

INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 14 No. 34

PRESS

15th June, 1934

CORRESPONDENCE

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The Dress Rehearsal for the Thaelmann Trial

The Rescue of Comrade Kuntz is the Precondition for the Rescue of Comrade Thaelmann

The trial, which commenced on June 4, of the former member of the Berlin District Party Committee, Comrade Albert Kuntz—a trial in which twenty-three other men and one woman are involved—is of greater importance in regard to the principle at stake than the other trials which have taken place hitherto and which commenced in the judgment hall and ended at the executioner's block with the beheading of the brave workers who were devoted heart and soul to the cause of their class. Up to now the accused in the trials were charged by the prosecution with "taking part in attacks." In the trial of Albert Kuntz and his comrades, which is based on the events which took place in Buelow Platz on August 1, 1931, when the police officers Anlauf and Lenk were shot, the charges are brought not against the persons alleged to be the perpetrators, regarding whom the Indictment expressly states that they have escaped abroad, but against the member of the Berlin District Party Committee, who is to be made responsible for the collisions and its consequences.

If the Prosecution succeeds in handing Comrade Kuntz over to the executioner, then not only will another perfectly innocent person be cruelly murdered, but it will be tantamount at the same time to a death sentence on thousands and thousands of functionaries of the C.P.G., before all, however, on the leader of the Party, Ernst Thaelmann, whom the Public Prosecutor will make responsible for all victims of the defensive fights against the police and fascist terror.

It is true, for the time being the charge is brought "only" against the alleged head of the terrorist group. A man named Klaus, who since 1932 has acted as a police spy, and who now is formally made to figure as one of the accused in order to be the better able to incriminate the other accused, is being brought forward as a witness for the prosecution. He brazenly declares that Comrade Kuntz, together with Comrade Kippenberger, was the political leader of the terrorist group and personally conducted the terrorist action from the Karl Liebknecht House on August 9,

1931. If the court accepts the "testimony" of Klause and on the strength of his "evidence" pronounces the death sentence, although it is perfectly aware that the Communist Party is absolutely opposed on principle to acts of individual terror, then it will be juridically established that in the Communist Party of Germany "orders to commit murder and acts of terror" are issued. The Communist Party, and before all the Central Committee, would thereby be proved guilty of murder, and Comrade Thaelmann could be made responsible for all the collisions between fascists and workers, and for all the murders thereby committed by the fascists. The death sentence would thus be already pronounced against him before he appeared before the court.

Comrade Kuntz was a very beloved member of the Berlin District Party Committee, and his behaviour before the court shows that he fully deserves this love. From the courtroom very little is allowed to reach the public, before all very little in favour of the accused. Nevertheless, from the cautiously worded reports of the fascist papers it is to be seen that Comrade Kuntz is behaving in a thoroughly courageous manner. The "*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*," which far surpasses the "*Angriff*" and the "*Voelkische Beobachter*" in its lackey service to fascism, writes regarding the first cross-examination of Comrade Kuntz:—

"... At his first words one realises that he is a dangerous functionary. ... He makes no secret of the fact that ever since the founding of the Spartakus League he has been active in a leading position, as functionary, city councillor, election speaker, member of the Prussian Diet, and, finally, as a member of the Berlin-Brandenburg District Party Committee. ... Finally, he makes long-winded political speeches, so that the judge has to remind him of where he is: "You seem to think you are at an election meeting instead of before a court!"

It should be known that Comrade Kuntz was arrested in Frankfurt on the Maine immediately after the Reichstag fire, and so severely mishandled that he had to be conveyed to the hospital. He was a man particularly feared by the Nazis, and by his un-

wearied agitation work had deprived them of many of their followers. On his being brought back to prison he had to put up with the most shameful chicanery. They wanted to break his spirit, but they only made him more firm. As a genuine Bolshevik he combines courage with wisdom. He has proposed that Comrade Thaelmann be summoned as a witness in order to prove that under his leadership the Communist Party has always, on principle, sharply opposed the methods of individual terror. If the fascist judges comply with this request, then Comrade Thaelmann will have the opportunity, before the main trial, of tearing to pieces the tissue of lies fabricated by the fascist hangmen's justice. If the judges reject this proposal, then they will demonstrate to the whole world how greatly they fear the truth.

It is necessary to mobilise the international proletariat, the toilers, the intellectuals. The voice of humanity, of justice, the establishment of the truth, has ceased to count anything in official Germany since the Nazis came into power. But they are bound to take into account public opinion abroad, especially now, when the inner political crisis of the Hitler government is more and more accompanied by its political isolation. Hitler's observation-posts abroad, his ambassadors in Paris, London, Washington, his consuls in all parts of the whole world, are extremely sensitive. The prospects for our campaign are more favourable than ever. And Comrade Alfred Kuntz is really a man who deserves having the whole world mobilised in order to secure his rescue.

But it is not only a question of saving Comrade Kuntz. The trial, in which the prosecution is trying to prove that the C.P.G. ordered and organised acts of terror, is directed against all responsible functionaries of the Party, against all local and district committees, against the Central Committee, and, before all, against Comrade Thaelmann. They say Kuntz and mean Kuntz and Thaelmann. The trial of Kuntz is the dress-rehearsal of the Thaelmann trial!

It is now necessary to do everything in order to save the anti-fascists who are threatened with death, in order to save Comrade Kuntz and Comrade Thaelmann!

Italy Proves that Fascism Means Hunger and War

By Oesterreicher (Vienna)

A meeting between Hitler and Mussolini is to take place shortly. In contrast, however, to the way in which the same project was boosted up a year ago, the preparations for the present meeting are being conducted in great secrecy. Very little noise is being made about it, and for very good reason. Ruins are only praised when they are very old. The ruins of German and Italian economic life are not suitable as instruments of propaganda.

Wherever fascism oppresses the revolutionary movement it also seeks to hinder any information regarding the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. A report in Germany about the increase of soap production in the Soviet Union already constitutes a danger to the State. This is logical from the standpoint of fascism. Nevertheless, does not the question for example arise as to why German National socialism does not contrast the Soviet Russian achievements with the "successes" of Italian fascism? Why is this argument lacking in the propaganda of Goebbels against the "grousers"? Could not the meeting between Hitler and Mussolini be used to show the masses in Germany, who no longer believe in the promises of the leader, what they might expect in a few years?

Italian fascism, as opposed to its younger brother north of

the Alps, had the great good fortune to commence at a time of relative boom, of relative stabilisation of capitalism. International finance—American finance capital above all—expressed the great trust with which it had been inspired by the fascist methods of bloody oppression of the Italian workers, by long-term credits; it financed an advance in Italian production, the like of which was unknown at that time in the whole of Western Europe.

And, in spite of this, fascist propaganda is almost entirely silent with regard to Italy. This reserve is comprehensible.

What the result of 12 years of fascist rule really is has been explained by Mussolini himself in his great speech on the economic and financial situation in Italy. The main point of his remarks was that part which was devoted to wages, i.e., to the standard of life of the broad masses.

What, according to Mussolini, is to blame for the fact that Italian economy is declining, that the State finances are facing the greatest difficulties? Very simple. Wages are too high.

It is on this that the great respect shown by the international bourgeoisie for Mussolini was and is based—that he understands how to reduce even further the standard of living in the towns and villages of a country in which hunger for a long time has been raging endemically.

For this reason they have apotheosised Mussolini because he understood how to prevent strikes, precisely at a time when, more than ever before, they constituted a powerful weapon in the hands of the revolutionary masses.

And, nevertheless! After twelve years of ceaseless warfare against wages Mussolini stands up to-day and announces once again: The economic crisis in the country is due to the fact that wages are too high. The repeated reduction of wages is the only recipe known to fascism, in order to be able to compete on the world market at all. In this connection Mussolini says that a fascist should not promise a worker that "We will raise your wages." On the contrary, he should say:—

"Make sacrifices and it will enable you to carry through the struggle on the international market, to increase our export, and to provide you and all those who have no work with permanent employment."

And in order to justify the sacrifices now demanded by Mussolini in the interest of the competitive ability of Italian industry. And in order to find a better justification for the latest sacrifices demanded by Mussolini in the interests of the competitive ability of Italian industry, he started from the following thesis:—

"One should not emphasise the words 'wage-rates' any longer; the emphasis should rather be placed on the 'existence' and, above all, the 'continuity of wages.'"

What an ideal a conception of life for those who base themselves on the best of the enjoyments of life and happiness, and who do not bother themselves about the few centesimi which other people earn, this is fascism through and through, in all its naked brutality. Precisely to-day, when the petty dictators are springing from out the ground like poisonous toadstools after an August rain, is it useful to remember these words of the fascist hero, to show the masses—this is what fascism offers you: the rate of wages as an incidental miserable sum. You have to be glad to have work at all.

These are the results of 12 years of fascist dictatorship under the most favourable, absolutely unique circumstances. What, then, will be the result of fascism in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, etc.? To-day there is no relative stabilisation. The new-baked dictators have not got the pound with which Mussolini could calculate. How can Hitler keep his promise to re-build Germany in four years when Mussolini—after 12 years—fulfils his promises in such a way? What potential hunger, what ghastly worsening of their present poverty awaits the masses in all these countries, after the "successes" of fascism in Italy!

In the last analysis that continual reduction of wages is no process which can be carried through without an end. Social dumping loses its effectiveness as a consequence of that of competitors. That is why capitalism is preparing another solution. The race for the lowest wages is bound up most closely with that for the greatest number of aeroplanes, the best cannons, the most deadly gases.

Mussolini, in his speech glorifying war, said, amongst other things:—

"War is for the man what child-birth is for the mother. Not only am I no believer in permanent peace, but I am even of the opinion that permanent peace destroys the fundamental virtues of the masses, which can only be revealed in their full light thanks to bloody efforts!"

This is the main point of the second part of Mussolini's speech, whose first part was concerned with the unimportance of the rate of wages, and both parts of which stand in the closest logical connection.

If hunger is the present for fascism, then war is its most immediate future. Mussolini did not pose the dilemma—hunger or war. But he says hunger and war. Inevitable, inescapable—like fate. This is all that remains of all the promises.

The truth in this fate, however, is not a natural phenomenon guided by the eternal laws which determine the development of humanity, but it is the fate offered by fascism for the rescue of capitalism. And if we utilise the opportunity when fascism itself lets the mask drop and itself reveals its brutal face in such an open manner, it is for the purpose of showing the masses that they can avoid this fate—if they overthrow capitalism and fascism.

Politics

British Anti-Soviet Policy in Geneva

By Gore Graham

The capitalist statesmen at Geneva manoeuvred in great anxiety for two reasons. First, each government of the big Powers has been anxious to avoid the formal responsibility for the final break-up of the long-drawn-out disarmament deception. The sentiment against war is so strong in all countries that none of the delegations of the big Powers has any desire to return from Geneva with the responsibility of having insisted on calling in the undertaker and having the corpse finally removed. Secondly, the explosive condition of international relationship makes each of the Powers, even though they are reconciled to the inevitability of war and are busily enough preparing for it, extremely anxious about the precise course it is going to take. For, despite the fact that war is always a profitable thing, there are all too many possibilities of its not turning out as its originators intend.

It was these two anxieties that were responsible for the British tactics at the Geneva meeting bringing out so clearly the anti-Soviet line of Britain. France is preoccupied with the problem of security against her European neighbour, the hungry imperialist wolf, Germany. It was this preoccupation and all the obsessing fears attached to it that made France recognise the Soviet Union in 1924, just as she has sought good relations with the U.S.S.R. as a result of the growth of European antagonisms during the past year. Britain, however, is not quite so obsessed with the potential dangers of the German wolf satisfying its hunger. It does not want to see war between France and Germany on its threshold, and into which it would be drawn and from which it would have little prospects of securing any advantage at all. Indeed, the British statesmen have a profound feeling that a war between the close neighbouring industrial States of Europe would be disastrous to the whole of capitalist "civilisation"; would be suicidal. Hence they are genuinely interested in seeing some stability resulting from some sort of solution of the Franco-German conflict. For they have great hopes that the wild German wolf can be tamed, and that it will satisfy its hunger in a way that can bring benefit to capitalism as a whole.

That is why they became so anxious when the newspapers began to expatiate on the great service to peace that was likely to be rendered by Soviet co-operation with the League. It is not difficult to imagine the feelings of the British imperialist leaders when the British press was jubilant that (to quote one of the Liberal papers) "a power of the authority and influence of Soviet Russia should be willing to place both at the service of the League." When replying to the queries of such enthusiasts, the British Ministers made platonic statements to the effect that they would welcome Soviet co-operation, not to mention membership of the League. But these platonic statements cloaked an intense perturbation of British imperialism at the great role and influence of the Soviet Union and a deep displeasure at the turn events were taking.

In October last the British government declared that it was quite impossible for a disarmament convention to begin by agreeing on rearmament, which signified Franco-British unity against German demands for rearmament. Then the British changed their standpoint and accepted German rearmament and opposed the French with the stubborn declaration that the co-operation of Germany must be secured. The bitterness of the British opposition to the French proposals was nurtured by British irritation with the Soviet Union. For France, obsessed by the question of security, was turning away from reliance upon its fickle partner, the world Power, Britain, and was showing great willingness to link arms with the peace State, the Soviet Union, in its quest for security.

And when the Soviet proposals began to be anticipated with enthusiasm by the naive sections of bourgeois opinion, it was the responsible voices of British imperialism that began to damp the anticipations down. Then, when the proposals were actually made by Litvinov at Geneva, it was the British delegates who promptly stepped in to kill them, however much the reasonableness and wisdom of the proposals made such a task unpopular.

True, the role of the British created great conflict between the British and the French delegations. But the real conflict of the Geneva Plenum was the conflict between British imperialism and

the Soviet Union. It is ridiculous, the British argued, to oppose German rearmament. The only thing that can stop that is an internal revolution in Germany. And what will the result of that be? Something far worse than a Nazi wolf that is difficult to tame. A Communist government that would not be tameable at all. And when France counts on that, she is counting on the house burning in order to roast the pig.

How natural, then, that such a standpoint should be violently opposed to the possibility of French co-operation with the workers' State, the Soviet Union? For such co-operation would probably maintain peace to a great extent but would also fix obstacles to war in places where British policy would welcome war. A western Locarno is all right, for its aim is to keep peace on the west side of the Rhine. But co-operation between Soviet Russia and France, with a probable pact guaranteeing peace on the eastern side of Europe and acting as protection for the Soviet Union, would please the British as little as anything could. The responsible imperialist organs in Britain said as much in very plain words.

And Nazi Germany, whose foreign policy is profoundly convinced of the vital need of co-operation with Britain, was also concerned at the possibility of Franco-Soviet co-operation.

"There has been some surprise," wrote the "**Manchester Guardian**" correspondent on June 5th, "that so many emissaries of the German government should have come to Geneva ostensibly in connexion with the negotiations about the Saar plebiscite. I now hear on excellent authority that the Saar question is not the only, nor even the chief preoccupation of these emissaries who have a mission to negotiate the return of Germany to the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. The German government now wishes to return to Geneva, partly at least because it is feared that if Russia becomes a member of the League, with a permanent seat on the Council, and Germany is absent, German influence and prestige will suffer."

The following day the Paris correspondent of the same paper wrote:—

"... there is much annoyance with Britain, because the British government and Mr. Henderson have explicitly disapproved of this policy, which may be called the Litvinov policy—proved on the ground that it tended to transform the Disarmament Conference into an instrument for the 'encirclement' of Germany. Certain French newspapers, which are particularly annoyed with Mr. Henderson, now say that France should seek to organise security outside the Disarmament Conference. How afraid Germany is of this policy of 'encirclement' is to be seen from the reports that she is showing a strong inclination to return to the League of Nations. Several weeks ago we foreshadowed in these columns a Franco-British conflict—with France trying to bring Russia into the League of Nations, and with England trying to bring Germany back to Geneva. It seems that one excludes the other. In France it is greatly doubted whether Germany would be a more useful and more loyal member of the League than Russia. Her present desire to return to the League, it is suggested, is simply dictated by her wish to keep Russia out of it." (June 6.)

M. Litvinov was the outstanding figure at the Geneva meeting. "The Litvinov Plan," said the **Daily Telegraph**, "will provide the paramount topic of discussion this week at Geneva." "The leadership of the Disarmament Conference," wrote the **Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung**, "has for long been in M. Litvinov's hands." And so on. But underneath all the discussions and arguments that took place was the basic factor, the conflict between the imperialist world and the world of which Comrade Litvinov is the representative. When Mr. Henderson made his opening speech, he made the mistake of a rather too impartial regard for peace and stressed the obvious realist question of security. Comrade Litvinov, putting forward the Soviet proposals, derived support for his argument from Mr. Henderson's stressing of security. And the result? The "impartial" chairman was forced to eat his words about security and later on in the proceedings to fall into line with the British and insist on the futility of anything without the co-operation of Germany.

The resolution, adjourning the meeting, relegated the Litvinov proposals to the "careful study" of the respective governments. The Conference is kept in being, and Mr. Henderson does not lose his job. But the discussions that are going to take place through the ordinary diplomatic channels, like the discussions that took

place at Geneva, will have the shadow of the struggle of the two worlds upon them; with the British imperialists leading and organising capitalist aggression on the Soviet Union. The spectre of Communism is haunting the world; Communism, whose greatest stronghold is the Soviet Union.

The Recognition of the Soviet Union by the Little Entente

In its article on the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and Rumania the "**Pravda**" writes:—

This diplomatic act acquires special political importance in view of the present tense and threatening situation in Europe. The Geneva "disarmament" talk, as its course has proved, has so far done very little to strengthen peace. The insane armament race of all imperialist States is an indication that the storm clouds are gathering more and more, not only in the Far East, but also over Europe itself. In these circumstances the new peace pact which has been concluded in Geneva represents a further addition to the long series of measures adopted by the Soviet Union for the consolidation of peace. The resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and two States of the Little Entente wrests a further trump from the hands of the adventurers who are unceasingly opposing security guarantees and indulging in military intrigues. Nevertheless, the reactionary circles in Czechoslovakia for many years offered bitter resistance to the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Like the white guardists, they hated the proletarian State and dreamed of an armed fight against the Soviet Union. They acted deliberately and systematically against the economic interests of their own country and deprecated the establishment of normal relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The forces in Rumania hostile to the Soviet Union were still more active. They had an extraordinary influence on Rumanian foreign policy and attempted to drive Rumania into an anti-Soviet adventure. The changes which have taken place in Europe recently compelled the leading circles in Czechoslovakia and Rumania to revise their attitude to the Soviet Union. They recognised the commencing collapse of the post-war structure of Europe which hitherto appeared firm and stable. In the foreign political arena there is an increasing activity of the imperialistic factors which are seeking by means of armed force to realise a redivision of Europe. The struggle of the conflicting interests of the capitalist big Powers can have fatal results for a number of countries, which can fall victims to imperialist expansion. It is not due to chance that in the offices of the leaders of German fascism there are maps of the future "Central Europe" in which are incorporated States which at present are quite independent. It is also not due to chance that the fascist newspapers and journals discuss the fate of countries which "have no right to existence." The Danube basin has already become a place d'armes, for the seizure of which a bitter struggle is being waged and over which the war clouds are gathering. For this part of Europe the danger of war is no longer a question of the remote future. The atmosphere of instability and the feeling of the approaching storm is beginning to affect the policy of the countries of Southern Europe.

At the same time the economic and military power of the Soviet Union, which is playing an increasingly big role in international politics and is making use of its influence in order to strengthen peace and to combat the danger of war, has grown enormously. Whilst a short time ago the proposals made by the Soviet Union in its fight for peace were either ignored or received with hostility, the importance of the Soviet Union as a decisive peace factor is now clear to all who have no interest in the preparation for a new war and can expect nothing good from it. The successes of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union are becoming visible. It is not owing to chance that whilst the London Economic Conference of July, 1933, proved a complete failure, Litvinov signed at this Conference the non-aggression pact which played a very big role in the further strengthening of security. In the same way the exchange of Notes on the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and Rumania is now acquiring particular importance in Geneva in view of the fruitless "disarmament" discussion, behind the scenes of which feverish arming is taking place and weapons being forged for the approaching war.

French Fascism Seeks a Path

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

To the numerous French workers who cherished the illusion that France remains a democratic island in the midst of the sea of terrorist dictatorship, the February events came as a rude awakening to the fact of the immediate fascist danger. They saw disciplined, militarised and partly armed bands—the first commencement of storm detachments—at work, which attempted to capture the streets of the big towns. They were brought to realise the extent of the concealed fascist propaganda, which wished to make use of the misery resulting from the crisis, the profound disappointment caused by the bankruptcy of the old, and especially the Left, political parties, and the tremendous indignation of the masses of the people on account of the Stavisky scandal, in order to build up a mass movement based mainly on the agrarian party, the Tax Payers' League and the ex-servicemen's associations.

Thanks to the propaganda already carried on by the Communist Party of France, its unceasing endeavours to gather all the anti-fascist forces together in the Amsterdam-Pleyl movement, and thanks to its energetic counter-demonstrations on February 6th and 12th, a powerful and militant wave of anti-fascism swept over the whole country. It carried along with it not only the proletariat, but also important sections of the peasantry and of the middle classes. The "Information" of March 30, in analysing the development of the recent events, wrote:—

"An unskilful counter-revolution serves only the interests of revolution. The Communist Party has gained more ground in the last few months than in the course of the preceding years."

Capitalism, therefore, considers it wiser to keep its open fascist formations in the background for some time and proceed to the establishment of the fascist dictatorship by means of a fascisation of the State apparatus. This policy is being skilfully carried out by the National Union (which includes all parliamentary parties from the Right to the Left) under the cloak of saving democracy. The government of Doumergue, Tardieu and Marquet is working to strengthen the executive power by emergency orders; it is endeavouring to lower the standard of living of the broad masses of officials, of pensioners and of railway workers, and thus encourage fresh attacks by the employers on wages. It is ruthlessly strengthening the repressive measures. The result of its activity from February 9 to May 9 was 15 workers murdered and 1,343 wounded, prison sentences aggregating 29 years, the expulsion of 212 foreign workers, and frontal attacks on the trade unions of officials, the freedom of assembly, etc. It is unscrupulously stirring up chauvinism in order to be able to carry out an aggressive nationalist policy.

The National Union encourages fascist agitation and the organisation of blood-baths among the workers by itself making use of police truncheons and revolvers against the proletarians and small peasants. The various fascist groups are beginning to unite. On May 7 French "Solidarity," the "Patriotic Youth" and other bodies united to form the "National Front," which locally, however, embraces much broader circles, including the "Fiery Cross" and the "Camelots du Roi."

In spite of this uniting of forces, fascism has not succeeded in penetrating the broad masses of the toilers. Since February there has been no meeting of a fascist stamp held without its being broken up by masses of workers. The "Ami du Peuple," the organ of the national front, admitted in its issue of May 19 that

"it is impossible for a patriotic speaker to address a meeting even of a private character without there being an uproar in the streets."

The fascists have not succeeded in gaining a footing in the factories, among the unemployed or in the country districts. The militant anti-fascist united front has grown considerably, and the magnificent Congress held on May 20 and 21 in "Cirque d'Hiver" showed that dozens of local groups of the social-democratic party and sections of the reformist trade unions, as well as pacifist and petty bourgeois organisations had been won.

The National Concentration has not acquired the popularity it reckoned on achieving by posing as the last bulwark of Republican institutions. The considerable role played in it by Ministers of the

Right, such as Tardieu, Laval and Flandin, and the generals of the General Staff, has given it the character of an outspokenly reactionary government. This is one of the reasons of the serious crisis and breaking up of the Radical Party, which is participating in the National Concentration.

The Government of National Concentration has no mass basis and is supported only by the bourgeoisie and a part of the petty bourgeoisie. The other social strata are turning to Communism, or at least to anti-fascist action, or are waiting for something new; new programmes and men. The socialist party, which is in a state of disintegration, both ideologically and organisationally, no longer serves as a point of attraction for these confused and irresolute elements in order to keep them back from the real fight against capitalism. Writing in the "République," a "Young Radical" states:—

"The petty bourgeoisie is becoming embittered; it is dissatisfied with the regime, which is unable to protect it. . . . The social strata which were hitherto the pillars of the Republican order are going over to the opposition. . . . The masses of peasants, who up till recently were the strongest bulwarks of the regime, are beginning openly to express their indignation. . . . Therein lies the real danger."

Owing to these reasons, for some weeks past new fascist tendencies have made their appearance. On all sides various plans of reconstruction are being worked out, all of which have one element in common: the restoration of the authority of the State and the reorganisation of the economic forces on a corporative basis under the control of a National Economic Council. There is a plan of the C.G.T., as well as the plan of the Union of Ex-Servicemen, whose congress took place in Vichy on May 20. Various youth organisations, which were recently merged into the national union of the young generation, are preparing a national youth congress to be held at the end of June. Then there is the manifesto adopted at the recent congress of the neo-socialists under the slogan of Authority and Nation.

All these tendencies advocate the union of the young forces against the old stagers; the men of 1934 against those of 1913. They claim to represent the "great advance of the productive forces against the parasitic elements." They are all united in the same aversion for "plutocratic conservatism" and Marxism. They are taking over the Hitlerite demagoguery of economic democracy, which is to provide work and bread for all, and the conversion of the system of private profit into "production serving social ends."

There exists here the very great danger of the formation of a mass basis for fascism. The old fascist organisations have become the object of fierce hatred of the workers. The National Union appears as a transition to fascism. The Anti-Fascist Movement and the Communist Party are developing with a rapidity which causes great uneasiness to the bourgeoisie. There now appears a third way out. The "Peuple," the organ of the C.G.T., has put the question in a clear form in a series of leading articles:—

"Is there really only the choice between a Bolshevik united front and the National Union? There is plenty of room for an anti-capitalist action aiming at building up a new, real and rational economy in place of the economy based only on experience."

Re-groupings and unions are possible between the various forces in the service of finance-capital. Thus the agrarian party finds that the thesis of the C.G.T. has some points in common with its own (National Economic Council and Corporative State). The newspapers voicing the opinions of the financial oligarchy cordially welcome the plan of the National Union of Ex-Servicemen.

The idea of the displacement of the old political leaders by the "regenerators" may produce dangerous illusions, divert the masses from the fight against the capitalist regime, and awaken in them the hope of a change which would make the policy of fascisation, of misery and war of the present government more tolerable for them. The Communists of France must therefore work with all the greater energy in order to unmask the "fascism of the 'Left'" as well as the "fascism of the Right" and deprive them of the possibility of rallying the masses behind the programme of demagogic demands. They must draw the masses into the fight for their minor demands and show them that there is only one way of escape from the terrorist regime of capitalism, namely, the establishment of the Soviet Power in France.

The Sharpening of the Class Struggle in Switzerland

By A. (Zurich)

The fights of the Zurich working class on the 29th of May, 1934, have, like a flash of lightning, illuminated the very tense situation and the tremendous sharpening of the class struggle in Switzerland, although these struggles did not come unawares on a careful observer.

The economic situation of Swiss capitalism is far from rosy. The violence with which, two months ago, the antagonisms of the different groups of capital came into conflict over the treatment of the financial programme of Musy, the member of Parliament who has since withdrawn; the fact that the number of unemployed in Switzerland reached a hundred thousand before the oncoming of the usual seasonal revival, and that in a population which is only 4 million for the whole country; the different bank crashes, particularly the collapse of the People's Bank, in which thousands of small savers lost their money; the difficult financial situation of some of the cantons, which in Geneva led to financial intervention on the part of the Government; in Zurich to the carrying through of wage reductions, called "sacrifices for the crisis," for the municipal workers and employees, by the social democratic town council; and last but not least, the effect on the Swiss capital market of the refusal by Germany to pay the interest on foreign loans—all this shows the severity of the economic crisis of Swiss capitalism.

It is only logical that this economic development is accompanied by the most acute *inner political* tension. The process of *fascisation* in Switzerland is being completed under a different trade mark than in Germany or Austria, it is so to speak, Fascism with a "democratic" pattern, but none the less the bourgeoisie are going forward on the course of the rapid fascisation of the whole apparatus of the state and of the law. The miscarriage of the Haeblerlin Penal Law, in the referendum of the 11th of March, in spite of open support of the whole bourgeoisie and indeed the social fascist trade union leaders for this law, has in no way weakened the drive towards fascism by the bourgeoisie, but accelerated it. What cannot be attained at one blow, has to be put through by stages.

The Fascist movement in Switzerland is not united. The Catholic Conservative Party plays a decisive role, a party which has a clear leaning to Austrian Fascism à la Dollfuss, but is also influenced by the Corporate State—the conception of Mussolini and the Pope—and tries to influence development in this direction.

The Fascist movement of the *Fronts* is openly influenced by Hitler-Germany. Their methods of fight are in many ways similar to those of National-Socialism before the seizure of power. In Zurich and Basle adherents of the *Fronts* carried through bomb attacks on the dwellings of working class functionaries and on workers' organisations. Those who carried these out were supported by the leadership of the National Front, but later, after they were proved guilty by law, disavowed according to the usual custom. The *Fronts* in their agitation follow out an Anti-Semitic line, in home politics they have taken the initiative for a Fascist revision of the Federative constitution, which significantly was more or less openly supported by the bourgeois parties, with the exception of the Liberals. Particular attention must be drawn to the outspoken *hostility to the Soviet Union* in the agitation of the different Fascist groups. The forging of documents, after the manner of the forged Zinoviev letter, about alleged military instructions of the Comintern for the organisation of the uprising are on the order of the day. The fascist *League Aubert* in Geneva from which, at the time, issued the murder of Vorovsky, has distributed in Geneva in the last few days a leaflet which openly calls for the murder of the Soviet delegates to the Disarmament Conference.

The surest sign of the tremendous sharpening of the class struggle in Switzerland is, however, the present position of Swiss *Social Democracy*. The gulf between the workers who are moving to the left and the leadership of Social Democracy which is growing more and more fascist is getting rapidly ever wider. After the Rights, in the spring at the Berne Party Congress failed in their aim of getting into the party programme an unlimited avowal in defence of the country and of the removal of the so-called dictatorship paragraph—only the votes of the "lefts" for the postponement of this point in the autumn saved the unity of

party at that time—the Rights have carried resolutions through different Canton Congresses and particularly in the Swiss Trade Union Congress, for defence of the country and for the striking out of the dictatorship paragraph.

Professor *Marbach*, especially, the theoretician of the Swiss Trade Union Federation, developed open fascist theories on the question of democracy on the aim of a people's community of all Swiss citizens in which he expressly reckons also "the greatest part of the employers." Marbach demands further that all expenditure considered, by the military experts, as necessary for the defence of the country should be granted. His latest speech in this sense, made at the Railwaymen's Congress in Lucerne, raised such indignation that the President of the Social Democratic Party *Ernst Reinhard* found it necessary to polemicise against Marbach in a series of articles. But only to give support to the removal of the dictatorship paragraph and for the defence of the country with the demagogic reservation that "Socialists will only defend a democratic (!) Switzerland, never a fascist Switzerland."

What is taking place in the *rank and file* of Social Democracy, as also inside the Swiss trade union organisations at the same time, only proves that the *revolutionary upsurge* has taken on recently an ever quicker tempo even in Switzerland. In both the most important Social Democratic district organisations, in Zurich and Basle, it has developed up to open rebellion of the members against the Party Committee, in which above all the Young Socialists are playing a role. But in the trade union sphere also the radicalisation of the members is proceeding apace. There is an open conflict between the Trade Union Council of Lausanne and the Swiss Trade Union Federation over the support by the Lausanne organisation of a strike of bakers in the Lausanne Co-operative Society. This has expressed itself in an open break between Lausanne and Berne and the demonstrative election of the one Communist delegate to the Trade Union Council, as Secretary of the Council, and the re-election of the delegates to the Council who had been expelled by the Trade Union Federation.

The first Swiss fighting *Congress against War and Fascism* which took place at Whitsun, was a decisive advance in this connection. The events in Switzerland since Whitsun signify an enormous acceleration of the tempo of revolutionary development. The mass mobilisation of the Communist Party and the Committee of Struggle against Fascism and War succeeded, against the ever growing "Front" terror, in breaking the social-fascist sabotage of the Social Democratic leaders, and in establishing in active mass struggles unity of action with the broadest sections of social democratic workers, both at the gathering of the Front at *Schaffhausen* and two days later on the 29th of May in Zurich.

The *Rally of the Fronts* from the whole of Switzerland in *Schaffhausen* on the 27th of May was more than deplorable. They were not able to bring even two thousand demonstrators out from the whole of Switzerland, and although Schaffhausen was shut off by a cordon of Canton police, large troops of anti-fascist workers from Zurich, Winterthur and Basle succeeded in getting into the town where they held a counter-demonstration. In this demonstration the most outstanding fact was that in the delegation from Zurich, Winterthur and Basle everywhere social democratic workers were represented.

When the Fronts announced, in the provocative Nazi manner, a meeting for the Tuesday in *red Aussersihl*, the revolutionary proletarian quarter of Zurich, for "Settling with Marxism," everyone realised that it was a question of a decisive stage of the fight between Front Fascism and the working class. *Social Democracy did everything to make the Front provocation possible*. When the Communist Party and the Union of Struggle against Fascism called the working class of Zurich out on a counter-demonstration and for the defence of red Aussersihl against the terror groups of the Fronts, the Social Democratic Police Inspector, *Dr. Wiesendanger* and the Social Democratic Town Council gave out an order that not only any counter demonstration was to be suppressed by the police, but also that every hidden call in the Press for protection against Front terror was to be forbidden. On the morning of the 29th of May police officials appeared in the editorial offices of the Zurich Party paper "*Der Kaempfer*" and forbade the comment of the paper on the order of the Town Council, so that the paper appeared with a great white censored empty space on the front page. 15,000 leaflets of the Committee of Struggle were seized.

The social Democratic "*Volksrecht*" appeared with a warning to all social democratic workers to keep away from the counter-

demonstrations against the Fronts. In the evening an enormous number of police with steel helmets and with carbines protected the whole district surrounding the meeting place of the Fronts. Nevertheless, 8,000 workers, of which nearly half were Social Democrats, besieged the streets of Aüssersihl. The hall was half full. Not far from the hall, in Helvetia Square, there was an enthusiastic meeting of the anti-fascist demonstrators. Then started infuriated police attacks. The police fired, the crowd resisted and in two places erected *barricades*, which in the course of the fight were set on fire, and could only be taken after repeated attacks by the police. The Wiesendanger police made many arrests, among others the Social Democratic Party Secretary *Dr. Walter*, who was personally arrested by his party comrade *Wiesendanger* when he wanted to intervene in order to calm things down.

In this way, the 29th of May became a *decisive victory for the anti-fascist united front*, a severe defeat of the Front fascists and an unheard of discrediting of the social democratic leaders. In the mass meeting which took place two days later, of the Union of Struggle against Fascism, three social democratic workers spoke against the terror of the Wiesendanger police. Hundreds of workers, among them 25 Social Democrats joined the Union of Struggle.

The meeting of Social Democracy which took place on the following evening was another success for the revolutionary united front. The demand, brought forward by a delegation from the meeting held by the Union of Struggle that a Communist should be allowed to speak, was rejected. The Socialist Party meeting was filled to overflowing. The meeting compelled the platform to give the Communist speaker, *Bodenmann, M.P.*, the floor. *Bodenmann* spoke in favour of the revolutionary united front and was received with stormy applause.

The events in Zurich are of the greatest importance for the further development of the anti-fascist fight throughout the whole of Switzerland. The class struggle is become very rapidly sharper. The drawing in of thousands of social democratic workers into the fights of the anti-fascist united front, the great disintegration in the ranks of social democracy, and the "Initiative for defence of the existence of all toilers in Switzerland" promoted by the Swiss Committee of Struggle against Fascism and War, which mobilises the masses for immediate economic and political demands, give the best possibility for a further acceleration of tempo and of the strengthening of the mass influence of the Communist Party in Switzerland.

Germany Declaration of the Communist Party on the Saar Question

We Communists, prompted by our deep feeling of responsibility towards the working class, declare:—

The position and the fate of the working population of the Saar are becoming more and more precarious. The Saar country has become the scene of chauvinistic incitement, national oppression, a bone of contention between the profit-greedy and exploiting imperialist Powers. The **Hitler dictatorship has converted Germany into a country of the executioner's axe, of the whip of starvation and of race-hatred.** Robbery of the workers' wage, extortionate compulsory deductions, unrestricted dictatorship of the employers by means of the monopoly-capitalistic principle of the "leader," military drill and compulsory labour service for the proletariat and the proletarian youth, pillaging of the small shopkeepers and artisans by means of taxes and interest obligations—these are the blessings of Hitler's "Socialism." The fascist dictatorship is driving Germany into a new war and is preparing for criminal provocations in the Saar. By its continued treachery, its fascist barbarism and foreign-political adventures, the Hitler dictatorship is preventing the union of the Saar district with Germany. The whipping up of chauvinistic passions, the wave of bloody Nazi terrorism fanned by the fascist "German Front," and Goebbels' proclamation of a pogrom massacre among the anti-fascists are a warning signal of bloody punitive expeditions of Hitler fascism in the event of the return of the Saar district to Germany.

Our Saar country is suffering from the pressure of the League of Nations Governing Commission. Hunger is knocking at the doors of the poor, the small peasants and the middle classes are suffering the greatest misery. The vampire capitalist concerns of

Roechling and Wolff, which are closely connected with the international armament sharks, **Krupp and Creuzot**, have fastened their grip on our Saar country, are plundering and humiliating the toiling people.

Social democracy, the midwife of the Versailles slave treaty and of the bloody Hitler barbarism, imposed upon the German people the fascist yoke and subjected the toilers of the Saar to the oppressive rule of the League of Nations. Social democracy, which in Germany is the faithful lackey of fascism, looks in the Saar district to the French bayonets for salvation and is calling for a "preventive war" of French imperialism against Germany. Just as in the year 1914 it is prepared to drive the toiling masses into a fresh wholesale slaughter for the sake of capitalist profits.

Just as we have nothing in common with the Brown lackeys of the capitalists, with Hitler, Goebbels, Ley, Pirro and Kiefer, so we are combating most resolutely the agents of the imperialists, the party of Severing, Loebe and Max Braun.

We are equally the sworn enemies of Separatism. By our mass actions during the occupation of the Rhine and Ruhr districts, by the armed crushing—under the leadership of the Communists—of the separatists who had been bribed by French capital in the year 1923, we have proved that we are acting only in the interest of our proletarian class.

We Communists, who are unswervingly faithful to Marxist class principles, to our aim, which is the fight for a **Red Saar district within a German-Soviet State**, declare:—

If the split in the working class in the Saar district and in Germany, if the social-democratic deceptive manoeuvres had been overcome and the unity of our class realised under our leadership, if the majority of the proletariat were already marching under the banner of Communism, then the path would be free for the setting up of a Red Saar country and of a German Soviet State. But without the majority of the working class, without the unity of the proletariat, we Communists cannot commence a successful political general strike, the armed revolt and the victorious class war for power.

The revolutionary upsurge in Germany and the progress of the class forces in the Saar province prove that the **prospects of the proletarian revolution are becoming more favourable** and that the social and national emancipation of Germany and of the Saar province can be achieved only by means of the victorious German October.

The sober estimate of the class forces of the proletariat, the terms of the plebiscite dictated by the Versailles Treaty, the fact that the present situation of the class forces does not permit us to commence the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, induces us Communists, whilst unswervingly keeping to our aim of a Red Saar district in Soviet Germany, to propose to the working population of the Saar that of the three alternatives they **vote for the status quo.**

We Communists openly declare that we thereby want to obtain a more favourable fighting basis for our final struggle and to prepare with increased forces for the social and national emancipation of the Saar.

By calling upon the masses to vote for the status quo we at the same time demonstrate that our vote does not mean the recognition of the League of Nations regime. We declare that as soon as the class forces in the Saar permit it, we, the deadly enemies of every capitalist regime, will summon the masses for the overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the **Soviet Power.**

We want to win the social-democratic, Christian and the trade union rank and file workers and also the toilers of the "German front" for the revolutionary united front in order to establish the undivided power of the working class. Our attitude to the plebiscite is determined by our defence of the revolutionary interests of our class and has nothing in common with the pro-French treachery of the social democrats and the corrupt policy of the separatists.

We Communists know that the toilers of the whole of Germany, who are suffering from the starvation laws, the torture and the armament orgies of the fascists, will understand and approve our attitude, and that the toilers in the Saar province will enthusiastically welcome our decision.

In this historic hour we Communists offer our brotherly hand to our **social-democratic** and trade union class comrades of the Saar, with whom we feel sincerely and faithfully connected to create **proletarian unity**, to overcome the split, to forge the iron action of freedom of all anti-fascist Saar militants. In the spirit of

our imprisoned and tortured leader, Ernst Thaelmann, the courageous standard-bearer of proletarian internationalism, we to-day greet our fighting class brothers and sisters of France and Alsace-Lorraine. In the spirit of Ernst Thaelmann we add to our old battle-cry: "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" the fighting call: **social-democratic, Christian and Communist workers, unite!**

We call upon our social-democratic, trade union and Christian brothers and sisters to fight with us for the realisation of our minimum demands: **complete freedom of combination, meetings, demonstrations, and the press, the right to strike, for the free election of factory councils.**

We demand the **granting of a complete amnesty for all imprisoned and condemned anti-fascists and for all deeds committed out of economic necessity.**

We Communists make use of the weapon of Marxism and **proletarian internationalism** in our day-to-day struggle for wage increases, for increase of unemployment benefit and improvement of protection against accidents, for the anti-fascist unity of the masses against the fascist terror. We are sounding the tocsin of unity for the struggle for **bread and work, against hunger, fascism and the war crimes, for the social and national emancipation of the Saar, for a Red Saar district in Soviet Germany!**

District Committee of the Communist Party of the Saar.

The International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann and all Imprisoned Anti-Fascists

The world action for the accused in the Leipzig trial compelled the Court to acquit the four innocent defendants. Immediately after the acquittal, when it became known that the four anti-fascists were still being kept under arrest, the World Relief Committee again addressed itself to the working masses of all countries, to all anti-fascists, anti-fascist organisations and relief committees with an appeal: "The acquitted accused must not die, they must be saved!" It called for intensified action, meetings, demonstrations, delegations and protest telegrams under the slogan of the immediate release of the four acquitted and also of Thaelmann and all anti-fascist prisoners.

On the proposal of some members of the Commission of Inquiry into the Burning of the Reichstag, the World Relief Committee formed a special committee, the International Committee for the Release of Dimitrov, Thaelmann, Torgler and all imprisoned anti-fascists in Germany. Two eminent French writers, André Gide and André Malraux, declared themselves ready to act as chairmen of this Committee.

At the same time the French Relief Committee decided to form a special Release Committee, which already on December 8, 1933, addressed an appeal to the French public. The World Relief Committee called upon all Relief Committees affiliated to it to set up together with all proletarian anti-fascist organisations special Release Committees and to make them the chief bearers of the campaign for the release of the four acquitted at Leipzig, of Thaelmann and the imprisoned anti-fascists in Germany.

There were big demonstrations and protest actions in all countries. Especially big and effective were the demonstrations in London, in many other English towns and in the United States where, in addition to dozens of big demonstrations organised by the Relief Committees in the State capitals, many hundreds of meetings were held in smaller towns and localities. The delegations to the German Consulates in Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago and other towns were accompanied by big anti-fascist protest demonstrations. The protest campaign also found expression in thousands of protest telegrams sent to the German Consulates and Embassies and to the Leipzig Court. At a meeting at which the German Ambassador Herr Luther was to have spoken, it came to such protests that Luther had to abandon his intention to speak. The strength of the protest movement in the U.S.A. led to an official demarche of the Ambassador Luther with the government of the U.S.A.

The campaign of meetings organised by the French Release Committee reached its highest point in the monster demonstration in the Luna Park in Paris, summoned by 28 organisations affiliated to the Release Committee, and which with an attendance of about 30,000 was one of the biggest demonstrations held in France in the last few years. The French Release Committee within a short time obtained no less than 100,000 signatures to a letter of protest. As in England and in the U.S.A., the campaign in France

was not confined to meetings, but was supplemented by delegations to the Consulates and Embassies and by the organisation of a flood of protest telegrams.

A special action of the World Relief Committee consisted in the regular sending of delegations to the prisoners and authorities in Berlin and Leipzig. These delegations, which rendered it possible to maintain constant contact with the lawyers and the relatives of the acquitted anti-fascists, helped to promote and intensify the release campaign all over the world, especially however, in the English press. Among others, Dorothy Woodman, secretary of the British Relief Committee, and Ivor Montagu, Amabel Williams Ellis and John Strachey, members of the Committee, repeatedly went to Berlin in order to secure the release of the acquitted. The British Relief Committee organised a special collection for Dimitrov's mother and the other relatives of the three Bulgarians and Torgler, as well as for the payment of travelling expenses. This collection realised no less than £530. Delegations from Release and Relief Committees from other countries also went to Berlin. André Gide, André Malraux, the chairmen of the International Release Committee, went to the Propaganda Ministry of the German government, where, in a letter to Goebbels, they demanded the immediate release of the four acquitted.

As a result of this rising international wave of protest, and especially under the pressure of the Soviet Union, the Hitler government was compelled, on February 27, 1934, against the will of Goering and other Nazi leaders, to release Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev.

Already at the commencement of its activity the World Relief Committee made the release action for Thaelmann and the imprisoned anti-fascists of Germany its main task. One of the first mass meetings after the events in Germany, convened by the French Relief Committee for the victims of German fascism, and which took place on May 12, 1933, in the Salle de Bullier in Paris, unanimously adopted a resolution in which it was stated:

"The trial which is announced of Thaelmann, Torgler and Dimitrov is an open mockery of justice, behind which the murderous intentions of the Hitler government against these men are only too evident. . . . The meeting pledges itself to continue the fight against the brown murder regime and to work indefatigably in order to launch a world action of all freedom-loving men and women, with the aim of releasing the political prisoners pining in Hitler's prisons and concentration camps, and to wrest Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, who are immediately threatened with death, from the clutches of the brown executioners. . . ."

Already in March last the World Relief Committee issued through the French Relief Committee the first brochure entitled "Rescue Thaelmann!" and it has been uninterruptedly active for the rescue of this leader of the anti-fascists of Germany and for release of all anti-fascist prisoners in Germany.

The International Release Committee formed by the World Relief Committee, which since the release of the three Bulgarians has carried on its activity under the name of "The International Committee for the Release of Thaelmann, Torgler and all Imprisoned Anti-Fascists in Germany" and which relies especially on the broad masses of the working people in all countries, has already, by the issue of pamphlets, postcards and posters, by the organising of mass demonstrations and by sending delegations to Germany, accomplished a great work. On the occasion of Thaelmann's birthday on 16th of April, numerous workers' delegations from Switzerland, France, Great Britain, the Saar district and other countries went to Berlin, demanded to speak with Thaelmann and insisted on his release. At the demonstrations organised on the occasion of Thaelmann's birthday, Henri Barbusse's pamphlet: "Do you know Thaelmann?" was sold in large quantities.

The International Release Committee is supported in its activity by numerous organisations and committees, by the World Relief Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, the Committee against War and Fascism, the International Labour Defence, the Workers' International Relief, Trade unions, and workers' social and cultural-political organisations. Many intellectuals have identified themselves with the activity of the International Release Committee and passionately demanded Thaelmann's release.

In connection with the campaign for the books burnt and

suppressed in Germany, the Release Committee published a protest declaration which demanded the release of Ernst Thaelmann. This protest met with a big response in France and was joined in by more than a hundred of the most well-known French intellectuals almost all of them being people who were supporting such an international fighting action for the first time.

By the sending, on the initiative of the World Relief Committee, of an English delegation, consisting of the Earl of Listowel, Lady Listowel, Countess Pallavicini, Amabel Williams Ellis, and the lawyer Benavue, which went to Berlin in order to see Thaelmann, Ossietzky, Neubauer and other imprisoned anti-fascists, it was possible for the first time to interest the big British and international press in the fate of Thaelmann and to help spread the international protest movement.

The World Release Committee has initiated further direct measures which will help to save the lives of Ernst Thaelmann and the imprisoned anti-fascists and to secure their release.

* * * * *

Paris, June 9.

The protest campaign for the rescue of Thaelmann is growing from day to day, from hour to hour, among the French toilers, workers, peasants and intellectuals. We publish below a few of the many protest resolutions which the International Release Committee is receiving daily:—

The Paris Unitary Transport Workers' Federation (T.C.R.P.) has sent a telegram to Hindenburg, protesting in the name of thousands of Paris traffic workers, against the intention to sentence Thaelmann and demanding his release.

The socialist physicians of Paris have sent a telegram to the Reichs Chancellor, Hitler, in which they declare their solidarity with the protest of the proletarian public against Thaelmann being tried by the "People's Court" and sharply condemning the jailors' work of these "people's courts."

The following prominent French physicians: Dr. Weissmann-Netter, Dr. Elie Fauve, Dr. Aynard (Chartres), Dr. P. Carlier (Strasbourg), Dr. Schwarz (Martizay), Dr. Verdère (Vieljeuif), Dr. Rolland, on behalf of the physicians' commission of the International Release Committee, have issued an appeal in which they call upon the intellectuals to save the lives and secure the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Ernst Torgler, Karl von Ossietzky, Ludwig Renn, Erich Muehsam and all other imprisoned representatives and champions of progress, peace and freedom.

The women peasants who attended the Peasants' Congress, held in Paris at the end of May, adopted a resolution in which they endorse the protest of the anti-fascists of the whole world against the Hitler regime. . . . They protest against the sinister designs on the lives of Thaelmann and all anti-fascists and pledge themselves to fight for their release.

At the large National Congress of the working people of France, at which 500,000 toilers were represented, the following resolution was adopted:—

"The 4,000 delegates assembled at the big national congress on May 20 and 21, in Paris, have elected a delegation with instructions to submit to the German government, through its ambassador in Paris, a declaration of protest against the charge of high treason raised against Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the German Communist Party, against the ill-treatment he has suffered during his long imprisonment and against his being deprived of the most elementary rights of defence. The Congress, which represents more than 500,000 French toilers of all political tendencies, draws the attention of the German government to the determination of the French proletariat not to tolerate this attack on a person who is being brought to trial solely on account of his political convictions. The French proletariat is determined not to tolerate the judicial crime of a condemnation of Ernst Thaelmann."

The following prominent French intellectuals: Walter Tiffeneau, Levy-Bruehl, Dr. Rivet, Langevin, Gidé, Malraux, Signac, Desjardines etc., resolved to protest against a condemnation of Thaelmann by the People's Court. They declare that they would consider a death sentence an act of murder, and any other sentence as an abominable crime against the most elementary rules of justice. They call upon all honest people to join in their protest.

The Women's Conference of the National Congress has unanimously adopted a resolution, in which they join in the general protest against the Hitler government which is robbing the women of their most elementary rights, driving them from their positions,

letting their children starve and training them as compulsory labourers and soldiers by means of corporal punishment and bar-rack drill. The women protest against the threat to the life of Ernst Thaelmann and all anti-fascists, against the imprisonment, maltreatment and murder of their sisters in Germany, who have devoted their best forces to the emancipation of women. This protest is signed by the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, the Women's League Against Poverty and War, the Women's Commission of the C.G.T.U. and the Women's Commission of the International Thaelmann Release Committee.

The Unity Committee of the French Teachers, in the name of its 12,000 members, has sent a telegram to the German Foreign Minister demanding the immediate release of Thaelmann.

The Committee of Action of the Teachers of North France, at its meeting in the People's House in Saint-Brieux, adopted a resolution protesting against the maltreatment and the imprisonment of Ernst Thaelmann and demanding his immediate release.

The Preparatory Meeting to the Women's World Congress in the Salle de Mutualité in Paris, adopted a resolution in which the women present pledge themselves to fight with all their powers for the release of Thaelmann and the other anti-fascists, in particular the imprisoned women.

Sofia, June 4, 1934.

The employees and workers of the town of Malakov, together with their section of the I.L.D., are sending their brotherly greetings to Comrade Thaelmann and to all those who are imprisoned on account of their fight against fascism.

Amsterdam, June 8, 1934.

The Giro employees of Amsterdam have sent a telegram demanding the release of Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the anti-fascist struggle.

Appeal of the Secretariat of the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers

The Secretariat of the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers has issued an appeal calling to mind the execution by the Hitler government on May 19 of four Hamburg seamen: **Jonny Dettmer, Herman Fischer, Arthur Schmidt, and Alfred Wehrenberg.** The death sentences passed on the seamen and harbour workers **Droese, Richartz, Ruhnov, and Stockfleeth** have been commuted to life-long imprisonment, which, in view of the maltreatment in the prisons, also means death for them. Another 56 harbour workers, seamen, and young workers were sentenced at the so-called "Red Marine Trial" to nearly 300 years' hard labour. After the execution of the seaman **August Luettgens**, after the foul murder of the harbour workers **Fritz Lux, Jan Templin, Karl Lesoh,** and many others in the prisons of Hitler fascism, the above-mentioned four victims have now been added to the long list of seamen and harbour workers murdered by the Nazi bandits. The appeal continues:—

After these bloody sentences at the "Red Marine Trial," Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels are preparing to have the death sentence passed on the harbour worker **Ernst Thaelmann**, the best anti-fascist fighter. Ernst Thaelmann's life is in danger!

Comrades, harbour workers, and seamen! Freedom for Ernst Thaelmann! That is the slogan under which the international water transport proletariat must conduct the struggle for the release of the seamen and harbour workers sentenced in the Hamburg "Red Marine Trial," for the release of the heroic barricade fighters, of Rakosi, the former People's Commissar of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, of the insurgent sailors of the "Zeven Provincien," and the imprisoned anti-fascists.

In all meetings and in all factories, on the ships and the Labour Exchange, raise the sharpest protest against the execution of our four seamen comrades in Hamburg and against the contemplated murder of Ernst Thaelmann. Elect and send delegates of harbour workers and seamen to the harbour worker Ernst Thaelmann in Berlin, to the imprisoned seamen in Hamburg, with instructions that these delegations shall ascertain how our comrades are being treated in the prisons and demand their immediate release in your name. Demonstrate in masses at the German Embassies and Consulates!

Comrades! The execution of the four Hamburg seamen was carried out under the sign of the swastika. The swastika is the symbol of the murder of workers. Down with the swastika, down with the murder-flag! Support the German harbour workers and seamen in their anti-fascist emancipation struggle! Not a ship to Germany without revolutionary literature!

Austria

The New Development in Austria

By Angerer (Vienna)

I.—New Taxes

The "Reichspost" has attempted to meet the general indignation caused by the increase in the charge for water by the new fascist regime in Vienna by arguing that the burden which thereby falls on each individual household is quite small, and in fact amounts to about 20 groschen. And what are really 20 groschen?

For 20 groschen one can buy three small rolls. The 20 groschen extra charge for water, paid by a family living on the relief granted by the Public Assistance Committee, means that three times a month a child must go to school without breakfast. An unemployed worker with a wife receives 14 shillings a week relief, which is one shilling per head per day. The 20 groschen extra expenditure means that once a month he must go to bed without a supper. A woman home worker must work an hour in order to earn 20 groschen. It means that in future she will have to work an extra hour in order to pay for the water consumed by the family.

That is the meaning of "only 20 groschen" in the household of the great majority of the Vienna workers.

The increase in the charge for water in Vienna is, at bottom, a tax on cleanliness; it means that the workers and their families will not be able to wash themselves and their clothes so frequently. That cleanliness and hygienic progress among the working population is the first thing to be taxed is not surprising in a country where the Catholic Church, which has always regarded prayers as more important than doctors and visits to shrines more important than visits to health resorts, now plays first fiddle.

The second tax introduced by the new regime in Vienna, namely, the tax for the removal of house refuse, bears the same character. In Vienna about three families have one dust bin between them, which is emptied once in ten days. As a charge of 1.50 shillings is made for emptying a dust bin, it means that every family will have to pay about 1.50 shilling a month. This tax therefore also means a tax on cleanliness, for the population of Vienna will again, as formerly, dump packets of rubbish, broken crockery, old tins, etc., on any waste ground they can find.

It is unnecessary to reckon what 1½ shillings mean to a worker, as we have already seen what 20 groschen mean to him. It is important, however, to say why this "trifling" burden has had to be placed on the masses. The new fascist regime in Vienna has hastened to keep its promises to do away with the "tax sadism" of the former municipal administration, at least in regard to two taxes, namely, the tax on domestic servants and the tax on horses kept for luxury purposes.

Here, it is true, the sum involved is not merely 20 groschen; in the case of Rothschild, for instance, the sum paid in respect of these taxes amounted to several thousand shillings a year. Because the clerical fascists have made a present to Rothschild of thousands of shillings, the poor are robbed of 20 groschen.

The former Tenants' Protection League, which, owing to the treachery of the social-democratic leaders, has been incorporated in the "Patriotic Tenants' League," is experiencing at its meetings a storm of indignation against the new administration, the first act of which has been to increase the cost of water.

The "Reichspost," however, is unable to understand why there should be all this fuss over 20 groschen a month. . . . But there are none so blind as those who won't see.

II.—The Nazi Outrages and the Incitement against the Communists

The tactics of the national socialists in Austria are full of contradictions. Therefore the motives and the aims of the latest series of outrages are not by any means immediately clear.

In February last, Habicht, the leader of the Austrian national-socialists, submitted an ultimatum to the Dollfuss government, which he then prolonged without any reason, and finally allowed it to expire without taking any action.

Habicht's ultimatum was more fatal to Austrian national socialism than a lost open battle in civil war. Among broad sec-

tions of the population which were formerly under social-democratic influence there was a certain sympathy for national socialism after the February events. Many thought that the Nazis would now commence an intensified offensive against Dollfuss. Habicht's ultimatum strengthened these expectations. They wanted to join in such a fight, and were prepared to follow anybody, no matter who, who would have led them against the government.

But the expected Nazi offensive did not take place. Thus the Nazis disappointed even those circles which had placed fresh hopes in them. But why was it that the Nazis did not commence a terrorist offensive at the time of the expiration of the Habicht ultimatum? And why do they commence now, three months later, with bomb outrages?

In order to answer this question one must understand the double role of the Austrian Nazi movement, which is not only a tool of German imperialism, but at the same time an important part of Austrian fascism.

There is no doubt that the situation of the Dollfuss government after the Pyrrhic victory won in the February fights was very weak, and if the Nazis had immediately after commenced an offensive it could have weakened it still further. The Austrian national socialists, however, could not carry out actions which were contrary to the interests of the Austrian bourgeoisie, which might have endangered the rule of Austrian capital. For this reason, Habicht endeavoured by submitting an ultimatum to support the recruiting activity of the Nazis among the social-democratic workers, but after the expiration of the ultimatum his propaganda activity assumed a harmless and humorous character.

Nevertheless, with the growing discontent even among those sections of the petty bourgeoisie which had once placed their hopes in Heimwehr fascism and the Christian socialists, and who are now seriously disappointed, the Nazis had to proceed to more vigorous means of fight. They are fulfilling their function as part of Austrian fascism when they attract to them the discontented sections of the population and thereby prevent them from joining the revolutionary workers. However, they can serve as an effective bulwark in this sense only if they adapt their tactics to the mood prevailing among the masses. At the same time they must take care not to commence such a fight as would bring the masses themselves into movement and thereby seriously endanger the rule of the Austrian bourgeoisie.

This is the reason for the contradictions in the tactics of the Nazis. Therefore, immediately after the February days they could not resort to bomb outrages, therefore Habicht's ultimatum was in reality an armistice to enable the Dollfuss dictatorship to consolidate its position.

The present offensive, however, accords excellently with the above-mentioned conditions. This offensive in no way seriously endangers the dictatorship, and can at most do harm to Austrian tourist traffic. At the same time, however, the Nazis show that they are still alive and, by means of these actions, gain sympathy among the masses who are filled with resentment against the Dollfuss regime. And, finally, by means of this propaganda of individual terror, they work as agent-provocateurs among certain former social-democratic circles of the working class.

It should be emphasised that these circles which, under the influence of the Nazis, are inclined to individual terror are small, and, with the growing influence of the Communists, will soon be liquidated.

The Nazis are working hand in glove with the Dollfuss dictatorship. By means of these terrorist actions they have given the Dollfuss government a pretext for incitement against the Communists, for extending the competency of the summary courts to try persons charged with committing bomb outrages.

The summary courts are thus performing more and more the functions of the ordinary courts. This is, in fact, a part of the process of fascisation of justice. The Nazi outrages and the resulting extension of the competency of the summary courts betoken the introduction of a new weapon of fascism for suppressing the working class, namely, provocation. The exploding of bombs and infernal machines is intended to divert the working people from the tasks of the mass struggle. But the employment of such desperate means for preventing the Austrian workers from taking up the mass struggle under Communist leadership is a further indication of the weak foundations of fascist rule in Austria.

Because the dictatorship was unable, in spite of the most

strenuous efforts, to prevent the masses from demonstrating on May Day under the leadership of the Communist Party of Austria, and because fascism has encountered determined resistance wherever it has sought to establish influence among the masses, a new wave of persecution against the revolutionary proletariat and its leadership, the Communist Party, is being introduced.

The Thanks of the Bourgeoisie to Austro-Marxism

By Gustav (Vienna)

The Austrian fascist dictatorship has also prohibited the Austrian Social-Democratic Party and dissolved all its organisations. This has not taken place, to be sure, because the Social-Democratic Party conducted any struggle against fascism. On the contrary, the Social-Democratic Party revealed itself, even in the very February days, merely as a barrier to the workers' struggle, a hindrance to the united struggle against capitalism. In a whole series of localities it was only the fact of the Social-Democratic Party leaving the workers without arms and restraining them from the struggle which enabled the bourgeoisie to retain its power without any big effort. If the Social-Democratic Party is dissolved, it is precisely because this restraint did not succeed everywhere, because the revolutionary masses of workers broke the organisational discipline of the S.P.A. and resorted to arms. For these reasons the bourgeoisie regarded the Social-Democratic organisation as already incapable of fulfilling any longer the tasks allotted to it.

The remnants left of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria and the Second International seek to exploit this fact for their own use. They affirm that the dissolution is a proof of the hatred and opposition of capitalism against Social Democracy. But this subtle twisting of the facts has received refutation by, amongst other things, the warm words of recognition for the counter-revolutionary role of Austro-Marxism used by outstanding representatives of the Austrian bourgeoisie. Each syllable of this praise, which is meant seriously and not cynically, throws an effective light on the role of the Social Democracy.

At the end of May there took place the meeting of the Christian-Social Deputies' Club, composed of deputies in the national and federal councils, which decided to dissolve itself, in view of the dissolution of the national council. This signifies the end of the Christian-Social Party altogether. One of the leaders of the party, Deputy **Kunschak**, made this the occasion for making a speech, in which he reviewed the whole history of the party which has consistently dominated the government of Austria since the revolution. In so doing he also came to refer to the activity of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria in the years 1918 and 1919, for which he expressed his gratitude:—

"At that time it was necessary to lead the demobilised army back again into civil life without a catastrophe. We succeeded in doing this only because there were officers who devoted themselves heart and soul to retaining the useful part of the army as intact as possible. . . . At that time it required the exercise of one's whole personality to appear before the troops who were in open mutiny. Under-Secretary of State Dr. **Waihs** could tell you a great deal about what had to be done at that time, and what could only be done, because we drew the Social Democrats towards ourselves, kept them to our line, and restrained them from swinging to the 'Left' into the camp of Bolshevism.

"**Jodok Fink** is the man who brought about this great work of making the Social-Democratic Party useful for the fight against Bolshevism and the re-establishment of Austria." **Kunschak** hereby recognises the services rendered by the Social Democracy in the fight against Bolshevism, with an open-heartedness which has been hitherto lacking. He recognises here that which the Social Democracy itself had boasted as a merit, without, however, having hitherto found the desired recognition. His account coincides almost literally with that given by **Otto Bauer** himself:—

"The government at that time (1918 and 1919) was faced with the passionate demonstrations of the returned soldiers, unemployed, war invalids, etc., time and again. It was faced with the people's army filled with the spirit of the proletarian revolution. . . . And the government had no means of authority at its disposal. Armed power was no instrument against

the proletarian masses who were filled with revolutionary passions. . . . No bourgeois government could have carried through such a task. . . . Only Social Democrats could carry through this task of unexampled difficulty.

" . . . Only by struggle within the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils was the advance of Bolshevism repelled. The clear-sighted leadership of Friedrich Adler within the Workers' Councils and of Julius Deutsch and his associates in the Soldiers' Councils decided the struggle." (**Otto Bauer**: "The Austrian Revolution," pages 128-129. German edition.)

The Austrian working class must now bear the consequences of this clear-sighted leadership of the Social Democracy in the shape of the clerical-fascist dictatorship of **Dollfuss** and **Starhemberg**.

The Social Democracy laid the basis for this dictatorship, and not merely by its strangling of the Proletarian Revolution. It also assisted the clerical-fascist dictatorship by its retention of clericalism. This side of its activity has been all too little appreciated hitherto, although it introduced a policy of renunciation of democratic institutions even in the years of upheaval.

Had the Social-Democratic Party been, at least, a logical democratic party, it could have carried through an anti-clerical policy on a parliamentary basis, by means of a coalition with the Anti-Clerical Pan-Germans. This policy could have broken the decisive position of the Catholic Church over questions of politics, education and marriage, and could have wrested the peasants from the influence of Clericalism. In this way one of the most important instruments at the disposal of capitalism for spreading its influence would have been undermined.

The Christian Socials, who understood how to make the Social-Democratic Party "useful for the fight against Bolshevism," also understood how to avoid this other danger.

Concerning this, **Seipel**, the most cunning of the leaders of the Christian Social Party, wrote, already in 1925, after he had made it clear that the Clericals by themselves would constitute a minority in the National Council as against the Social-Democrats and Pan-Germans.

"Consequently the Christian-Social Party had—in the interest of the Catholic and Conservative cause—to prevent the other two parties from ruling together against it, for the outbreak of a cultural struggle and the ousting of Catholics from public life, would then have been scarcely avoidable. The Party succeeded in doing this by first of all forming a government majority together with the Social-Democrats." (Article entitled: "The Christian-Social Party of Austria" in the "Staatslexikon.")

Social-Democratic policy was thus neither socialist nor genuinely democratic right from the days of the Revolution. **Otto Bauer**, however, calls the coalition of Social-Democracy with the Christian-Socials—a coalition which even according to the pronouncement of the bourgeoisie merely served to hinder Bolshevism and Anti-Clericalism—a workers' and peasants' government.

"A joint government of the workers and peasants was the only possible slogan . . . the co-operation of the workers with the peasants found its parliamentary expression in the coalition of Social Democracy with the Christian-Social Party." ("The Austrian Revolution," p. 129, German edition.)

At that time the Social Democracy led the sympathies of masses for the workers' and peasants' government of Soviet Russia astray by camouflaging its treacherous co-operation with the bourgeoisie as a workers' and peasants' government. To-day this same **Otto Bauer** seeks to delude the workers into believing that he will lead them to a "revolutionary dictatorship of the working class." By this means it is sought to render ineffective, once again, the urge of the working class towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, by using a radical-sounding slogan. Nevertheless, the Austrian proletariat will learn from its experiences and carry through the struggle along with the Communist Party for the dictatorship of the proletariat for a real workers' and peasants' government, for Soviet Austria.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Readers will please note the new address of the International Press Correspondence, to which all subscriptions and communications should be sent: **William Massey, 249, King Street, Hammer-smith, London. W.6.**

China

Against the Offensive of Japanese Imperialism in North China!

Against the Imperialist Partitioning of China!

For Armed Revolutionary Fights for Emancipation!

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in China.

To the Masses of the Whole Country!

Since the crowning of its puppet Pu Yi, predatory Japanese imperialism has been indulging in further excesses and committing acts of violence in North China, with the main object of annexing the whole country.

Japanese imperialism has submitted the following demands to its agent in North China, the president of the Peiping government *Huang Fu*: (1) Immediate acceptance of all conditions regarding direct negotiations between China and Japan. (2) Immediate withdrawal from Manchuria of all the old Manchurian troops (under the command of *Chang Hsu Liang*), as well as all the old formations, and their replacement by Japanese and Manchukuo troops. (3) Complete destruction of all anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist associations and their replacement by Japanese and Manchukuo organisations. (4) Protection for Pu Yi by all the authorities of North China when he visits the royal graves within the Great Wall. (5) The territory north of the Yellow River to be recognised as forming part of the territory of Manchukuo. (6) Guaranteeing of the preferential rights of Japanese investments in China as an essential step towards co-operation between China and Japan.

In short, not satisfied with its present position in North China, Japanese imperialism is demanding that North China, and even the whole country, shall be placed under its direct control, as has already happened with Manchuria.

Keeping this aim in view, Japanese imperialism is making the most active preparation for war: further reinforcement of troops in *Manlangyu* and *East Chachar*, mass recruiting of Chinese workers, building of motor roads for war purposes, making use of robber bands (at the instigation of the Japanese, bandits under the leadership of the notorious *Liu Kwei-tang*, ravaged several provinces), sending out numerous aeroplanes to reconnoitre the whole district, increasing activity of the Japanese espionage service, erection of more than twenty wireless stations between *Jehol* and *West Mongolia*, which shows that the offensive is directed not only against North China, but also against *Sinkiang* and the *People's Republic of Outer Mongolia*, in order to attempt to advance against the *Soviet Union*.

Parallel with the Japanese offensive in the North, the British and French imperialists are making further attempts to extend their spheres of influence in South China. There is already talk of a restoration of the old alliance between Great Britain and Japan. In the fight for hegemony in the Pacific Ocean the U.S.A. imperialists ardently desire to convert the whole of China into their colony. The recent exchange of Notes between Japan and the U.S.A. has no other purpose to serve than the conspiracy against the Soviet Union. All the imperialists, and especially the German, are preparing to recognise Manchukuo in order to promote the partitioning and the international control of China. The question of granting a loan to Nanking is being eagerly discussed.

The population of North China and of the whole country is faced with a life and death struggle. The war against our Soviet districts is becoming more and more serious. The imperialistic invasion of China has entered a new stage, the stage of direct partitioning.

In this critical situation the Kuomintang is behaving more shamelessly than ever, and its representatives, *Huang Fu* and *Ho Yin Chin*, are quite openly conducting traitorous negotiations. Nanking has sent its deputy Foreign Minister, *Tang Yu Jiu*, to *Changchun* in order to pay a visit to *Pu Yi*. *Chiang Kai-shek* and

his creatures decided at the Nanchang conference to accept all the Japanese demands. The evacuation of North China by the Kuomintang troops has already begun and many North-Western divisions have been brought to the South to fight against the Red Army. The Kuomintang, in the service of Japan, is holding down the anti-Japanese movements and strikes. *Chiang Kai-shek* has issued strict commands against all strikes or acts of sabotage. By these facts the Kuomintang has proved itself a most reliable agent of Japanese imperialism and a most loyal subject of *Pu Yi*.

In order to cover up its treachery the Kuomintang is carrying on the most shameful demagogic propaganda by representing the situation in North China as not at all dangerous, and simply denying the military occupation of *Panhung* and *Lanchang* in *Yunnan* by British imperialism. On the other hand, it represents the anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist movements as an obstacle to their "constructive" policy. It is engaging with all haste and energy in the campaign against the Soviet districts, but is doing nothing to avert the danger in North China. A fresh wave of oppression and enslavement of the working masses of China is commencing in order that the Kuomintang shall have a free hand to betray the country. And this is what they call the "movement for national renaissance."

The excuse made by the Kuomintang that the country is too weak to offer resistance to the Japanese is completely refuted by the fact of the successful fights of the anti-Japanese troops and volunteers in Manchuria, in North China and in Shanghai. And the heroic Red Army has always been able to defeat, one after the other, the imperialist and Kuomintang campaigns. The Kuomintang itself has smoothed the way for the imperialists to invade China. China is weak because the Kuomintang bows to imperialism.

Working people of China! The imperialist guns are directed against us! The Kuomintang will not be able to carry out its treachery if we rise against it. Everyone who does not wish to live as a colonial slave under foreign rule, who does not wish to be sold by the Kuomintang, must arm himself in order, by the national revolutionary war, to defend North China and the whole country, in order to drive out the Japanese and the other imperialists along with their tool, the Kuomintang. The masses of the working people, without distinction of political opinion and sex, must join the anti-imperialist united front against the attacks of the Japanese and other imperialists. Our anti-imperialist programme is:

(1) Against the Kuomintang capitulators, no illusions in regard to the League of Nations or the United States, union of all toilers as an invincible force in the national revolutionary fight for emancipation against imperialism.

(2) For the irreconcilable national revolutionary fight to defend the independence and territorial integrity of China.

(3) We appeal to the masses to take part in the war against Japanese imperialism and to support the partisans.

(4) Confiscation of all weapons in order to arm the masses. Confiscation of all property of the Japanese imperialists in China and of all traitors, the proceeds to be used for financing the war against Japanese imperialism.

(5) Destruction of the influence of the Japanese and all other imperialists as well as of the influence of all traitors, non-payment of all debts and the use of this money for the anti-Japanese war.

(6) Complete breaking off of diplomatic relations with Japan, mobilisation of all land, sea and air forces against Japan, cessation of the campaign against the Soviet districts.

(7) Against the Tangu Treaty and against direct negotiations. That is our programme of the national revolutionary fight, which should be supported by all working people and all genuine anti-imperialists.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

April 10, 1934.

The Labour Movement

Strike of Agricultural Workers in Spain

Contrary to the official "optimism" displayed by the Spanish government, the general strike of the landworkers has spread throughout the whole country. 300,000 landworkers are on strike in a country in which the land and forest workers constitute 60 per cent. of the working population.

It availed the government nothing that it declared the strike to be unlawful and all agricultural work as "public service" and threatened with heavy punishment anybody directly or indirectly propagating the cessation of work during the harvest time, that it submitted all newspapers to a preliminary censorship in order to exclude any articles and reports which might be favourable to the landworkers.

In Spain there are over 3 million poor peasants who possess no land whatever, and manage to exist only as wage workers, most of them on the huge estates of the big landowners. Already before the present crisis these masses of the landless rural population were glad if they worked 200 days a year. Now the great majority of them are actually starving.

Characteristic of the conditions under which this important section of the Spanish population has to live is an agreement concluded in Salamanca and which became the subject of public discussion in the Spanish parliament. According to this agreement the landworkers were paid a daily wage of 2.50 pesetas. Those landworkers, however, who received food from the landowners, received no wages whatever. That is to say, these landworkers in the province of Salamanca received nothing more than their bare food.

The landworkers are realising more and more that only the slogan of the C.P. of Spain, calling for the immediate confiscation of the big estates and their division among the landless peasants, will mean the solution of the agrarian question. The social-fascist and anarchist leaders are more and more losing their influence over the landworkers, whilst the Communist Party is steadily gaining in popularity. The class struggle in the village is becoming more acute. Cases in which the landworkers occupy the big estates, and seize the cattle, agricultural implements and farm buildings of the landlords, are becoming more numerous. The gendarmes, who are at the disposal of the big landowners, proceed with the greatest brutality against the poor peasants. The latter are defending themselves, with the result that, especially in the provinces of Andalusia and Estremadura, an almost uninterrupted guerilla warfare has been going on for a long time.

The immediate cause of the present strike of the landworkers was the abolition by parliament on May 24 of the law regarding landworkers. This law was enacted in the first period of the Republic as a result of the pressure of the masses of revolutionary landworkers. It forbade estate owners to engage landworkers from other districts so long as there were unemployed landworkers in their own district. The repeal of this law called forth the greatest indignation among the landworkers. They saw what threatened them if the agrarians made use of the repeal of the law in order to introduce strike-breakers and cheaper labour from outside districts. The landworkers went over to the counter-attack. In view of the good harvest and the price of grain, which was maintained at a high level by the government and which thus assured good profits to the estate owners, they demanded an increase in their starvation wages, which had been reduced in the previous year under the pretext of the bad harvest.

All the endeavours of the reformist leaders and the terrorist measures of the government proved unavailing. The reformist leaders attempted at the last moment to conclude a compromise with the government. They did not succeed, however, in preventing the action. The strike involved all the agricultural districts.

The government thereupon so intensified its repressive measures that practically the whole country was under martial law. The Ministerial Council decided to set up in every province a commission for the "protection of the harvest," i.e., for the protection of the profits of the big landowners and for prolonging the hunger of the landworkers. These Commissions consist of representatives of the authorities and the big landowners and have power to adopt all measures necessary for securing the harvest. Through these Commissions the big agrarians have immediate influence over all

actions of the enormous police forces which the government has sent to all the strike centres.

It is not surprising that with this "securing" of the harvest work with carbines it has daily come to bloody conflicts between the mobile guards and the strikers, in the course of which there have been many killed. Even according to the reports of the bourgeois press the prisons are everywhere filled with strikers. Workers' clubs and meeting places have been closed and meetings of strikers dissolved by means of rifle fire.

In some localities the strikers are now demanding as a pre-condition to the resumption of work not only the fulfilment of their economic demands, but also the release of the prisoners. In numerous cases it has come to armed fights between strikers and strike-breakers and police.

This heroic fight of the Spanish landworkers is thus an eloquent proof of how extraordinarily acute the class struggle has become in the villages of Spain. The more the Communist Party of Spain wins the leadership of the revolutionary masses of landworkers and poor peasants, the more quickly will this fight become the starting point for fresh class struggles in Spain.

Compulsory Agreements in the British Textile Industry

By Rose Smith (London)

A question of great importance to all women workers is that of government interference in the fixing of wage rates for working women. Because our national education has been used to instil the idea that the State is something above classes, many working women have the illusion that when parliament steps in there is a chance of them getting a square deal.

It is well to remember the words of Lenin:—

"The State is the organ of class domination, the organ of oppression of one class by another. Its aim is the creation of order which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes."

The fact of the existing wages boards should be sufficient warning of what is likely to happen.

The Trades Board Act of 1909 legalised the payment of wages to women in a number of industries at 50 per cent. below that paid to men. It has been responsible for scandalously low wages in the clothing, jute, and confectionery trades—and has been used again and again by the masters to reduce wage rates.

The National government, following upon its fascist measures of the Trenchard Act, the new Unemployment Bill, and the Disaffection Bill, is now rushing through a Bill to legalise agreements in the textile industry. What lies behind these measures?

Lancashire has for a century been a cock-pit of the workers' struggle. The Lancashire textile working women, the first to be organised into trade unions, have frequently engaged in strike struggles. Conditions in the Lancashire mills to-day beggar description. Instances are known of women leaving the mills with 2s. for a week's wages. Family savings have been pooled, death policies sold, and the housewife's treasure, the sideboard, disposed of to raise cash to buy looms, under the mistaken impression that to buy machinery meant to buy work.

In mill after mill the women come out on strike. They are most bitterly opposed to the **more-loom system**, introduced with the active assistance of the trade union officials.

Meanwhile the trade union leadership is doing everything possible to avoid concerted action by the workers. In association with the leadership of the Labour Party, they have worked out a scheme for Cotton Control Boards and Legislation of Agreements, and in the campaign against Japanese competition they have played a very effective second to the masters.

An extension of the more-loom system to fancy cloths and a new and lower wage list is planned. The Enabling Bill, under the guise of legalisation, is the means whereby it is hoped to get this policy across. So in order to avoid "disputes," to bluff the workers that by peaceful methods they can obtain a guaranteed minimum wage, Arbitration Courts will be established.

The Nelson women have already begun the building of an opposition to this policy of betrayal of workers' interests. The fight must be to insist that any new agreement must provide for payment on the old union list, the fall-back wage, and no extension of the more-loom system. This fourth landmark in fascist legislation by the National government should rouse all working women for greater activity around our class demands.

The shameful role of the German and Austrian social-democratic parties, in damping down the fighting spirit of the working women, the instilling of illusions of peaceful progress to socialism through municipal housing, electrification schemes, the appointment of Labour women as magistrates and administrators of capitalist laws, must be explained to all our working women friends.

Our reply must be to emulate the conduct of the Lancashire women workers and the heroic Indian textile workers, and the Japanese women, who face death rather than the betrayal of their interests.

Increasing Militancy of the Working Class of Denmark

By A. Bl. (Copenhagen)

After the attacks on the working class in the Spring of this year, when the wages agreements were prolonged for a considerable section of the working class by various manoeuvres of the reformists and of the "Labour government," when the capitalists, the reformists, and the social-democratic police throttled the strikes of the seamen and of the slaughtermen, the social-democratic demagogues believed that they would enjoy twelve months of quiet.

The social-democratic bureaucrats overlooked the fact that the workers will not accept the government arbitration awards without resistance, that they realise the necessity of a counter-offensive.

The strike of the women employed in the big *Hirschsprung* tobacco factory was an "unofficial" strike against the attacks of the employers on wages and working conditions. It was an offensive strike of the working women against rationalisation. Although the reformists succeeded in throttling the strike before victory was achieved, it is nevertheless a symptom of the workers' offensive against the capitalist attacks on their standard of living.

The rank and file of the trade unions are in open revolt against their leaders and against the government. The local branch of the general workers' union in *Esbjerg* has taken the initiative for calling a national conference in order to organise the struggle of the unemployed, and the great response to this call plainly shows that the patience of the great masses is exhausted.

Since the arbitration award for the dockworkers was declared binding, the unrest among this category of workers has increased to such an extent that the reformist leaders of the dockworkers' union have been compelled, despite the instructions of the Federation Executive, to convene a dockworkers' conference, where, under the pressure of the rank and file, the question of independent action to enforce the burning demands of the dockworkers will be discussed.

In the union of the slaughtermen, who owing to the compulsory arbitration award were compelled to break off their strike, the rank and file are demanding a change in the policy of the union; they are demanding the right of the members to determine the policy of the union and to be led by such men as deserve the confidence of the rank and file.

Thus the hopes of the exploiters to establish peace in industry with the help of the reformists and of the government will not be realised. The growing ferment among the working class will more and more assume concrete form in the shape of their necessary and justified demands. The working masses of Denmark are proceeding to the attack, they want to become the masters of their own organisations and thereby the masters of their own fate.

The Trial of the Wreckers in Kiev

A trial has been held in Kiev of the employees of the Economic Department of the Kiev district, whom the G.P.U. organs exposed as wreckers. They have been found guilty of embezzling State property and engaging in foreign exchange speculation. Almost all the employees were formerly traders and speculators, who managed by concealing their past to find positions in the Soviet institutions. Six of the accused have been sentenced to death, 14 to various terms of imprisonment.

A part of the bourgeois press of Western Europe is endeavouring to use the Kiev trial as an occasion for a fresh campaign of slander against the Soviet Union. It is unnecessary to say that the reports contained in these bourgeois newspapers are mendacious calumnies.

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

The Anti-Imperialist Committee Movement

By Nemo

August 1, 1934, the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the world war, falls at a time when the whole world is on the eve of a new—a second—war. Lenin predicted nearly twenty years ago that a second world war would be inevitable if the revolutionary upheavals of the post-war period did not lead to the complete victory of the world revolution. The great lesson which the class-conscious proletariat has to draw from Lenin's teachings is, that the new world war can be prevented only if the toiling masses of all countries rally together in a militant united front in order completely to destroy the root of all wars, capitalism.

The struggle against imperialist war can only be conducted as a struggle of the *broad toiling masses* in a revolutionary united front. The winning of allies and the neutralisation of enemy reserves is just as necessary for the proletariat as the winning of military allies is for an imperialist Power. To mobilise the broad masses of social-democratic, non-party and Christian workers, the peasants, the national minorities and the millions of colonial slaves, as well as the progressively-minded intellectuals, against imperialist war, means to rally them in a militant united front, to set them concrete anti-imperialist tasks and to show them the only possible revolutionary way out of hunger and war.

The committee movement is an important sector of the anti-imperialist front. Since the *Amsterdam Anti-War Congress* in August, 1932, at which 3,000 delegates from 30 countries were present, the movement arising from this Congress has assumed a mass character. In nearly every country new congresses and conferences have taken place at which the united front between Communist, social-democratic, non-party and Christian workers was forged, broad masses of petty-bourgeois and progressive intellectuals were won as allies in the fight against imperialist war, and also representatives of the army and navy were present.

At the *London Anti-War Congress* in March, 1933, 1,500 delegates represented no less than one and a half million workers, embracing nearly every trade union. Almost at the same time the *Latin-American Anti-War Congress* in Montevideo took place, which promoted the anti-imperialist movement in the whole of South America.

At the *Scandinavian Workers' Congress* in April, 1933, about 400 delegates from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland were present. Thirty-five trade unions were officially represented. The Conference worked out a practical programme, the carrying out of which was entrusted to a committee of thirty representatives of all political tendencies.

In June, 1933, Anti-War Congresses took place in *Holland* and in *Bulgaria*. In September, 1933, there was held in New York the *Anti-War Congress of North America*. Thirty-five of the 48 States of the United States were represented by 2,600 delegates and 30 organisations. The Congress, which was opened by Comrade Henri Barbusse, was participated in by 303 representatives of trade unions, 147 delegates of factory committees, 41 from farmers' organisations, 79 students, 9 negroes, 135 representatives of the unemployed, as well as by delegates of socialist and pacifist organisations. The Congress elected a national committee and decided to issue a weekly paper.

The *Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress of Europe*, which was held in Paris in June, 1933, was a powerful demonstration against fascism and imperialism. The delegates to this Congress represented nearly three million European toilers. The majority of the Congress consisted of non-Communists. A special Youth Conference participated in by 300 youth delegates took place after the Workers' Congress. The World Committee against Fascism has

merged with the World Committee against Imperialism into a uniform committee. Their common weekly paper appears in German under the title, "Die Weltfront," and in French, "Le Front Mondial."

The events in the Far East lent particular importance to the *Anti-War Congress in Shanghai*, which was held in September, 1933. The preparation and the carrying out of this Congress encountered the fiercest resistance of the Chinese authorities, so that the 2,000 delegates were compelled to select a smaller number of delegates from their midst in order to hold the Congress illegally. The Congress received the support of the Indonesian Anti-War Committee, the Harbin Anti-Japanese League, the Manchurian revolutionary army, the Szechwan Youth organisation, the Chinese League for the Emancipation of Women, the Shanghai tobacco workers and the Japanese Union for Peace in the Far East. There is no doubt that the Congress had the support of the broadest masses of China.

The anti-imperialist committee movement has also made great progress in *Australia*. In the course of last year anti-war congresses were held in various parts of Australia as a prelude to the *All-Australian Anti-War Congress* which was held in Sydney at the beginning of October, 1933. Three hundred and forty organisations were represented by 546 delegates, including delegates from the Labour Party. The slogan of defence of the Soviet Union has proved to be very effective in the whole anti-imperialist congress campaign. The whole of Australia has been covered by a network of anti-imperialist committees.

The mass movement against fascism and war has made great progress in *Czechoslovakia* during the last few months. A conference of representatives of the most important factories held in Prague in March, 1934, decided to convene a national congress against the war danger. The appeal issued by the conference to set up the anti-imperialist united front met with a lively response in the whole country. Unity conferences against fascism and war were held in various parts of the country. The movement of the anti-imperialist youth committees has made good progress recently, a fact which is reflected in the anti-militarist work of the youth.

In *France* the anti-imperialist movement, under Communist leadership, made a great stride forward on the basis of a broad united front. The movement originating from the Amsterdam Congress has led to the setting up of 1,000 fighting committees, to which great masses of socialist workers and reformist trade union sections belong.

In all capitalist countries the congress and committee movement is being systematically developed in order to draw ever fresh masses into the anti-imperialist front. Thus, for instance, the Italian emigrants abroad have already set up 50 anti-war committees at the beginning of 1934. National congresses against imperialist war are being systematically held, as for instance in *Switzerland* in May, 1934. On July 28, 1934, the 20th anniversary of the world war, the *Women's World Congress Against War* will be opened in Paris.

The greatest importance attaches to winning the youth, the main contingent of fascism and militarism, for the struggle against imperialist war. Comrade *Bela Kun* quite correctly pointed out at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. that the winning of the youth has become the most important task of Party and mass work, even the most vital question of the revolution.

The ideological preparation of the youth for war by the bourgeoisie has assumed enormous dimensions. Therefore the anti-militarist movement has placed in the centre of its work the struggle for winning the working youth. The *World Youth Congress Against War*, which was held in Paris in October, 1933, was a powerful action for rallying the toiling youth of all countries for the struggle against imperialist war. More than 1,000 delegates representing 34 countries raised their voice against world imperialism. Of these delegates 530 belonged to no party, 110 were young socialists, 287 Communists and the rest representatives

of bourgeois youth organisations. Fifty young workers, the majority of them socialists, had come from Germany, at the risk of their lives, to attend the Congress. The Congress was participated in by delegates from 15 English universities, Negroes from Birmingham, young peasants from Pennsylvania, young workers from American labour service camps, young liberals from Tunisia, young workers from Portugal, youth from the U.S.S.R., the radical socialists of Spain, Christian young peasants of Germany, the socialist Youth of Belgium, France and other countries, as well as the delegates from numerous detachments of soldiers and sailors.

During the Congress a special conference of the young socialists was held, at which a sharp resolution against the war policy of the Second International was adopted. The special young workers' factory conference which took place at the same time was of particular importance. During the Congress 80,000 anti-militarist leaflets were scattered from an aeroplane over the French town of Creuzot, where the huge works and workers' dwellings of the notorious French armament firm Schneider-Creuzot are situated. The Congress was a powerful expression of the determination of the toiling youth of all countries to set up the militant united front against fascism and war. The Congress, which was opened by Barbusse, adopted a historical manifesto addressed to the youth of the whole world, as well as an anti-war pledge. It was the prelude to a number of national congresses of the toiling Youth.

A number of Anti-War Congresses will take place in the next few weeks in connection with the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the war. Apart from the Women's World Congress, an Anti-Imperialist Students' Congress will take place in August.

The considerable progress made by the anti-imperialist committee movement cannot, of course, blind us to the existing shortcomings. This movement has not sufficiently concentrated on the leading armament concerns of Europe. Transports of munitions have not yet been prevented to any considerable extent, a fact which shows the inadequate contacts existing between the committee movement and the railwaymen, dock and transport workers. The penetration of our movement into the rank and file of the social-democratic workers and our enlightenment in regard to armaments and the character of the future war must be regarded as quite inadequate. The drawing in of the peasants and of the national minorities into the anti-imperialist movement appears to be quite neglected.

The anti-imperialist committee movement has to wage a ruthless struggle against the social-democratic leadership, not only on account of the latter's active role in the imperialist war preparations, but also on account of their open sabotage of the committee movement. The Second International forbade its members to attend the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress, and the 200 social-democratic worker delegates to the Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress of Europe attended this Conference in defiance of their leaders. The Scandinavian Workers' Conference was subjected to severe persecution on the part of the social-democratic Stauning government. Participation in the Amsterdam anti-war movement is expressly forbidden for members of the British Labour Party and the English trade unions, and the French socialist party has expelled numerous members who took part in this movement, such as the group "Action Socialiste." The leader of the Geneva social democrats, Nicole, who delivered very radical speeches in Amsterdam, has now become an opponent of the Amsterdam movement.

There is no doubt that the anti-imperialist committee movement, in spite of all the shortcomings still existing, is acquiring increasing importance in the struggle against fascism and imperialism. This is also the reason for the sabotage of the social-democratic leaders, who realise that the revolutionary united front against imperialism is at the same time the revolutionary fighting front against capitalism and fascism. This is also the reason for the increasing persecution to which this movement is subjected by the ruling classes.

The White Terror

The Lives of Six Deputies of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc of the Latvian Diet in Danger

By R. Seldt

The organisers of the fascist upheaval of May 15 are frantically endeavouring to create the impression that the fascist military dictatorship set up by them is directed also against the openly pro-German Right organisations. But already a few days after the coup the brutal fascist character of the new government was clearly revealed.

After the dissolution of all workers' organisations and the arrest of their leaders, the commencement of a regular hunt for revolutionary workers, the introduction of compulsory labour for the unemployed and the setting up of government commissioners in the trade unions the fascist rulers in Latvia are planning a new monstrous crime. The six deputies of the workers' and peasants' fraction who were arrested eight months ago are to be brought before a military court.

With the introduction of military courts a special law was passed according to which these courts will try "crimes" which were committed before the introduction of martial law, i.e., before the fascist coup. Under this law the six deputies of the workers' and peasants' bloc are liable to the death penalty.

For years the bourgeois press has conducted a vile campaign of slander against the courageous representatives of the Latvian working class. The newspapers have constantly published provocative material fabricated by the political police, by which it was sought to make out that the deputies of the workers' and peasants' fraction had secret connections with the illegal Communist Party of Latvia and with the Comintern.

The purpose of the campaign of slander and the consequent arrest of the workers' and peasants' fraction is clear: the workers' and peasants' fraction has courageously fought against the criminal plans of fascism. It has carried out mass work, organised strikes, anti-war and anti-fascist campaigns. From the tribune of the Latvian Diet it has called upon the working people to fight against fascism and against the new fascist criminal code. It has exposed the war preparations of the Latvian bourgeoisie, and for this reason it was a thorn in the flesh of fascism. On their arrest the six deputies were brutally beaten up and cruelly tortured in the police prison.

The six deputies are all well-known leaders of the Latvian working class. They are:—

(1) **Rudolf Lapin**, shoemaker, an active leading member of legal workers' organisations and leader of the many strikes of the Riga workers. He has already been persecuted on several occasions and spent several years in prison. He was elected to parliament whilst in prison.

(2) **Mattisson**, a small peasant. He has likewise served several terms of imprisonment.

(3) **Fritz Berg**, a landworker, who took an active part in the trade union movement of the landworkers and peasants, and possesses great authority among the workers and peasants. He was arrested at a demonstration on the occasion of a funeral of a worker shot by the police. He was tortured by the police and was sentenced to four years' and nine months' imprisonment.

(4) **Peter Rutin**, railway worker, was likewise elected to parliament while in prison, where he was serving a sentence on account of membership of the C.P. of Latvia.

(5) **Michal Bitte**, dockworker, elected member of the Riga health insurance administration.

(6) **Oscar Gulbis**, shoemaker. He was chairman of the central strike committee of the seamen's strike in Summer, 1933.

That which fascism did not dare to do before the coup in view of the indignation of the masses on account of the arrest and torture of the deputies of the workers' and peasants' fraction, it is now carrying out under the leadership of the kulak "Peasants' League" and its military clique. The fascist government intends to get rid of the workers' and peasants' fraction once for all by having its members sentenced to death. At the same time it wishes to avoid an open trial before the ordinary courts at which the ill-treatment of the deputies would be exposed.

The crime that Latvian fascism is preparing to commit against the members of the workers' and peasants' fraction must

be prevented. The I.L.D. of Latvia, in spite of the most difficult conditions, is conducting its fight against fascism and for the release of the arrested deputies and is carrying on a big relief activity for the victims of the fascist terror. The working people of the whole world, who have so often responded to the call of the International Labour Defence, who have so magnificently demonstrated their solidarity with the victims of German and Austrian fascism, will now, in response to the call of the I.L.D., aid their Latvian brothers in their fight for the release of the six deputies. The mass campaign of the International Labour Defence must enforce the release of the workers' and peasants' fraction!

A New Plan to Murder Rakosi is Being Prepared

Appeal of the Hungarian I.L.D.

On April 26 Comrade Rakosi had served a sentence of 8½ years' imprisonment. Nevertheless he has not been released. Comrade Rakosi has been transferred from the Sternen Prison in Szegedin to Budapest. He was told he was going to be released, but he is still being kept in prison. A new indictment is being prepared against him on account of his revolutionary activity during the proletarian dictatorship.

Workers, comrades!

Comrade Rakosi was People's Commissar at the time of the first Hungarian Soviet Republic. After his having served eight and a half years' imprisonment, the Hungarian bourgeoisie want to wreak further vengeance on him. We know with what hatred the fascist bourgeoisie persecutes the revolutionary leaders of the first Hungarian Soviet Republic. After the overthrow of the first Soviet Power, the arrested People's Commissars were sentenced to death or to lifelong imprisonment. They wanted to do the same thing with Comrade Rakosi. The protest of the working people of the capitalist countries, before all the solidarity of the working people in the Soviet Union, rescued Desider Bokányi and his comrades from the gallows of the Hungarian ruling class. The solidarity of the working people of the whole world twice stayed the arm of the executioner which was reaching out after Comrade Rakosi. It did not permit a court-martial to try him. It did not permit the Hungarian fascist judges to condemn him to death. The prison terror of the Hungarian bourgeoisie repeatedly threatened Comrade Rakosi with the same fate as that which befell Comrades Goegoes, Löwy and others, who were murdered in prison. We did not leave Comrade Rakosi in the lurch, we rescued him from the clutches of Csiky and Rustek, those prison directors who declared that they are always capable of converting prison sentences against Communists into death sentences. Meanwhile Comrade Rakosi is still not free. The jailors of the fascist bourgeoisie are still threatening him with the death sentence.

Workers, comrades, social-democratic, Christian-social and non-Party toilers!

Let us organise everywhere protest meetings and protest demonstrations! It is a matter of honour for all toilers that Comrade Rakosi be released and that we continue the struggle until we have secured the release of all political prisoners.

The Hungarian International Labour Defence.

Budapest.

The First Anniversary of the Death of Clara Zetkin

(JUNE 20, 1934)

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the I.L.D.

To all members of the I.L.D.

To the working people of the whole world!

A year has passed since the death of our unforgettable Clara Zetkin. The International Labour Defence, which after the death of Clara Zetkin, its first chairman, called upon you to continue the work of the great champion and to strengthen the fight against the brutal white terror, fascism, and imperialist war to which Clara Zetkin devoted all her energies, once again calls your attention to the events in the capitalist world.

Japanese imperialism is waging a bloody war of conquest in the Far East and is provocatively preparing for war against the Soviet Union. The armies of the Kuomintang, supported by the imperialists of the whole world, are fighting against China. War is raging also in Latin America, in Arabia, and in Morocco. In

connection with these wars and war preparations the bourgeoisie of the whole world is intensifying the terror against the working people to the utmost. Open fascist dictatorships are being set up in an increasing number of countries. In Germany, concentration camps, executioner's axe, and the murder of workers; in Austria, gallows, prison, and concentration camps; in Spain the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to crush the revolutionary movement by means of bestial white terror; in Bulgaria, sentences of death on sailors and soldiers as part of the war preparations. In Japan the terror against the working people is raging with incomparable cruelty. In Hungary, Comrade Rakosi is again threatened with execution after having served 8½ years' imprisonment. The Scottsboro' boys are still threatened by the electric chair. The terror in the colonial countries is frightful.

On the day on which our incomparable Clara Zetkin was brought to her last resting place at the Kremlin Wall in the Red Square, and hundreds of thousands of workers of Red Moscow paid her their last respects, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the I.L.D. met together and decided to erect a monument—not of stone, announcing her death, but a living monument in the hearts of millions of the exploited and enslaved of the capitalist and colonial countries. The Executive Committee of the I.L.D. decided to declare **June 20, the day of Clara Zetkin's death, International Recruiting and Collecting Day of the I.L.D.; it decided to set up for the children of the murdered and arrested revolutionaries of the whole world the "Clara Zetkin" Children's Relief Fund.**

We are now approaching the first anniversary of the death of Clara Zetkin. Make this day, in the sense of the great champion, a fighting day against fascism and against intensified terror, against the war danger. Celebrate it in the spirit of Clara Zetkin as international recruiting and collecting day for the I.L.D., the organiser of international solidarity. Remember the call Clara Zetkin addressed to you shortly before her death:—

"Opponents of fascism of all countries! I call upon you to perform with the I.L.D. your full duty of international solidarity. The sacrifice which the I.L.D. demands of you is trifling in comparison with the sacrifices which the revolutionary workers are making every day in their heroic fight against fascism. None of us must know any rest until fascism, which brings bloody oppression, terror, hunger, and war in its train, lies shattered."

Toilers! On June 20, 1934, the first anniversary of the death of our great fighter, fight for the fulfilment of this testament! Convert it into a day of greatest solidarity! Strengthen the fight against imperialist war and the danger of war, against the fascist terror in all countries, against the fury of fascist terror in Germany, Austria, Japan, China, and in other countries. Enforce the release of Ernst Thaelmann, whom the fascists in Germany want to murder!

Collect for the "Clara Zetkin" Children's Relief Fund! Join the organisation of international solidarity, the I.L.D.

E.C. of the I.L.D.

Dimitrov's Mother Appeals for International Solinarity to Save Scottsboro Boys

The following appeal has been sent out by Paraskeva Dimitrova, the mother of Georgi Dimitrov:—

"To the Toilers of the World!

"It was your many acts of solidarity, your protest meetings and demonstrations in all parts of the world, your rallying to the support of the framed-up victims of the Reichstag fire, that compelled Hitler to release Tanev, Popov, and my son, Georgi Dimitrov. For this I do not find words to express my gratitude. But I want you to know that you have made me very happy.

"It was you who forced an unwilling court to bring in a verdict of 'not guilty.' And when Goering nevertheless declared his intention of keeping them in prison, it was your mighty protests and the act of the Soviet Government in making Dimitrov, Tanev, and Popov citizens of the toilers' Fatherland that forced open the prison doors and restored them to freedom. You have thus brought home to me more fully than ever before what a mighty power there is in International Solidarity. It is able to hold executioners at bay. It opens prison doors. That is what you have so deeply impressed upon my mind.

"And now I want to raise my voice in behalf of the nine innocent Scottsboro' Negro boys in the U.S.A. They have been held in jail in Alabama for more than three years under constant

threat of death in the electric chair or at the hands of a lynch mob, thirsting for their blood. Their only hope is in International Solidarity. Two of the boys, Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, have again been condemned to death. Their cases have been appealed to the Alabama Supreme Court.

"The International Red Aid, parent body of the I.L.D., which gave such valuable support in organising and leading the world-wide protest movement for my son Georgi and his co-defendants, and which is conducting the Scottsboro' campaign for so many years, has called for an intensification of the protest movement for the Scottsboro' boys.

"When, two years ago, Ada Wright came to Bulgaria in order to call upon the workers and peasants of our country to save her two sons and the other Scottsboro' boys, I admired this courageous woman who toured the whole of Europe and made such efforts to rouse the masses against the planned legal murder. And when I was threatened with the loss of my son, I felt myself drawn even closer to Ada Wright.

"I, mother of Georgi Dimitrov, therefore appeal to you, toilers of the world, to join this movement and demand the immediate, unconditional and safe release of the innocent Negro boys.

"When you protest against the fascist terror that is raging in Germany and Austria, also raise your voice against the lynch terror to which the Negro toilers in the United States are subjected and which aims to burn the Scottsboro' boys to death in the electric chair.

"When you demand the release of Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the heroic Communist Party of Germany, and the tens of thousands of anti-fascists languishing in prisons and concentration camps in Germany and Austria, also demand the release of the Scottsboro' boys.

"Send letters and resolutions to President Roosevelt at Washington and to the Supreme Court of Alabama at Montgomery, Alabama, that they must at once order the liberation of the innocent Negro boys.

"Do for the mothers of the Scottsboro' boys what you did for me. Restore their sons to them. International Solidarity can and must do this.

"Such is my appeal to you.

(Signed) "Paraskeva Dimitrova."

In the International

The Second Party Congress of the C.P. of Cuba

By Manual Valencia

The Communist Party of Cuba held its historic Second Congress on April 20 to 22 at a time of great development of and perspective for the agrarian-anti-imperialist revolution in Cuba.

In spite of the ferocious terror unleashed by the national concentration government of Mendieta, in spite of the savagery of Col. Batista, army head, who attempted to prevent the Congress with bayonets, 67 delegates from the provinces, representing the lower organisations of the Party, gathered at the Congress. This meeting marked a great step toward the clarification of the basic tasks which confront the revolutionary movement in Cuba.

Called at the moment when the Mendieta government was confronted with a wave of mass protest against its fascist decrees evidenced in a series of militant strikes against the decrees, the Second Congress drew up a balance-sheet of the period of development of the Cuban Party since the First Congress.

Comrade Martinez, general secretary of the Communist Party, in his penetrating analysis, pointed out as the central perspective the rapid sharpening of developments leading to decisive struggles for Soviet power in Cuba, calling upon all the Party through the delegates to forge a Bolshevik Party. The development of strikes during the Congress confirms the perspective given by the report of the Central Committee to the National Congress.

The report of the Central Committee was very informative on the tremendous advances made by the Party since its first constituent Congress in 1925. Since its beginning the Communist Party of Cuba, which was then only a sectarian group, isolated from the masses, has forged itself through the struggle of the proletariat and under the leadership of the Communist International, into a Party with mass influence which is now entering on the road toward the winning of the majority of the working class.

The political thesis presented by the Central Committee underlined the fact that the development of the Party has been possible only through the heroic struggle carried on against the dictatorship of Machado and Yankee imperialism, and through a ruthless struggle against all the tendencies foreign to Communism. The Party has achieved great results in its efforts to clarify the application of the line of the Communist International in Cuba, purifying its ranks of opportunist elements of the Right or "Left." The implacable struggle against the Trotskyism which sprang up in Cuba a little before the fall of Machado and which held the counter-revolutionary theory of the impossibility of a revolution in Cuba without a proletarian revolution in the United States. This has worked out in practice as a constant collaboration of the Trotskyites with the governments which followed Machado, in their carrying out a role of strike-breaking.

The Congress emphasised the correct strategy the Party followed in rooting itself in the basic proletariat of the country, particularly in the sugar industry. At the beginning of 1932, the Party commenced seriously to apply its plan of concentration in the plantations and mills of the sugar industry, leading militant strikes which produced constant armed struggles against the rural guards of Machado. This helped the Party very greatly to head struggles against the feudal remnants on the land, struggles which culminated in the general strike of August, which overthrew Machado.

The delegation of the Second Congress demonstrated in large part the orientation of the Party toward the basic industries of the country, although it reflected at the same time all the weaknesses of the Party among certain other sections of the basic proletariat, especially the railroad workers. Of the 67 delegates, 43 were workers. Of these, 13 were sugar workers, nine tobacco workers, six transport workers, two metal workers, and the rest were from light industries. There were only three peasant delegates, which demonstrates the serious weakness of the work of the Party in the countryside. Although insufficient, the presence of 14 Negro delegates indicated a more effective understanding of the Negro question in the ranks of the Party.

The Second Congress severely criticised the weaknesses of the Party, especially the grave mistakes of August, 1933, which would have been disastrous for the revolutionary movement without rapid correction. In the report of the Central Committee, as well as in the political theses, these mistakes were underlined and characterised as social-democratic theory of the "lesser evil." The mistakes consisted in calling upon the workers during the general strike of August to go back to work because "it was necessary to choose between Yankee intervention and a weakened Machado." The Congress pointed out the necessity of an implacable struggle against the remnants of this theory, which still persists, as well as against the vestiges of anarcho-syndicalism, which is an obstacle to the winning of the masses for decisive struggles.

We must point out the weakness of the Congress reflected in the lack of a serious analysis of the causes for the lack of consolidation of the Soviets in the places where the high level of the struggles of the workers and peasants culminated in the taking over of local power (Mabay, Jaronu). We must also emphasise the weakness of the struggle against Yankee intervention, which reflects not only the organisational deficiency of the Party, but particularly the lack of a revolutionary perspective.

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba placed very sharply the question of realising transitory slogans: worker control, confiscation and distribution of the land of the Yankee and native landlords, as a lever for higher struggles toward taking over power and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government. Discussion around this question was very weak in the Congress.

The great weaknesses of the Party in the face of the problems of revolution were laid bare. The danger of a setback in the struggles of the peasants, because of the slowness with which the Party organises the agrarian struggles and the winning over of the peasants as the most revolutionary ally of the proletariat was sharply pointed out. The central slogan launched by the Central Committee and confirmed by the Congress was that of the preparation for and organisation of taking over the land and its distribution among the peasants, agricultural workers and soldiers; the organisation of peasant committees as well as the strengthening of the Party organisation among them.

No less sharply placed was the question of winning over the Negro masses. The Congress severely criticised the tendency to

hide the face of the Party before the Negro masses and the resistance to bringing into the Party Negro workers and peasants who showed a desire to enter the Party (Oriente). Especially did the Congress point out the necessity of a greater clarification of the Negro question as a national rather than a "racial" question, typified in the slogan for self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt of Oriente province.

The general report of the Central Committee and the special emphasis on the **military work** of the Party revealed serious weakness in activity among the armed forces. In the armed struggles which developed during the military occupation of the mills in the last zafra (sugar harvest), the agitation among the soldiers resulted in fraternisation, including the refusal on the part of many of the soldiers to fire on the strikers. In spite of this favourable situation, the Party, as pointed out by the Congress, has made only the barest beginnings of work among the army. Organisation of committees of soldiers and the recruiting of soldiers into the Party was taken up as an urgent task.

The delegates gave their serious attention to the **trade union** report. The tremendous extension of the C.N.O.C. (Cuban National Confederation of Labour) during the course of the last three months had resulted in an increase of workers organised in revolutionary trade unions from 12,000 to 431,000. The victory achieved by the Party by the extension of the C.N.O.C. and its historic Fourth Congress held in January, 1934, placed in the forefront the slogan and practical realisation of the winning of the majority of the working class. The great political and organisational weakness of the unions was also brought forward, as was the pressing need of strengthening Communist fractions in the unions. The Congress raised the slogan of the preparation and organisation of mass political strikes.

On the basis of a concrete and correct analysis of the present situation in Cuba, the Congress called the attention of the whole Party to the danger confronting the revolutionary movement in the growing influence of **Grau San Martin and Guiteras** among the working class and peasantry, especially in the interior of the island, as well as the influence of the reformist leaders (railroad). The urgent necessity of unmasking them and carrying on a struggle against their influence, counterposing to the "Leftism" of Grau and Company the programme of a workers' and peasants' government, was stressed.

Among the immediate tasks set by the Congress were: The concentration of the Party on the reformist railroad unions where an increasing revolutionary opposition can be found, and concentration among the port workers as well as among the workers of certain strategic enterprises, such as telephone, electricity, etc., where the work of the Party has had only a weak beginning.

The strengthening of our influence among the petty bourgeoisie and especially among the students, who are going more and more to the left, was pointed out as an immediate necessary task.

One of the best reports was that given on the **youth work** of the Party which showed the influence of the Party among the masses of working youth. The weaknesses of the Young Communist League were singled out and were almost entirely reflections of the weaknesses of the Party.

An important task undertaken by the Second Congress was the decision unanimously adopted for the creation of a mass **daily newspaper** capable of agitation and propaganda on the programme of the Party, guiding and organising the Cuban toiling masses in their daily struggles, raising their political level and winning them for the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution for Soviet power.

For the realisation of the numerous tasks outlined by the Congress, the most important subjective factor was dwelt upon, the consolidation and extension of the Communist Party of Cuba and its transformation into a **mass party**, strengthening its iron discipline and breaking with all the deviations which can obstruct the march toward the victory of the revolution.

Before the closing of the Congress, the delegates heard the greeting of the delegate from the Communist Party of the United States, **Robert Minor**.

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba before electing a new central committee unanimously adopted the political resolution and sent its greetings to the following brother parties: The Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and to Comrade Stalin; to the heroic German Party and its leader, Comrade Thaelmann; to the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Red Army; to the Communist Parties of South America and the Caribbean and to the Communist Party of the United States.

Twenty Years Ago

From Class Struggle to Solidarity With Their Own Bourgeoisie

In the fierce conflicts about the correct strategy and tactics with the help of which we can most speedily and victoriously accomplish the proletarian revolution, we had to subject the Second International to the sharpest criticism. Whoever takes this criticism alone, without studying the whole epoch from 1871 to 1914, particularly the development of the working-class movement in the different countries and their organisation within the Second International from the year 1889 onwards, must arrive at the false conclusion that there was no labour movement up to the foundation of the Third International worthy of this name, with the sole exception of the Russian Labour Movement. This view was particularly current amongst the younger generation in the Communist Parties. The hard-boiled opportunists also immediately made capital for themselves out of this idea. They argued: If the Second International of the pre-war years had nothing in common with Marxism, led no class struggles, only carried on the policy of the bourgeoisie within the working-class camp, then what could they betray? The betrayal is only a legend!

The two documents of the Second International published by us—the resolutions passed at Stuttgart and Basle—show that the pre-war labour movement had already elaborated a relatively clear conception of the international situation:

"The Basle Manifesto," writes Comrade Lenin, "takes a quite precise, clear and definite attitude precisely to those concrete conflicts of interest which in 1912 were driving towards war, and which led to it in 1914. The Manifesto says that these conflicts are based on 'capitalist imperialism,' conflicts between Austria and Russia on account of the 'hegemony in the Balkans,' conflicts between England, France and Germany on account of the 'policy of conquest undertaken by them (by them all!) in the Near East,' conflicts between Italy and Austria on account of their mutual efforts 'to draw Albania into their sphere of influence' and to subject it to their 'domination,' conflicts between England and Germany on account of the general 'antagonism' existing between them, further because of the 'advance of Czarism on Armenia, Constantinople and so on.' . . . The pure annexationist, imperialist, reactionary, enslaving character of this war is stated in the clearest possible fashion in the Manifesto, and the Manifesto also arrives at the unavoidable conclusion: 'The war cannot be justified by the slightest pretext of the interests of the people! The war is prepared for the advantage of the profits of the capitalists' and the 'ambitions of dynasties'; it would be 'a crime' for the 'workers to shoot at one another," ("Lenin," Vol. 18, pp. 449-450, German Edition.)

Thus whoever voted for this Manifesto and then sanctioned war credits, advocated civil peace instead of utilising the crisis of capitalism caused by the war—which was the correct conclusion of the correct analysis, a conclusion which was also correctly drawn—whoever then was for Basle and then supported their own imperialist bourgeoisie was guilty of treachery, foul, miserable treachery.

Was the attitude of social democracy on the question of war before 1914 not perhaps an exception? An attitude dictated not perhaps by the interest of the class struggle, but by the desire for peace. Not at all. These things are closely connected. The epoch from 1871-1914 was not some kind of aberration in history, but an important stage of development and advance in the workers' international labour movement, an unprecedented advance as compared with the working-class movement of the previous epoch. We have already cited the great praise given by Engels to the German working-class movement of the 'seventies. The German movement, however, became more and more the

model for the whole international movement, it placed itself on the basis of scientific socialism:—

Lenin wrote—"The most gigantic liberation movement of an oppressed class, of the most revolutionary class in history, is impossible without revolutionary theory. It cannot be thought out, it *grows out* of the totality of revolutionary experience and the revolutionary ideas of all countries in the world. And such a theory *has been growing* since the second half of the 19th century. It is called Marxism." ("Lenin," Vol. 18, p. 79, German Edition.)

Marxism was the guiding principle of the Second International. Only parties which adhered to the principle of the class struggle and who conducted such a struggle not merely for the improvement of the condition of the working class *within* capitalist society, but for its overthrow and replacement by a socialist society where the means of production would be owned by all, were admitted to the Second International. A special resolution, that of the Amsterdam Congress in 1904, sharply criticised Ministerialism and Revisionism, placed itself unreservedly behind Bebel, who declared in his fight against the Bernsteinites at Hamover in 1889, that he still stood for the expropriation of the expropriators, and who said "I remain the deadly enemy of bourgeois society" at Dresden in 1903! When therefore the Second International provided bourgeois society with Presidents, Ministers, White Guard and Police Chiefs, when it became the chief social support of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the proletarian revolution, and where it had the choice between fascism and Communism, choose fascism, then this is no less a betrayal than the betrayal of August 4, 1914, when those hands which were raised for the Basle resolution, flew up for acceptance of the war credits. The old renegade Bernstein also admitted in words what the others confirmed by deeds.

There is not sufficient space in this article to follow the causes of these developments within the Second International. The facts are that the opportunistic decay extended very far within its organisation, and that it only required some special event to demonstrate its absolute degeneration so crassly. With regard to the cause, we may say the following, very briefly: We have already spoken of the period between 1871 to 1914 as an epoch in the working-class movement. However, in the development of capitalism gigantic changes have taken place in the basis of the labour movement. Instead of the competitive struggle of individual capitalists, there has developed the struggle of cartels, trusts, combines, imperialism has ruled since the end of the 'nineties! A period of gigantic political crises has been thereby initiated, the period of imperialist wars and the proletarian revolution, which demanded from the Parties of the proletariat a concrete re-orientation towards the revolutionary struggles. There was at best a re-orientation only in words—with the solitary exception of the Party of the Bolsheviks which had such a basis right from the beginning in Russia, which, so to speak, had become the focus of all the imperialist antagonisms and the real centre of the revolutionary movement. (Stalin.) In the remaining countries, not only was there no re-orientation, but the Right Wing in the Parties which embraced the conscious agents of the bourgeoisie within the camp of the proletariat obtained the upper hand more and more. For it was precisely imperialism—which rushed towards revolutionary crises with the speed of an express train—which had produced a small strata of better-paid workers with the aid of its super-profits, a strata which was the social basis of opportunism. The right wing could never have succeeded without the aid of the Centre, which paved the road to betrayal with revolutionary phrases. The loathing of action by the Centre resulted in it driving some of the workers into the camp of the Lefts; for the most part, however, they grew up to passivity and thus became the playthings of the Rights. The Lefts, who boasted few parties outside of Russia, were only a small, weak handful in most of the large Parties, far behind the Bolsheviks in theory and practice. Assisted to the utmost by the Bolsheviks, they made the most desperate efforts to fight against the opportunist contamina-

tion. As is now known, this was without success. And so the great betrayal took place.

Naturally, not all the leaders participated in it. There were, in addition, whole parties—such as the Serbian Party under the leadership of Tutsowitz, such as the Bulgarian Party—the narrow wing who followed the example of the Bolsheviks and voted against the war. The number of those who condemned the betrayal was by no means small. But now, much more than sharp criticism was necessary. Action, with a long view, was necessary. The imperialist war was only the beginning of the revolutionary crisis. It was necessary to make use of it for the proletarian revolution.

Lenin, the creator of the theory and tactic of the proletarian revolution, became the leader of the world proletariat.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Week in the Soviet Union

Children's Holidays in The Soviet Union

The commencement of the summer school holidays in the Soviet Union is an event which concerns the whole of public life. It is not the parents or some "charitable" associations which organise the recreation of the school youth, but the whole of the working class, the factories, the Young Communist League and the pioneer organisation, the clubs, the sport organisations, the parks for culture and recreation, etc.

For here it is not a case of providing recreation for some hundreds or thousands of the children of the wealthy classes, as in the capitalist countries, where holidays in the country or at the seaside are not only beyond the reach of the children of the proletariat, but have become very rare even for the children of the petty bourgeoisie.

In the Soviet Union this year 26 million school children will be sent to holiday resorts. To organise these holidays in such a manner that the youth will derive the maximum of physical and mental benefit from it, to raise these holidays to a higher cultural level—this is a task which can be effectively performed only by the whole of the Soviet public.

In the R.S.F.S.R. alone 928,000 pioneers will stay in the holiday camps of their organisations. In addition, recreation centres for 1,686,000 children will be established near schools, in clubs and parks of culture. Seventy-five youth libraries will be transferred to holiday camps. Holiday camps for the Leningrad pioneers will be established in the most beautiful spots in the neighbourhood of Leningrad.

The weak and ailing children will be placed in children's sanatoria, where they will be given proper treatment and rendered fit for the next school year. The children's sanatoria of the big towns of the Soviet Union are equipped with the most modern medical appliances. The organisation of sport activity of the children plays a big role in the preparations for the holidays.

The holidays will be utilised also for educational purposes. The Y.C.L. and the Pioneer Organisation are sending their best forces to the holiday camps in order to train the youth in a Communist spirit.

Preparations for the holidays are also in full swing in the rural districts. The best collective farms are showing examples of how the life of the Russian children has changed in the village. In healthy camps, at the seaside or in the mountains, the children of the Russian rural districts are spending their holidays under the care of expert nurses, children's physicians and under the leadership of the Communist Youth.

Splendid Results of the Sowing Campaign

On 1st of June 95 per cent. of the sowing plan—i.e., ten million hectares more than last year—had been carried out. This can be designated as a splendid result. The sowing campaign sur-

passed the results of the previous year not only in regard to the tempo of work, but also in regard to quality.

The sowing of grain crops in the Southern districts of the Soviet Union was already concluded in April. The reports of the collective farms emphasise that never before had there been such well-organised and comradely work. Before the commencement of the sowing campaign the Party organisations set themselves the task of assisting the backward regions and collective farms. This task was very well fulfilled. For instance, it was possible to carry out the sowing in the Saratov district in half of the time it took last year: instead of 77 days, only 38 days were required for this work. The same can be said of the Stalingrad and the Black Sea district.

The Soviet press emphasises that in Spring, 1934, the question of agro-technique was placed in the foreground. The harvest will soon begin; in the Crimea the harvesting of the grain crops will probably begin between 15th and 20th June. The careful preparation of the harvest will reduce wastage to a minimum. To bring in the harvest without wastage, that is the slogan of the harvest campaign.

The Chelyuskin Heroes at Home

On June 5 proletarian Moscow received the heroes of the Arctic, Comrade Schmidt and the leader of the rescue expedition Comrade Ushakov. Already in the early morning huge masses assembled in the big Square in front of the White-Russian Baltic railway station. Hundreds of red flags, streamers, and portraits of Schmidt decorated the Square and the buildings. At eleven o'clock in the morning the streets leading to the railway station were packed with people. A guard of honour of the Moscow garrison was drawn up on the railway platform. Members of the government and responsible heads of State and scientific organs had appeared to welcome the Chelyuskin heroes.

In the evening Schmidt was received by Comrades Stalin, Kaganovitch, Voroshilov, Orkonikidse, and Kujbishev, and related various episodes from the Arctic epic.

Professor Schmidt declared that scientific work had not ceased for a minute, and that research activity was continued even under the most difficult conditions. As soon as the collected material and data is worked up, it will be possible to declare that the whole Chukoski Sea has been explored and investigated. The physicians worked on the ice every day for several hours, and the meteorologists continued their observations. A new science of the Arctic has been founded by the physicist Fadikov, who together with Captain Voronin and by means of a specially-constructed apparatus examined the movement of the ice which cannot be observed with the naked eye. On the basis of this method it will be possible to anticipate the approaching compressions of the ice.

The Chelyuskin expedition and the record flights of the rescue aeroplanes have greatly enriched the knowledge and the practical experiences which are necessary for dominating the northern part of the globe.

Professor Schmidt expressed his special thanks to the "Pravda" for the splendid organisation of information on the expedition and for the assistance rendered by the press to the expedition. The special news service organised by the "Tass" for the expedition kept the camp acquainted with the current events in world politics and the successes of socialist construction.

The Third Competition in the Smelting Industry

The shock-brigaders of the smelting industry of the Soviet Union are now organising the third socialist competition. A number of rewards and prizes are being given to the best factories and shock-brigaders. The sum of 20,000 roubles is being expended in prizes for the best factory newspapers.

Regular Steamer Service Between Odessa and New York

A regular steamer service is being established between the American ports and Odessa. The steamships "Komsomol," "Old Bolshevik" and "Kalinin" will make regular sailings to America. New regular connections are being organised between Odessa and Stamboul, Odessa and Hamburg, and Odessa and London.

Published weekly. Single copies, 2d. Subscription rates: Great Britain and Dominions, 12s. per year; U.S.A. and Canada, five dollars per year. Remittance in STERLING per International Money Order, Postal Order or Sight Draft on London.

Published by WILLIAM MASSEY, 249, King Street, Hammersmith, London, W.6, and Printed by THE MARSTON PRINTING Co. (T.U.), 44, Worship Street, London, E.C.2.