands of new fighters must be drawn into the front against fascism and imperialist war. Tens of thousands of workers demonstrated their sympathy with Communism on the 1st May, and now it is our task to win them as members of the Party or at least as regular readers of the Party press."

A First of May and its Consequences

By Georgi Dimitrov

The First of May was celebrated for the first time in *Sofia* in 1898 with street demonstrations. There were serious clashes with the police as the demonstration had been banned. We defended ourselves with bricks and cobble-stones, and there were many wounded. The excitement among the bourgeoisie was tremendous.

At that time I worked as a typesetter in the printing shop of the Liberal party where their party organ "*Narodni Pravo*" was printed. The chief editor was *Dr. Radoslavov*, the leader of this party. His handwriting was very illegible and only two typesetters in the shop could decipher it—an older typesetter and I. As the other typesetter had been ill for two weeks before the First of May and did not come to work, I was at this time the only person who could set *Dr. Radoslavov's* article.

On May 2 *Radoslavov* wrote a leading article on the turbulent events of the day before. He used the most slanderous expressions about the "anti-government demonstration" and about the demonstrators whom he called "street loafers, drunkards, robbers," etc.

"We must thoroughly wipe out this band"—he wrote—"which had the audacity to come out against the State power with cobblestones and bricks, if we do not want this socialist band to develop here to the extent which it has already done in other countries."

I begin to set the article and suddenly I come to these lines of invective. "I don't set such articles," I said to the technical manager of the printshop.

"Why not?"

"Because what *Radoslavov* writes here is slander."

"But that doesn't concern you. The whole paper is ready, only the leading article is missing!"

But still I stuck to my decision that I would not set this stuff. They had to send for *Radoslavov*. He came within an hour and yelled at me:

"What does this mean? You are a worker here, I pay you for your work, it is not your business to criticise what is being written and how it is being written! A typesetter must set everything; this is unheard of, it won't do. You are fired!"

I said: "I know my business as typesetter very well. Up to now I have set everything although I was very often indignant, but this stuff I won't set. If you can find a typesetter who will set it—please go ahead! But I hardly believe that you will find anyone to do this."

He looked at me enraged and went back to his editorial office. The manager of the printshop tried to talk me into giving in as otherwise I would be dismissed. Then he turned to another typesetter, but he couldn't make out a word. Finally he himself tried to do it, but nothing helped.

After a while *Radoslavov* came to me again and asked: "What the devil doesn't please you anyway? Such a thing has happened to me for the first time in my life!"

Then he took me into his office. I said to him:

"We are not robbers, not bandits, not a gang—we don't deserve these names, we are workers."

"Yes," said he, "you may perhaps be a decent fellow, but how can you believe, how can you guarantee that all of them are as decent as you are? The others are not such decent people."

"The workers are decent people and especially those who demonstrated yesterday, they are not a gang; and no typesetter will set these words."

"All right, then," said he with a sigh—"then we'll delete those words."

And he deleted the whole paragraph so that the paper could come out in time.

* * * * *

In 1915, during the war, I was a member of Parliament and *Dr. Radoslavov* was Prime Minister.

Once I spoke in Parliament about the shameful treatment of the war prisoners. When I came on to the tribune, *Radoslavov*, who sat quite close by, looked at me sideways and smiled.

When I spoke about the horrible treatment of the Serbian war prisoners, he called out:

"You only defend the Serbians because your wife is a Serbian."

"I am proud"—I answered him—"that my wife is a Serbian. You know very well that I and my Party stand for the fraternisation of the Bulgarian and Serbian peoples and for a Balkan federation."

Then I spoke about the war censorship.

"This persecution of the press is unprecedented suppression of public opinion."

Then *Radoslavov* suddenly jumped up and cried:

"You want to speak about censorship, of all people you, *Dimitrov*. Can you remember how, when you worked for me as a typesetter, you even tried to censor my article?"

"That is an entirely different question," I replied.

"I at that time defended the interests and the honour of the working class just as I do to-day. But at that time you suppressed the opinion of the masses of the workers and you are doing it again now. You now make use of the censorship to suppress the workers just as you made use of your paper at that time to use invective against the workers. I came out against this at that time and I do the same thing to-day."

How that First of May must have rankled in the gentleman's mind if years afterwards he remembered it and its consequences so well!

India

Draft of the Provisional Statutes of the C.P. of India*

(SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)

The Communist Party of India, being a section of the Communist International, is the most advanced organised section of the proletariat of India, the highest form of its class organisation.

The Communist Party of India carries out the leadership of the proletariat, the toiling peasants and all the toiling masses, organising them in the struggle for the victorious anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, for the formation of a workers' and peasants' government on the basis of the Soviet power, for complete state national independence and for a further struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the full triumph of socialism according to the programme of the Communist International. The Communist Party of India is a united fighting organisation cemented by conscious iron proletarian discipline. The Party is strong in its unity, unity of will and unity of action, which are incompatible with any deviation from the programme, any violation of Party discipline and factional grouping inside the Party.

The Communist Party of India demands from its members active and self-sacrificing work for carrying out the programme of the C.I. and the draft platform of action of the C.P. of India. It demands also the carrying out of the statutes of the Party and fulfilling all the decisions of the Party and its organs, the guarantee of the unity of the ranks of the Party and the strengthening of fraternal international relations both between the toilers of the various nationalities of India and with the proletariat of all countries of the world. The Party works in all the mass organisations of the toilers, including the most reactionary organisations, seeking to win over the toiling masses of members of these organisations to its side and to isolate the reformist, the national reformists, and social-democratic leaders.

(I.) PARTY MEMBERS AND THEIR DUTIES

(1) A member of the Party is any person who recognises the programme of the C.I., the draft platform of action of the Communist Party, and who works in one of the Party organisations, obeys the decisions of the Party and the Communist International, and regularly pays membership dues.

(2) A member of the Party must:—

(a) Observe the strictest Party discipline and maintain reticence with regard to secret matters, actively participate in the political life of the Party and the country, carry on in practice the decisions of the Communist International, the Party and the Party organs.

(b) Tirelessly work to raise his ideological attainments, to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the chief political and organisational decisions of the Party, and explain them to the non-Party masses.

(c) Be a member of mass organisations (trade unions, etc.), and carry on tireless work there under the leadership of the Party Committee for strengthening the political and organisational influence of the Party.

(d) Join mass organisations of toilers, trade unions, etc., who are under the influence and leadership of the reformists and national reformists and other opponents, and carry on there a tireless everyday ideological and organisational struggle for liberating the toiling masses from the influence of class enemies, winning these masses to the side of the Communist Party and thus isolating the reformists and the national reformists from the toiling masses.

(e) Besides participating, organising, and leading the everyday struggles of the workers and peasants for partial demands, to carry on tireless agitation and propaganda among the workers and other toilers, spreading the ideas of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution and the ideas of Communism.

(3) Members are accepted into the Party only individually and through Party cells. Newly recruited Party members must be confirmed by the city committee (or local committee).

(4) If whole groups from other political organisations join the Communist Party, or if whole political organisations want to join the C.P., a proper decision of the Central Committee is required for acceptance.

NOTE.—If leading members from other political parties come over to the Party, in addition to the sanction of the town committee or local committee, it is necessary to have the sanction of the Central Committee.

(5) When accepting a new Party member, he must be vouched for by at least two members of the Party who know him well both at his place of work and his place of residence. The comrades recommending him are responsible for him, and in case of improper recommendations will be subject to Party disciplinary measures, to the point of exclusion from the Party. When a member of a Communist youth organisation is accepted, a recommendation is required from the corresponding committee of this organisation of which he was a member before joining the Party.

(6) Every member of the Party who works in some local organisation, and is going to work in the area of another local organisation, will be registered by the latter as one of its members.

(7) Members of the Party will go from one district to another according to rules laid down by the Central Committee. The consent of the Central Committee of the Party is required to go to another country.

(8) The question of the expulsion of anyone from the Party is decided by a general meeting of the cell of which the given person is a member, and is confirmed by the town or local committee. Pending the decision of the town committee, the person in question can be removed from Party work.

(9) The following are expelled from the Party: (1) open or concealed supporters of Gandhism, of the Roy group and other political trends condemned by the C.I., as enemies of Communism and as disorganisers and betrayers of the struggle for national independence; (2) open or concealed violators of the iron discipline of the Party; (3) those who betray in any way secret Party affairs (it must be remembered that this leads to a position that the Party can be disorganised and Party workers arrested); (4) provocateurs, careerists, traitors, morally degenerate people and those who, by their improper conduct, harm the good name and soil the banner of the Party; (5) class-alien and hostile elements, who have crept into the Party by deception, concealing their counter-revolutionary or criminal past or their previous connections with the police.

(II.) THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

(10) The Party is conducted as a strictly underground organisation. The underground organisations of the Party in their work make it their central task to develop most widely mass work to establish its leadership in the mass revolutionary movements, and with this aim combining the methods of underground work with semi-underground work and open work.

(11) The leading principle of the organisational structure of the Party is democratic centralism, which means:—

(a) All the leading organs of the Party, from top to bottom, are elected.

(b) The Party organs periodically report on their work to their Party organisations.

* This draft was received from the Provisional Central Committee of the C.P. of India, with a request to publish, and invite comrades to offer their criticism and suggestions. We invite comrades to send in any criticism or suggestions they may have.

In preparing the draft for publication certain expressions have had to be changed.—Ep.

(c) The strictest Party discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority.

(d) Decisions of the Comintern and higher Party organs are unquestionably obligatory for lower organs and for all members of the Party.

(12) The Party is built on the foundations of democratic centralism according to the territorial-industrial principle. Organisations which embrace any districts are considered as higher than organisations which embrace part of the given district.

(13) All the Party organisations are autonomous in deciding local questions, providing these decisions do not conflict with the decisions of the Party and the Comintern.

(14) The highest leading organ of every organisation is the general meeting, conference, or congress.

(15) The general meeting, conference, or congress elects a committee, which is their executive organ and guides all the current work of the organisation.

NOTE.—(1) For reasons of underground work, in accordance with the decisions of higher Party committees, the lower Party committee can be formed without elections at the corresponding Party Conference, but by appointment or also by combining election with co-optation, i.e., only a part of the Party committee is elected at the Party conference and the other part of the Party committee is co-opted. (2) For reasons of underground work, it is also permissible for the elections to take place not at the Party conference, but by selecting for the Party committee persons from among the best activists who have been selected in advance by the higher Party Committee from the cells and fractions in mass organisations, trade unions, etc.

(16) The organisational scheme of the Party is as follows:—

(a) Territory of India: All-Indian Party Congress, which elects the Central Committee of C.P. of India.

(b) Province: Provincial Party Conference and Provincial Party Committee.

(c) Town (or Locality): Town (Local) Conference, Town (Local) Committee.

(d) Factory, Chawl or Village: General Meeting of Cell, Bureau, or Organiser of Cells.

(17) Order of Subordination of Party Organs: All-Indian Party Congress, C.C.C.P. of India, Provincial Party Conference, Provincial Party Committee, Town (Local) Party Conference, Town (Local) Party Committee, General Meeting of Cell, Bureau or Organiser of the Cell.

NOTE.—In respect to provinces where a provincial committee has not yet been organised, the C.C. directly leads the local Party organisations, and in places where there are no local organisations it directly leads the various cells. The same applies to the provincial committees in provinces where local and district committees have not yet been organised everywhere. In such cases the provincial committee directly leads the work of the various cells and local Party organisations.

(III.) THE CENTRAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE PARTY

(18) The highest organ of the Party is the Congress. Congresses are called if possible once a year. Extraordinary Congresses are called by the Central Committee on its own initiative or at the demand of not less than one-third of the total number of members represented at the last Party Congress. Extraordinary Congresses are called at the expiration of two months.

The Congress is to be considered as having full powers if it has representatives from not less than half the members of the Party represented at the last regular Congress. Representation quotas at the Congress and the method of election are decided by the Central Committee.

NOTE.—If it is impossible to call a Congress of the Party the C.C. will call an enlarged Session of the Plenum of the C.C., with the participation of representatives of the Provincial Committees. Such an enlarged Plenum of the C.C. has the right, by arrangement with the C.I., to change the composition of the C.C.

(19) The Congress (a) discusses and confirms the report of the Central Committee; (b) revises and changes the programme and statutes of the Party; (c) decides on the tactical line of the Party on the basic questions of current politics; (d) elects the Central Committee. During the sittings of the Party Congress a small auditing commission has to be elected, which looks through the financial affairs of the past period, and at the end of the

Congress reports the results of its work, and is then dissolved.

(20) The Central Committee is elected by the Congress. In case a member of the Central Committee leaves it, he will be replaced by one of the candidates in the order fixed by the Congress.

NOTE.—The Central Committee has a right to co-opt members to the Central Committee.

(21) The Central Committee organises the Politbureau for current work. The Politbureau appoints a secretary whose task is to guide all the work of the apparatus of the Central Committee, to guide the proper distribution of the Party functionaries and control the fulfilment of the directives of the C.I., the decisions of the Party Congresses, and the Central Committee.

(22) The members of the Central Committee are attached as instructors and representatives of the Central Committee to definite provincial organisations and also divide among themselves the various fields of activity of the Central Committee:—

(a) Editor of the Central Party organ.

(b) A manager of the Central technical apparatus and of distribution of literature.

(c) Treasurer.

(d) Head of the work of Party fractions in the mass organisations.

(e) Head of the special apparatus.

(f) Head of the Party educational department.

NOTE.—According to the concrete conditions of work, the Central Committee can combine some of these functions and give to one person, or set up new departments, etc.

NOTE.—Special work must be entirely separated from the general Party work.

(23) The Central Committee leads the whole work of the Party in the interval between the Congresses, represents the Party in its relations with other organisations and institutions, organises various Party institutions and guides their activity, appoints the editor of the Central organ, confirms the secretaries and editors of Party organs of provincial Party committees, distributes the forces and funds of the Party, and is in charge of the Central funds.

(24) With the aim of strengthening the Bolshevik leadership over the work of the local Party organisations, the Central Committee has the right to create in some parts of the country Regional Bureaux of the Central Committee which would include several provinces, to send representatives and instructors to the localities. The Regional Bureaux of the Central Committee, representatives and instructors of the Central Committee must work on the basis of special instructions laid down every time by the Central Committee or the Politbureau.

(25) The Central Committee regularly informs the Party organisation of its general work by sending out special information bulletins and also by sending members and representatives of the Central Committee to the localities to give reports on its work.

(IV.) THE PROVINCIAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE PARTY

(26) The highest organ of the Provincial Party organisation is the Provincial Party Conference, and in the intervals between Conferences the highest organ is the Provincial Party Committee. In its action it must be guided by the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist Party of India and its leading organs.

NOTE.—The Provincial Committee works on the territory included in the administrative boundaries of the province. It might be formed from the town organisation of the main city of the province. When the town organisation of the provincial centre gets strong enough, the town committee, while maintaining the functions of the leading organ for the town Party organisation, takes on for a time, till a proper Provincial Committee is built, the rights and duties of the Provincial Committee and develops its work in the administrative limits of the province, beginning with the chief industrial centres.

(27) The regular Provincial Conference is called by the Provincial Party Committee if possible once in six months. Extraordinary Conferences are called at the decision of the Provincial Committee or on the decision of one-third of the total number of members of the Provincial organisation, providing consent of Central Committee is given.

Quotas of representation and the manner of election to the Provincial Conference are fixed every time by the Provincial Committee.

The Provincial Party Conference discusses and confirms the

report of the work of the Provincial Committee, and elects the Provincial Committee of five members and two candidates, and delegates to the All-Indian Communist Party Congress.

(28) The Provincial Committee appoints a secretary and an assistant. The secretary of the Provincial Committee carries on current work, directs the apparatus of the Provincial Committee, directs the proper distribution of Party workers and ensures the fulfilment of the decisions of the Provincial Party Conference, the Provincial Committee, and the directives of the Central Committee of the Party. The secretaries of each Provincial Committee are confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party. The Provincial Committee gives regular reports on its work to the C.C. on the date and in forms as established by the Central Committee.

(29) In order better to carry out the tasks which face the Provincial Committee, and to ensure the proper leadership of the work of the local Party organisations, the members of the Provincial Party Committee are attached to definite districts of the province and divide among themselves the functions of the Provincial Committee, such as:—

(a) Editor of the provincial organ (confirmed by the C.C. of the Party).

(b) The manager of the provincial technical apparatus and the organiser of the distribution of literature.

(c) Treasurer.

(d) Head of the work of the fractions in mass organisations.

(e) Head of the special apparatus.

(f) Head of the Party educational department.

NOTE.—According to the concrete conditions of the work, the Provincial Committee may combine several of these functions in one comrade, form new functions, etc., or appoint comrades outside of the committee members to carry such work as technical apparatus, subordinating him directly to the secretary.

(30) The Provincial Committee leads all the work of the provincial organisation in the intervals between Provincial Conferences, represents the provincial organisation of the Party in relations with other organisations and institutions, organises various provincial Party institutions and guides their activity, appoints the editors of the provincial newspapers, confirms the secretaries and editors of district organs, distributes the forces and funds of the provincial organisation, and has charge of the provincial treasury.

(31) With the aim of strengthening the proper leadership of the local organisations and ensuring a more thorough check-up on the fulfilment of decisions, the Provincial Committee has the right to send representatives and instructors to the localities.

(V.) THE TOWN AND LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

(32) In the town and village talukas (for several village communities), town (or local) organisations are formed, with the confirmation of the Provincial Committees. The highest organ of the town (or local) Party organisation is the town (or local) Conference. The town (or local) Party Conference is called by the town (or local) Party Committee, if possible every six months. Extraordinary Conferences are called on the decision of the town (or local) committee, or at the demand of one-third of the total number of members in the town (or local) organisation.

The town (or local) Conference discusses and confirms the report of the town (or local) committee, elects the town (or local) committee of five members and two candidates, and delegates to the Provincial Party Conference.

(33) The town (or local) committee elects a secretary (to be confirmed by the Provincial Committee), organises and confirms cells and fractions in mass organisations, organises the collection of membership dues, organises various Party institutions and commissions within the limits of the town (locality) and guides their activity, appoints the editor of the town (locality) Party organ (to be confirmed by the Provincial Committee), guides the work of the cells and fractions in the lower ranks of the mass organisations, distributes the forces and funds of the Party within the limits of the town (locality), and has charge of the town (or local) funds.

(34) In order better to carry out the tasks which face the town (or local) committee, the members of the town (or local) committee are attached to definite cells and fractions in mass organisations as representatives or instructors of the committee, and also distribute among themselves the chief functions of the apparatus of the town (or local) committees, such as:—

(a) The editor of the town (or local) organ.

(b) The leader of the town (or local) technical apparatus and the distribution of literature.

(c) The treasurer.

(d) The head of the work of the fractions in mass organisations).

(e) The head of the special work.

NOTE.—According to the concrete conditions of the work, the town (or local) committee may combine several of these functions in one person, form new functions, etc. The special work has to be entirely separated from the general Party work.

(f) The town (or local) committee will give regular reports on its work to the Provincial Committee on the dates and in the forms which are fixed every time by the Provincial Committee.

(VI.) THE SECTION COMMITTEES IN THE BIG CITIES

(35) In the big towns, with the permission of the C.C., section organisations are formed under the control of the town committee, and work under its direction. The section organisations of big towns will work according to the rules for town organisations.

(VII.) CELLS

(36) The basis of the Party is the factory cell. These cells are formed in factories, mills, big farms, units, institutions, etc., if there are not less than three Party members. Besides the factory cells in the mills, chawl and street cells are organised from among the Party members who cannot be in factory cells—like small handicraftsmen and traders, housewives, etc. In the village, village cells are organised. Special cells act on the basis of special instructions of the Central Committee. The cells are confirmed by the local or town committees.

NOTE.—Each group of class-conscious workers, poor peasants, and other toilers can on their own initiative organise a Party cell and begin Communist work among the masses. Such Party cells which are organised on the initiative of non-Party class-conscious workers can be accepted into the Party by the town or local Party committee according to the statutes after a careful personal investigation of the membership both in respect to political views and in respect to honesty and loyalty to the cause of the revolution.

(37) In big factories, in order to adapt to conditions of underground existence, separate department cells are organised and, through cell organisers, form a joint unit.

(38) The cell links up the workers, peasants, and others with the leading organs of the Party. Its tasks are:—

(1) Agitational and organisational work among the masses for the Party slogans and decisions.

(2) The attraction of sympathisers and new members and their political education.

(3) The publication of a factory paper.

(4) Assistance to the town (or local) committee in its everyday organisational and agitational work.

(5) Active participation as a Party unit in the economic and political life of their factory and city and also of the whole country, active participation in the discussion and solution and carrying out of all general Party questions.

(39) In order to carry on the current work, the cell elects a secretary, who is confirmed by the town (or local) committee. The members of the cell distribute among themselves various duties in the factory: (1) collection of membership dues; (2) publication and distribution of the factory Party paper; (3) leadership of the fractions of the factory mass organisations (trade union, sport, cultural, educational, etc.); (4) active work among the toiling masses and recruiting new members; (5) actively carry out the decisions of the cell and higher Party organisations.

(VIII.) FRACTIONS IN MASS ORGANISATIONS

(40) At all Congresses, meetings, and in the elected organs of the mass organisations outside the Party—trade unions, factory committees, peasant organisations, co-operative societies, sport clubs, youth organisations, etc.—where there are not less than three Party members, Party fractions are organised which must function in an organised way, strengthen Party discipline, work to increase the influence of the Party, carry Party policy among non-Party masses. For current work, the fraction elects a secretary.

(41) The fraction is completely controlled by the corresponding Party committee (C.C., provincial committees, town or local committees or nucleus), and on all questions must strictly and

without vacillation carry out the decisions of the Party organisations which lead them.

The fractions of the higher bodies of mass organisations, by agreement with the corresponding Party committee, may send directives to the fractions of the lower bodies of the same mass organisations, and the latter must carry them out without fail as directives from a higher Party organ.

(IX.) INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY AND PARTY DISCIPLINE

(42) The free and business-like discussion of Party policy in the various organisations or in the Party as a whole is the indefeasible right of every member of the Party, arising from inner-Party democracy. Only on the basis of inner-Party democracy can Bolshevik self-criticism be developed and Party discipline strengthened, as the latter should be conscious and not mechanical. But a discussion on questions of Party policy must be developed in such a way that it should not lead to Party organisations or Party workers being exposed to the police terror or to attempts on the part of an insignificant minority to force their views on the vast majority of the Party members and to attempts to form fractional groups which will break the unity of the Party, which will lead to splitting the working class. Therefore, a wide inner-Party discussion can be recognised as necessary, only if:—

(a) This necessity is recognised by at least several big provincial organisations.

(b) If inside the C.C. there is not a sufficiently firm majority on the chief questions of Party policy.

(c) If, despite the existence of a firm majority in the C.C. for a certain point of view, the C.C. nevertheless considers it necessary to verify the correctness of its policy by discussion in the Party.

Only if these conditions are carried out and secrecy is ensured, can the Party be guaranteed against the misuse of inner-Party democracy by anti-Party elements. Only on these conditions can we reckon on inner-Party democracy being useful for the cause and not being utilised to damage the Party and the working class. Discussion must take place under the strong leadership of the C.C., and in the localities under the leadership of the provincial town (or local) committees.

(43) The preservation of the unity of the Party, a merciless struggle against the slightest attempts at factional struggle and splits, the strictest Party discipline, are the first duties of all members of the Party and all Party organisations. In order to bring about the strictest discipline inside the Party and secure the greatest unity while removing all factions, the C.C. has the right to apply all Party penalties to the point of expulsion from the Party in cases of violations of discipline or the existence of fractions.

(44) The decisions of the leading Party organs must be carried out exactly and rapidly. Failure to carry out the decisions of higher organisations and other actions which are recognised as crimes against the Party will be dealt with as follows: For a local organisation: censure and a general re-registration (disbanding the organisation); for individual Party members: various forms of censure (public rebuke, reprimand, etc.), public censure, temporary removal from responsible work, expulsion from the Party.

All Party organisations from the cell upwards have the right to inflict Party penalties. In order to carry on a preliminary investigation of the activity of Party members, Party committees may set up in individual cases if it be necessary temporary investigation committees, whose conclusions later must be confirmed by the Party committee.

(X.) THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE PARTY

(45) The financial resources of the Party and its organisations are comprised of membership dues, income from Party undertakings, and other incomes.

(46) The monthly membership dues for Party members are as follows: . . . ; unemployed members of the Party are exempt from the payment of membership dues.

(47) On entering the Party an entrance fee of . . . must be paid.

(48) The C.C. decides what proportion of the membership dues will remain at the disposal of the cell, and how much will be put at the disposal of the town (or local) committee, provincial committee, and the C.C.

In the International

Foreign Journalists Interview Comrade Dimitrov

Moscow, end of April, 1934.

A group of foreign journalists have had the opportunity of visiting Georgi Dimitrov. Your correspondent reports as follows on this visit:—

Georgi Dimitrov received us in the sanatorium in the neighbourhood of Moscow, where he is staying at present. He receives very few visits, because his time is fully taken up with work on the book he is writing on his recollections of the Reichstag Trial. He wants to complete the manuscript by the beginning of May.

The first question we asked him naturally referred to the trial. "Now that you are free and have the opportunity of thinking over the whole of the proceedings, you can express yourself more freely and precisely than it was possible at the trial. What is your final opinion now regarding Van de Lubbe?"

Dimitrov considered for a moment.

"In my opinion the trial confirmed the conclusion I had come to regarding Van de Lubbe. That is quite clear to me since I have here gone through material from various sources. I have no reason to alter my standpoint: Lubbe was an unwittingly mis-used tool in the hands of the Nazis, who made use of him for the purposes of their political provocations."

"What is your opinion of the campaign which was conducted abroad in connection with the trial?" I asked.

"Already during the preliminary examination and at the trial I realised that much was being done on my behalf abroad. In the meantime I have seen that in many countries, under the leadership of our Parties, a whole mass movement was set going. That the campaign was a very broad one is proved by the fact that not only the workers, but also the middle strata and the intelligentsia took part in it."

"I believe," I interposed, "that there has seldom been such a broad campaign on an international issue."

"I think," replied Dimitrov, "that this solidarity proved that the masses were interested not so much in the persons of the accused. The great interest of the workers and also of other sections of the public was an expression of the satisfaction with our fight against fascism in Germany and the desire to take part actively in this fight."

"I believe that this was in a very great measure due to your courageous attitude."

"It is true at the trial I fought energetically, consistently, and ruthlessly right up to the end. You speak of courage, of my heroic attitude before the Court, of having 'no fear of death.' Do you know, that is not a personal heroism; it is at bottom an attribute of Communism, of the revolutionary proletariat, of the Bolsheviks. The bourgeois class is no longer able from its own ranks to display real courage and heroism. It is a class which is perishing and has no future."

"You probably know that in all countries a great number of social-democratic workers were roused to enthusiasm by your behaviour."

"Yes, they did much to secure our release. These social-democratic workers, however, should ask themselves a question: Why has the social democracy no heroic leaders? How is that? There is only one explanation: the social democracy is drawn in the wake of the bourgeoisie; by its theory and practice it is a tool of the bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore, just like the bourgeoisie itself, it cannot have any really heroic and courageous leaders."

"What conclusion, in your opinion, must one draw from this?"

"One of the most important conclusions is that only in the common fight along with the Communist workers can the social-democratic workers successfully conduct the fight against the bourgeoisie. Up to now many of the social-democratic workers have not gone further than to sympathise with us. But sympathy is not enough; it must be converted into an active fight against the bourgeoisie and fascism, into a united fight conducted by the socialist, christian, and non-party workers, together with the Communist workers. But you can tell your workers one thing: To fight against fascism means at the same time, and before all things to fight against fascism in their own country. There is no denying that every country has its own Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels in

embryo. It does not suffice merely to rally one's forces and to wait for a definite moment to strike when it is already too late. In Holland, too, the fight must be conducted. One must fight against all symptoms of fascism; daily, hourly, in the factories, in the streets, among the unemployed, at the meetings, one must bar the road of the fascists. In this question all workers must turn their attention to preventing fascism from having any chance of growth, of getting workers and peasants under its influence. One must proceed against fascism step for step and blow for blow."

"You are convinced, then, that fascism can be prevented?"

"Yes, certainly! If the social-democratic workers in Germany had, together with the Communist workers, proceeded against fascism in good time, step for step, if they had not so blindly followed their leaders, then we should certainly have no fascist dictatorship now. The German example should be a lesson to the workers in all countries. But one must draw the lesson from this example already now."

"We shall see to that. But at the same time what can one do directly for the German anti-fascists?"

"Hundreds and thousands of the best workers and fighters of the German proletariat are to-day in prison and in the concentration camps; their lives are in constant danger. This applies, before all, to the leader of the German revolutionary working class, Comrade Ernst Thaelmann. I shall never tire of repeating that it is a matter of honour for the proletariat of all countries to do everything, to exert all its forces in order to free the leader of the German working class, Ernst Thaelmann, from the hands of the fascist hangmen."

"Have you any idea of how Thaelmann is getting on?"

"I saw Thaelmann three times while I was under arrest. On two of these occasions he did not see me, but a third time, in October, when the trial had been transferred to Berlin, he recognised me. I saw him from the corridor in his cell. I greeted him, and he replied. He was in good spirits in spite of the rigorous imprisonment. The last news regarding his treatment is very serious."

"What do you think will happen to him?"

"They will undoubtedly attempt to destroy him physically and mentally. One must bear in mind that it will be much more difficult to secure the release of Thaelmann and the other German comrades than it was to secure our release."

Dimitrov's eyes flashed, he raised his voice: "It is necessary to show clearly that Thaelmann is the clearest and best head of the German proletariat, one of the best leaders of the international proletariat, and is a great asset for toiling humanity. Say everywhere that it is a question of honour for all men and women who stand for art, science, and culture—real culture. Those who now sit and do not move a finger to rescue Thaelmann share the responsibility for his fate. In our case Hitler and Goering, the fascist hangmen, were forced to retreat. Thaelmann can be rescued only by a gigantic moral and political campaign in the whole world, which will also greatly strengthen the fight of the German proletariat. I am convinced that the feeling in Germany itself greatly helped to secure our release. Such a feeling was created that it penetrated deep into the ranks of the Nazis. Finally, the pressure from outside and from within was so great that the Nazis could no longer detain us. This is still more necessary in the fight for the release of Comrade Thaelmann."

"You have spoken of mental and physical destruction. How did the Nazis treat you in prison?"

"The instructions from above, from the investigating judge, were very strict. They wanted to reduce us to physical and moral wrecks. It was for this purpose that we were ordered to be put in fetters. I was kept in fetters day and night for five months, from April 3 to August 31. The fetters consisted of heavy steel arm-bands, which were held close together by two links. On this point the Nazi authorities acted directly contrary to the law. In the orders relating to criminal procedure, paragraph 116, it is expressly stated that hand fetters may be used only if a prisoner has made an attempt to escape or commit suicide, or if he is dangerous to other persons. None of these three cases applied to me. This fettering is something which cannot be described, one

must have experienced it in order to realise what it means to be in fetters for months. I would say that an execution is easier to bear than this fettering of the hands."

"And how did you manage, in spite of this, to hold out and show such strength and courage at the trial?"

Dimitrov smiled. "Do you know, a revolutionary, a Bolshevik, must not die. He must in any case live and fight. He who is filled with this idea can stand the most rigorous measures. And one must not only hold out, one must also endeavour to make good use as far as possible of the time spent in prison, even when in fetters. One never knows whether one may not be released at the twelfth hour. One must prepare oneself for this eventuality in order to go into the fight not as an invalid, but with increased strength. This is the attitude to which I firmly adhered right from the beginning."

Dimitrov pointed to a pile of exercise books. "See here," he said, "these are my extracts and notes, made while reading in prison. I worked about ten hours every day, and I have studied especially German history and world history."

"Did you really think yourself that you would be freed?"

"The prospect of release was for me a big question mark. If I can express it in figures, I would say that for a long time the possibility of being released was for me only about one per cent."

"Whom do you consider to be your chief opponent at the trial?"

"The chief opponent was the national socialist government. The Public Prosecutor was only acting on their instructions. But my anger was directed much less against Dr. Werner and Dr. Parisius, the direct agents of Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels than against the so-called defenders, especially Dr. Sack. The Public Prosecutors simply fulfilled their task as 'faithful' officials, but Dr. Sack, who was supposed to be a lawyer and defender, was the direct political agent of the fascist hangmen. He took the most base advantage of the difficult situation of his client, Torgler, and in fact misused it for his dirty political purposes, to justify the Nazis, the real Reichstag incendiaries, and to discredit Communism. I can say quite openly that while I was in prison I suffered great mental and physical torture on account of the hand fetters and the cunning chicanery, but that was nothing compared with the moral suffering I had to endure owing to the fact that a Communist was defended by such a man as this Dr. Sack. This circumstance rendered it very difficult for me to conduct my political defence properly before the Court. And this applies also to the other accused."

"The way in which you defended yourself, however, called forth universal admiration. Many people were of the opinion that you are an exceedingly well-read and well-educated man."

"It is true I have studied a great deal. Every revolutionary should do that. But it is not sufficient to have only theoretical training. It is absolutely necessary for our Communist leaders to make a close study of Marxism-Leninism, of the writings of Lenin and Stalin. But theoretical study alone is not sufficient. It is particularly necessary that one should be steeled in the constant fight in the ranks of the masses in legal and illegal activity, in the constant overcoming of difficulties and dangers of the daily struggle, and so acquire a firm, revolutionary character and will. The interest of the revolutionary class, the cause of Communism must become part of one's flesh and blood."

"Many journalists who were present at the trial were surprised that you did not think at all of defending and saving your own person."

"There can be not only no contradiction, but also no difference between the cause and the person of the revolutionary. I could say, for example, Dr. Teichert shall defend me as a 'man,' and as a Communist I shall defend myself. I cannot imagine myself divided into halves; at one time a human being and another time a Communist. Such a thing is impossible. The 'Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten' once wrote: 'Dimitrov is the programme of the Communist International become flesh.' I cannot think of a better description of myself. That should be the aim of every Communist."

This concluded our interview with Comrade Dimitrov.

Declaration by Ch. Rakovsky to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

In this letter I request you to reinstate me in the rights of a member of the C.P.S.U.

In my telegram of February 17 of this year I declared my agreement with the general line of the Party and my complete and unconditional subordination to the decisions of the Party Congress and to Party discipline.

I hereby beg that it be considered that differences of opinion no longer separate me from the Party, that I fully and absolutely approve of the general line, and also that I have broken irrevocably with counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.

* * * * *

My return to the positions of the Party, to the Leninist positions, is not sudden or accidental. My realisation of my profound errors is the result of the experience which I gained in the course of the time when I stood in the ranks of the Trotskyist opposition. It is a realisation resulting from the fundamental changes which have taken place in the country during this period, proving the correctness of the Party line. And, finally, it is the result of the changes in the international situation.

In my telegram I pointed to the role played by the growth of international reaction in changing my whole attitude, and in causing me to recognise that my attitude had been false, and was directed in the last resort against the achievements of the October Revolution and against socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

Having myself taken part in the struggle of the Party and the working class for the establishment and consolidation of the Soviet power—I could not remain indifferent in view of the development of events in the Far East—described by Comrade Stalin at the last Party Congress as an “atmosphere of unrest and uncertainty.”

The situation with which we have been faced, and are still faced, is indeed not one of the incidents to which we have become accustomed in the history of our relations to foreign countries; we are confronted by a new international situation, different in principle, and pregnant with great dangers.

Besides this, the events taking place in Central Europe for over a year, and the bloody episode recently occurring in Austria, represent phenomena of a new character. They bear witness to the extraordinary aggravation of the national and class antagonisms brought about by the acute crisis which decaying capitalism is passing through. All signs go to show that we have actually entered the fresh series of wars and revolutions repeatedly prophesied by Lenin, a period in which the question of the victory of socialism is raised in a number of capitalist countries, and our country will inevitably be exposed to severe ordeals.

The Soviet power, when it first came into being, victoriously repulsed the attempts made by the capitalist coalition to restore the regime of the landowners and capitalists on the territory of former Russia. And now the Soviet Union will repulse similar attempts with even greater success, for the defensive capacity of the proletarian country has grown immeasurably since this time, especially since the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan. The growth of the economic, political, and military power of the Soviet Union, the growth of its revolutionary authority among the toiling masses of the whole world and of its importance in international diplomatic relations—attained by the persistent peaceful and simultaneously decisive policy of the Soviet Union—and the resolute determination of the country to ward off with its utmost forces any attempt at an invasion of the territory of the Soviet Union—all this has increased the chances of the maintenance of peace in general and for us in particular.

The acuter the struggle becomes for the sources of raw materials, for the markets and for territory for colonisation, the radicalisation of the masses is increasing, and the more the imperialists are striving to find a way out of the antagonisms surrounding them by means of fascising the State and waging war outside of it. With the increase of armaments, with the growth of chauvinist agitation, with the application of the sharpest repressive measures against the labour movement, the adventurous and military elements, supported by the magnates of heavy industry, are gaining influence and power.

These antagonisms are further increased by the growing contrast between socialist planned economy, with its steady increase in the prosperity of the toiling masses, on the one hand, and

anarchist capitalism on the other, with its unemployment and poverty. The victorious development of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is attracting more and more the sympathies and hopes of the international proletariat, and is increasing at the same time the hate and rage of international imperialism.

We have already witnessed the carrying on of open propaganda for a war against the Soviet Union, for a “preventive war” which is to “stem” the expansion of Communism, and for a war of conquest intended to wrest this or that border district from the Soviet country.

Before our eyes military bases are being established in the Far East for the coming belligerent actions against the Soviet Union. The newspapers frequently publish reports on endeavours to conclude diplomatic compromises intended to lead to the international isolation of the Soviet Union.

Fascism, gaining fresh ground, endeavours to reconcile the national antagonisms, and to create a united ideological front against the Soviet Union as the preliminary to a joint war front against the Soviet Union.

The whole Soviet Union supports the peace policy of our government, it welcomes every step taken towards the consolidation of diplomatic and commercial relations with bourgeois States. But we are Marxists, and know that in a capitalist State of society, especially in its imperialist stage, peace is only a pause for breath, and war the normal condition. And we know, too, that such guarantees of peace as pacts of friendship, treaties on good neighbourly relations and neutrality, and even actual alliance pacts, become mere scraps of paper at certain moments.

Under the influence of international events, I arrived at the conclusion that I must revise once more, and very attentively, my fundamental differences of opinion with the Party. Since I recognised my errors, I felt that I should ask to be allowed to return to the ranks of the fighters who are fulfilling the tasks imposed by history on the Party of the Bolsheviki-Communists. To do this is the duty of every oppositional former member of the Party who has not ceased to feel himself at one with the ideology of the Party. And it is especially my duty.

Many comrades will know that I joined the Party after taking an active part for decades in the life of the socialist labour movement of other countries. I should be betraying my internationalist past were I to carry disorganisation into the ranks of the revolutionary Communist army by my example and activities in the present situation.

* * * * *

For a long time I had felt much uncertainty with regard to the correctness of the views of the opposition.

The conceptions formed of the Five-Year Plan by the oppositions of every shade and trend were extremely pessimistic; one may say that they reckoned on defeat. The oppositionals announced the collapse of the general line of the Party. Reality has completely refuted their expectations. The Party, instead of suffering defeat, has overcome the difficulties and gained victory on victory. And every fresh achievement, especially in socialist agriculture—the touchstone of the whole Five-Year Plan—deprived the opposition of one theoretical and practical foothold after another.

Every one of us who is not blinded by fractional passions is bound to acknowledge the complete victory of the general line. Facts demonstrate it. And the further events develop, the more evident becomes the profound political ability shown by the leadership of the Party, headed by Comrade Stalin. Especially in the new international situation this fact is self-evident.

It must be definitely acknowledged that in consequence of the victorious fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan the strategic situation of the Soviet Union has fundamentally changed. In order to understand this, it suffices to point to the fact that international imperialism, in its intervention plans, has been calculating on a technical backwardness in our economy, upon a kulak strata dreaming of capitalist restoration, and upon peasant anarchy.

International imperialism has been calculating on the interests of the small owner, on his dream of the stabilisation of the private ownership of land, on his strivings for freedom of trading at home and abroad, and has hoped that the main masses of the peasantry would be separated from the proletariat, and the overthrow of the Soviet Power thus attained with ease and rapidity.

This dream is now over.

The Five-Year Plan changed the technical and economic structure of the country, and at the same time it fundamentally

changed the relations of class forces. The Soviet Union has been transformed from an agrarian country to an industrial country with highly-developed technics. The enormous growth of industry, of the transport service, of trade, etc., has increased the specific weight of the proletariat in general and of the industrial proletariat in particular, and has therewith broadened the material and the class basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Five-Year Plan liquidated the kulak as a class, and therewith deprived international imperialism of the basis upon which it was calculating, in order to be able to organise an uprising in the hinterland of the Red Army, when the interventionist plans of the imperialists were put into practice. The Five-Year Plan abolished the antagonisms between small private agricultural enterprises and socialist industry. It transformed agricultural work, by means of collectivisation, aided by growing mechanisation, into a kind of industrial work, and consolidated the alliance between the two main forces of the Soviet Power.

The Five-Year Plan, which liquidated unemployment in the towns, and saved the peasants from the acute crisis which ruined hundreds of millions of peasants in other countries, has secured for the peasantry prosperous and cultural lives.

The Five-Year Plan has confirmed the fact that only by means of socialist economy it is possible to find a way out of the chaos of that capitalist economy which plunges humanity into exploitation, unemployment, starvation, slavery, and bloody wars which are recurring with the regularity of natural laws.

That old dream of the toiling masses, which they have dreamed ever since the development of exploitation, oppression, and the class struggle: of the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, the conversion of these means into the socialised property of the workers themselves, and the liquidation of classes—this has become the concrete and actual task of the greatest State of the world.

How did it come about that the Party had to take up the struggle not only with the hostile bourgeoisie, but at the same time against the various deviations in its own ranks, and especially against the Trotskyist fraction? In what did we miscalculate, what were the errors which misled us, who thought ourselves to be Communists and were members of the Party, into the camp of the enemies of the general line of the Party? This question applies especially to myself, for I continued to carry on the oppositional struggle even after the Zinoviev-Trotskyist opposition had been completely shattered between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Party Congresses, and the majority of its adherents saw themselves obliged to admit their errors.

The opposition to which I belonged passed through two stages of ideological degeneration. Before the Five-Year Plan it came forward with "Left" slogans, but during the period of the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan it became apparent that the conceptions concealed behind these "Left" slogans were essentially of the Right, though drawing a sharp line of demarcation from the Right in words.

In the document known by the name of "The Platform of the 13," from which I now withdraw my name publicly, we accused the Party leaders of giving way to the kulaks and the Nep men. Even after the Fifteenth Party Congress, and after the Sixteenth Party Conference, we continued to maintain that the leaders would resort to an ultra-Right policy as a means of escape from the failures which we anticipated.

In actual fact it has been the Trotskyist opposition which has developed towards the Right, and the Party was entirely correct in stigmatising the accusation of the opposition as a slander against the Party leaders and the Party.

Whilst still in the ranks of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, we of the opposition protested when the Party refused to accept our Utopian and petty bourgeois programme in the peasant question. An attempt to carry out this programme would have brought disastrous results. At a time when the Party was endeavouring to liquidate the last remnants of war Communism, at a time when the restoration of national economy, including the restoration of peasant economy, had just been concluded, and the means were concentrated in the hands of the State making a successful attack on the last remnants of capitalism in town and country possible, the measures proposed by us would have led to economic and political chaos.

I need only recall the proposal of the opposition to impose a compulsory levy of 500 million poods of grain on the well-to-do

peasantry. Under the circumstances then obtaining in our rural districts, such a compulsory levy would not only have been impossible of execution, but would have resulted in a diminution of the area cultivated. This would have led to a falling off in the raw material resources of the industry, to the disorganisation of the home markets, to the decline of export—in a word, to the destruction of the balance of the economic system. The political consequences of such a measure would have been no less disastrous. There would certainly have been a weakening of the alliance between the proletariat and the main masses of the peasantry, and the measure would have driven the middle peasants into the arms of the kulaks.

Similar consequences would have resulted from the realisation of another slogan advanced by the opposition: the organisation of leagues of the poor peasantry on the pattern of the old committee of the poor peasantry in the R.S.F.S.R. and in the Ukraine, which were, however, formed under quite different historical conditions.

At the time when the Party, whilst promoting the industrialisation of the country with intensest energy, proceeded to the building up of a great socialist agriculture, and initiated for this purpose the offensive against the capitalist elements in the rural districts and the liquidation of the kulak as a class on the basis of collectivisation, the Trotskyist opposition became frightened by the aggravation of the class struggle, and opposed the general line of the Party.

A survey taken of the attitude of the opposition, in the light of history, shows that objectively it gave expression to the resistance of petty bourgeois anarchy against socialism. To-day this can be established as an incontestable historical fact. With this attitude the opposition showed its inability to comprehend the Leninist thesis of the role played by the proletariat as leader of the peasantry in the transformation of petty bourgeois economy, that is to say, its lack of understanding for the essential character of the dictatorship of the proletariat in such an agrarian country as the Soviet Republic represented till recently.

The Trotskyist opposition stood with both feet on the ground of the theory, criticised by itself, of the peaceful growing of the kulaks into socialism.

The fundamental theoretical error of the Zinoviev-Trotskyist opposition, its heel of Achilles, is the thesis of the impossibility of building up socialism in one country. This thesis played the most negative role of all in the whole ideology of the opposition both before and since the Fifteenth Party Congress.

To-day, after the experience gained in the first Five-Year Plan, this theory has already been completely refuted by actual practice, after it has been theoretically refuted in particular by Comrade Stalin. Now it is difficult to understand how we, who knew the Leninist law of the inequality of the development of capitalism, who shared the view of the Party that the proletariat can seize power in one single country as it did in Russia, and who accepted the standpoint of the Party that the proletariat can establish its dictatorship in such a country and proceed to the organisation of socialist production—now it is difficult to understand how we could erect artificial theoretical barriers on the path of the further development of the proletariat.

This anti-Leninist theory, too, may be regarded to-day from the historical standpoint, in order that the origin of the error in logic here committed by the opposition may be ascertained.

Speaking for myself, I have realised that we adherents of the opposition committed very serious methodological errors in this discussion. We never put ourselves the question of what was to be actually understood by socialism. We confused the socialist state of society, in which a State power still exists, with the Communist state of society in which the State Power dies out. Triumphantly we proclaimed the a priori logical impossibility of the existence of such a state of society under the condition of capitalist encirclement.

But the Party literature, especially the works of Comrade Stalin, dealt with this question from the very beginning with scientific exactness.

Given the proletarian dictatorship, given a correct political line on the part of the proletarian vanguard, and given the revolutionary determination of this vanguard, the building up of socialism in one country is a practical task, that is to say, a task whose accomplishment depends on the economic, political, cultural and other conditions. Comrade Stalin has stressed, inter alia, that with this conception we do not mean a miniature State such as the one time Montenegro for instance, but a country having at its disposal

the necessary prerequisites for an independent existence and development.

If these criteria are applied to the Soviet Union, it must be universally admitted that our land must be counted among those States possessing the maximum of favourable conditions for the building up of socialism. The opposition, which definitely denied this possibility, hampered thereby the advance of the Party and of the proletariat to socialism, and actually left the work of accomplishing this task to the majority which it combated.

The opposition sought its pseudo-arguments against the general line of the Party not only in theories of the description mentioned above, recognised—though unclearly—by the opposition as abstract in character, it also sought its arguments in the difficulties inevitably encountered by the socialist building up of economy in general, and in agriculture in particular.

The solution of such a mighty problem, of such a task as had never yet been set a political organisation in all history, was bound to arouse a counter-action on the part of the well-to-do section of the rural population and of the N.E.P. men in the cities, and to encounter a certain inertia in the State apparatus.

The novelty of the tasks themselves, the lack of necessary experience, naturally led to vacillations and errors in many places with regard to the choice of the actual suitable methods and forms, and this again led to temporary hindrances and set-backs.

The penetration of a socialist-planned system into the foundations of the whole of national economy is something which can only be realised in the course of a number of years.

The Trotskyist opposition speculated on the difficulties, on the aggravation of the social antagonisms, on the shortcomings in various branches of economy, on the deficiencies of supplies to the workers, and prophesied failure for the general line. The economic results of 1933, especially in the country, have destroyed the defeatist illusions of the opposition. These results have proved that the difficulties are not inherent in the general line of the Party, but arise on the contrary from the failure to carry out this line accurately and determinedly. When the directives of the January Plenum of 1933 were carried out with Bolshevik accuracy and determination, this sufficed for the achievement of a fundamental improvement in the situation of the collective and Soviet farms, and of the individual peasant farms.

The country is of course not proof against errors in the future, but only the most incorrigible petty-bourgeois opportunists—not to speak of the direct enemies of the Soviet power—can dream of a return to the individual peasant farm.

It is clear to every Communist that the way of escape from the difficulties and contradictions which may arise in collective agriculture, and in every sphere of socialist economy, lies in the perfecting of the forms of work, in the spread of the socialist attitude towards work, and in the increase of the productivity of labour, in concrete operative leadership, and in an efficient organisation of business accountancy and control.

Revisionism, to which the opposition subordinated the principles of Leninism, was bound to come into conflict with such an important question as that of the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was especially the case in the second period of Trotskyist opposition; that is to say, after its expulsion from the Party. The Five-Year Plan, with its clear Leninist formulation of the fundamental questions of socialist construction, with its setting of tasks of convincing revolutionary boldness, deprived the Trotskyist opposition—as I have already pointed out—of the last appearance of a theoretical basis. In order to save the opposition from final decay, new arguments had to be found against the general line of the Party, and for this purpose not only the economic section of the platform of the opposition was revised, but also the political.

I must admit that a certain and considerable part of the responsibility for this attempt to reorganise the ideological front of the Trotskyist opposition against the Party must be laid at my door.

And I must also admit that my attempt to submit the class conditions and State forms which had developed in our country to an allegedly Marxist-Leninist criticism again revealed the petty-bourgeois ideology of the opposition. The Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition denied in its initial platform that our State is fundamentally a proletarian one, as emphasised in the initial resolutions of the Fifteenth Party Congress. It denied the socialist

character of our State industries. The opposition, in criticising the bureaucratic distortions of our apparatus, forgot that this apparatus, in spite of all its errors, represents “a higher stage of administration in comparison with bourgeois democracy,” a fact once more confirmed by the experiences of the Five-Year Plan.

This ideological line, which I further intensified by a rigid insistence on the positions of the oppositional platform, led on the one hand inevitably into the bog of anarchism, denying the necessity of applying State power for the transformation of the capitalist state of society into a Communist, and on the other hand to Menshevism, which actually rejects the proletarian dictatorship and replaces it by bourgeois-parliamentary democracy.

The experience gained in the Five-Year Plan confirmed once more that the proletariat can only carry on the struggle against the last remnants of the exploiting class when it organises itself as the ruling class, and concentrates in its own hands all the forces of the State power for furtherance and suppression.

To-day, at a time when the social fascists, ignoring the experience gained by actual events, are endeavouring to spread once more among the masses the constitutional illusions of bourgeois parliamentarism, the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat must be defended more determinedly than ever. It must again and again be pointed out that it is only in the Soviet State, which excludes the exploitive elements in town and country from the administration, that a real dictatorship of the proletariat is possible. It is only after the final liquidation of the capitalist classes, accompanied by the resolute suppression of all attempts at a bourgeois restoration, that the initiative of the proletariat and of the whole of the toiling masses can fully develop. It was precisely this universal democracy of the toiling masses which found expression in the Five-Year Plan, a plan fulfilled with the conscious and active participation of dozens of millions of proletarians and peasants. No democracy in history has ever known the participation of the masses in consciously creative work on such a scale. The Five-Year Plan remains the genuine and greatest monument of proletarian democracy.

This does not mean, of course, that we are to close our eyes to the shortcomings of the apparatus, to its tendencies towards bureaucratisation, excrescences, etc., or to the fact that the State itself only plays a temporary part. But the shortcomings of the apparatus can only be remedied by following the path laid down in the Party resolutions, among others the resolutions of the Seventeenth Party Congress.

With regard to the withering away of the State apparatus, and to the gradual diminishing of its activities till its final extinction, these are tasks which do not face us concretely until this State power has fulfilled its task in the transformation of the capitalist state of society into a socialist society.

* * * * *

I must now deal with the struggle of the Trotskyist opposition against that inner-Party regime which the opposition invariably associated with the name of Comrade Stalin.

We brought much bitter feeling into this struggle. This was unjustifiable, for in the first place this Party regime was formed during our collaboration in the Party leadership, and we continued to regard ourselves as the defenders of the organisational principles of Bolshevism.

Our attitude towards the measures taken against us by the Central Committee, and afterwards by the Fifteenth Party Congress, in the maintenance of the unity and discipline of the Party, was chiefly the subjective attitude of people who deem themselves offended.

We considered the organisational principles of Leninism to be right so long as they were not directed against our ideological errors, our petty-bourgeois individualism, and our splitting policy, which aimed at the legalisation of the fractions existing in the Party.

The illusions still retained by the opposition with regard to its line in the question of the inner-Party regime were finally dispelled by the Five-Year Plan.

The Party would not have been able to carry out the enormous task of the radical reconstruction of the economy of the country without adopting an attitude of Bolshevik irreconcilability to all the petty-bourgeois deviations and vacillations, resolutely suppressing them. It would not have been able to carry out its tasks if at the same time the C.C. had not ensured

the observance of a strict revolutionary and "almost military" discipline (as Lenin expressed it), which is demanded from every Bolshevik-Communist in carrying out the decisions of the Party Congresses and other Party instances.

Comrade Stalin personifies this Bolshevik ideological irreconcilability and organisational discipline and unity in word and deed. It was against these principles that the attacks of the opposition were actually directed when they attacked Comrade Stalin personally.

I, personally, one of the last representatives of the opposition, declare that what we formerly considered the deficiencies of Comrade Stalin's leadership are its merits.

I repeat once more, together with the whole Party and the working class: Only by means of having a leader with the ideological irreconcilability, political astuteness and strong will, such as Comrade Stalin, was the Soviet country able to overcome the difficult task of socialist reconstruction.

During the period of my remaining outside the Party, the Trotskyist fraction to which I belonged rolled ever further down the anti-Leninist path. The fraction developed from a petty-bourgeois deviation within the Communist Party into a variety of social democracy, and finally found itself in the camp of counter-revolution.

The realisation of this deplorable truth drove me with ever greater force to seek an issue from this situation. The only possible issue was a resolute and open acknowledgment of my errors.

I call upon all my former partisans who continue to adhere to Trotskyist opinions to follow my example. A careful examination of the radical changes which have taken place in the internal and external situation of our country is sufficient to convince every person who considers himself a Bolshevik of the necessity of such a step. To admit this honestly is not shameful, but the strict duty of every Bolshevik.

Many know that an old personal friendship connects me and L. D. Trotsky. And it is also known that I fought on his side not only during the period of the last few years, but at the time of the trade union discussions, when we failed to realise the necessity of putting an end to war Communism.

My path and Trotsky's now have abruptly diverged. At the present moment when the polarisation of all social classes and forces is occurring, when the world is divided ever more clearly into two hostile camps, when the Comintern and the Party of the Bolshevik Communists of the Soviet Union are in the centre of the revolutionary camp, all attempts to maintain an intermediate position are vain.

For almost seven years I fought against the general line; I fought passionately, blinded by my conviction that my view was the correct one. To-day my aberration is clear to me.

I appeal to the Central Committee with the request to give me the possibility of taking my place in the ranks of those who defend the policy of the Party with unconditional devotion against all opponents, from wherever they may come; the possibility of serving under its flag the cause of the international proletariat.

Ch. Rakovsky.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Moscow Conference of Young Savants

By Our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. Boross

At the entrance of the Moscow University there is a notice: "The First Moscow Conference of Young Savants is being held in the Lenin Auditorium."

In the courtyard of the University there stands the monument of a very old savant, the first great Russian scholar Lomonossov. Lomonossov is famous not only as the father of Russian literature. The story of his life is quite unique. He was the son of a serf, and nevertheless he succeeded in breaking all the chains of class hatred and class prejudice and winning recognition for his great talents. In the old world there were only a very few such exceptional persons who, emerging from the oppressed and exploited classes, thanks to particularly favourable circumstances had the possibility of accomplishing great intellectual work. Of course, even these few exceptions would not have obtained such high honours in a class society if they had not adapted themselves to

this society, if they had not helped to forge a weapon against their own class.

This situation apparently changed in the "democratic" republics in the post-war time. The Ministerial seats and high offices were occupied by former workers of the type of Severing, Ebert, Zoergiebel and their like. It suffices to mention these names in order to realise that this apparent change only meant that the bourgeoisie needed hangmen and prison warders in large numbers from the corrupt sections of the working class itself. But did and does the bourgeoisie therefore give the masses of gifted proletarians the possibility of mental development? No, this would be too dangerous for the bourgeoisie. It did not and does not need the mass of gifted proletarians; it cannot find positions even for the narrow circle of scholars and experts who, for the greater part, have come from the bourgeois class. The gates of science, the gates of the high schools were closed in Weimar Germany, just as they are in Hitler Germany, and in fact in all capitalist countries for the children of workers and peasants. They are closed not only by reason of the high educational fees, but before all by reason of the poverty of the proletarian parents, who are unable to maintain their children while they are studying.

As soon as we enter the main building of the University we find ourselves in the midst of a great crowd of young men and women savants who are preparing to deliver scientific lectures or to hear lectures by their colleagues. One thousand five hundred young savants are here from Moscow alone. One hundred and fifty of them are reading papers to the Conference on their latest scientific works. The official age limit of the delegates to this Conference, organised by the Young Communist League, is 30 years. As one of the organisers of the Conference explained, it is not intended to make a contrast between young and old savants, but this Conference is to constitute a *review* of those intellectual forces of the capital town* which have been produced and steered by the *first Five-Year Plan*.

Whilst the lecturers explained their discoveries and works by chemical formulae, mathematical deductions and difficult technical expressions, the thought was continually running through my mind: What would have become of these highly-educated sons and daughters of workers and peasants if there had been no proletarian revolution. Or, to put the question in another form: What is the fate of the thousands and perhaps even hundreds of thousands of their equally gifted class comrades in the capitalist countries?

"What would have become of me if there had been no revolution?" repeated the 23-year-old savant *Targ*, who in spite of his youth has enriched aero-dynamics with an extremely important theoretical discovery. "It is hard for me to imagine what would have become of me. I have had no experience of the old world. At the time of the victory of our revolution I was only six years old. My father was a *worker*, and in addition a Jew. My father worked at a dredging machine factory in Kovrow. My mother was a day labourer. You can imagine yourself what would have become of me in Tsarist Russia, or what educational possibilities I should have to-day in any capitalist country."

He left me to answer the question, and I, in turn, can safely leave it to the reader to answer. I should only add that Comrade *Targ*, like the thousands of other young scholars in the Soviet Union, was and is being maintained by the proletarian State during the whole of the period of his studies.

I considered it superfluous to put the same question to Comrade *Klimov*, one of the most gifted young geographers and geologists. His life story speaks for itself. He is 32 years old, the son of *poor peasants*. After the outbreak of the revolution he first continued to work as a peasant. He would have become nothing else if the stream of the proletarian revolution had not opened the path of science to him. He has already written a number of scientific works, and he is speaking at the Conference on his important geological researches. Quite modestly he fills up his questionnaire form: Work achieved since the revolution: a year's work on the land; then study until he passed through the University; seven years' pedagogic work; now he is deputy-president of the geological faculty of the Moscow University.

The careers of most of the participants of this remarkable conference are similar to those of Klimov and Targ. The 27-year-

* Similar conferences are being held in other university towns.

old J. T. Eydus, who is reporting on the results of his research work in the sphere of electro-chemistry, is the son of a *worker*. It is hard for me to understand what Comrade *Silajev* is lecturing on in the adjoining hall. But at any rate it has something to do with the discoveries he has made regarding the properties of albumen molecules. He was born in 1906; son of *poor peasants*; member of the Y.C.L.; active participator in social work of various kinds; eminent chemist. Comrade *Eventova*, who has discovered a new substitute for rubber, is the daughter of a *clerk*.

We visit Comrade *Babayeva*, an extremely gifted young woman chemist. She is among the oldest of the young savants, being already 32 years old. She has already published eight scientific works. She is the daughter of a *worker*. Her father was half-illiterate. He had no opportunity of studying, but was filled with eager desire for knowledge. Already in 1905 he gave expression to his protest against his miserable and thwarted life when he distributed revolutionary leaflets, which he himself could hardly read, among his workmates and for which he was persecuted by the Tsarist authorities. When, however, the revolution was victorious he not only learned from his daughter how to read and write correctly, but last year, when he was 62 years old, he came to Moscow in order to attend a course of study for workers. If the revolution had triumphed two or three decades earlier, then, perhaps, old Babajev, who had such a thirst for knowledge, would have become famous in the world of science. Things were much easier for his daughter; not only was the way open for her, but she had behind her the whole care and the whole power of the great proletarian State.

What would have become of them all if there had been no proletarian revolution? Some of them, perhaps, would have managed, at the cost of enormous sacrifices and privations, to attend the University. These "lucky ones" would, in all probability, have shared the fate of those scholars in the capitalist big towns who, with university diplomas in their pockets, are forced to sell picture postcards or newspapers in the streets or simply beg. The overwhelming majority of these young savants and of the many other proletarian savants in the Soviet Union would have been spared this futile study in the University. They would have been beggars without university degrees; they would perhaps have earned their daily bread by breaking stones, tending pigs, or in the best case as objects of exploitation in a capitalist factory. That is the "intellectual freedom" which the capitalist order grants the masses of the exploited, the masses of toilers. What tremendous intellectual forces, what tremendous scientific achievements, what possibilities of progress of humanity are thereby daily and hourly stifled, thwarted and annihilated in the capitalist world! It is hard to imagine. What a wholesale destruction, not only of human beings but also of ideas of use to toiling humanity, is committed every day. One, however, gains a faint idea of it from this Conference of young savants whose discoveries, some of them of world importance, have been possible because their fathers and mothers, in the October revolution, showed the only possible way out of physical and mental misery: the way of the revolutionary fight for the *Soviet Power*!

Book Reviews

Education's Collapse in the U.S.A.

By Jack Hardy (New York)

From time to time there have appeared in the United States various and sundry "studies" of American education. Hitherto these have always been either muckraking in nature, such as Upton Sinclair's *Goose Step and Goslings*, or limping and anæmic diatribes hurled by hypocritical liberal professors and "progressive" educators against this or that shortcoming of method or content. But in the recent pamphlet, *Schools and the Crisis*, by Rex David*, no time is wasted either in groans or tears, and for the first time in America the educational system is subjected to the penetrating searchlight of Marxian analysis and criticism.

* *Schools and the Crisis*, by Rex David. International Pamphlets, N.Y. City (48 pp.). 10 cents.

In a simple, lucid and convincing manner, David reveals the basic inter-relationship between the economic order of society and the ideological superstructure, of which the educational system is a fundamental and integral cog. It is no mere accident that bankers and business men not only hold the purse-strings which control educational budgets, but also "direct and control what shall be taught" so that "no public school in the United States dares to teach the truth about the struggle between workers and employers." The schools have as their major objective the making of "good Americans," for which purpose liberal doses of religion, glorification of war, direct militarisation of the youth through R.O.T.C. units and the idealisation of standards of unthinking obedience are all made to play their respective roles. Teachers who do not conform to these tenets are discharged. Protesting students are attacked by police and frequently beaten and jailed. The pamphlet is replete with specific examples of all these phenomena.

It was, of course, inevitable that the economic crisis should have carried the educational system in its wake. Not, as Rex David amply demonstrates by facts and figures, that the working-class child ever did enjoy the much vaunted "equality of educational opportunity" even in the best of times. But since the crisis the collapse of the schools has become more catastrophic and dramatic—2,000 rural schools did not open in 1933; 20,000 schools were closed by April 1, 1934; 2,280,000 children of school age are not in school at all.

Like the children, the teachers have been having a steady barrage hurled against them by those who now control educational destinies. 200,000 are jobless. Those who remain at work are having their wages cut steadily, their classes increased in size, their assignments continually increased. Payless pay-days have already cost teachers over 40,000,000 dollars in unpaid salaries—salaries that averaged under 1,000 dollars each in 1933-34.

A valuable section of David's pamphlet demonstrates the parallel which the increased exploitation and discrimination of the Negro race finds in the educational system. "Where Negroes are the majority of the population, for every 100 dollars spent on the education of each white child, only 25 dollars has been paid out for the education of each Negro child." And the duration of the school year in Negro schools is only a fourth to two-thirds of that of white schools. Salaries of Negro teachers averaged only 388 dollars in 1930.

All of this at a time when the leisure class is spending \$2.61 for luxuries against every dollar spent on schools. And when the total military appropriations for 1933-34 are over a milliard dollars. The slogan raised in the pamphlet, "Schools instead of Battleships," takes on a meaning of stark reality when presented against this kind of a background.

Thus in kaleidoscopic fashion David lays bare every factor of the educational breakdown. He contrasts this with the Soviet Union where, paralleling the gigantic economic advances, education is going forward as though in seven-league boots. Illiteracy has been reduced from 70 per cent. in 1913 to less than 10 per cent. in 1933. From 1927 to 1932 the number of children in kindergartens and pre-schools increased 14 times. More than 26,000,000 children are regularly going to school in 1934. Over 80 per cent. of those enrolled in the higher schools receive allowances which make it economically possible for them to continue their studies. In 1932, when retrenchment was in full blast in this country, teachers' salaries in the Soviet Union were increased 33 per cent. In contrast to unemployment here, there is a shortage of trained teachers in the only land where the workers and peasants rule.

David's pamphlet presents a carefully-considered practical programme for the defence of the schools which, it is convincingly shown, must be fought for through methods of mass action. And the hampering, defeatist tactics of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the A.F. of L., as well as other organisations which pretend to fight, are very thoroughly exposed.

Rex David has done an excellent job. It is to be hoped that this first serious analysis of American education will receive widespread study by parents, teachers and all others vitally concerned with the defence of the nation's schools.

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