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CONTENTS

Politics	
D. Vlachov: Military-Fascist Dictatorship in Bulgaria ...	950
Maggi: The Situation in Italy ...	951
A. H.: The Protest Strike Against the New Anti-Trade Union Bill in Norway ...	951
Germany	
J. L.: The Approaching Crisis in the Camp of Fascism and the Tasks of the Working Class ...	953
L. K.: Papen's Speech at Marburg ...	954
Take the Lives of Your Brothers in Germany's Condemned Cells Into Your Hands ...	955
P. P.: Georgi Dimitrov—Thaelmann ...	956
Soviet China	
The Situation in the Chinese Soviet Republic ...	957
The Trade Union Movement	
On the Way to a Revolutionary Mass Trade Union Movement in Spain ...	958
The White Terror	
The Fight to Save Rakosi ...	958
Victor Zitna: The Rumanian Railway Workers Before the Military Court ...	959
Marxism-Leninism	
Bela Kün: The International Importance of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" ...	960
Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
The Arrival of the Cheljuskin Expedition in Moscow ...	962
The Week in the Soviet Union ...	963
In the International	
The National Conference of the C.P. of France ...	964
The Main Tasks of the C.P. of Yugoslavia ...	965
The Co-operative Movement	
Manifesto for the Twelfth International Co-operative Day ...	966
Proletarian Mass Organisations	
Paul Jansen: The International Conference of Worker Radio Listeners ...	967
W.I.R. Appeal for World Congress of Women Against War ...	967
The Negro Movement	
Greenwood: A Betrayer of the Negro Liberation Struggle ...	968

The Campaign Must Be Intensified!

The Lives of Comrades Thaelmann, Kuntz, Torgler and all Other Imprisoned Anti-Fascists are in Increasing Danger!

The fact that *Comrade Kuntz* was not sentenced to death was undoubtedly due to the solidarity campaign organised on his behalf. At the same time it would appear that the murderous campaign of incitement in the fascist newspapers has decreased in intensity somewhat. However, this does not mean that the danger with which Comrades Thaelmann, Kuntz, Torgler and the other anti-fascist fighters are threatened is lessened in any way.

Bloody fascist class-justice must not be overstrained as its administrators know. Following on the execution of three young Communists in Plötzensee prison by the axe of the Magdeburg executioner, the 26-year-old *Richard Huettig*, the 20-year-old *Otto Woiße* and the 19-year-old *Willi Rochow*, following on the death sentences against the young Communists *Saly Epstein* and *Hans Ziegler* who had done nothing, but whose blood was necessary in order to cleanse the memory of the national socialist pimp Horst Wessel, the national socialist judges in the Buelow Square trial contented themselves with three death sentences against lesser-known workers. In view of the world-wide indignation against the national socialist terror in Germany a death sentence against Comrade Kuntz would have been too great a strain on fascist class-justice. However, to-morrow the fascists can still do what they did not do to-day. The fascist judges have time.

It must be pointed out with all energy that the danger which threatens the lives of our imprisoned comrades in Germany is becoming greater every day. The increasing danger is connected with the serious crisis which Hitler fascism is now experiencing. "Hitler will manage it!" was the slogan with which the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, the poor peasants, the officials and great sections of the backward workers were deceived into supporting fascism. It was this slogan which provided German fascism with a social basis. Despite the ingenious attempts of the fascists to

maintain their influence over these masses, eighteen months of fascist rule have proved sufficient to expose the whole swindle. The situation of the working class and of the toiling masses in general has deteriorated tremendously. The mark is trembling on the brink of the precipice. The gold cover is now less than 2 per cent. Germany's foreign trade, which showed an active balance of 3,000 million marks two years ago, is passive to-day. The export trade is decreasing at a catastrophic rate. The financial situation of the Reich, of the towns and of the municipalities is hopeless. The estimated revenue for the year 1935 has already been expended in advance. It has been sunk for the most part in the non-productive apparatus of the war industries. The tremendous re-armament carried out by the German fascists has weakened the foreign political situation of Germany rather than strengthened it. Germany is isolated.

When Hitler now declares that his regime is in no danger from the crisis because his movement has strengthened in the struggle against difficulties, this is true only inasmuch as broad sections of the population went over to him because they expected that he would be able to overcome the difficulties. However, now that he has bitterly disappointed them these masses are turning away from him at an increasing rate. The difficulties which were formerly a plus for Hitler have now been transformed into a very definite minus. Not only the workers and not only the petty-bourgeois who sympathised with the national socialist movement are revolting, but also his own supporters, as can be seen from the officially admitted fact that over 10,000 members have been expelled from the ranks of the Storm Troops. The general dissatisfaction and discontent is also affecting agrarian and finance-capitalist circles who were the chief financial supporters of the Hitler regime and who derived the greatest advantage from it. To-day, how-

ever these circles are opposed to the social demagogy with which the national socialists are striving to soothe the masses of the toilers. This discontent found its expression in the recent speech of *von Papen*.

In this situation it is practically certain that the national socialist leaders will adopt their old methods of provocation. When in February, 1933, the hysterical howling of Hitler began to lose its power over the masses and disappointment became evident because no obvious change in the situation had come about with the accession of Hitler to power, the Reichstag went up in flames on February 27 and a fierce and murderous campaign of incitement began. On March 5 the situation was saved for the national socialists, for the moment. The subsequent events were: the anti-Jewish boycott, the May Day parade, the occupation of the trade union offices, the re-armament campaign and the "labour battle," and all the time execution after execution, and finally the plebiscite. But what is to be done now? The great campaign against the grumblers has ended unsuccessfully. In view of the mass poverty and misery, the destruction of foreign credit, the introduction of substitutes to fill the gap in the supplies, etc., the campaign had to fail. And now the national socialists must do something which will again whip the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie up to fever heat, something which will seize their imagination and bring their blood to the boiling point. The idea of an attempt on the life of Hitler was betrayed too early and thus lost its pull and had to be abandoned. However, let there be no doubt about it, the criminal minds of those whose job it is will think of something which will serve as the occasion for a new and terrible wave of terror, for a modern St. Bartholomew's Night. And then the lives of our imprisoned comrades will be in the utmost danger, if not through the first wave of murder then through the subsequent terror of fascist class-justice.

However, it very often happens that such things do not proceed quite according to the carefully-laid plans of the Propaganda Minister and his colleague, the Prime Minister of Prussia. The Reichstag trial and the role of *Dimitrov* in it was sufficient proof of this fact. In any case, there is a very favourable atmosphere to-day for a campaign to save our comrades. To-day the national socialist government is less in a position to flout international public opinion than ever before. When once the international propaganda campaign of meetings and demonstrations has seized sufficient hold on the masses of the toilers and the intellectuals allied with them, then the time will be ripe for putting the question of an international boycott on the agenda at last. The internal and external situation of the Hitler government is gradually ripening for this. However, the first blow must be struck by the power of our international working-class action.

We must mobilise all our forces and intensify our action because time is pressing and the danger which is threatening our comrades, Thaelmann, Kuntz and the others in the death cells, the prisons and the concentration camps of German fascism is intensifying every day.

They must be saved and they can be saved!

Politics

Military Fascist Dictatorship in Bulgaria

By D. Vlachov

The new Bulgarian government is exerting every effort in order to improve the economic position of the country by capitalist means. Thus it has concluded a Trade Agreement and a Veterinary Convention with Yugoslavia, as well as a Clearing Convention between the Bulgarian National Bank and the Yugoslavian National Bank. Another Clearing Convention has been concluded with Italy and in addition negotiations are proceeding in Rome regarding a Bulgarian-Italian Trade Agreement. According to the statement of the present Prime Minister *Georgiev*, the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union gives satisfaction to the economic circles of Bulgaria.

The exchange of commodities between Bulgaria and Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary is considered by the rulers of Bulgaria as a great achievement. The export of tobacco from Bulgaria amounts to 6,400,000 kilogrammes, representing a value of 903 million leva, of which 625 million leva fall to Germany, 156 million to Austria, 81 million to Czechoslovakia and 41 million to Hungary. In exchange, Bulgaria receives: Water pipes and also tramway cars from Germany; industrial products from Austria;

railway carriages, auto-buses, bicycles and machines from Czechoslovakia; and finally, agricultural machines and dairy equipment from Hungary.

The military-fascist dictatorship has dissolved all political parties, organisations and associations and prohibited their press. In order to deceive the masses, the dictators carried out the manoeuvre of dissolving their own "Sveno" party and prohibiting its central organ "Isgrev." This was intended to serve as an example, which, however, was not followed. Thereupon the government issued a decree disbanding all political parties. The main purpose of this measure was to isolate the toiling masses from their organisations and their press. The Workers' Party, the legal organisation of the Bulgarian working class, had 35,000 members, half of whom are peasants. The Workers' Youth League had more than 15,000 members, and the revolutionary trade unions more than 20,000 members. The Artisans' League, which had 30,000 to 40,000 members, joined the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist front, the main support of which were the above-mentioned organisations. Many cultural, sport and intellectual organisations as well as the advanced emigrants of the national minorities also joined this front.

A further attempt to consolidate the dictatorship was the setting up of a Propaganda Ministry, which is called in Bulgaria the "Ministry for Social Renewal." This Ministry aims at the "education of the nation in the spirit of the new age," the nationalist incitement of the youth, the influencing of the peasantry, propaganda abroad. The government is endeavouring to draw the economic, cultural and professional organisations into the building up of the new State, by organising the corporations, which are the basis for the corporative parliament.

After the dissolution of all workers' organisations and the suppression of their press, the police measures were tremendously sharpened. Although martial law was officially proclaimed only for two days, it is still in force. House searches for weapons and revolutionary literature are being carried out in all localities. Fresh arrests of revolutionaries have taken place. An illegal printing works was discovered in Sofia. Revolutionary workers and other toilers were brought before the courts. The lives of 70 workers, peasants, soldiers and students who have been sentenced to death, are in the greatest danger. In spite of all these terrorist measures, numerous illegal leaflets are circulating, flying meetings are taking place.

The removal from office of *Volkov*, who is the main representative of the Bulgarian circles inclined towards Italy, the deposition of all his political friends, the measures adopted against the Macedonian fascists under the leadership of *Michailov*, who are the fools of Italian imperialism, and their replacement by the other wing of the fascist Macedonian organisation (*Shdanov-Poptodorov*)—all this has aroused great discontent in Italo-German fascist circles, although this coup d'état was hailed as a triumph of fascism by the fascist press of Italy and Germany. The Bulgarian rulers are now endeavouring to allay this discontent. In a special interview given by *Georgiev*, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, to the press, he gave the reasons which caused the government to recall *Volkov* from his position as Bulgarian Ambassador in Rome:—

"*Volkov* did not possess the confidence of the Bulgarian army. To retain him further as the Ambassador of the Bulgarian government in Italy would have been an act of disrespect to Italy. We wish to improve our relations with Italy, the more so as we are enthusiastic admirers of the methods by which Italy is governed."

Batolov, the Foreign Minister of the present government, spoke of minor unsolved problems existing between Bulgaria and the other Balkan countries, and expressed the hope that these unsolved problems would soon be settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. In regard to the Balkan Pact, he stated that Bulgaria was ready to conclude non-aggression Pacts with all Balkan countries, but without the political clause of the London Convention regarding the definition of the aggressor.

It is true, relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have improved, but this improvement has caused great uneasiness in Greece and Turkey, as these countries fear Bulgaria's expansion to the South, the Aegean Sea. Greece is preparing to hold military manoeuvres on the Greek-Bulgarian frontier. Turkey is strengthening her garrisons on the Turkish-Bulgarian frontier.

All these facts show the increasing war danger in the Balkans. All the Balkan States are feverishly arming and preparing for a fresh imperialist world slaughter.

The Situation in Italy

By Maggi

On May 27 Mussolini, in his speech in the Italian Parliament, drew the "economic and financial panorama of Italy" at the present moment. The conclusion drawn from his analysis is disastrous: its perspective is war.

Mussolini dealt with the constant worsening of the trade balance during the crisis years, regarding which he said: "it is developing badly." In fact, imports declined as follows:—

1928	..	..	..	..	..	22,313	million	lira
1929	..	..	..	..	..	21,000	"	"
1930	..	..	..	..	..	17,000	"	"
1931	..	..	..	..	..	11,000	"	"
1932	..	..	..	..	..	8,000	"	"
1933	..	..	..	..	..	7,412	"	"

Exports declined as follows:—

1928	..	..	..	..	..	14,998	"	"
1929	..	..	..	..	..	15,935	"	"
1930	..	..	..	..	..	12,119	"	"
1931	..	..	..	..	..	10,209	"	"
1932	..	..	..	..	..	6,911	"	"
1933	..	..	..	..	..	5,979	"	"

Mussolini further stated:—

"The situation has not improved this year, for in the first four months we have an adverse trade balance amounting to 965 million lira. If things go on at the same rate the deficit will amount to 3,000 million lira by the end of the year."

The situation is no better in regard to the State budget. Mussolini showed that the budget, which up to 1929-30 had a small surplus, already in the year 1930-31 showed a deficit of 504 million lira, whilst in 1931-32 this deficit had increased to 3,867 million, and in 1932-33 to 3,594 million. The first ten months of 1933-34 show a deficit of 3,531 million lira.

In regard to the industrial situation, Mussolini gave no concrete data on the output of industry. However, it is possible to draw some conclusions regarding the serious state of Italian industry from his report on the various forms of intervention of the State in industry, i.e., the milliards granted as subsidies to "salvage" the undertakings and banks threatened with bankruptcy. This intervention of the State took place through the "Institute for the Reconstruction of Industry," which bought from the shaky banks, in particular Italy's biggest bank, "Banca Commerciale," the industrial shares which had fallen in value. In addition, Mussolini promised the industrialists further armament orders.

Thanks to these means and thanks to the various subsidies granted by the State to the big undertakings and industrial banks, there has been a certain improvement of late in a number of branches of economy.

But even Mussolini's speech, which did not deal fully with the whole question, shows the disastrous situation of agriculture, i.e., of the broad masses of the peasants. Mussolini admits that if the State had not intervened (to the tune of 180 million lira) all the agrarian undertakings of Italy would have become bankrupt.

The whole economic policy of fascism necessarily involves tremendously heavy taxation, which particularly hits the Italian peasants. This can be easily seen from Mussolini's speech:—

"The State tax on land has been increased from 84 million in 1913 to 150 million in the financial year 1933-34."

But the provincial taxes, which are added to those of the State, "have been increased from 74 million to 410 million, and the municipal taxes from 124 to 550 million."

In addition to the increases in existing taxes, there are the new taxes. Altogether the burden of taxation on agriculture has increased from 308.5 million in 1914 to 1514 million at the present time.

But, in spite of the seriousness of the financial situation, armaments are to be still further increased. Mussolini stated:—

"We will make use of the 70,000 tons permitted to us by the Washington Agreement in order to build ships of the line.

... At the same time we shall expend a sum amounting approximately to a milliard lira on renewing the air fleet. We have an adequate air fleet, but aeroplanes soon wear out. ..."

The seriousness of the situation becomes apparent when we compare Mussolini's latest speech with the speeches he delivered only a short time ago. In January last Mussolini introduced the

new law on the corporations, which should create "corporativism," "overcome socialism and liberalism," "create a new synthesis," "develop the wealth, the well-being and political power of the Italian people." To-day, however, no mention whatever is made of this third system. It is little more than three months ago—namely, on March 18—that he referred to demonstrations of discontent which aroused the suspicion that they came from his own ranks. In addition, a short time ago it could be seen from the annual reports of joint stock companies that the industrialists were pressing the government to resort to inflation or drastically reduce the "costs of production," i.e., wages. On April 14 an attempt was commenced to find a "way out" in this second direction by reducing the pay of the civil servants.

The reason why Mussolini frankly presented such a gloomy picture of the situation and avoided the usual fascist demagoguery is to persuade the working class that fresh "sacrifices" are inevitable in order to avoid disaster.

In fact, with this object in view, Mussolini in his last speech brought forward a number of arguments in order to deceive the workers and persuade them to accept further exploitation and increased misery. He quoted figures on the cost of living, comparing the present prices with those obtaining at the time of inflation in 1926, without, however, reminding his hearers that at the moment of the revaluation of the lira in 1927, wages were reduced at one stroke by 20 per cent., and without mentioning the reductions since that time. He quoted a number of figures which are not at all comparable with one another and relate to the alterations in real wages in a number of countries and to nominal wages in Italy.

Finally, Mussolini attempted to play off the unemployed against the workers in the factories. He said:—

"When there exists unemployment, which is becoming an increasingly serious question, we must lay emphasis not on the amount of wages but on the existence and before all the continuation of wages."

It is therefore intended to launch a large-scale offensive against wages, which have been repeatedly reduced during the fascist regime, and which, a few years ago, as the fascist Minister Bottai himself said, had sunk to the lowest limit below which "the workers either die or revolt."

The question now confronting fascism is to see that the workers and peasants shall die rather than that they revolt, and, in addition, that they shall die for the increased profits of their exploiters. It is the question of war, for which feverish preparations are being made.

In fact, "military expenditure has increased from 884 million before the war to 4,632 million." Mussolini's speech ended with a glorification of war:—

"History shows us that war is the phenomenon that accompanies the development of humanity."

Mussolini's speech amounts to an admission that fascism reduces "humanity to a lower level," that it means increased exploitation and hunger for the working masses, and leads to war.

The Protest Strike Against the New Anti-Trade Union Bill in Norway

By A. H. (Oslo)

The protest strike of 100,000 workers in Norway which took place on June 8 under the slogan: "Down with the Hard Labour Law against the Trade Union Movement!" was a striking proof of the increasing radicalisation of the Norwegian workers and of the increasing role being played by the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition in the struggle against the fascist drive of the Norwegian bourgeoisie. The "Left" wing reformists, with Tranmael at their head, were compelled to carry out a wide-scale manœuvre and to accept the protest strike slogan of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition.

In 1931, from 80,000 to 90,000 workers struck for five months against wage-cuts and defeated the original intention of the employers to carry out an all-round wage-cut of 15 per cent. Wages were cut from 6 to 8 per cent. only.

The establishment of a State police organised on military lines and destined to be used wherever the class struggle grows intense, the passing of the so-called Boycott Bill (which prohibited boycott and blockade as trade union weapons), and the "Labour peace until 1935" agreed to with the reformist leaders of the trade union

federation, coupled with the extension of a great number of trade union agreements, were, however, unable to prevent the workers taking action in numerous cases against the capitalist offensive. The capitalists reckon with the possibility of great labour troubles in the Spring of 1935, when the trade union tariff agreements affecting from 60,000 to 70,000 workers expire. Although the cost of living in Norway is rising, the employers are planning to force through wage-cuts when the agreements expire.

The new "gagging bill" gives the arbitration authorities power to prevent labour conflicts altogether. It forbids the working-class press to agitate against arbitration proposals or even to publish their contents or to report the results of the voting on them in the various trade unions. The bill gives the arbitration authorities the power to combine various categories of workers in the voting in order that the proposals may go through against the resistance of certain categories; for instance, those which receive particularly bad wage and working conditions. Regulations are to be issued governing the voting, which mean in effect that the result will depend generally on those who do not vote.

What is the attitude of the reformists to this law? When the Communists exposed the treachery of the trade union federation and of the Norwegian Labour Party in connection with the protest strike of the workers in Sarpsborg against the Boycott Bill of 1923, the "Left" wing reformist Scheffo answered that the chairman of the trade union federation, the Right wing reformist Halvard Olsen, would "no doubt" call a general strike against the Boycott Bill at "a favourable moment." The course of events has now assisted in exposing Scheffo and the other "Left" wing leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party. Halvard Olsen found the moment "favourable" for extending the hard labour law against trade unionists by voting for the new anti-trade union law as a member of the Labour Peace Commission, together with another social democrat, Steen.

The political significance of the new trade union law is that it aims at making in practice all strikes illegal in order that mass strike-breaking can then be organised with the assistance of the State police and the fascists. The new law aims at increasing the competitive strength of Norwegian capitalism in the trade war with other nations by means of further wage-cuts, further rationalisation, further mass taxation, the reduction of social expenditure, taxation facilities and the direct and indirect subsidising of the industrialists, bankers and agrarians, coupled with an increased terror against the working class. And the social democracy—the Norwegian Labour Party—is in agreement with such a policy. In its "Crisis Plan" it declares expressly that it wishes to "encourage trade and industry," to limit imports, to increase the degree of economic self-sufficiency, to provide production premiums, to introduce protective tariffs, to extend the State guarantees for the export trade and to increase the grain subsidy. The result of this political line, which is in complete agreement with the political line of Norwegian finance-capital, is the support of the measures taken by the Norwegian bourgeoisie to ensure "industrial peace" on the part of the reformist trade union bureaucracy and the Norwegian Labour Party. If the bourgeoisie is unable to carry out its plans for "industrial peace" without introducing new legal regulations, then the social democracy is prepared to vote for such regulations.

If the Norwegian Labour Party had really been serious in its promises to defend the interests of the working class, then its first action after the parliamentary elections of October 16, when over half a million workers voted for it in the belief that it would work to abolish the anti-trade union law, would have been to organise a mass action for the immediate abolition of all the laws restricting trade union activity. Instead of that, however, the representatives of the Norwegian Labour Party in the Commission for Industrial Peace supported the sharpening of bourgeois legal action against the trade unions.

On the other hand, the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition immediately took the initiative and organised a mass protest movement against the new trade union bill. The answer of the "Left" wing reformists was to secure the passing of a decision by the central council of the trade union federation demanding an adjournment of the debate on the bill in the Storting. Only if the demand for an adjournment should be rejected were the representatives of the Labour Party to vote against the paragraphs containing the new voting regulations. However, this attempt to pacify the workers proved to be ineffec-

tive. At a joint meeting of the representatives of all the trade unions in Oslo, at which the revolutionary trade union opposition fraction, led by Comrade Kristiansen, had the political leadership, the spirit of the overwhelming majority of the trade union representatives was in favour of the protest strike slogan put forward by the revolutionary trade union opposition.

This compelled the "Left" wing reformists to carry out a new manoeuvre. In the commission of three which was elected by the meeting, the first man elected being Comrade Kristiansen, the reformists accepted the idea of the protest strike, but proposed that it should last five hours instead of 24 hours. The proposal of Comrade Kristiansen to condemn the attitude of the reformist trade union secretariat and central council was rejected by the commission and also failed to secure a majority in the meeting of the trade union representatives. The supporters of the revolutionary trade union opposition exposed the manoeuvre of the "Left" wing reformists in the trade union, and mass meetings were held and special leaflets were printed by the revolutionary trade union opposition and distributed in tens of thousands of copies. Isolated errors made by the Party press ("Ny Tid") in not opposing the "Left" wing manoeuvre of the reformists with sufficient clarity and energy were later corrected by the Party leadership.

The fighting programme of the revolutionary trade union opposition contains a demand for the abolition of the "gagging law" and of all other anti-trade union laws and regulations, a fight for wage increases, the six-hour day without wage losses, a united front of all workers and a joint struggle on the part of the employed and unemployed workers, against all tendencies towards fascism in the trade union statutes and for proletarian democracy in the trade unions. These slogans have been taken up with enthusiasm by the workers, and the whole campaign has considerably strengthened the influence of the revolutionary trade union opposition in the reformist trade unions.

On the conclusion of the debate in parliament (Odelsting) on the new law on June 8 the whole fraction of the Norwegian Labour Party voted for all the clauses of the bill, with the exception of the clause regulating the voting, and the settlement of this point was postponed. At the same time Tranmael delivered a speech outside of parliament in which he indulged in very radical phrases. He even declared that the workers should break the new law. In all probability parliament will accept the clause regulating the voting at the second reading. The revolutionary trade union opposition issued the slogan of a 24-hour protest strike throughout the country on the day when parliament meets to consider the second reading of the bill.

The "Left" wing reformists took over the official leadership of the protest strike in order to keep their position and to prevent any further organisation of mass action. The revolutionary trade union opposition issued the slogan of committees of action in order to give the protest strike a revolutionary leadership by elected united front bodies.

However, up to the present the enlightenment work amongst the broad masses of the workers concerning the treachery of the social-democratic parliamentary fraction and concerning the political significance of the "Left" wing manoeuvre of Tranmael and his friends has been insufficient.

But one thing is clear: it was thanks to the correct slogans and the activity of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition that the protest strike of 100,000 Norwegian workers occurred at all. This shows the great possibilities offered by the correct political line adopted by the last Party Conference and its Open Letter, together with really intense, persistent and systematic mass work in the factories and in the trade unions. Only under these circumstances and by concentrating its fire on the exposure of the manoeuvres of the "Left" wing reformists will the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition succeed in obtaining firm control of the leadership in the struggle against the anti-trade union bill and in developing this struggle into a wide-scale offensive of the Norwegian working class against the fascist policy of the government and the increasingly violent attacks of the capitalists on the workers. Above all, the political successes which have already been won and the increased political influence of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement must be consolidated organisationally.

Germany

The Approaching Crisis in the Camp of Fascism and the Tasks of the Working Class

By J. L.

All critical observers of the development of the situation in Germany agree that the growing acuteness of the economic situation, the failures in home and foreign politics, the shaking of the mass basis of fascism, have already led to sharp disputes and conflicts in the camp of the ruling class and that there is every possibility of an outbreak of a crisis of the fascist regime in the near future.

Right from the first days of the Hitler regime the Communist International and its German Section confidently predicted, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation, that a stabilisation of the fascist dictatorship in Germany was impossible, that a profound crisis of capitalism could in no way be alleviated by fascist experiments, that the German working class was not beaten, that the sharpest terror could not prevent the revolutionary upsurge, and finally, that all methods of violence on the part of fascism would only accelerate the collapse of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

If the bourgeois press abroad now speaks of a crisis of the regime, if there is talk in German national and social-democratic circles of an imminent upheaval and of a new government of Schleicher and Bruening which will take the place of the Hitler government after a coup d'état of the Reichswehr, we can only note with satisfaction that, after 15 months of the Hitler dictatorship, the whole world is forced to confirm our prediction regarding the instability and short duration of the Hitler regime.

What are the facts which indicate the approach of the crisis of the Hitler regime?

The first is the *disastrous economic situation*, which will confront the fascist rulers in the near future with the alternative of either abandoning the whole swindle of the "provision of work," including the feverish armaments, or, by open *inflation*, to destroy the last remnants of confidence among those sections of the population from which national socialism obtained its mass following. There is also the fact that the national socialists have not succeeded in really winning any considerable part of the working class. At the same time the middle classes and the masses of peasants are turning away from the national socialists, and there is increasing mass discontent, which is spreading among the fascist troops, especially among the S.A. Finally, Hitler's campaign to annihilate Communism has proved a complete failure. Whilst the *fascist mass organisations*, equipped with all the power of the State, are *disintegrating more and more*, the *illegal organisation of the C.P. of Germany*, in spite of the most bloody persecution, is *steadily increasing in strength*.

It is quite understandable that, in view of such results achieved in the first 15 months of the Hitler dictatorship, the men behind the national socialists, namely, the financial capitalists, are beginning to doubt the ability of their Nazi agents. It is this that characterises the development of the last few weeks and gives rise to rumours of crisis and government changes: *the growing opposition in the leading capitalist circles against the national socialist party, against its demagogic leaders*.

Right from the beginning there were broad circles of the bourgeoisie, especially in the Catholic parts of Germany, which viewed the national socialist experiment with mistrust or more or less hostility, because they were threatened by the fascist competition. But the community of interests of the capitalist class as a whole, the common fear of the revolutionary working class, caused all parties and cliques of the bourgeoisie to accept the situation when the national socialists appropriated the most important positions in the State apparatus and expressly proclaimed themselves to be the guardian of the private-capitalist system.

But since then the situation has thoroughly changed. The revolutionary organisations have been driven underground by the most savage terror known in history. But the fascist bureaucrats of the labour front sustained a crushing defeat at the "confidence

council" elections. The workers have no trade union organisation, the employers are proclaimed masters in their own house by the new labour law, but whenever they venture to make direct attacks on wages they meet with the united resistance of the workers. The "strong," "authoritarian" government do not venture to order an all-round wage reduction as they promised the financial capitalists they would. After innumerable speeches against the second revolution, after the arrest of thousands of S.A. men and N.S.B.O. functionaries, the situation in the fascist mass organisations is so uncertain that Hitler has agreed to send the S.A. home on furlough, which action—in spite of all declarations of Captain *Roehm*, means at least a prelude to a general purging and a drastic reduction of this organisation.

The export trade is ruined; *Schacht* and *Schmidt* are afraid of the unavoidable collapse of the currency and want to *resign*; the more far-seeing people in the Reichswehr know that the frantic armaments are of no use if the insane foreign policy of Hitler and Rosenberg is bringing about a fresh encirclement of Germany and an equally insane economic policy has wasted the money necessary for conducting war already before the outbreak of war.

That is the situation in which big circles of the bourgeoisie are discussing the overthrow of Hitler's rule and are looking round for more reliable and capable agents of the capitalist dictatorship. The promoters of these plans are said to be the various German *nationalist-monarchist* cliques, the *Reichswehr General Staff* which is still under Schleicher's influence, the *Catholic Church*, and finally, the still existing cadres of the *Stahlhelm*.

That the national socialist rulers realise they are seriously threatened from this quarter is proved by the manner in which they are conducting a campaign against the "carpers and critics." There is less talk about the "Marxists" or the discontented workers, even though, of course, the discontent of the workers is one of the reasons why sharp words are being used "*against the reaction*."

But such radical demagoguery will not deceive the masses of the workers, for they see how almost every day proletarian fighters are handed over to the executioner by brutal fascist justice, including our brave Comrade *Huetting* and four other accused in the Horst-Wessel and Buelow Square Trials, whilst, on the other hand, not a single usurer or profiteer has been sent to the scaffold. But this demagogic incitement indicates, on the one hand, the strength of the radical feeling among the masses, and, on the other hand, the great fear of the national socialist leaders of counter-manceuvres by other fascist groups.

What is the situation and the mood among these rival fascist groups? The *Stahlhelm* is by no means dead. When the Nazis threatened to dissolve the *Stahlhelm* the latter pointed to the agreement between Hitler, Hindenburg and Seldte. Captain *Roehm*, the champion of the S.A. in the competitive struggle against the *Stahlhelm*, has been given leave of absence. Seldte, who not long ago, on returning from a meeting of the *Stahlhelm*, was greeted by a troop of the Hitler Youth with a shower of stones, remains an active Minister. Seldte, it is true, has capitulated at every opportunity to Hitler, but if Hitler sends his S.A. men on furlough and for the time being does not take similar action against the *Stahlhelm*, one can safely assume that he himself is not quite certain which side is the stronger and which it would be advisable to support.

In the *Reichswehr* national socialism undoubtedly possesses influence among the younger officers, the non-commissioned officers, and also the men. But to the extent to which the mass following of the Nazis among the middle class and the peasantry melts away and the disintegration of the fascist organisation advances, these followers of the Nazis in the Reichswehr begin to

vacillate, whilst the higher commanding staff has always maintained its political independence and its direct contact with the leading financial capitalists.

The feeling among the circles of the *Catholic bourgeoisie* is indicated by the happenings at the *Bishops' Conference in Fulda*, where the question was discussed whether they should agree to the publication of a *White Book* on the acts of violence of the Nazis against the sense and contents of the Concordat. It is true, only a minority of 40 per cent. were in favour of publication, but at the same time it was argued that it was not worth while incurring sacrifices on account of such a publication because the Hitler regime would not last long. *Bruening's journey to England* is interpreted in these circles as an attempt to ascertain what reception a Schleicher-Bruening government would meet with abroad.

Of the various monarchist cliques, not one of them alone constitutes a serious power—at least not in North Germany. But it is characteristic of the feeling among the masses to-day that if any one of these cliques were to march through the Brandenburg Gate with the pronounced purpose of freeing Germany from the Brown dictatorship they would be greeted as saviours.

But such a consideration of the chances of an open conflict leaves out of account the most important factor, namely, *the working class*. It is quite clear that an armed conflict in the fascist camp would be bound to let loose the passionate hatred of the proletariat, which is only now kept down with the most ruthless terror.

The bourgeoisie, it is true, reckons that the *social-democratic party of Germany* would again act as a bulwark against the proletarian revolution, but how far it will be able to control the mass storm is another question. The revolutionary organisation is not yet strong enough in order, by an open mass struggle, to compel the bourgeoisie to retreat. But it is strong enough to cause the bourgeoisie to fear that it might lose everything in an attempt to replace Hitler by another of its agents. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie has to take into account that the longer the present state of affairs continues, the more its apparatus of power is disintegrated and the stronger becomes the front of the proletarian revolution and its reserves.

Thus the crisis of the policy of the ruling class can break out suddenly and unexpectedly at any time and produce "fissures" through which, as Lenin, in describing the revolutionary situation, says, "the discontent and the indignation of the oppressed class will find vent."

We must prepare our cadres for such possibilities. We must resolutely oppose the illusions spread by the social fascists that democratic forces within the bourgeoisie could bring about the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, that we must passively wait until a military or monarchist putsch sweeps away the brown pest. If the working class were to wait passively for such a change and passively look on when it took place, then the capitalist class would have the possibility of altering the façade of its dictatorship a little and continuing the old system of plundering and oppressing the masses. If the collapse of the adventurous policy of the national socialists becomes plainly evident, the capitalist wire-pullers will then want to drop their Nazi puppets and, with a demagogic incitement against the "socialist experiments" which have collapsed, and supported by the battalions of the Reichswehr and the mass influence of the social democracy and the Centre and with the aid of international capital, stabilise the regime of "law and order." Even the "reasonable" elements of the national socialists, with Hitler himself or Gregor Strasser at the head, are to be included in this plan for a reformed fascist dictatorship.

The working class has not forgotten that it was on the orders of *Thyssen and Krupp, Siemens and Borsig, the capitalist magnates*, that the *reign of terror* of the brown hangmen was set up in Germany. It has not forgotten that the alliance of the monarchist generals with the social-democratic leaders has already once cheated them of the fruits of their revolution. It has not forgotten the bitter lessons of these 14 years, in the course of which bourgeois democracy developed into the fascist dictatorship. It has not made innumerable sacrifices in its hard fight in order that *other lackeys of the fascist dictatorship, in other uniforms, shall continue the work of the Brownshirts*.

But in order that the working class shall voice its demands, realise its aims and set up its power, the Soviet power, as soon as the revolutionary crisis is ripe, it must already now win the leadership of the whole mass of toilers who are disappointed with Hitler

fascism. Therefore, the most important task of the C.P. of Germany is to destroy the influence of those groups and parties which are now displaying their hostility to Hitler fascism—in the first place the influence of the treacherous social democracy, which first rendered possible the victory of fascism and which to-day is still the last hope of the bourgeoisie. The C.P. of Germany must exert all its energies in order to realise as quickly as possible the *transition from revolutionary mass agitation to revolutionary mass action*.

Critical times are approaching for the German bourgeoisie and for German fascism. It is necessary to develop the mass struggle against all the attacks of capitalism and its fascist agents in order to convert the partial fights into the political mass strike, the general strike and the armed revolt for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. These are the tasks with which we are confronted in view of the approaching collapse of the national socialist dictatorship.

Papen's Speech at Marburg

By L. K.

The speech which the German Vice-Chancellor von Papen delivered in Marburg on June 17 demonstrated how deep and how intense are the differences within the camp of the ruling clique of the German fascist dictatorship.

The speech of von Papen was an unusual mixture of **malicious pleasure** at the difficulties of the national socialists and **fear**. Pleasure at the obvious internal and external political defeats of the Third Reich and fear of the approaching catastrophe which is threatening the whole State apparatus of fascist Germany. However, the fear is even greater than the pleasure, because in the last resort fascists of the von Papen, Seldte brand cling to the same sheet anchor as the fascists of the Hitler, Goebbels, Roehm brand. The approaching catastrophe threatens to engulf them all without distinction.

What caused the malicious pleasure and fear of von Papen? Above all, it was the **rapidly developing process which is breaking down the mass basis of the fascist dictatorship**. The finance-capitalist and agrarian circles behind the von Papen group (the circle round the Reich's President, certain circles in the Reichswehr, a section of the heavy industrialists, the East Prussian and East Elbian junkers, etc.), were never particularly enthusiastic at the reckless and ruthless "mass" demagoguery of the fascists of the Hitler brand. However, they realised that the value of "National Socialism" lay precisely in the exercise of this form of demagoguery.

Nevertheless, it is by no means a fortuitous occurrence that von Papen has now issued the slogan of the "conservative revolution" as a counterweight to the demagogic national socialist slogan of the "Second Revolution." The fact is that the development of the class struggle in Germany has made clear to the von Papen group the failures of the fascist demagoguery of the Hitler group. Even further, the von Papen group is coming more and more to the conclusion that the mass demagoguery of the Hitler fascists will in the last resort turn against the present regime altogether.

The fascist regime has led Germany into a foreign political blind alley. The financial and economic situation of the country is desperate. Tremendous sums intended to serve as tax revenue in coming years have already been expended. The fascist statisticians themselves admit that the estimated income of the State Budget for 1935 has already been exhausted. Germany's foreign trade balance is now passive. The resources of the Reich's Bank in gold and foreign currencies amount to-day to no more than 100 million marks and the gold cover of the mark has sunk to below 2 per cent. Germany is on the verge of a ruinous inflation, and the fact that the inflation has not yet set in in full force is due very considerably to the pressure of the foreign exchanges, who by no means wish that Japanese inflationist dumping on the world market should be reinforced by German dumping to a still greater extent than previously.

In this situation von Papen has raised his voice and called for thought, in view of the catastrophe which is threatening German fascism. In his speech von Papen declared quite openly that the demagogic methods must be abandoned and the terror intensified. He no longer believes that the demagogic methods of the fascists offer any hope of salvation. The best organised propaganda must be ineffective, he declared, when the mistrust of the masses is on the increase and their confidence in the govern-

ment decreases from day to day. The people were beginning to laugh at the official attempts to make the situation appear rosy, because they knew full well how little relation the official reports bore to reality, he declared. The dangerous talk of a "second revolution" was being continued. It was therefore time to put a stop to the methods of social demagoguery.

It would be difficult to find a more open recognition of the fact that the working masses of Germany are beginning to rise again and mobilise their forces for the struggle against the fascist regime. Prior to their seizure of power the fascist speakers announced that when they came to power "heads would roll." And since their accession to power hundreds of heads have rolled from the shoulders of upright and heroic fighters for the cause of the working class. However, not all the terror has been able to crush the struggle of the workers and the toiling masses against fascism. What is von Papen afraid of? He fears that the moment will come when the heads of those will begin to roll from their shoulders who are now guiding the hands of the fascist executioners. And therefore he demands that the methods of government should be altered. He is a supporter of the "conservative revolution" and a supporter of the dictatorship, but a dictatorship with a different mask and different methods. For this reason von Papen is of the opinion that Hitler should abandon his claim to "exclusive power."

But, apart from von Papen's desires and apart from whether they will be fulfilled or not, we can already see the signs of the beginning degeneration and decomposition in the camp of the ruling class in Germany. That is the real proof of the fact that the present regime in Germany is breaking up and that its supports are falling away from under it.

Take the Lives of Your Brothers in the Condemned Cells Into Your Own Hands!

Toilers of the Whole World!

A bestial crime has been committed. On June 14, **Richard Huettig**, 26 years of age, **Otto Woithe**, 20 years, and **Willi Rochow**, 19 years, were slaughtered by the headsman's axe. By beheading these three young workers the number of toilers executed by the hangmen's government of the swastika has been increased to forty.

Hitler's starvation policy is destroying millions of lives and rousing the workers to indignation, which the fascist dictatorship is attempting to crush by executing the working youth of Germany.

We accuse Reichs Chancellor Adolf Hitler, we accuse Hermann Goering, the Prussian Prime Minister, we accuse the whole ruling class of Germany of deliberate murder. In the trial of Richard Huettig in February last, even the Court expert had to declare that the bullet which killed the national socialist **Ahe** was not fired by Huettig, but probably by the S.A. man **Amor**. In pronouncing the verdict the Court President was compelled to make the admission: "The Court has been unable to prove that **Ahe** was killed by Huettig."

In spite of this, the death verdict was pronounced, in spite of this Huettig was beheaded!

We know the reason why. At the trial Huettig exposed the horrible tortures to which he and his comrades were subjected in the Berlin Columbia House of the Secret State Police. The workers were beaten with whips of hippopotamus hide.

Six of the accused were murdered before the commencement of the trial, four of them in the barrack of the S.A. No. 33, and the workers **Dresher** and **Voss** in the Columbia House itself. In his last words which he addressed to the Court Huettig declared:—

"Finally, when I was already half dead from beatings, I tore open my shirt and said to the S.A. men: here, shoot me dead, but leave my comrades in peace. And I say to your lordships that after what I experienced in Columbia House I shall remain a Communist right to the end of my life."

The murder on the scaffold—that was Hitler's reply to the courageous declaration of a worker hero.

Only a scoundrel can keep silent in face of this brutality! He whose blood does not boil with indignation when the precious blood of the people is spilt is worthless.

Toilers of Europe and America! Toiling people of the whole world! Bombard the Embassies and Consulates of the blood-stained Hitler government with your protests!

Do not tolerate the appearance of representatives of Hitler

Germany in any sports ground, in any lecture hall, at any meeting, at any theatre or concert in any town without shouting your protest into their ears! Demonstrate in masses in the streets, march to Hitler's embassies and declare to the gentlemen: Enough of murder! We demand the release of the imprisoned anti-fascists!

Remember, anti-fascists of the whole world, that there are still 30 workers in the condemned cells of the Hitler regime who are threatened with execution any day. Their number is being continually added to. Five fresh death sentences have just been pronounced in Berlin, three of them at the trial of Albert Kuntz and his comrades, charged with having killed two police officers in the year 1931, and two in the Horst Wessel trial.

The powerful world protest has forced the Public Prosecutor to ask for the acquittal of Albert Kuntz. In his stead the courageous worker **Matern** is to be executed.

Do not tolerate this! Protect the German anti-fascists from their murderers! Protect Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the German anti-fascists, whose execution is openly demanded and proclaimed by the swastika press. We appeal to your conscience, we call upon the millions of anti-fascists and anti-war champions in all five Continents:—

Take the life of Ernst Thaelmann, take the lives of your brothers in the condemned cells in Germany into your hands! Hold your strong arm over the champions of the people—then you will save them and thereby hasten the downfall of the government of murderers!

**World Committee for the Fight against Imperialist War
and Fascism.**

World Youth Committee.

Paris, June 16.

Rescue Our Women From the Clutches of the Murderers of Hostages!

The **International Release Committee** decided at its meeting held on May 28 to exert still greater efforts to mobilise the women for the fight for Thaelmann and the imprisoned anti-fascists, especially, however, for the women in the prisons and concentration camps.

The **Women's Commission of the International Release Committee** met on June 2 and decided on a **mass mobilisation of women** in connection with the action for the release of Thaelmann.

We quote the following facts from the declaration made by the former member of the Reichstag, **Hans Beimler**, who escaped from the Dachau concentration camp a year ago:—

"... When Steinbrenner (camp manager) and the Commandant found on the morning of May 9, instead of a man hanging, an empty cell, they were determined to take revenge.

... Thus, as I had escaped being murdered, the police president **Himmler** looked among my relatives for a suitable object on which to wreak vengeance. There took place one search after another. My wife was in prison. My parents-in-law, who are over sixty years of age, were dragged to the police station. As, however, in spite of denunciations and the most eager search, the Nazis did not succeed in finding me, they have kept my wife **Frau Senta Beimler** in prison ever since as a hostage.

"She has been kept in solitary confinement for thirteen months without being allowed to receive any visits. Neither her two children, aged thirteen and fourteen years, nor her parents are permitted to see her. The younger son has been incarcerated in a reformatory. She herself has to work with ordinary criminals in the prison laundry.

"Last October her sister was arrested and thereby lost her situation. Since then her aged parents have had to go daily to the municipal soup kitchen."

We have received from Berlin the alarming news that the wife of Comrade **Erich Steinfurth**, the head of the Berlin I.L.D., who at the end of January last was murdered by Brownshirts, along with **John Scheer**, **Rudolf Schwarz**, and **Eugen Schönhaar**, is in an extremely dangerous condition as a result of the constant torture to which she has been subjected. On the day on which her husband was fetched from **Sonnenburg** by the State Secret Police, she was arrested. She was cruelly mishandled in prison by the fascists in order to force her to make incriminating statements against her husband and herself. The Nazi brutes are now try-

ing to justify their vile deeds by adding Else Steinfurth as one of the accused in the trial of **Duemor** and his comrades. One of the accused in this trial is said to have died already as a result of mishandling. Nobody is allowed to visit Else Steinfurth. Even her old mother is not permitted to see her. It is certain that she has been so frightfully ill-treated that the Nazis want to prevent anybody seeing her. Nevertheless, her letters are very brave.

Owing to her very serious state of health the prison doctor had to allow Else Steinfurth to have a feather pillow sent in. The prison authorities, however, refuse to take this pillow from Frau Steinfurth's mother.

Erich Steinfurth on January 30 last, when he was beaten almost to death, wrote on a slip of paper which reached the I.L.D.: "I do not need anything more, look after my wife Else." The International Labour Defence calls upon the workers to fulfil this dying wish of our murdered comrade, and by mass protest to wrest Else Steinfurth from the fascist jailers.

The Women's Commission of the International Release Committee inform the public of these facts and request all committees and mass organisations to organise a big campaign for the release of these women. The German government must be bombarded every day with questions and enquiries, every day letters must arrive in **Stadelheim** for Frau **Beimler**, and in the Women's Prison in **Barnimstrasse**, Berlin, for Frau **Steinfurth**. Every delegation which goes to Germany must demand information regarding the imprisoned women. Delegations for this purpose must be formed in the factories and at meetings.

Georgi Dimitrov : Thaelmann

By P. P. (Paris)

In the last few weeks a number of books and pamphlets have appeared in order to make clear to the broad masses in all countries the importance of the fight for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, and to mobilise them for action. **Henri Barbusse**, the chairman of the World Committee against the Imperialist War and Fascism, led off with his pamphlet "Do You Know Ernst Thaelmann?" When **Henri Barbusse** wrote his brochure the Hitler government, already had the fixed intention of bringing Ernst Thaelmann before a fascist tribunal. In the meantime the danger threatening Ernst Thaelmann, and therewith the working people of the whole world, has increased tremendously. The new fascist "People's Courts" have been introduced. Ernst Thaelmann is to be one of the first to be tried by such a Court.

Georgi Dimitrov, the hero of the Leipzig trial, has now taken up his pen in order to further the action for the release of Ernst Thaelmann. In his pamphlet, "Thaelmann," he points out the twofold danger threatening Thaelmann. On the basis of this monstrous law the government proposes to have Thaelmann's case dealt with in a summary and absolutely arbitrary manner; it is also by no means impossible that he may be put to death by the most refined inquisitorial methods.

"The national socialist press," says Dimitrov, "hypocritically asks why public opinion abroad makes such a fuss about Thaelmann.

"This is not difficult to explain. Ever wider circles are beginning to realise that the issue is not the fate of an individual leader of the workers; it is the final decision between two worlds. Yes, two worlds stand face to face:

"One world struggling for freedom, the other oppressing the masses; the world of real culture and the world of barbarism; the world of Communism and the world of fascism.

"Here Ernst Thaelmann, the tireless fighter for peace between nations. There Adolf Hitler, the incarnation of war, of the alpha and omega of the policy of national socialism." Under the heading "Who is Ernst Thaelmann?" Dimitrov describes the life and struggle of his German class brother.

"He is a model of the incorruptible revolutionary, serving the cause of the working class with unswerving devotion."

"The Communist Party, in the course of the bitter struggle with the class enemy and serious controversies with alien elements and hidden enemies within it, steadily grew under his able leadership. And Ernst Thaelmann grew with it

and became its foremost leader, who united the best traditions of the German movement with the spirit of Lenin and Stalin."

In Ernst Thaelmann there is embodied the revolutionary fight of the workers of all countries for emancipation from misery and slavery, and therefore the international proletariat must exert all its energies in order to rescue him.

Dimitrov then shows how the Nazi government is seeking to make Thaelmann morally and politically responsible for all the murders and terrorist acts said to have been committed by the Communists. The charges against Thaelmann will be based on an infamous lie. Dimitrov deals in passionate language with the real terrorists and murderers, before all with Hitler and Goering, who provoked the crimes which they wish to impute to the Communists and their leader Thaelmann, just as they did in the case of the burning of the Reichstag. To the question: What is Thaelmann's crime? Dimitrov replies:—

"Ernst Thaelmann is, in the eyes of the Nazi leaders, a criminal, because he is a faithful son of the German working people and its champion against fascism, because he is blood of the blood, flesh of the flesh and spirit of the spirit of the German working class and of the international proletariat." What is the issue? asks Dimitrov, and he replies:—

"It is not only a matter of saving the life of a man and leader of great value. The rescue of Thaelmann would mean the salvation of hundreds and thousands of other anti-fascist fighters and an enormous extension of the anti-fascist front."

In addition, the fight for Ernst Thaelmann is at the same time an international fight against imperialist war, which is the essence of the fascist home and foreign policy.

In the concluding portion of the pamphlet Dimitrov makes a number of extraordinarily important proposals in regard to methods to be employed in order to rescue Thaelmann. We quote these in full:—

"All conceivable methods must be employed in order that the broad masses of the German population learn that the proletarian world and all honest men bring Ernst Thaelmann and the oppressed German nation fraternal solidarity, warm love and unshakeable resolution to co-operate in his liberation.

"No opponent of fascism abroad should visit Germany, should let a relative or acquaintance travel in Germany, should send letters to Germany without utilising the opportunity to spread throughout the Third Empire the slogan: 'Save Ernst Thaelmann!' No excursion, no group of tourists, no school trip, no steamer, no traveller, no lecturer, no actor or conductor, no exchange student or school boy should return to Germany from any other country, without bringing back from the country the deep impression that all round Germany millions support the slogan: 'Set Thaelman Free!'

"All official or semi-official representatives of the Hitler government, of fascist organisations and institutions, of national-socialist artistic, scientific or literary circles, who live or travel abroad, whether privately or on business, must everywhere, every day and at every step they take, be made to feel that they will have no peace so long as Ernst Thaelmann remains a prisoner in Germany, in danger of death.

"Representatives of Hitler Germany at congresses, conferences, meetings and art exhibitions of every kind must be subjected to moral pressure so long as Hitler keeps Ernst Thaelmann a prisoner and threatens him with death.

"In no country should it be possible for any paper, hostile or even neutral to the movement for Thaelmann's liberation, to be bought by any honest man.

"No opportunity must be let slip, in Parliament, municipal councils or any other kind of public meeting, to raise most emphatically the question of the release of Ernst Thaelmann and publicly brand Hitler, the Headsman.

". . . Every thinking man must decide whether he is for Hitler or Thaelmann. It is impossible to remain neutral on this question. . . .

"The saving of Ernst Thaelmann is a matter of honour for the international proletariat and the duty of every honest thinking man in the world."

With these words Dimitrov concludes his pamphlet. This pamphlet has already appeared in German, French, English, Spanish, Czech and Dutch; it is a most valuable weapon to all anti-fascists and must be sold in hundreds of thousands of copies all over the world.

* "Thaelmann," by Georgi Dimitrov. Published by the British Anti-War Movement (British Section of the World Movement against War and Fascism), 53, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1, price 2d.

Soviet China

The Situation in the Chinese Soviet Republic

(From the Report of the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic, Mao Tse Tung, at the Second Soviet Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic)

The first task of the Soviets in the fight against the attack of the class enemy and in the revolutionary war is to *arm the masses* and create a strong, firm *Red Army*, local formations and partisan troops, organise the food supply and develop transport for war. The Soviets have performed successful work in this sphere in the last few years.

The Central Revolutionary War Council set up a uniform command of all Red Armies. The Red Army is now considerably larger than it was two years ago. The increase in the numerical strength of the Red Army is accompanied by an increase in its qualitative strength. The Red Defence Corps and the Young Guards are being held in readiness as reserve troops for the Red Army fighting at the front and for the local defence of the Soviet districts.

The partisan units, the creators of new Soviet districts, are indispensable auxiliary forces of the Red Army. In the past two years a very large number of such partisan troops have developed in the various Soviet districts and at the same time considerably improved their political and military training.

The broad *Soviet democracy* is expressed before all in the system of elections. The Soviets grant the franchise to all toilers without distinction of sex. There is one delegate to every 15 workers, and one delegate to 50 peasants and other toilers. During the elections in 1932 and in autumn of 1933, in many localities more than 80 per cent. of the electors went to the poll. In many places 25 per cent. of the members of the Soviets are women. In some districts this percentage is much higher. Before the elections the electors have the opportunity, at the preparatory election meetings, of hearing reports on the past work of the Soviets and of criticising this work.

Soviet democracy is also expressed in the form of the local and district Soviets. The delegates continue their ordinary work, so that they maintain firm contact with the masses (a delegate has close contact with 30 to 70 people). The delegates of a district form groups of three to seven persons, and their leader forms the connecting link between the group and the Presidium of the Soviets. All groups of delegates from a locality elect from their midst a representative responsible for the whole locality. The election of local and district Soviets takes place once in six months, the election of regional and provincial Soviets once a year. Any delegate who commits a serious mistake loses his office on the proposal of ten electors and with the approval of more than half of the electors, or on the decision of a meeting of the Soviet. Government employees, who are likewise elected, can be removed on the demand of the public.

Soviet democracy is also expressed in the fact that the revolutionary masses are granted all rights and liberties of speech, of combination, meeting, of the press, etc. At the same time, the government supports them by granting them every possible privilege in regard to meeting-places, supplying paper, printing facilities, etc. In addition, the Soviets welcome the criticism of the broad masses.

The Soviet power is not democratic towards the exploiters, the *landowners* and the *bourgeoisie*, whose power has been overthrown by the revolutionary masses, but the remnants of which have not yet been exterminated.

In the first place the Soviet power excludes all exploiting elements from political power. The Soviet Constitution deprives them of all rights of election and of military service. Secondly, all landowners and bourgeois are deprived of all freedom of speech, of the press, of association and of meeting. Thirdly, all counter-revolutionary activity is suppressed by the Soviet courts.

The Soviet government has strictly forbidden corporal punishment. The policy of the Soviets towards prisoners is based on the principle of education in proletarian discipline and training for Communism. This is in sharp contrast to the treatment of prisoners in Kuomintang China, where mediæval torture prevails.

The Labour legislation of the Soviets guarantees complete protection of the interests of the working class. The Labour Law passed by the Soviet government in December, 1931, was further improved and extended in March, 1933. The eight-hour day has

been introduced in all Soviet districts. Collective agreements have been introduced on a broader basis. In many urban and rural districts there are labour protection bureaux, which send inspectors to the various works and enterprises in order to see that the Labour Law is observed. In addition, Labour Courts have been introduced which impose punishment on employers who violate the labour laws. The Soviets carefully control the engagement or dismissal of workers in the enterprises. The Soviets themselves perform the function of employment agencies. Measures for the support of unemployed are being carried out on a broad basis. Landworkers have been given arable land to cultivate. Social insurance is under the control of the social insurance office attached to the Soviets.

The real wages of the workers have increased enormously in comparison with pre-revolutionary times. In no case has the increase in wages amounted to less than a third, and in many cases wages are fifteen times higher than formerly. Wages in the villages have also considerably increased. In the State undertakings, wages have increased 20 to 40 per cent. in the last two years. In general wages are paid punctually.

Women and young workers are granted special protection. Equal pay for equal work, leave of absence with pay before and after confinement, prohibition of the labour of children under 14 years of age and shortened working hours for young workers up to the age of 18 are usual in the Soviet districts. Apprentices have had their period of apprenticeship reduced, their treatment improved and their wages increased.

The hygienic conditions and the food of the workers in general, and of the workers in the State undertakings in particular, have been carefully improved. In the village the land workers have the same food as the employers.

The workers in the Soviet districts are organised in strong class trade unions. The membership of these trade unions is constantly increasing. According to the statistics issued by the Trade Union Federation of China, the number of trade union members in the Central Soviet district and the neighbouring Soviet districts alone amounts to 209,000. In the Central Soviet district only 3,676 workers, that is about three per cent. of the total number of workers, are not organised in trade unions.

The successful administration of the Labour Law in town and country in the last two years did not proceed without the resistance of the capitalists and the kulaks. But the active class struggle of the working masses and the vigilance of the Soviets frustrated all these efforts of the reactionaries.

From the reports of 11 Soviet districts it is to be seen that of the 70,580 members of trade unions, 19,960, or 28 per cent., served in the Red Army or the local partisan detachments, and 6,752 (10 per cent.) worked in the various Soviet organs. Among the trade union members there are 12,435 (28 per cent.) members of the C.P. and of the Y.C.L.

The principle of the *agrarian policy* of the Soviets is the complete abolition of feudal and semi-feudal slavery and exploitation. The peasants, numbering millions, have confiscated the land of the big landowners and the fertile land of the kulaks, done away with the usurious loans and innumerable taxes, crushed all enemies of the revolution and set up their own State power.

The first Soviet Congress of China proclaimed the land law, which served as a guiding line for the solution of the agrarian problem. The land inspection movement created by the Central Soviet government aims at thoroughly exterminating the remnants of feudalism and guaranteeing that the real benefits of the agrarian revolution shall accrue to the landworkers, the small and middle peasants. The land inspection movement has proved a good means for the further development of the class struggle in the village and for the destruction of the remnants of feudalism.

The aim of the Soviet revolution is not only to solve the problem of the distribution of the land, but also to increase the productivity of the land. Under the correct guidance of the Soviets and through the initiative of the broad masses of peasants, in most localities the former productivity has been restored or even surpassed. As a result, the conditions of living of the peasants have considerably improved.

Formerly the peasants were obliged to live for months on the bark of trees and husks of grain. All this, however, is a thing of the past, and there is no longer any famine in the Soviet districts. The lives of the peasants are improving from year to year; they no longer go about in rags; they eat more meat, which formerly was a luxury.

(To be concluded)

Trade Union Movement

On the Way to a Revolutionary Mass Trade Union Movement in Spain

By J. del Barrio (Barcelona)

The Confederacion General del Trabajo Unitaria de Espana (Unitary General Trade Union Federation of Spain), Section of the Red International of Labour Unions, was founded at the National Congress held from April 25 to 29 in Madrid and convened by the Red Trade Unions and the Initiative Committee.

The establishment of this section of the R.I.L.U. acquires enormous historical importance in the present situation in Spain. Considering the fact that the preparations for this Congress took place under the worst conditions of illegality, the holding of the Congress, its decisions, and the great number of delegates present, representing many thousands of workers and peasants of the whole country, is of great importance for the further development of the revolution in Spain.

In spite of the fact that, after the defeat of the fascists in El Escorial, a state of siege has been proclaimed, the Congress completed its work during the five days it met. Altogether 135 delegates were present, representing 180,000 organised workers in all branches of industry, land workers and poor peasants.

During the Congress more than 50 trade unions formerly belonging to the Anarchist Trade Union Federation (C.N.T.) or the reformist U.G.T. or hitherto autonomous, declared their affiliation to the new C.G.T.U. This proves that the toilers represented at the Congress constitute only a part of the forces upon which the new C.G.T.U. can reckon. The great majority of the trade unions represented at the Congress have been expelled from the C.N.T. or the U.G.T. on account of their struggle for the united front. There are also many thousands of workers and peasants who have been expelled from the reformist or anarchist trade unions, but have not yet declared their affiliation to the C.G.T.U. In addition, thousands of members of the trade unions affiliated to the C.N.T. or the U.G.T. are fighting against their treacherous leaders and for the carrying out of the instructions of the followers of the R.I.L.U. Finally, there are thousands of workers and peasants, in particular in Catalonia, who do not belong to any trade union organisation. These are the forces which the C.G.T.U. has to win over to its ranks.

The Congress raised all the questions put by the revolution to the toiling masses. It emphasised the fact that the C.G.T.U. is the champion in the struggle for the class unity of the workers and peasants of the whole country against their exploiters.

The Congress very thoroughly examined the political and economic situation of the toilers, and dealt in particular with the organisational tasks resulting from it for the adherents of the R.I.L.U.: fight of the unitary trade unions in the factories and workshops for winning the masses for the factory committees and peasant committees as organs of the united front for the enforcement of the economic demands and in the struggle against reaction and fascism; organisation of independent leadership in the workers' struggles by the democratically elected committees; the struggle for trade union unity, for the unity of action of the masses.

The Congress of the C.G.T.U. raised the concrete question of the struggle for the capture of power by the workers and peasants and welcomed the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government on the basis of the Soviets as the first stage on the path to a socialist, classless society.

The Congress devoted particular attention to Catalonia, where the disorganisation and the splitting of the forces have assumed a serious character, but where the C.G.T.U. has great prospects for work. The C.G.T.U. declared its unrelenting opposition to any form of national oppression and its readiness to fight for the social and national emancipation of the oppressed nations.

This young section of the R.I.L.U. has been established at a time when the working class is sharply confronted with the question of power. The delegates and the thousands of working people in Madrid who filled the hall in which the Congress took place expressed their recognition of this fact when, at the conclusion of the Congress, they welcomed with raised fists and shouts of "Moscow" the affiliation of the C.G.T.U. to the R.I.L.U.

The White Terror

The Fight to Save Rakosi

The International Labour Defence has mobilised all its sections against the shameful designs of Hungarian class justice against Rakosi, who, after having served his sentence of eight and a half years' imprisonment, is to be again brought before the Court charged with crimes involving the death sentence. The Hungarian authorities have been inundated with protests from all countries. The Hungarian consulates in the big towns abroad have been besieged. The demand for the release of Rakosi comes from the factories and workers' organisations where the I.L.D. has taken the initiative to start a release campaign. Realisation of the strength of international solidarity has increased enormously since the Reichstag fire trial, when the blindly-raging Hitler fascists in Germany suffered a disastrous defeat.

On the initiative of the I.L.D., the French unitary trade unions sent the chairman of the Wood Workers' Union to Budapest in order to protest in the name of the French trade unionists against the arbitrary retention of Rakosi in prison and the new trial, and to convey to him the militant greetings of the French workers. The authorities refused to receive him, but the government could not prevent the Hungarian workers from being informed of his presence and the purpose of his visit. . . .

The example of the French trade unions was followed by the International Jurist Association, that well-known organisation of jurists which conducts an energetic fight against fascist justice and its administration of the law. The I.J.A. sent *Etienne Milhaud*, a Paris lawyer, to Budapest in order to intervene on behalf of Rakosi in the name of thousands of jurists of all countries. His request to speak with Rakosi was also refused. In reply to the protest of the International Jurists' Association, the Hungarian Minister of Justice stated that Hungarian criminal procedure forbids prisoners to have any outside connections and that "the administration of justice in Hungary is on an equally high level as that of any other European country, which fact makes all foreign intervention unnecessary and undesirable." We know the "high level" of Hungarian Justice, which will stand comparison with that of any other fascist country. We shall never tire of bringing home to the minds of the masses the meaning and purpose of this justice, and the more "undesirable" the protests are the more they must be increased, until Rakosi and all other political prisoners are set at liberty.

The American lawyer, *David Levinson*, who is well known on account of his efforts on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti and who was also present at the Reichstag trial in Leipzig, has also gone to Budapest in order to intervene on behalf of Rakosi.

No less active are the working people of Hungary, under the leadership of the I.L.D. In spite of all the terror and the continual arrests, they are conducting a great fight for Rakosi's release. Demonstrations have taken place in Budapest and all the big towns and localities. The I.L.D. held a flying meeting in the market-place in Altofen. In Budapest the workers and peasants demonstrated in front of Judge Toereky's house. Streamers bearing the inscription "Death to Toereky, long live Rakosi!" were carried. Red flags were hoisted on trees. At the same time a demonstration took place outside the Law Courts and a red flag was hoisted on the building itself. The workers of the firm of Markovits and Mendel, the members of the wood workers' trade union and of the metal workers' trade union recently protested. At a meeting of the socialist Youth in Koebamje, a worker spoke and demanded the release of Rakosi. The working people of the whole country are supporting Rakosi.

Even the political prisoners have resorted to a hunger strike in order to wrest Rakosi from the claws of the executioners.

Rakosi himself, in spite of his 8½ years' imprisonment, in spite of the monstrous accusations now brought against him, remains unbroken.

On June 8, 43 political prisoners in the Budapest prison went on hunger strike. According to a report of the I.L.D. of Hungary this hunger strike has spread to all the prisons, and since June 12 all the political prisoners are taking part in it. The demands of the strikers are: (1) Immediate release of Comrade Rakosi; (2) cessation of the brutal prison regime; (3) less rigorous censorship; (4) common cells for the political prisoners; (5) the doors of the cells shall not be closed during dinner hours.

Death Sentence on the Rumanian Red Guardist Gador

The former Red Army man **Bela Gador** has just been sentenced to death by hanging for having allegedly killed seven counter-revolutionaries on June 30, 1919.

After the overthrow of the Soviet Republic in Hungary, Bela Gador fled to Vienna. He afterwards returned to Hungary, where he was arrested and brought before the Court.

One cannot help connecting this monstrous trial with the trial of Comrade Mathias Rakosi, People's Commissar of Soviet Hungary, which is now being prepared.

As is known, Rakosi was arrested in 1925, i.e., long after the events of 1919, on account of Communist propaganda, and for this reason was sentenced to 8½ years' imprisonment.

The Hungarian authorities announce that he is to be charged on account of his activity in the year 1919, on account of his role as People's Commissar for socialisation during the Hungarian Commune, and the death sentence is demanded against him. In order to support this monstrous charge, and to be able to sentence the great Hungarian champion to death, the trial of the Red Guardist Bela Gador was framed up and the death sentence pronounced on him.

In all countries a powerful protest movement against the fascist government of Hungary must set in, in which the demand must be raised for the release of Rakosi and the other Communists pining in Horthy's dungeons, including Bela Gabor, who is obviously used as a scapegoat in order to create the material basis for the conviction of the People's Commissar.

The action for the courageous Communist Mathias Rakosi must be linked up with the campaign for the release of Ernst Thaelmann.

The Rumanian Railway Workers Before the Military Court

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

On June 4 the Military Court in Craiova commenced hearing the appeal of the Rumanian railway workers, who in February, 1933, were at the head of the revolutionary strikes of the decisive sections of the Rumanian proletariat. The accused were sentenced by the Bucharest Military Court in August last to a total of 500 years' imprisonment, the two leaders, Doncea and Petreno, receiving sentences of life-long imprisonment. The Rumanian bourgeoisie have made all preparations in order that the first judgment shall be upheld. The appeal is being heard in the non-proletarian district of Craiova, where the fascists have a certain following among the peasant population, and where a state of emergency exists.

The fights in February, 1933, were of great importance because they were participated in by the most important sections of the Rumanian proletariat, the railway workers and the oil workers, and because the economic fight became a political fight which to a certain extent amounted to civil war. These fights have clearly shown the peasantry and the vacillating middle classes that the proletariat is leading the fight against the bourgeoisie. The events have enormously increased the confidence of the workers in the revolutionary organisations. Hence, when the judgment of the Bucharest Military Court was announced, there commenced a tremendous campaign throughout the country for the release of the railwaymen. Thousands of signatures were collected and sent to the Minister of Justice, demonstrations of workers took place in the factories and in the most important towns of Rumania. It was in this tense atmosphere that the proceedings commenced in Craiova, in a small hall with seating accommodation for only 30 persons, and to which only a few journalists were admitted. Right from the commencement the accused have exposed the class character of this trial; they do not defend themselves, they attack. It was not they who are the accused, but the Rumanian bourgeoisie who caused 500 railway workers to be murdered in 1933. The bourgeois press is forced to recognise the courage of the accused, and as a result of the tremendous pressure of the masses, a number of bourgeois papers are demanding that the sentences be reduced.

The chief accused, *Constantin Doncea*, who has been sentenced to penal servitude for life, made the following declaration at the commencement of the proceedings:—

"I have had to wait a long time until I obtained the oppor-

tunity to express the words which I shall say here as a simple worker. I shall now have the possibility of justifying myself to the thousands of workers who have confidence in me and who elected me as their leader. It is to them alone that I owe a declaration in order that the calumnies indulged in by all those who have concluded a united front against the workers shall cease, and in order that, after six months' arrest in Jilava, I can fulfil my duty to those who elected me and fought shoulder to shoulder with me—that I can account to them for my actions. They will hear me even from this place, where I have been brought by the bloody vengeance of the cruel oppressors of the proletariat."

All the accused have spoken in this spirit. The statements made by the accused have had a tremendous effect throughout the whole country. The bourgeois press is compelled to recognise the heroic behaviour of the accused. The legend of the "hand of Moscow" has been dispelled. Doncea and his comrades have clearly shown that the fight was called forth by the misery of the masses and by the starvation plans of the Geneva bankers. The representative of the Crown wanted to divert the proceedings into another channel by declaring that the strikers in Klausenburg were members of a national minority. After Doncea, *Gheorghiu Dej*, who was sentenced to 15 years' penal servitude, replied to this provocation as follows:—

"The class-conscious workers make no distinction between race and nationality. The Rumanian workers are exploited in the factories just as much as the Hungarian or Jewish workers. When dismissing workers or reducing wages the employers do not trouble whether the workers are Rumanians or not. The statute of the railways, which renders a knowledge of Rumanian obligatory, is only intended to sow discord among the workers by creating national hatred. But the proletariat will not follow this path of fascisation."

Thus the accused have converted the trial into a trial of the capitalist government. After the statements of the accused there commenced the examination of witnesses, which revealed once again the political character of this trial. The defence called 400 witnesses; most of them are railway workers. All of them have come to Craiova and deposed that everywhere, in the factories, in the offices, and in the workshops, the workers regard Doncea as their leader and are demanding the release of the railway workers. Unorganised workers appeared before the Military Court in order to denounce the treachery of the social democrats and to testify that after the February strike their wages were increased. The witnesses declared that *Mirescu*, the secretary of the reformist trade unions, was in the habit of handing lists of Communist workers over to the Siguranza.

The pressure of the masses is so strong that even the former Ministers *Manoilescu* and *Perietanu* were compelled to admit the miserable condition of the railway workers.

Not only the working masses of Rumania, but also the international proletariat are demanding the release of the railwaymen. The effect of this campaign in Craiova has been enormous. Thousands of telegrams and protest resolutions have come from all parts of the world. A great impression was created by the arrival of a *delegation of three French railwaymen*, who brought the accused the greetings of the international proletariat. In spite of the objections of the Prosecution the French railwaymen had to be admitted as witnesses. One of them declared:—

"I am a member of a delegation which was elected after a campaign of meetings held by our trade union numbering over 400,000 members. The French proletariat followed the events of February, 1933, with the greatest interest and recognised that the same causes which have so often driven the workers in France to fight for their demands, also gave rise to the strike of the Rumanian railwaymen. The French proletariat recognises that the fights of the workers taking place in Rumania are of great importance to them, as they are part of the common fight against the French and Rumanian bourgeoisie. We demand, in the name of the French proletariat, the release of the Rumanian railwaymen."

The two other delegates spoke to the same effect. The trial has revealed the profound radicalisation of the peasants and workers of Rumania, and proved to the vacillating middle classes that the proletariat has taken over the leadership in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois-monarchist rule in Rumania.

Marxism-Leninism

The International Importance of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism"

By Bela Kun
(Conclusion)

II.

Stalin's book, "The Foundations of Leninism," appeared about the time of the beginning of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. The relative stabilisation of capitalism means not only that capital again took up the offensive against the working class, but also that the social-democratic parties went over to the offensive against the sections of the Communist International.

The leaders of the Second International, from Kautsky to Otto Bauer, hailed the stabilisation of capitalism as a "refutation of the theory and practice of Leninism." They all solemnly announced: "the advance of Asiatic Bolshevism to the west is at an end." Only the "extreme Liberals" among them condescendingly admitted that Leninist tactics might be justified for a time in backward Russia (Otto Bauer).

The introduction of the word Leninism into the language of the international working class was received with an outburst of fury by the leaders of the Second International. The social-democratic theoreticians maintained that the introduction of this word in the Communist International meant the recognition of the break with Marxism, and at the same time the imposition of a "purely Russian theory and Russian tactics" on the West-European workers' movement. They prophesied the end of the Communist International, which stood or fell with Leninism, which was not at all suitable for European conditions.

The social-democratic leaders were really right in their assertion that the Communist International stands or falls with Leninism. The attacks of the leaders of the Second International on Leninism would not in themselves have constituted any danger to the Communist International. But there was the serious danger of these social-democratic views having an ideological and political effect on some "leaders and theoreticians" within the Communist International and its Sections.

Even in the oldest and most steeled Party of the Communist International, the C.P.S.U., there were some persons and groups not unaffected by these assertions of the social democracy. **Rjasanov** even condemned the word Leninism and characterised its introduction as an emanation of "the careerism of a red professor." **Trotsky** and his consorts repeated their attempts to revise the legend that Bolshevism had been Europeanised by the fact that Trotsky had joined the Bolsheviks. The theory of Comrade **Zinoviev**, according to which the main question of Leninism was the peasant question, was an attempt to convert Lenin into a Russian peasant philosopher, and was nothing else but the counterpart of the theories of Otto Bauer and Co., which "recognised" Leninism as a product of the special Russian conditions.

At the same time there appeared in a number of sections of the Communist International, in the capitalist countries, tendencies which attempted, contrary to Leninism and Bolshevism, to found a sort of "West-European Communism." The "Left" **Bordiga**, who at that time was the leader of the Communist Party of Italy, openly declared at the Enlarged Executive of the E.C.C.I. that Leninism was not applicable to European conditions, and that in Europe Marxism must be applied in its Bordigian "originality." The Right **Thalheimer**, who was at that time the leading theoretician of the C.P.G., attempted to "West-Europeanise" Leninism by recommending, as the theoretical basis of the strategy and tactics of the Communist International to be laid down in the Programme of the Communist International, the teachings of Rosa Luxemburg on imperialism. The Hungarian theoretician of "West-European Communism," **Georg Lucas**, reconciled the "Left" **Bordiga** with the Right **Thalheimer** by declaring in his work on Lenin, that the theory of Rosa Luxemburg constituted the theoretical basis of Leninist practice. The "Left" **Maslow** and **Ruth Fischer**, no less than the Right **Thalheimer**, were the advocates of a "European tactic" for the Communist Parties west of the Soviet Union; and the essence of this "European tactic" was

the rejection of the Leninist strategy with regard to the winning of the majority of the working class.

In all these "theories" there was reflected in various degrees and forms the influence of the social democracy and of the stabilisation period on the ranks of the Communist Party. All these views, which denied the nature of Leninism as the continuation and further development of Marxism, or limited Leninism to Russia, wished to "Europeanise" Communism and attempted to nurture a West-European Communism, constituted a denial of revolutionary tactics. All these products of capitalist stabilisation—the "Left" as well as the Right—finally united in the opportunist swamp of a partly or wholly social-democratic policy, and many of them, like Trotsky and his consorts, landed in the camp of counter-revolution. To wish to "Europeanise" Bolshevism, which right from its commencement was the "last word of Marxism," the "last word of modern Socialism," means nothing else but to recognise, openly or covertly, the thesis of Kautsky on "Asiatic Bolshevism." Stalin's book, "The Foundations of Leninism," and his other work, "Problems of Leninism," not only declared war on all these tendencies and other vacillations, but smashed them.

One of the most important theoretical achievements of Stalin's work, "The Foundations of Leninism," was at the same time its practical political importance for the whole of the international labour movement. It consisted before all in the fact that in this book Leninism was traced back to the objective basis of its rise and development—to imperialism as a world phenomenon. From this there resulted the international validity of Leninism, of "the theory and practice of Leninism in general and of the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution in particular" (Stalin).

The plain and simple sentence in which Stalin defines the objective circumstances of the rise and development of Leninism and its special position in the development of Marxism: "Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolutions," was and is the weapon which, in the fight on two fronts, defeated all vacillations and all deviations from Leninism, the guiding star which has helped the Communist International and its sections to march forward on the correct Leninist path.

Stalin's book gave the correct compass to the leading cadres and the members of the Communist International. The clear and precise exposition of the international character of Leninism, its welding together into a whole, into a theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution applicable on a world scale, was the most important weapon in repelling the social-democratic attacks on the Communist Parties in the period of the temporary stabilisation of capitalism. It was the lever which, at the time of the shaking and the end of the stabilisation of capitalism, raised the Communist International to the heights of the new and increasing revolutionary tasks.

Immediately after its appearance abroad, Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" became the handbook for the Bolshevisation of the Communist International and its sections. At the time of its publication the Communist International was confronted with the great historical task, which had been set it by Lenin, of converting the Communist Parties—which still retained parliamentary, political and also organisational traditions inherited from the social democracy—into parties of a new type. The influence of social democracy on the Communist Parties and their cadres was still at work in the form of the old inherited traditions.

Stalin's book dealt effectively with all the social democratic traditions and set up a dam against the penetrating influence of petty-bourgeois social democracy into the ranks of the proletarian, Communist Party. In it Stalin gave us all and every Communist, in a clear, comprehensible manner, the meaning and the preconditions of the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties:—

"First of all, there must be a testing of the dogmas of

the Second International in the fire of the revolutionary mass struggle, in the fire of living practice. This means that the unity between theory and practice must be restored, that the breach between theory and practice must be bridged over, for thus only can there be created a genuine proletarian party, equipped with a revolutionary theory.

"Secondly, there must be a **testing of the policy** of the parties affiliated to the Second International—not by their slogans and resolutions (which must not be accepted at face value), but by their deeds, for only by deeds can the confidence of the proletarian masses be won.

"Thirdly, there must be a **reorganisation of all the activities** of proletarian parties. Their activities must be given the new revolutionary trend. The masses must be educated and prepared for the coming revolutionary struggle, for the proletarian revolution.

"Fourthly, the proletarian parties must undertake **self-criticism**. They must learn by the experience of their own mistakes. Thus only can trustworthy troops and leaders be formed."

These sentences contain the programme and the guiding lines for the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties in all countries.

The slogan of Bolshevisation was at first unclear, and in fact unintelligible, to many Communists. The Right elements (Thalheimer, Brandler, etc.), and also the "Lefts" (Bordiga), more or less offered resistance to Bolshevisation. They made use of the slogan of Bolshevisation in order to make out that a difference existed between Bolshevism and Communism. Many Communists understood by Bolshevisation only the organisational readjustment of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory cells, and troubled very little, or not at all, about altering the political contents of Party work.

At this dangerous juncture, when the carrying out of Bolshevisation was threatened with failure, Stalin's book made its appearance. It gave the cadres of the Communist Parties a uniform picture of what constitutes a Bolshevik Party and what is the political content of Bolshevik Party work. It showed the prerequisites for the building up of the Party and the whole work of the Party, which rendered possible the carrying out of a Bolshevik policy among the working class. It showed the necessity for a complete reconstruction of the whole Party and its work in the sense of Leninism, from theory up to the new regulation of inner Party relationships, which excludes any fraction-mongering and demands the constant purging of the Parties from opportunist elements. The historical period in which the Communist Parties have to fulfil their historical mission "sets the proletariat new tasks." One of the first of these is to recognise the Party work, renewing it and revolutionising it in every way; to educate the workers in the revolutionary struggle for power; to rally the reserves and prepare them for the fight; to seek alliances with the proletariat of neighbouring lands; to create firm ties between the proletariat and the movements for independence in colonial and vassal countries; and so on and so forth."

From the historical tasks which determine the content of the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties there necessarily arises the concrete tasks of transforming the Communist Parties, for, says Stalin, there exists

"the need for the creation of a new party, a revolutionary fighting party, bold enough to lead the proletariat forward into the struggle for the seizure of power, experienced enough to find a solution for all the complications arising out of the revolutionary situation, and flexible enough to be able to steer the revolutionary barque safely through the shoals.

"Without such a party it is useless to dream of overthrowing imperialism and installing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This new party is the Party of Leninism."

These words of Stalin raised the slogan of Bolshevising in all Communist Parties from the position of a slogan, of a thesis, into the sphere of a practical realisation.

The international importance of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" consists, not only in the historical mission which was fulfilled in the Communist International and its sections by giving the Communist Parties the best weapon in the fight against Right opportunism and pseudo "Left" Trotskyist and other deviations, the steel weapons with which the anti-Leninist groupings were defeated. This book will not lose its importance even in the

future, although there exists already the Programme of the Communist International.

The two most important questions of the strategy of the Communist Parties in the fight for power: the capture of the majority of the working class and the winning of the allies of the working class, namely, the working peasants, the middle strata, the nationally oppressed peoples in the colonies and in the dependent countries—these important questions are clearly and plainly solved in this book. From this solution there results for the Communist Parties in the approaching struggles for the Soviet Power, in the period of a new cycle of revolutions and wars, the task of winning the workers organised in the social-democratic parties and in the reformist trade unions. The fight of the Communist Party against imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union, and also for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet Power, demands the isolation of the parties of the Second International which form the **most important buttress of the policy of compromise**.

The interests of the international proletarian revolution, of which the Soviet Union is the advance-guard, demand the mobilisation of the main reserves, consisting of the forces of the national revolution in the colonial and dependent countries and, in the advanced capitalist States, in the semi-proletarian and small peasant masses in town and country. This book contains the most important instructions in regard to the teaching of the mobilisation of the reserves of the proletarian revolution and in the peasant and national questions for the **united struggle** of the working class, for the establishment of the united front in the fight against fascism, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

From the point of view of the actual struggle against fascism, Stalin's article: "The October Revolution and the Question of the Middle Strata," which was published shortly before the appearance of his book, contains important supplementary statements on this question. The leaders of the Second International, and Otto Bauer in particular, declared after the February fights in Austria, that the middle strata, which support fascism, render impossible any successful struggle for Socialism. This statement is brilliantly refuted in this chapter. We shall quote only the following sentences from this article as a guiding line for the struggle of the Communists in winning the middle strata:—

"The October Revolution has proved that the proletariat can seize power and maintain it if it at the same time succeeds in wresting the middle strata, and above all the peasantry, from the class of the capitalists, if it succeeds in transforming these strata from the reserves of capitalism into the reserves of the proletariat. In brief: the October Revolution, as the first revolution in the world, has put forward the question of the middle strata, and above all the peasantry, and it has solved this question successfully, despite all the 'theories' and all the lamentations of the heroes of the Second International."

As the examples of Germany and Austria show, the petty-bourgeois policy of social democracy repulses the petty bourgeoisie from the proletariat, whilst the real proletarian class policy, as is taught by Stalin, draws them to the side of the proletariat.

Finally, the actual, political, international importance of Stalin's book lies in the fact that it gives the clearest conception and a complete picture of what constitutes the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Power, as the immediate, uniform organisation of the masses themselves, as the broadest democracy of the toilers and exploited.

At the time of a fresh cycle of revolutions and wars this book acquires international importance as a guiding line for all Communist Parties in their struggle for the Soviet Power.

"The Foundations of Leninism" have up to now been published in 26 languages. Together with Lenin's "State and Revolution," "Left Wing Communism," and "Imperialism," Stalin's book has the widest circulation and has met with the most enthusiastic reception of all the works of Bolshevik literature.

The ten years' international triumphal march of this book into the brains and the hearts of the proletariat in the imperialist and colonial countries will be crowned by the winning of the majority of the working class, their freeing from social-democratic influence, the shattering of fascism, the overthrow of the bourgeois State power and the establishment of the power of the Soviets—on the ruins of capitalism and the feudal remnants in the imperialist and colonial countries.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Arrival of the Cheljuskin Expedition in Moscow

The 19th June, the day on which the members of the heroic Cheljuskin Polar expedition returned to Moscow, will figure as one of the most important in history. Moscow made the day into a real people's holiday. Moscow greeted the heroes of the Soviet Union with triumph and enthusiasm—the seven heroic airmen who plunged into the terrific struggle with the wild and elemental powers of nature in the Arctic at the first call of the Party of Lenin and the Soviet Government, who hesitated at no danger, who overcame all difficulties and achieved their aim; the gallant members of the Cheljuskin expedition, and the magnificent group of Soviet Polar explorers who held out under the terribly difficult conditions of their camp on the ice floes and maintained Bolshevik discipline, organisation and endurance.

Moscow literally put on a new face for the occasion. Its streets and squares were a maze of bright colours, the fresh green of the garlands, the oriental tones of the carpets and the stark red of the innumerable flags and banners which were displayed everywhere. A happy press of workers crowded the streets. Tens of thousands waited on the pavements of the Gorki Street which leads to the railway station at which the Soviet heroes arrived, and in their hands they carried flowers. Those who succeeded in obtaining a place in the main line of route were deeply envied by those who had to be content with a place in the side streets. Flags, banners and garlands waved over the streets, and the square in front of the White-Russian railway station was a blaze of colour like a flower garden in full bloom.

At last the members of the expedition appeared singly and in groups on the platform of the station. Low-flying aeroplanes roared over the station buildings after accompanying the train. On the station platform *Kuibichev* and *Litvinov* embraced *Schmidt* and the other Soviet heroes as they descended from the train. Tears of happiness rolled down the cheeks of the relatives of the members of the expedition who awaited them on the platform. The members of the glorious Polar expedition were smothered with flowers. A tremendous roar of cheering went up from the thousands of workers on the platforms, on the station roofs, in the windows and on the balconies of the nearby houses and in the streets. The members of the expedition tumbled out of the train one after the other, looking left and right for their relatives and friends. Mothers and wives, fathers, brothers and sons embraced ecstatically as the Soviet heroes, saved from the icy Arctic, returned to their dear ones. *Schmidt*, *Bobrov*, *Kamanin*, *Lapidievski* and their gallant companions marched through a cheering cordon into the station square where a column of motor-cars smothered with flowers awaited them. Models of ships and aeroplanes made in flowers greeted them. Garlands of flowers covered the bonnets of the cars.

As they moved off with their gallant burdens to the Red Square a rain of flowers descended on them from the neighbouring windows, roofs and balconies. The roars of cheering rose again and again, and the names of the members of the expedition were shouted again and again. The cars moved very slowly. Hundreds of workers pressed forward to shake the hands of their heroes. Thousands of hands smothered them with roses. Again and again the thundering shouts went up: "Long live *Schmidt*!" "Long live our heroic Soviet airmen!" "Long live the Cheljuskin lads!" "Long live the heroes of the Arctic!"

In the name of the entire Cheljuskin expedition *Professor Schmidt* thanked the proletariat of Moscow for the wonderful reception and closed his short speech with the words: "Long live our great and invincible proletarian Fatherland the Soviet Union and its leader Comrade *Stalin*!" The cheers were taken up all along the line and tens of thousands of voices joined in. The never-ending hurrahs drowned all other noises, the sound of the motor-horns and the playing of the bands. The shouting and the cheering swept down the streets from the railway square to the building of the Moscow Soviet preceding the advance of the members of the expedition. On the Red Square a platform erected near the Lenin Mausoleum and decorated with flowers awaited

the heroes of the Soviet Arctic. The excitement and joy at the arrival of the Soviet heroes spread like wildfire over the whole town. Their pictures in gigantic proportions were displayed along the side of the great building of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union. The great square looked like a garden with beds of different coloured flowers, with the red, blue and white blouses of the red athletes and sportsmen, the blue and black jackets of the worker delegates, and the green tunics of the Red Army companies. The ranks of the guard of honour stood like statues of bronze and then in the distance the cheering sounded.—a great hurrah which rapidly rolled nearer and nearer. Hundreds of thousands of throats swelled as the masses cheered, hundreds of thousands of hands stretched upwards to greet the arrival of the heroes as though a field of corn swayed in the wind.

The long line of cars came back. Their occupants looked what they were, heroes of the Soviet Union, bronzed, strong, healthy, happy and deeply touched by the magnificent reception accorded to them. The bands played the triumphant march of the Red Air Fleet and then the "International." The masses began to sing and everyone joined in with raised hands, the workers, soldiers, the guests on the platform the heroic members of the Austrian Schutzund. *Stalin*, *Kaganovitch*, *Voroshilov*, *Kalinin*, *Shdanov* and other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government appeared in the portals of the Kremlin to meet the members of the expedition. In their turn they were welcomed with tremendous cheering from the masses and the square shook under the tremendous volume of sound which hailed the great leader of the proletarian revolution, the invincible proletarian armies, the Soviet government and the Party of Lenin. The leaders of the Soviet Union walked along the line of Cheljuskin heroes, and the heroes who had been saved greeted those who had saved them. The words of greeting spoken to the Arctic heroes found an echo in the hearts of the tens of thousands massed in and around the great square. *Stalin* and the other members of the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet government mounted the platform of the Lenin Mausoleum with *Schmidt*, *Gorki* and the gallant Soviet airmen, and the great meeting began.

Kuibichev was the first speaker. He welcomed the members of the Cheljuskin and their heroic rescuers. Why had there been such a tremendous movement throughout the Soviet Union to save the expedition? asked *Kuibichev*. Because everyone knew that they had not gone out on an adventurous expedition as was the case in capitalist countries, but because they were a collective of working people with an important task to perform at the instructions of the Soviet Fatherland, because they were flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the Soviet Union. The rescue of the members of the Cheljuskin expedition had demonstrated that the citizens of the Soviet Union knew how to defend the interests of their proletarian fatherland, that if necessary the whole people would arise to its defence and produce such heroes as those whom they were at present welcoming back from the icy North.

The chairman of the Moscow Soviet, *Bulgavin*, then welcomed the returned heroes, and he was followed before the microphone by *Professor Schmidt*, the leader of the expedition, one of the heroic airmen, a young member of the Young Communist Leninist League, *Kamanin*, Captain *Voronin* and the airmen *Molokov* and *Lapidievski*. The airmen had done nothing in particular, declared *Molokov*, who had rescued 39 members of the expedition with his machine. They had fulfilled their revolutionary duty towards the proletariat of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, they had rescued the members of the Cheljuskin expedition with Soviet aeroplanes, driven by Soviet motors, made in Soviet factories by Soviet workers. And in conclusion: "Three cheers for the Soviet aero industry!" The cheers were given with a will and the airman *Lapidievski* then spoke. All along the line they had been assisted in their work and supported by the enthusiasm with which the workers were building up socialism. That had encouraged them to still better work and still greater performance. *Lapidievski* closed his speech with a few warm words, and the Red Square then trembled under the thunder of the guns which fired the salute of honour for the heroic members of the Cheljuskin expedition and their rescuers.

The meeting then ended and the workers formed into a great procession which marched past the Lenin Mausoleum, cheering the heroes of the Arctic as they passed the platform—workers,

worker sportsmen and athletes, the companies of the Red Army, the columns of Red Airmen and Red Sailors, the veteran partisan fighters of the revolution and the veteran members of the Red Guard. Special enthusiasm and attention was paid to the group of members of the Austrian Schutzbund as they marched past in ordered ranks headed by their blood-red banner with the blue star. It was a historic meeting between the heroes of the Soviet Arctic and the worker heroes of Vienna who had fought on the barricades for the cause of the international proletarian revolution whilst the gallant Soviet explorers and airmen were fighting their winning battle with the merciless forces of nature in the Arctic.

Column after column passed. An enormous tank rolled past with the red flag flying at its turret, but its great bulk moved rapidly over the cobble stones of the square and behind it the motorised units of the Red Army, efficient and impressive. Hardly had they passed the Lenin Mausoleum when the air trembled to the thunder of innumerable aeroplane engines as squadron after squadron of giant Soviet planes swept over the square, flying so low that their wheels almost touched the spires of the Kremlin. The terrific throb of their motors drowned all other noises. The squadrons were followed then by the giant aeroplane "Gorki," the pride of the Soviet Air Fleet, accompanied by two light machines. To the accompaniment of storms of cheering the great machine circled the Kremlin and let loose a great cloud of leaflets which fluttered down on to the heads of the masses. It was the first occasion that the "Gorki" had taken part in a parade of the Soviet Air Fleet.

At nine o'clock in the evening the marching columns were still traversing the Red Square with flags and flowers and the square was a mass of many-coloured flowers, models of icebergs, portraits of the Arctic heroes in flowers, models of balloons and aeroplanes, of Schmidt's camp on the ice-floes, of ice bears, etc. The faces of the thousands fused into one great smile of enthusiasm and happiness, the features of the proletarian capital. The millions who marched past were the rescuers of the Cheljuskin expedition, the collective hero—socialism. And as the dusk fell the column still marched across the square, the bands still played, the flags, banners and garlands still advanced, and the models made by the workers still swayed across the square borne on the shoulders of the marching masses. And as the darkness increased the flood-light lit up the blood-red flag which waved over the Kremlin and bore in letters of gold the names of the heroes who were produced by the proletarian Fatherland and whom the workers of the proletarian capital had gathered to honour in the hour of their triumph.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Record Figures of Spring Sowing in the Soviet Union

The Spring sowing, which is still being carried on in the East and the North of the Soviet Union, has reached record figures. On June 15 in the whole of the Soviet Union 94,342,000 hectares had been sown, i.e., 101.5 per cent of the plan. The collective farms fulfilled the plan 104.7 per cent.

The Newspapers of the Political Departments Engage in Competition

The political administration of the Machine and Tractor Stations attached to the People's Commissariat for Agriculture reported on June 16 on the results of the competition taken part in by the newspapers of the Political Departments and collective farms. The purpose of the competition was to carry out a Bolshevik sowing campaign. Thirty newspapers, which had best fulfilled their tasks, received rewards. The results show that the newspapers really succeeded in effectively assisting the Political Departments. The end of the competition coincides with the victorious conclusion of the Spring sowing. A new competition will be organised for the harvest campaign.

Reorganisation of the War and Navy Commissariat

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union publishes a decree on the reorganisation of the War and Navy Commissariat according to the general organisational directions of the Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. These directions, as is known, lay emphasis on the principle of the responsibility of individual officials. The government decree abolishes the Collegium of the War and Navy Commissariat. The War and Navy Commissariat is being renamed the People's Commissariat for Defence. The appointment of the two deputy People's Commissars Gamarnik and Tuchatchev has been confirmed.

New Anti-Soviet Lies

The Soviet press categorically denies as a malicious invention, obviously pursuing provocative anti-Soviet aims, a report published in various foreign newspapers alleging that the Soviet government proposes to proclaim a moratorium on its foreign payments.

The Production Plan of the First Half-Year Fulfilled before Time

Various factories have already completed their half-year programme of production. The Moscow tube-casting factory had fulfilled its programme on June 14 by 100 per cent. by attaining an output figure of 7,001 tons of tubes. Pit No. 10 of the Stalinugol trust has supplied 130,115 tons of coal since the beginning of the year and thereby fulfilled the half-year plan. The miners of pit No. 3 of Krasnodonetsk have exceeded their half-year programme of coal output; they delivered 13,339 tons instead of 11,850. The collective of pit No. 5 has also exceeded its plan. On June 11 the "Jakutisolot" trust fulfilled the half-year programme of gold output 100.1 per cent.

The Industrialisation of Central Asia

The industrialisation of the Central Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union is proceeding apace. Construction work on the two big factories of the Kasakstan sugar industry in Aulie-Ata and Taldy-Kurgan is being accelerated this year. The first factory will be the largest sugar factory of the Soviet Union and work up 12,000 cwts. of sugar beets daily and produce 1,650 cwts. of sugar. Both factories will be equipped with the most up-to-date machines.

Zinc has been found in Northern Caucasus, in the neighbourhood of the rivers Laba, Belaja and Urup. The hewing and working up of zinc in Central Asia is one of the tasks of the near future.

Large Industrial Combine on the Bljava River

A large combine for the working up of copper and gold for chemical purposes is being erected in the Central Volga district. About 400,000 tons of copper have been discovered on the banks of the Bljava river. In various places the copper content of the ore is 17 per cent. The pits of the combine will yield 1.5 million tons of ore annually; later on the output of the pits can be increased to 3 million tons a year. Work in these pits will commence next year.

The smelting department of the combine will supply 25,000 tons of copper annually. A number of scientific institutes are engaged in seeking a method enabling the ore to be worked up without any loss of copper.

The chemical department of the combine will produce sulphuric acid and artificial fertilisers. The output of fertilisers will amount to 450,000 tons annually.

A socialist town for 50,000 inhabitants and the most modern dwellings will be erected near the combine.

Holiday Tours for Foreign Workers

The Foreign Bureau of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions is organising the holiday tours for foreign workers. One of the most popular holiday tours is the journey by boat on the Volga, which not only offers possibilities of rest and recreation, but also provides a good survey of the work of socialist construction being carried out on the banks of the Volga. Four steamers will be chartered for the foreign workers and specialists. Each of these steamers will accommodate 250 passengers for a trip lasting four weeks. The steamers start from Gorki and proceed downstream to Astrakhan, covering a distance of 5,000 kilometres. On the road to the Caspian Sea the passengers will visit the towns on the Volga, various plants, State and collective farms. There are ample facilities for sport on board; libraries, music, etc., will provide entertainment for the excursionists.

The First Flight of the Maxim Gorki Agitation Plane

On the day on which the participants in the Cheljuskin expedition arrived in Moscow the Maxim Gorki agitation plane, the largest aeroplane in the world, made its first flight over Moscow. As is known, this plane was constructed out of means collected by the readers of four Soviet Russian newspapers. It was intended by means of the sums so raised to celebrate the jubilee of the greatest revolutionary writer by the construction of an aeroplane.

The aeroplane has a wing span of 63 metres and is equipped with eight engines, aggregating 7,000 horse-power. The speed of the aeroplane is 220 to 240 kilometres an hour. It can carry a crew of 23 men and 43 passengers. It is equipped with a radio, cinematograph, a printing press and rotary machine, and strong loudspeakers render it possible to broadcast from the aeroplane over a radius of 12 kilometres.

In the International

The National Conference of the C.P. of France

The national conference of the Communist Party of France opened at ten o'clock in the morning in the town hall of the Paris working-class suburb of Ivry, whose municipal council has a Communist majority. About 150 delegates and 100 guests were present at the opening of the conference. Comrades Stalin, Piatnitzki, Kaganovitch, Thaelmann and other comrades were elected members of the honorary presidium of the conference. The conference was opened by the Communist Mayor of Ivry, Comrade *Maranne*, who welcomed the delegates in the name of the revolutionary workers of Ivry.

The opening speech at the conference was delivered by Comrade *Cachin*. At the beginning of his speech he stressed the fact that the question of realising the united front of the masses would be the central point of the conference business. Our Party, he declared, is determined to make the greatest possible efforts in this direction despite all the hindrances placed in the way by the leaders of the socialist party. We shall be doing no more than continuing the tireless efforts of our Party and of the whole International. Answering the poisonous attacks which have been made on the Communist Party, Comrade *Cachin* pointed out what the Party had done for the French working class: (1) It had taught the working class to break with bourgeois democracy and to take up its position on the basis of the irreconcilable class struggle; (2) the Party had worked unceasingly to educate the working class in the spirit of Marxism, as previously this work had been insufficient and neglected; (3) it had done everything within its power to create a strong and united leadership for the proletariat—in action and for action—and it has consolidated this leadership in the factories, all in order to create an instrument for the revolution; (4) the Party had succeeded in securing a powerful mobilisation of the working masses and it had also succeeded in allying itself with the peasants, the middle classes and the intellectuals; and (5) the Party had taught the working class real internationalism, and above all practical solidarity with the German working class, and this had been done despite the wave of chauvinism whipped up by the French bourgeoisie. If our Party has still weaknesses, declared *Cachin*, it will succeed in overcoming them because it has confidence in itself and in the working class. It will repulse all attacks delivered against it and nothing will be able to shake its unity.

The conference then adopted a message of greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leader Comrade *Stalin*, the world leader of the revolutionary struggle. A telegram of solidarity was also sent to Comrade *Thaelmann*. A message of greetings was also adopted to the Communist Party of Spain, and a resolution of protest was adopted against the verdict in the St. Omer trial where the fascist murderers of a member of the Communist Party were acquitted, and a resolution which swears to avenge the murder of the miner Fontaine by mass action against the fascists.

The afternoon session of the conference was occupied by the report of Comrade *Maurice Thorez*, who spoke in the name of the Central Committee of the Party on the only point on the agenda of the conference, namely: "The organisation of the fighting front against fascism." When he mounted the platform to deliver his report Comrade Thorez was greeted with the singing of the "International," a demonstration of the unity with which the Party membership stands behind the Central Committee.

Comrade Thorez began his report with an examination of the economic situation of France. A certain improvement in trade and industry had been obtained by the bourgeoisie at the cost of intensified exploitation of the working masses. At the moment, however, there was a new relapse caused, amongst other things, by the agrarian crisis. Comrade Thorez then dealt with the progress of the fascist movement in France with the encouragement of the government of national unity. He then described the relations of the two worlds facing each other to-day, the socialist and the capitalist worlds. When he dealt with the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the unswerving efforts of the

Soviet government for peace he was continually interrupted by bursts of applause from the assembled delegates. Comrade Thorez then dealt with the policy of the socialist party and the increasing flocking of socialist workers to the united front for which the Communist Party was honestly working.

Dealing with the activity of the Communist Party, Comrade Thorez pointed out that it was still not completely satisfactory. Many comrades were of the opinion that all the Party needed to do was to carry on its agitation and propaganda. The progress being made was not sufficiently rapid. There was still too much sectarian indifference to the question of immediate demands. The trade union work of the Party was also still too weak. It would appear at the moment that it was necessary to direct the fire of the Party more strongly against sectarianism than against right-wing opportunism which had been thoroughly exposed with the Doriot affair. The Party members had not yet succeeded in establishing fraternal relations with the socialist workers. Fears were being harboured with regard to the strength of the united front tendencies in the trade union and the membership figures of the revolutionary unions were feeling this. Above all the Party was very insufficiently prepared for the struggle in the factories.

Comrade Thorez pointed out that the opinions expressed by *Doriot* represented a complete break with the fundamental principles of Communism and were infected with a lack of belief in the future of the Party and a desire to liquidate the Party. The Central Committee had received over a thousand resolutions condemning *Doriot's* attitude. *Doriot's* attempt at disruption had done no more than delay the marching of the socialist workers towards the Communist platform.

The greatest weaknesses of the Party were to be found on the organisation field: insufficient membership recruiting as a result of a sectarian contempt for the masses, a bureaucratic attitude towards new members and a bad distribution of the Party work. The number of factory groups had increased somewhat, but it was still insufficient and the groups did not embrace sufficient comrades who were actually at work in the factories. The social composition of the district and sub-district committees was unsatisfactory, etc.

In conclusion Comrade Thorez declared that the united front was making progress, but fascism was making still greater progress and in consequence the Communist Party must increase the intensity of its work. The defence of the immediate day-to-day demands in accordance with the interests of various categories of workers must be taken as the basis of Party work to a greater extent. Such demands should be formulated in a popular fashion and must be of such a nature that their achievement in the struggle must be possible. The struggle for such demands would decide the fate of the race between fascism and revolution. The report of the General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Thorez, was received with unanimous applause and enthusiasm. At the close of the session the delegates rose in their seats, singing the "International."

The conference was then greeted by a deputation of workers from the big war industry factory (Gnome et Rhône, which employs 1,600 workers) and by deputations from three factories in Ivry.

New United Front Proposal to the French Socialist Party

The verdict in the St. Omer process recognises the right of the fascists to bear arms and murder workers. The verdict represents a challenge to the workers which may be fraught with the most serious consequences. The national conference of the French Communist Party therefore unanimously adopted the text of an appeal to the socialist workers, to the sections of the French socialist party and to the leadership of the party proposing the organisation of mass action throughout the country against the verdict. The proposals refer to the organisation of joint meetings and demonstrations in particular in the mining districts of Northern France, to the drawing up of a mass petition in the factories against the verdict, and to the joint organisation of workers' self-defence units.

The parliamentary fraction of the Communist Party and the parliamentary fraction of the socialist party, it is proposed, shall bring in a draft Bill for the defence of democratic liberties.

The Main Tasks of the C.P. of Yugoslavia

(From the Decision of the C.C. of the C.P. of Yugoslavia on the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

[Conclusion]

The Communists have to show the masses the victorious perspective of the further revolutionary struggles. They must combat every illusion that it is possible to abolish the military-fascist dictatorship by "peaceful" means, through a quiet and "normal" transition of the fascist dictatorship of the big-Servian bourgeoisie to democratic-parliamentary forms. **The military-fascist dictatorship can only be overthrown by the revolutionary struggle of the workers, peasants and suppressed nations.**

The military-fascist dictatorship is not to be replaced by the so-called bourgeois democracy, but by the democracy of the workers and peasants, by the Soviet Power. The Soviet Power will be established in the countries of Yugoslavia on the ruins of the military-fascist dictatorship.

Precisely a year ago the C.C. of the C.P.Y., in its decision on the tasks of the Party in connection with the decisions of the Twelfth Plenum, stated that the work of our Party and of the Y.C.L. in the army and navy had been very weak hitherto. We can record only slight progress in the revolutionary work of our Party in the army and navy, as well as in the organisation of mass struggles against imperialist war and against intervention during the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums. It is the duty of every Communist to overcome this lagging behind as soon as possible.

It is necessary: (a) to expose more energetically than hitherto the preparations for imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union; (b) to penetrate politically and organisationally into the armament industry (setting up of R.T.U.O. groups, campaign for the carrying out of factory council elections); (c) to set up underground organisations in the army and navy; (d) to organise a legal and semi-legal mass movement against the danger of war and against fascism by carrying out the decisions of the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress and of the Paris Anti-Fascist Congress, to expose the social democracy as the main support of the bourgeoisie in the ideological preparation of the toiling masses for war, and to fight for the disbanding of the Russian White-Guardist military organisations and institutions.

The Enlarged Executive has set the Party the task of making a decisive turn in its mass work and overcoming its lagging behind the general revolutionary upsurge. This means:—

Firstly, **to prepare and organise the leadership of all struggles of the working class, and in particular the economic struggles.** The number of strikes led by the Communists is increasing, nevertheless the majority of the strikes are being carried out without the participation of the Communists. In particular it is necessary to prepare systematically the struggles of the workers in the railway workshops, of the miners, textile workers and unemployed. The Party is faced with the task of linking up the economic struggles of the workers with their immediate political demands and, in accordance with the growth of the will to fight on the part of the masses, to make political strikes and political struggles the central and chief form of struggle of the working class.

Secondly, **to carry out the political and ideological offensive against the social democracy.** Whilst in most other countries social democracy is decaying and its influence waning, in our country the activity of the social democracy is growing. This is mainly due to the fact that we have hitherto underestimated the social-fascist danger, because we committed mistakes in the trade union sphere and because the social-fascists enjoy the full support of the fascist regime. In our country the social democracy is one of the main buttresses of the big-Servian military fascist dictatorship. The Communists, while launching an ideological and political offensive against the social-fascists, must at the same time apply the tactics of the united front from below in the factories and trade unions, as well as in all the struggles.

Thirdly, **to carry out the leading role of the working class in the movements of the peasantry and of the oppressed nations.** Up to now the movements of the peasantry and of the oppressed nations were bound to end in defeat, because in these struggles the leading role of the working class was not realised, and because the three main forces of the revolution—the proletariat, the toiling peasantry and the oppressed nations did not proceed jointly but divided. Hence, it is necessary (a) to organise revolutionary work

among the village proletariat; (b) to reinforce the work and the network of Party organisations in the village; (c) to support the creation of national-revolutionary groups and other organs of alliance between the workers, peasants and oppressed nations; (d) systematically to expose the petty bourgeois compromise and kulak parties and their leaders.

Fourthly, **to build up a Communist mass party and strengthen its connections with the masses.** The restoration of the Party organisations proceeded very unevenly; whole provinces (Servia, for instance), including some of the most important ones, lagged behind the general development of the Party. In the majority of Party organisations revolutionary work for organising the mass struggles is not being carried out, and these organisations simply vegetate. Hence it is necessary: (a) to increase the political activity of every Party unit and of every Communist; (b) to examine the work of every Party functionary, beginning with the C.C. down to the cells, from the standpoint of participation in the preparations for and struggles of the masses and from the standpoint of the realisation of the Party line in practice and not only in words; (c) to strengthen the capacity of the Party for action by making use of all legal possibilities, in the first case the elections to the Labour Chamber and factory councils and other election campaigns; (d) to develop the initiative of the cells and committees and to conduct a policy of maintaining the independence of the cells and committees within the confines and on the basis of the Party line; (e) to make the language of our press and of our agitation more intelligible to the masses and to develop the broadest application of oral, individual and collective mass agitation; (f) to make at all costs a turn in the work in the rural districts; (g) to extend Party work to all spheres, i.e., work among the toiling youth, among the proletarian women, etc.

In the present situation the Communists must exert all their forces in order to convert the Communist Party into a mass party, having the confidence of the masses. Without such a Communist mass party we shall not be able to fulfil the tasks confronting us on the eve of a fresh cycle of revolutions and wars. It is not sufficient to strengthen our agitation and propaganda. **The Party will win the majority of the working class only by persistent participation in and by persistent struggle for the leadership in all actions and struggles of the masses.** Every action and every struggle of the masses must lead to tangible organisational results in the sense of a strengthening of our Party and other revolutionary organisations, in particular the Y.C.L. and the R.T.U.O.

Fifthly, **to increase the struggle against the Right danger as the main danger.** These Right deviations are expressed: in losing the revolutionary perspective and underestimating the approach of the revolutionary crisis; in concealing our Communist countenance in our mass work; in retreating in face of the reformists and abandoning the struggle against them and against all reconcilers; in confining the activity of the Communists to the campaigns led by the reformists and in underestimating the necessity and importance of the work for organising the independent struggles of the working class; in the failure to understand the fascist character of "democratic" manoeuvres of the government; in following in the rear of the reformists; in the underestimation and neglect of the struggle against social fascism; in the failure to organise the mass struggles and to convert them into political struggles; in underestimation of the danger of imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union; in the neglect of revolutionary work in the army and navy.

At the same time it is necessary to conduct a ruthless struggle against all forms of sectarianism and opportunism, which are concealed behind a "Left" mask and are expressed mainly in the sectarian isolation of the organisation and in the neglect of mass work, in inadequate utilisation of the legal possibilities, in underestimation and neglect of work in the reformist trade unions and other legal organisations, etc. The election to the Labour Chambers revealed how harmful various deviations, and in particular the Right deviations, are for our work and the prestige of the Party.

The revolutionary movement is growing at an uneven pace. **The Communists must realise that the further course of events in Yugoslavia depends mainly on the development of the struggles of the working class and on the capacity of the Communist Party to organise and lead these struggles, on its capacity to unite the struggles of the workers with those of the peasants and of the oppressed nations, and to capture the leading position for the proletariat in these struggles of the toiling masses.**

The Co-operative Movement

Manifesto for the 12th International Co-operative Day

To the Co-operators of the whole world !
Men and Women Workers ! Employees and Housewives !
Members of the Consumers' Societies !

Hunger and want penetrate ever deeper into the ranks of the toiling masses of the capitalist countries. Ever wider sections of the toilers are being driven into want and destitution, despite the enormous stocks of food and other articles for general use.

The Consumers' Societies, which are intended to be a support to the toilers in their struggles against impoverishment and exploitation, are placed in the service of the capitalists by the reformist leaders. In every action of the working class against wage reductions, oppression and fascism, the Co-operative leaders claimed that they have nothing to do with politics, but they support the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

The action of the capitalists against the workers' organisations and Consumers' Societies becomes ever more acute. New taxes and other burdens are constantly being imposed upon the Co-operatives. The opening of shops and the founding of new Consumers' Societies is prohibited. In all capitalist countries the bourgeoisie is striving to deprive the Co-operatives of their last rights to self-administration and to subject them to the most reactionary police regulations.

How do the reformist Co-operative leaders respond to these attacks?

In Austria, just as in Germany, the Consumers' Societies were surrendered to the fascists without any resistance and have gone over to fascism with banners flying. The pennies that the workers have saved during long years of privations have been put into the hands of the fascist hangmen. In Czechoslovakia the social-democratic leaders of the government have accepted a proposal to instal commissars in the Consumers' Societies, and the workers' Co-operatives have been surrendered to the reaction. There is a similar situation in Poland and in a number of other countries.

The International Co-operative Alliance, in the hour of the greatest danger, has left the German and Austrian Co-operatives (these big workers' organisations) in the lurch and contents itself with the empty promises of the fascist destroyers of the Co-operatives. Not only that, the Co-operative bureaucracy excuses the arrests of members and Co-operative functionaries on the grounds that these took place not on account of their Co-operative activity, but on account of political activity.

The reformist Co-operative leaders in the separate countries constantly speak of the peaceful strivings of the Co-operatives, and in reality take part in the war preparations of their own governments.

Men and women workers, Co-operators !

Despite the great super-abundance of foodstuffs and other articles of consumption, prices for prime necessities keep on constantly rising. In Germany, where the wages of the workers are steadily dropping, the prices for the most important foodstuffs—fats, margarine, meat, potatoes, etc.—have increased one-and-a-half times, and in some cases have been doubled. In England, France, and Czechoslovakia, the most important foodstuffs for the workers are getting dearer. In order to keep up prices, the cheap foreign goods have ever-increasing tariffs placed upon them. Imports are being restricted and prohibited. In some countries the price policy is being still more intensified by the depreciation of the money which has been brought about by the bourgeoisie.

Driven by want, thousands of Co-operative members buy food and other articles for general use in those places where they are to be had most cheaply, in the large capitalist stores. In most countries the sales of the Co-operatives are dropping. The savings and the money which the workers used for buying shares, and which are invested in producing enterprises and administrative buildings, are being lost through speculation. The high salaries of the Co-operative functionaries swallow up enormous sums of money, while the wages of the workers and employees of the Co-operatives are constantly being forced down. The conflicts in the co-operatives are increasing. Breakdowns, bank-

ruptcies, and the stopping of payments by the Consumers' Societies are the order of the day.

Through the collapse of the Workers' Bank in Belgium and the cessation of payments by the Co-operative Bank in France, not only the savings but all the Co-operative institutions are endangered.

Against this reformist Co-operative policy the revolutionary Co-operative opposition fights for lower prices, against tariffs, against the restriction and prohibition of imports, against the robbery through taxation, against any wage and relief reductions, for the support of strikes and the unemployed struggles, against collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against fascism, war and the war danger, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The struggle of the revolutionary Co-operative opposition for these demands is responded to by the social-democratic Co-operative leaders with monstrous terror. The revolutionary Consumers' Societies, which mobilised the toiling consumers to the struggle for improving their living conditions and which strives to enrol them in the united fighting front of the working class, are being persecuted by the stoppage of deliveries and credits, with the expulsion of individual members and whole Co-operatives, with the development of police terror, etc. In Czechoslovakia, the largest Consumers' Society in the German district—the "Vorwaerts" of Reichenberg, with about 20,000 members—has recently been expelled from the Co-operative Union, and the delegates from this Consumers' Society were terribly beaten up by the reformist bureaucrats at the congress of the Union.

Workers ! Co-operators ! Look at the Soviet Union !

There there is no hunger and want, there there is no unemployment. New industrial giants are constantly being put into operation. Ten million new factory workers have been taken into industry during the past five years. The collectivisation of agriculture, which comprises 85 per cent. of the cultivated area, has been consolidated, is extending further, and is building up the surest support for socialist economy in the village.

The standard of well-being of the workers and peasants and their cultural level are constantly rising. In this advance, the Consumers' Societies of the Soviet Union take a substantial part and are unceasingly growing.

Co-operators ! Men and women workers !

The achievement of socialism is possible only through the most intense class struggle, through the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The emancipation of the working class can be achieved only by traversing the road which was traversed by the Soviet proletariat in 1917, which was crowned by the victorious October Revolution.

Co-operators ! Demonstrate on the Twelfth International Co-operative Day. Participate in the demonstrations and struggles of the revolutionary proletariat, against exploitation, fascism and the war danger. Strengthen and close the revolutionary united front in the struggle for the following demands:—

Against the raising of prices, for the sale of home products at export prices.

Against the plundering of the toilers by tariffs and taxes.

Against new tax burdens and restrictions upon the workers' Consumers' Societies.

Against wage reductions and further dismissals of the workers.

Against inflation and the depreciation of currency, against robbing the worker depositors.

Against the political reaction in the democratic countries, and against the fascist dictatorship in the fascist countries, against the "incorporation," break-up and destruction of the Co-operatives and other workers' organisations.

For adequate relief for the unemployed and taking them back into industry.

For the support of the proletarian fighters and prisoners who are persecuted by fascism.

For the revolutionary mass struggle against armaments and imperialist war.

Defend the Soviet Union—the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world !

Long live the united fighting front of the proletariat !

Long live socialism !

Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I.

Proletarian Mass Organisations

The International Conference of Worker Radio Listeners

By Paul Jansen (Paris)

On May 12 and 13 there was held in **Schiltigheim** in Alsace, near **Strasbourg**, an International Conference of Worker Radio Listeners, which was attended by delegates of Radio organisations affiliated to the "International Workers' Radio Union."

In addition to numerous delegates from **France** and **Alsace-Lorraine**, delegates were present from **Germany**, the **Saar district**, **Switzerland**, etc.

The most important item on the agenda was the drawing up of a **programme of action**, having regard to the present strained situation in the wireless world, which finds its most open expression in the continually increasing misuse of the microphone for the purposes of fascist propaganda. This item of the agenda was dealt with by a **public meeting of radio listeners**, in order thereby to express the fact that the fight for the microphone concerns the masses and is part of the struggle for the masses.

It is true a certain amount of mass work has already been carried out, but it has not gone beyond general enlightenment work. This enlightenment work—the exposure of broadcasting as a propaganda instrument of the fascist bourgeoisie, as a means of agitation for strike-breaking, as moral preparation for war, etc.—must, of course, be continued, and in fact considerably increased. It must also be extended to the broad masses of radio listeners, especially to the politically least advanced workers, and used as an instrument for launching mass actions in support of the demands of proletarian radio listeners.

In order to fulfil this task it is, of course, necessary to convert into organised action the discontent of the masses of listeners. The successful carrying out of this work presupposes the setting up of **programmatically demands**, not by the radio organisations alone, but by **conferences of listeners**. In addition, **workers' programme committees** must be formed everywhere, especially in towns in which broadcasting stations are situated, and these committees must include representatives of factory workers, of unemployed committees and other mass organisations, as well as rank and file members of the reformist radio organisations. Special efforts should be made to draw the **housewives** into this movement, who are particularly subjected to the influence of the radio.

In view of the increased worsening of the standard of living of the working masses, the question of the charge for receiving licences acquires increasing importance. It is necessary that the workers' radio organisations should energetically put forward the demand for the reduction of these charges and free licences for the unemployed, workers on short time, invalids, etc.

It is an open secret that only 20 to 25 per cent. of the revenue from wireless is expended on the programmes. What happens with the remainder? The cases of corruption, the revelations made by the press regarding the huge salaries paid to broadcasting officials provide an answer to this question. It is also fairly well known that in Germany, for example, the huge surplus realised by the radio is employed for armament purposes. The radio organisations must demand that the accounts of the Broadcasting companies be made public.

One of the problems in the solution of which all radio listeners are immediately interested is the securing of undisturbed reception. This question acquires specific importance through the "war in the ether": the constant increase in the power of the broadcasting stations, which in the capitalist countries, in spite of all wireless "disarmament conferences," is proceeding on a larger scale. What is necessary is not the erection of mammoth broadcasting stations which shout each other down, but the drawing up of programmes in accordance with the demands of the worker listeners. The workers' radio organisations must do everything in order to propagate this view.

A most effective form of mass work in connection with radio is to compare the wireless service in the Soviet Union with that in the capitalist countries. For this purpose it is necessary to create over the whole country a network of circles of Moscow listeners, as exist already in many countries. The reorganisation of work on the basis of listeners' circles will not only render it possible to create in a short time a broad mass basis for further

work, but the workers' radio organisations will thereby be provided with the means of securing continuity of work even under the most difficult conditions.

The means which the workers' organisations have made use of up to now in the fight for the microphone are, in addition to oral agitation, the organisation of meetings for the purpose of criticism, protest meetings, campaigns for collection of signatures, publication of leaflets, etc. These means must be employed to the widest extent also in the future, but at the same time must be reinforced by the employment of other means of mass mobilisation, according to the actual situation and the local conditions: as, for example, continually ringing up the broadcasting stations, sending protest delegations, demonstrations in front of the broadcasting stations, etc. Mass pressure can also be exerted upon the responsible authorities by the refusal to take out licences, as was done in **Holland**.

There is no doubt that the carrying through of the decisions adopted at the Conference will not only contribute in a great measure to overcoming the present underestimation of the importance of radio work, but it also includes the possibility of raising radio work to a higher level in accordance with the present situation.

Appeal of the W.I.R. for the World Congress of Women Against War

To All Sections of the W.I.R.

After the active participation of the toiling women in the actions against fascism and imperialist war, the broad masses of women in all countries are making preparations for the Women's World Congress, to be held on the 4th to 6th of August in Paris. The enthusiastic approval which the Congress is receiving everywhere is the reply of the working and exploited women to the preparations for a fresh slaughter of the peoples and further fascistisation. The gathering of the women of all countries in the hour of tremendous revolutionary fights and struggles against the threatening imperialist war is of great importance for the proletarian world front, which cannot be victorious without the aid of the masses of women.

The W.I.R., which helped to organise the great International Congresses in Amsterdam and Paris against imperialist war and fascism, therefore welcomes the convening of the Women's World Congress and calls upon all its organisations and supporters to do their utmost to bring about the united front of the women.

Let us lead the women, who still retain the hatred which they experienced at the time of the world war when they lost their husbands, sons and brothers, to common action!

Let us unite for common fight the women who experienced the terrible misery of their children during the world war and were themselves monstrously exploited in the munition works!

Let us rally round our flag the young generation, the young working women who, together with the young workers, are to be the first to be sacrificed in a new war!

Let us unite the masses of proletarian women in order to destroy the pernicious national incitement and let us fight more resolutely against fascism which deprives women of all rights!

Let us popularise more than ever the honest endeavours of the Soviet Union to maintain world peace, and mobilise the masses still more for the protection of the Soviet Union, the only fatherland of the working people!

The W.I.R. appeals to all those women who supported us in our solidarity actions, to help to win fresh masses of women for the Women's World Congress against imperialist war and fascism!

The W.I.R. is mobilising all its Sections, and especially its numerous women members and functionaries, in order, through the W.I.R. press, by holding special women's meetings of the W.I.R., to popularise the Women's Congress still more.

The W.I.R., by sending its own representatives from all its Sections with a strong international W.I.R. women's delegation to the approaching World Congress and by taking part in its work, will work among the working women for the fulfilment of its decisions after the Congress.

Let us exert our greatest force, international solidarity, in order to create an invincible front of the women against imperialist war and fascism!

Central Committee of the Workers' International Relief.

Amsterdam, June 20, 1934.

The Negro Movement

A Betrayer of the Negro Liberation Struggle

By Greenwood

The present world crisis has brought untold misery and suffering to the peoples in the colonial, semi-colonial and capitalist countries. Starvation, scanty means of existence, increased terror and denial of elementary rights of mankind are the lot of millions of Negroes. But the capitalist class does not limit itself to terror alone, it also utilises the method of penetrating the ranks of the working class with elements who have ideas which are alien and harmful to the cause of national liberation. Such ideas and an enemy have been discovered in the editorial board of the "Negro Board," the international Negro magazine.

George Padmore, in a small way, has taken his place alongside of the arch-betrayers of the Negro liberation struggle. Padmore has become a petty-bourgeois nationalist with connections with agent-provocateurs and enemies of the Negro liberation struggle.

Let us examine the path taken by Padmore. In a most feeble effort to justify his position and a profound lack of confidence in the revolutionary white workers, he claims: "What you white comrades have never understood and will never be able to understand is the psychology of the Negro." Therefore, he gives the implication that the task of building up a united front, a wall of unity in struggle of Negro and white toilers against capitalism is impossible and the distrust of the Negroes in revolutionary white workers cannot be overcome, thus the gap between the Negro and white workers is being widened and the class enemy is allowed to utilise this division for its own ends. But this theory is enriched with his idea of saving Liberia. Liberia to-day stands in a position of a subject vassal State to the imperialists of the United States and England. The struggle of the Liberian natives for freedom is the struggle in the first place to drive out the American and British imperialists. But the white toilers of imperialist England, America and other countries, according to Padmore, are not interested in this struggle. He considers that Liberia is a free country, that American imperialism, through its agent, Firestone, does not occupy a dominant position and is not enslaving the native population. The main struggle to-day, in the words of Padmore, is to prevent "intervention and annexation" and to raise money for reform of the country. The struggle against slavery conditions on the rubber plantations of Firestone, the struggle for higher wages, the struggle for elementary democratic rights are excluded from the programme of Padmore.

This is not a new theory. It has its origin in race theories, that the race is superior to the class. This theory means the perpetuation of the artificial barriers of white supremacy. Therefore, Negroes must unite to fight for their own interests as a race and against all whites.

The national liberation struggles of the millions of oppressed Negro peoples is closely linked up with the struggle of the white working class (the proletarian struggle) against capitalism. There cannot be any separation of the struggles of the white toilers for the betterment of their conditions from the struggles of the oppressed Negro peoples. The unification of these struggles results in the powerful organisation and concentration of working-class resistance to our enemy and hastens his downfall.

One of the means of increasing the profit of decaying capitalism and attempting to secure its tottering position is the establishment of trustified organisations of the type of Firestone Rubber Company. Such an agent of American capitalism has entered Liberia. Firestone robs the natives of their land, hires the same natives for starvation wages and in the most brutal manner exploits and oppresses the working population in order to produce a greater amount of raw materials to be manufactured and thrown upon the market at the lowest possible price in order to undersell competitors.

At the same time Liberia finds itself in the economic crisis and is forced to take loans from the imperialist countries. These loans naturally subjugate Liberia to the creditor nation. Thus it is that American imperialism and its agents in Liberia are in a position to dictate their policy to this "free" State. To deny the role of American imperialism and at the same time to fail to see the struggle that is going on between England and America for the most dominant position in Liberia is attempting to cover up the enslavement and fierce terror against the native workers and help to continue the system of robbery and oppression. To spread such false ideas makes it more difficult to organise the struggle for complete freedom. But this is a deliberate policy of the white ruling class.

Can the freedom of the native workers be purchased by raising five million dollars or any other large sum? Does freedom come through such a utopian plan? Let us not forget Garvey, the father of such an idea, who introduced the "back to Africa movement" in the same manner. Only the lowest individual, trying to deceive honest toilers and further his own personal ambitions, would, in the employ of our enemy oppressors, introduce the plan, called: "'Save Liberia Committee'—to raise five million dollars through donations to carry out internal reforms and national reconstruction"—without establishing the fundamental fact that these things can only be won through mass struggle. The struggle to abolish slavery (which exists in the real sense of the word) is a revolutionary struggle. As long as huge profits can be made from slave labour, as long as the higher strata of the native population can be bribed by the big corporations and landlords, it is childish to think that the imperialist bandits will give one concession without it being forced from them by the mass struggles of the toiling population. Reforms that will benefit the native toilers will come through revolutionary struggle. To speak of securing freedom in any other way is the same theory as put forward by the social democrats who have their counterpart in the Negro reformists. These people are against mass revolutionary struggle and are the main supports of the capitalist class, in helping to beat back the rising revolutionary movement.

Lastly, the fact that Padmore not only has connections with the renegade elements of the Negro liberation movement and of the proletarian class struggle, but he has given information to the police about the developing Negro liberation struggle. When one stoops so low as to turn over the names and addresses of seamen, who are arrested, it shows where their class interests lie.

The blood of those who have been lynched, shot, tarred and feathered, whipped at the post and cast into dark dungeons, has not been shed in vain. This persecution of our fellow-toilers shall drive us onward to struggle more determinedly for complete emancipation. No betrayer can stop our progress. There is only one way out—the way of revolutionary struggle.

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