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CONTENTS

Politics		Fight against War and Fascism	
Gerard Vanter: Barricades in Amsterdam ..	996	Gertrud Dübi: The Campaign for the International Women's Congress ..	1005
Aodh MacManus: A Fascist Defeat in Irish Elections ..	996	Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
W. Florianski: The Situation in Poland ..	997	L. F. Boross: Foreign Workers in the Soviet Fatherland ..	1006
Gustav Johannson: Social Democratic Legislation in the Interest of Fascism ..	998	The Trade Union Movement	
The White Terror		I. B.: Before the Congress of the Amsterdam Miners' International ..	1007
Josef Avar: Hands off Rakosi! ..	998	In the International	
Germany		Plenary Session of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia ..	1008
Karl Radek: The Crisis of Fascism in Germany ..	999	Willi Muenzenberg: Fiftieth Birthday of Francesco Misiano ..	1008
Down with the Government of Assassins and Adventurers! ..	1001	Twenty Years Ago	
Hertha Müller: The International Red Aid in the Thaelmann Campaign ..	1001	L. M.: Lenin and Imperialist War ..	1009
Help the Anti-Fascists who are Threatened with Murder! ..	1002	Nemo: "For King and Country" ..	1009
Comrade Richard Scheringer ..	1002	C. Ulrich: The Twentieth Anniversary of the Outbreak of the War in the Light of the Mass Struggle against War ..	1010
Great Britain		In the Camp of Social Democracy	
R. Bishop: The Acquittal of Tom Mann and Harry Pollitt ..	1003	A. G. Bosse: The S.P. of the U.S.A. Goes "Left" ..	1011
The Balkans		Proletarian Mass Organisations	
D. Vlachov: The Military Fascist Dictatorship in Bulgaria and the Revolutionary Struggle of the Working Class ..	1004	William L. Patterson: The Convention of the Cuban I.R.A. ..	1012

Between the Battles

By J. L.

Fear and horror are hanging over the Third Reich. The murderous orgy of the 30th June and following days was a result of the fear and panic of Hitler, Goering and their finance capitalist backers. But now that the slaughter has been successfully carried out their fear has not diminished. One of the indications of this is that, although a week has now passed since the slaughter, those responsible have not yet dared to publish an official list of their victims although such a list was promised on the very first day of the murders. The German newspapers fill up their columns with idiotic reports of the visit of the King of Siam to Germany, with reports of the appointment of Goering to still another office, that of "National Hunt Master," or as the local wits have it, "National Head-Hunt Master," with reports of the Italian naval demonstration at Durazzo and about the fighting in Amsterdam. The little news which is available about Hitler's murderous orgy is published with as little sensation as possible and hidden away in the lower columns of the inside pages, as though the wiping out of a few dozen of the highest State officials in Germany was a daily event of no particular importance. For several days after the slaughter had commenced the foreign newspapers were not permitted to enter Germany at all, and even now most of them are confiscated before they get into the hands of their readers in Germany. The result is that the people of Germany know less about what is happening in their country than the newspaper readers of other countries.

The lists of victims published in the foreign newspapers are also not completely reliable, because where a man is reported "missing" it is impossible to tell whether he has been murdered with the others, whether he is being held under arrest, or whether he is in hiding. The official list being prepared by the government contains "only" 85 names of men who have admittedly been killed, but the estimate of 241 murders published by the "United

Press" is certainly nearer the truth, because apart from the few score prominent people whose disappearance cannot be concealed from public opinion for long, there are hundreds of subordinate officials and simpler people who can easily be put out of the way without many people being much the wiser.

To the name of Roehm and the names of von Schleicher and his wife, who were amongst the first reported to have been killed, there has now been added a series of names of more or less important people who have been murdered for various political and personal reasons. There are first of all a number of von Papen's confidants in Catholic right-wing circles. His own secretary Bose, one of his closest collaborators, the writer Edgar Jung, the leader of the Catholic Action in Germany, Privy Councillor Klausener, and a number of Bavarian politicians and officials who played a prominent role in 1923 and upon whom Hitler has now revenged himself for their "treachery" at the time. There is the 72 year old von Kahr who was the Prime Minister of Bavaria in 1923, there is General von Lossov who was the Commander in Chief of the Bavarian Reichswehr at the same time, and there is von Seisser who was the Police President of Munich, and one of the old political opponents of Hitler, the former Chief Editor of the "Münchener Neuste Nachrichten," Dr. Fritz Gerlich, who had been under arrest since March, 1933, and therefore could not possibly have had any connection with any "conspiracy."

From the von Schleicher circle, Colonel von Bredow was one of the victims of the murder gangs, whilst General von Hammerstein succeeded in crossing the frontier. One of the dangerous rivals of Goering and Goebbels in the ranks of the National-Socialist Party itself, Gregor Strasser, was finished off. On the other hand, the report that the Berlin leader of the national-socialist factory organisation, Engel, had also been killed, would seem to be without basis. Temirsky, one of the secretaries of von

Papen, and the brutal Putschist, Manfred von Killinger, who were at first reported to have been killed, are now reported to be alive and in freedom.

The rumours of a slaughter amongst the imprisoned anti-fascists have received confirmation by the sad report that our courageous comrade ex-Lieutenant von Scheringer has been murdered. The report of the "Daily Mail" that Comrade Torgler has been "found dead in his cell" has been "semi-officially" denied.

Despite the varied nature of the political groupings in which the fascist Bartholomew's Night sought its victims, the political significance of the massacre is clear enough. The Communist press with reason stressed the symbolic significance of the fact that immediately prior to giving the word for the slaughter Hitler had a conference with von Krupp, the leading German heavy industrialist.

Hitler carried out the orders of German finance-capital. That he carried out those orders clumsily and not at all to the satisfaction of his masters, that is another matter. The truth is not in doubt, and Goering has admitted it with his usual brutal cynicism: the blow against the leaders of the brown Storm Troops, who were fighting for their jobs and their influence, was directed also against the national-socialist masses who were calling for a "second revolution" and the fulfilment of the demagogic national-socialist promises. And, further, the way was to be made clear for an intensification of the capitalist offensive against the working class and against the masses of the toilers in general, supported by a furious reign of terror.

In this sense the murderous action carried out by Hitler was in accordance with the demands put forward by von Papen in the name of the so-called "reaction," and the fact that a number of the close collaborators of von Papen went under in the general walter of blood and the fact that von Papen's personal position has been weakened does not alter this. Hitler and Goering were anxious to prove that they could carry out the orders of finance-capital as well as von Papen or von Schleicher. As a matter of security, in case the German bourgeoisie should still fail to realise this even after the massacre, Hitler and Goering took advantage of it to put their most dangerous potential rivals von Schleicher and Gregor Strasser out of the way, and to terrorise and intimidate von Papen by murdering his closest collaborators, occupying and searching his offices, dissolving his secretariat and placing him under temporary arrest.

In his newspaper the brother of Gregor Strasser, Otto Strasser, who parted company with the National-Socialist Party at an earlier date, reveals the fact that up to the end of June Hitler was negotiating with Gregor Strasser with a view to co-opting the latter into the government. According to Otto, the negotiations were unsuccessful because Gregor Strasser insisted on the dismissal of Goering. Goering watches his "leader" through his special spy organisation like a cat watches a mouse. It is clear that neither trusts the other an inch and that their final separation will take place also by means of bloody violence.

The senseless murders, senseless from the point of view of the interests of the capitalist class in Germany, such as the murder of Privy Councillor Dr. Klausener, the unofficial representative of the Vatican, are in all probability to be booked to Goering's account. Goering is anxious to isolate his "leader" completely in order that he may be completely in the hands of his ambitious rival.

The fact that, despite a number of subsidiary details which did not fit in with the desires of the Hindenburg-Papen circle and their finance-capitalist backers, the murder action in general was carried out at the orders of German finance-capital can be seen clearly from the subsequent attitude of Hindenburg and the Reichswehr. Without the support of the Reichswehr, the whole action could never have been carried out. No matter what agrarian Junker and monarchist reactionaries, who carry on their policy through Hindenburg, and who sent the telegram of thanks to Hitler and Goering in Hindenburg's name may have thought, in any case the action of Hitler in the given situation represented valuable assistance to the governing classes. The same is true of the extraordinary law, unparalleled in history, which was afterwards adopted in the German Cabinet with the express approval of the Reichswehr Minister, von Blomberg, and the German Nationalist Minister, Dr. Gurtner, in order to provide the slaughter with a subsequent justification. This decree declares:--

"The measures taken on the 1st and 2nd July, 1934, to

suppress treasonable attacks on the State, were legal measures of State defence."

Ahead it is reported that Hindenburg was so embittered by the murder of von Schleicher and his wife that he threatened to resign, and was prevented from doing so only by von Blomberg's urgent request, who pointed out that in such a case civil war would be inevitable. It is also reported that the Commander-in-Chief of the Reichswehr, Fritsch, sent an ultimatum to Hitler, demanding the immediate cessation of the slaughter, and that when Goering wished to negotiate with him in the matter he refused to receive Goering at all, and that he exercised such pressure on Hitler that the latter was compelled to declare "the measures necessary to the suppression of the Roehm revolt," ended on the 5th July, and to declare that any further such measures taken would be severely punished.

Such rumours must be accepted with great reserve. They are obviously being spread in order to weaken the moral responsibility of the Reichswehr leadership and of the Hindenburg clique for the murderous crimes of the national-socialist regime and to strengthen the illusion that the Reichswehr and the "conservative circles" are the inevitable guardians of "law and order." In this respect it must be pointed out with all possible energy that although the Hitler-Goering-Himmler clique were directly responsible for the methods which were used on the 30th June and the subsequent days, and not only then, but since the establishment of the national-socialist regime in January, 1933, the whole of the German bourgeoisie, with its Reichswehr and with its President, Von Hindenburg, bear the full responsibility for the whole regime of murder. Without their approval, the national-socialist bandits could not rule for a day. And now that the brown Storm Troops, as the military instrument of the national-socialist party, have been smashed and the power of the Reichswehr as the only serious military organisation of the bourgeoisie has been correspondingly strengthened, this is truer than ever.

This statement naturally does not mean that the antagonisms between the various groupings and cliques in the bourgeoisie, and amongst its political agents, which burst out in the recent blood-bath, have now been settled by the slaughter. On the contrary, they continue to exist in an even more intense form, and in the same way the social danger as a result of the intensification of class antagonisms has been increased, although the aim of the slaughter was to diminish this danger by intimidating the rebellious members of the brown Storm Troops.

In order not to lose the last vestiges of their mass influence the national-socialist leaders are compelled to pretend that the blow delivered against their own followers was in fact a blow against the "reaction." Roehm was accused of having conspired with von Schleicher, whilst von Schleicher was accused of having conspired with "a foreign power," in other words, the French government. This report was published as a sensation in all the German newspapers, whilst the official denial of the French government was printed in an obscure corner. When Hitler abandons not only the Southern Tyrol, but Austria as well, or Mussolini, when he abandons the Polish Corridor to his new-found "friend," Pilsudski, and when, at Hitler's orders, von Ribbentrop negotiates with the British and French governments over the price to be paid as a compensation for the dissolution of the brown Storm Troops, all these things are national actions and highly commendable. But when von Schleicher, as was perhaps the case, makes preliminary enquiries as to what attitude the most important foreign Powers would take to the replacement of the Hitler government with a less aggressive and adventurous fascist dictatorship it is immediately high treason.

However, once the propaganda campaign to justify the killing of a score or so of the leaders of the brown Storm Troops had been started along these lines, it was not possible to stop the campaign of incitement against the "reaction" at once, although after having destroyed his support in the brown Storm Troops, Hitler had every reason to seek to extend his basis amongst the German nationalist and conservative circles.

On the 6th July, Goebbels' right-hand man, Görtlitz, delivered a speech in Marburg, the scene of von Papen's recent drive, which was in effect a fierce attack on von Papen. He declared it to be "a downright distortion" to say that there were only tactical differences between the national-socialists and the German nationalists and conservatives, as von Papen had said. Görtlitz used the classic formula: "Whoever dares to put conditions to us

a reactionary!" He defended the one-party system and declared:—

"To use the word terror in this connection for the benefit of foreign public opinion would normally be called high treason."

In the circumstances which exist in present-day Germany that is nothing less than an open and murderous threat to von Papen. On the same day one of the leading officials of the national-socialist factory organisation seized the opportunity in a big meeting in Neukölln, a working-class district of Berlin, to attack the monarchists and to ask whether anyone was in favour of seeing a crowned head at the helm in Germany.

Despite reports to the effect that the negotiations with the Catholic bishops are proceeding satisfactorily, the campaign of incitement against the Catholic organisations is being continued. The murder of Dr. Klausener alone would in any case be sufficient to break down the negotiations and render any developing agreement nugatory. The last straw would be the death sentence against the young Catholic Meissner, who was accused of having killed the national-socialist official Elmsholz. Not so much the fact that a Catholic was sentenced to death for an offence which was at the utmost manslaughter has embittered the Catholics, as the grotesque justification of the sentence which declares that the Catholic youth organisation "Jugendkraft" has systematically conducted a campaign of terror against the national-socialist organisations and that the killing of Elmsholz was carried out at the instructions of this Catholic organisation.

No national-socialist official now dares as much as to mention the "second revolution" in public. The "radical" firebrands and hot-air merchants Ley, Baldur von Schirach and the rest of them have come to heel like a lot of whipped curs, and are now anxiously stressing their loyalty to Hitler. However, the danger which threatens from the revolutionary sentiment of the masses of the rank and file of the brown Storm Troops has not become less as a result of the slaughter of the Storm Troop leaders, but rather greater.

For the "holiday period" the members of the brown Storm Troops have been forbidden not only to wear their uniforms, but to meet or even discuss the events. Even the collection activities of the brown shirts have been forbidden until the 31st October, in order to prevent rebellious elements in the Storm Troops conducting house-to-house agitation under the pretext of collecting, and also probably because after the official exposure of the widespread corruption in the national-socialist ranks, public indignation against the "voluntary collections" which are extorted under pressure has rapidly increased.

However, now that the disappointed and embittered proletarians and petty-bourgeois are no longer held together by the fascist semi-military organisation, now that their anti-capitalist tendencies are no longer cunningly exploited by unscrupulous mercenaries of the type of Roehm, Heines and Ernst, they will become more and more susceptible to the revolutionary agitation of the Communists, and they will rapidly lose their illusions about a "second national-socialist revolution" and find their way to a real people's revolution, a socialist, a Bolshevik revolution.

Roehm was quite right when he prophesied furiously, in the Cabinet meeting which decided to disband the brown Storm Troops, that such an action would drive the rank and file of the movement into the arms of Bolshevism. The illegal German Communist Party has already begun an effective campaign of propaganda and agitation amongst the disappointed Storm Troopers "on leave." The demand of the Communist Party that the Storm Troopers should not give up their weapons, but keep them for the coming reckoning with the traitors, is falling on fruitful ground. In a number of places revolutionary committees of members of the brown Storm Troops have been formed.

The new Brownshirt Chief of Staff Lutze is faced with an insoluble task. By the end of July he is supposed to pick out a third of the members of the fermenting Storm Troops as "reliable" elements for the formation of a "a new Storm Troop detachment" as indicated by von Blomberg in his appeal. The men who will discard the brown shirt for ever, probably at least a million, will not thereby break off all their connections with Hitler; on the contrary, they will for the most part become active enemies of the Hitler regime. Even so, a smaller and reorganised body of Storm Troopers will never be a completely reliable fascist troop.

Under these circumstances it is clear that the process of collapse in Hitler Germany which manifested itself so clearly on the

30th June must continue. Hitler has not succeeded in proving that he can "normalise" the fascist dictatorship. The methods he used to carry out the instructions of German finance capital have destroyed the final remnants of international credit and prestige enjoyed by the Third Reich, and the social basis of the fascist dictatorship has been ruthlessly cut down.

The slaughter of von Schleicher and the others who might have been Hitler's successors has rather increased the tendency within the ranks of the German bourgeoisie to seek such a change of government. Whether von Papen remains in the government which murdered his nearest collaborators or whether he resigns demonstratively makes no difference to the fact that the finance-capitalist circles which instructed him to make the first attack are stronger to-day after the destruction of the brown Storm Troops than they were before Hitler and Goering carried out their Bartholomew slaughter.

The more the national-socialist party destroys its own mass basis as a result of its cynical and brutal capitalist policy, the more it loses its value to the bourgeoisie as a governing party. In another form and under other conditions the same process is taking place here as took place prior to the ejection of the German social-democratic party from the governing positions.

Side by side with the political difficulties the economic situation is becoming more and more catastrophic, and the clique struggles within the ranks of the ruling class, struggles which have now reached the stage of murder and gangsterism, are becoming more intense and embittered.

Under these circumstances there can be no question of any even temporary stabilisation of the Hitler government. The working masses were taken by surprise by the suddenness of the catastrophe of the 30th June. For the moment the bestial terror has intimidated the members of the brown Storm Troops, who are in a state of consternation. The working masses, who did not feel themselves affected by the blow which destroyed the hated mercenary leaders of the brown Storm Troops, could not be mobilised immediately for counter-actions and for the utilisation of the ferment and disorganisation within the ranks of the fascist camp. However, the rapidly commencing new wave of the capitalist offensive will soon make clear to them the social significance of the terror.

The powerful urge towards the proletarian united front, and for an anti-fascist counter-offensive, which is now manifesting itself in various capitalist countries and, above all, in France, will not stop at the frontiers of Hitler's Third Reich. The "Deutsche Freiheit," of the 3rd July, publishes an appeal of a body which calls itself the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, under the title: "Down with Hitler!" This appeal declares, inter alia, the following:—

"The danger which is threatening Germany is not the danger of Bolshevism; the danger is Hitler and his system."

In Germany there is not a single social-democratic worker who would have authorised this precious "Central Committee" to issue such an appeal. The social-democratic leaders, who consider it necessary in this situation to dissociate themselves in such a fashion from Bolshevism, betray their desire to place themselves at the services of the fascist bourgeoisie and to play the rôle of the saviours of the capitalist system from the proletarian revolution. In fact, there were connecting-links between the so-called Central Committee of Mr. Wels in Prague and the Gregor Strasser circle in fascist Germany, and the former hoped to be permitted to play a role again when the leadership of the fascist dictatorship in Germany was changed.

The German Communist Party is well aware that this brand of counter-revolutionary policy is in flagrant contradiction to the will and to the feelings of the masses of the social-democratic workers in Germany, and therefore it is redoubling its efforts to establish a fighting proletarian united front with the social-democratic workers, to mobilise the workers in the factories, to draw the disappointed and embittered members of the brown Storm Troops into the united anti-fascist front, and to mobilise the reserves of the anti-fascist revolution amongst the disappointed petty bourgeoisie and peasants. In this way it is preparing the ground for the general offensive for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, and the conditions for this victorious offensive are maturing far more quickly than the petty bourgeois Philistines, who are intimidated by the orgies of bloody terror are prepared to believe.

Politics

Barricades in Amsterdam

By Gerald Vanter

The Dutch bourgeoisie was obviously completely taken by surprise by the events which for the second time since the mutiny of the crew of "De Zeven Provinciën" have drawn the attention of the international proletariat to Holland.

The reduction of the unemployment benefit rates, demanded by the Colijn-Slotemacher government, seemed at first to be possible without meeting with any great resistance, for the social-democratic members of the Amsterdam Municipal Council had voted against a Communist proposal on behalf of the unemployed and thus in favour of "economising" 2,200,000 florins at the expense of the unemployed. Minister Slotemacher declared that his heart was heavy within him at the prospect of cutting down the unemployment insurance rates. He was perfectly prepared to admit that there was an "ethical minimum," but in the face of hard facts economies had to be made—naturally at the expense of the unemployed. The rate of support, which had been 13.50 florins a week, was reduced to 12 florins, and all other rates above 8 florins a week were similarly cut down. Other measures of support, such as rent supplements, were abolished altogether. The leaders of the trade unions, no matter what their particular shade, contented themselves with doleful protests and a shrug of the shoulders—"all very sad, but nothing can be done."

However, the authorities had not reckoned with the power of the Dutch Communist Party and the influence of its press. The growth in the influence of the Dutch Communist daily, "De Tribune," was demonstrated on the afternoon of the 30th June, when a special edition appeared with the news of the German events, and 31,000 copies were sold within a few hours by members of the Party in Amsterdam alone. It was seen that "De Tribune" had become the organ of the masses to an unparalleled degree.

For a month previously "De Tribune" had been conducting a campaign against the cuts in the unemployment benefit rates, and when, on Thursday, the 5th July, the cuts were actually put into operation there were immediately demonstrations of protest at the labour exchanges and in the working-class quarters. Thousands of workers took part in the demonstrations in the Jordaan district, in the Kattenburg district (around the docks), and in the "Indische Buurt," a new workers' quarter. It transpired that the cuts were even greater than had been anticipated. In some cases unemployed workers' families received 5 and 6 florins less a week.

The police immediately attacked the demonstrating workers with great brutality. Police on foot and on horseback, supported by plain clothes police and motor squads, attempted to disperse the demonstrations. Their attempts met with fierce resistance on the part of the workers. The paving stones were torn up, lamp posts overturned and barricades erected. The bridges connecting the working-class quarters with the centre of the town were drawn up and the machinery for lowering them again was put out of action in an expert fashion, so that for a time the police were unable to send reinforcements into the working-class quarters. The first barricades were erected in the Gondsbloemstraat, the Lindengracht and the Tuinstraat to hold the police in check and prevent them penetrating into the working-class quarters. This example was quickly followed in the other working-class quarters. The workers also showed themselves very enterprising in their methods. For instance, great barrels of thick oil were poured into the streets and effectually prevented the police motor squads from careering around. Throughout the afternoon, in the evening and until two o'clock in the morning the demonstrations continued. The police appeared on the scene with searchlights and began to fire at everyone on the streets. In the working-class quarters the house doors were kept open the whole night to offer cover to the demonstrating workers. The workers mounted to the roofs and bombarded the police with any missile that came to hand. The active solidarity of the inhabitants made it possible for the fighting workers to escape again and again. The Jordaan district in particular proved to be a hard nut for the police to crack, for every house offered shelter to the demonstrating workers.

In the early morning the revolutionary trade union opposition was on the spot with a manifesto in which it declared itself in complete solidarity with the unemployed workers and called for a general protest strike. An hour later the building workers went

on strike and work stopped at the timber yards and the docks. A 24-hour protest strike was proclaimed.

The Mayor of Amsterdam has forbidden all demonstrations and meetings and the distribution of leaflets in order in this way to rob the workers of any legal possibility of protest. He sent the armed police against the workers and called in the military police, the Citizens' Guard, which is an armed organisation of patriotic citizens, and even regular bodies of troops with armoured cars. However, he has not succeeded in breaking the resistance of the workers. Up to the present five people have been killed and hundreds wounded, but the illegal demonstrations are still continuing. The workers are marching through the streets shouting their demands in chorus. The various Communist Party groups are working at high pressure, and on their own initiative they have issued duplicated leaflets giving the workers instructions for the struggle and warning them against agents-provocateurs, against plunderers and other anti-proletarian elements. The leaflet issued by the Jordaan district committee of the Communist Party was reproduced in "De Tribune" as an excellent example of this type of work.

The bourgeois press is conducting a fierce campaign of incitement against "De Tribune." Reactionary members of parliament are pressing the government to take unconstitutional measures to suppress it. The social-democratic press, not to be left out of the campaign, is abusing the fighting workers roundly and calling upon them not to take part in "hopeless rioting."

The Dutch Prime Minister, Colijn, and the Minister for Justice, Deckers, have arrived in Amsterdam to direct the operations against the workers. Immediately after their arrival, on Sunday, the 7th July, the police drove up to the offices of "De Tribune" in three motor-lorries. The building was occupied, the whole edition of "De Tribune" confiscated and everyone kept in the building under guard until late in the evening.

In the provinces, in Rotterdam, Schiedam, Zaandam, Groningen and other places the resistance of the Amsterdam workers has met with an enthusiastic echo. Arrests have been carried out by the police in Groningen.

Although it is robbed of its legal press the Dutch Communist Party will find ways and means of making its voice heard amongst the masses. The struggle against the Colijn government, against wage cuts and against unemployment cuts and in favour of the programme of the Communist Party for a Soviet Holland is being continued.

A Fascist Defeat in Irish Elections

By Aodh MacManus (Dublin)

The local elections which have just concluded in the Irish Free State were of first-rate political importance. For the first time they were fought mainly on political issues; the candidates of the big bourgeois parties, Fine Gael (imperialist Blueshirts) and Fianna Fail (de Valera), fighting on the basis of their political policies, instead of hiding their identity as "Ratepayers," etc., as was customary.

The defeat of the fascist Blueshirts (even although it was not decisive) is the outstanding feature of these elections. The Cosgrave Party (now the fascist Fine Gael, under O'Duffy) through the property qualification, which deprives 700,000 workers of a vote, has always held a majority of the county councils; Fianna Fail had not an absolute majority on any council.

The O'Duffy fascists had loudly proclaimed that the elections would reveal their strength. O'Duffy announced that he would win at least twenty councils, and that the result would be a definite indication of the swing against the de Valera government. All the greater, therefore, the blow that has been delivered by the Irish working masses against him. The final results show the number of seats won by the different parties in county and urban councils together to be as follows:—

Fianna Fail (de Valera)	728
Fine Gael (O'Duffy)	596
Labour Party	185
Independent Republicans	53
Other Independents	318

Labour, Independent Republican and a small section of those described as "other Independents" will form part of the Fianna Fail bloc, giving it a total of nearly 1,000; most of the "other Independents" will support O'Duffy, giving this bloc not quite 900 seats. The distribution of seats gives the Fianna Fail bloc control

of fifteen councils (for the first time controlling any county council), with the Blueshirt bloc now holding only six councils. In two councils there is a tie, and in the remaining three of the twenty-six counties of the Free State there were no elections, due to the supersession of the councils by government-appointed commissioners.

But, although O'Duffy's bragging has been punctured again, the Irish working masses have to beware of the Fianna Fail and Labour Party propaganda that will follow from the election results, to the effect that O'Duffy has been routed and the fascist menace is not serious. Three factors have to be taken into consideration:

(1) O'Duffy, standing nakedly on the fascist imperialist programme, secured nearly two-thirds of Fianna Fail's total poll; (2) the opposition of the masses to fascism was not expressed through support of revolutionary working-class candidates, the small Communist Party being unable to come out as an independent force in the elections; (3) this opposition to O'Duffy, therefore, found expression in support mainly of national and social reformism, or of the very forces that will guarantee to the Blueshirts the possibility of continuing their preparations for a fascist coup.

These factors must be grasped by every Irish Communist and anti-fascist worker. They show the imperative necessity for renewed and much wider efforts to consolidate the anti-fascist fervour of the masses and to guide it into organised channels, exposing Fianna Fail's propaganda of "support and rely on the government," and showing the revolutionary struggle for the united Workers' and Farmers' Republic to be the only path along which the fascist scourge, the agent of British imperialism, can be defeated.

The Situation in Poland

By W. Florianski

The assassination of *Pieracki*, the Polish Minister of Home Affairs, has called forth echoes throughout the world. The mere fact that he was shot in broad daylight, in a very busy quarter of the inner town, and the assassin vanished without hindrance, is in itself enough to cause a sensation. The background, and in the first place the result of the assassination which was characterised by the bourgeois press as a "turning in the inner policy of Poland," must be submitted to analysis.

The situation in Poland in recent months has sharpened very much. The signs of an economic revival are comparatively weak, and it has to be remembered that the economic crisis took on a particularly sharp course. In spite of a certain percentage increase of industrial production, the general index of production in Poland, as before, is one of the lowest in Europe. The number of unemployed is further increasing. The agrarian crisis is growing and famine has become a daily phenomenon in the countryside.

During 1934 in the workers' movement there was a turn to great political struggles. Strikes against the liquidation of social services have taken place in practically all branches of industry during the past winter. After the peasant uprising in Middle Galicia in the summer of 1933 there are continuous, if individual, struggles against tax and other burdens which have been imposed on the masses of toiling peasants by the government and the big agrarians. In West Ukraine and in West White Russia the wave of the national revolutionary movement has risen. A flame of hatred and anger is turning the masses in their millions against the fascist government of crisis and war.

In recent weeks further signs of the rising influence of the Communists is to be noticed. The Communist May demonstrations have already proved the increasing activity of the masses of the workers. In spite of the weakening of the Party organisations through mass arrests, the Communist Party of Poland was able to gather tens of thousands around its banner and to lead them into the fight against the united forces of the police and the fascist organisations.

The town council elections on May 27 were characteristic of the relation of forces and the mood of the masses. The raging terror was not able to prevent anti-fascist lists being put forward in good time, in all the important constituencies, with altogether over 30,000 signatures; that in *Lodz* and the *Dombrova Basin* more votes were given for the invalid anti-fascist lists than for the valid lists of the social-fascist parties; that the number present at anti-fascist meetings and demonstrations came to tens of thousands.

The visit of *Goebbels* to *Warsaw*, which took place in the

middle of the *Thaelmann* campaign, gave the Communist Party a still more powerful impulse. The united front appeal of the Communist Party for a common fight for the release of *Thaelmann* was rejected by the social-fascists; the officials of the *Warsaw Trade Union Committee* suppressed the proposal of members of the opposition to call a half-hour general strike on the day of *Goebbels*' visit. In an independent campaign these proposals were brought to the masses. About 9,000 workers came together in the protest demonstration against *Goebbels*' arrival. Short protest strikes took place in numerous factories and works (among others in the "*Drucianka*," "*Phillips*," "*Golembiowski*" factories).

The attacks of the fascist organisations of the so-called O.N.R. (National Radical Organisation) have meanwhile greatly increased in the masses the drive to set up the united front of struggle. In many sub-district meetings of the Polish socialist party, of the "*Bund*" (Jewish social democracy), Communist speakers who called for common struggle were received with stormy applause by the workers. In some of the sub-districts of *Warsaw* an agreement was come to between the sub-district committees of the Communist Party of Poland and the Polish socialist party for the purpose of common action against the fascist organisations and for *Thaelmann*. These agreements were answered by angry threats of expulsion against their own members by the social-fascist leaders. These threats, however, will not be able to hold up the mighty drive to unity.

In these circumstances there is ever-increasing friction in the camp of the bourgeoisie. To the narrowing of the mass basis of the "*Sanacja*" (the fascist government block) corresponds the definite growth of adherents of their chief competitor, the national democrats, who carry on anti-semitic and anti-capitalist demagogy after the model of the Nazis. The latest split in the national democratic party has had as a result the formation of the O.N.R. The O.N.R. unites the young elements of the national democrats, who drive most aggressively for government posts and, on the model of the Storm Troops, organise raids on workers' meeting places and individual workers, as well as Jewish pogroms.

Foreign policy also plays its part. The *Pilsudski* government has called forth strong dissatisfaction in the masses through its unconcealed policy of alliance with Hitler-Germany, through demonstrations which are provocation; for example, the visit of *Goebbels* (the murdered Minister, *Pieracki*, one of the most enthusiastic adherents of this policy, welcomed *Goebbels* on his arrival in the name of the government), etc. Although the differences in foreign policy between *Sanacja* and the national democrats are actually becoming more and more adjusted, the latter use their traditional friendship to France in order to use this mass dissatisfaction to their own advantage.

The assassination of *Pieracki*, therefore, must be taken as a result of the sharpening of the whole situation in Poland.

The revolutionary ferment in the country, and the sharpening of the friction within the camp of the bourgeoisie resulting from it, gives the *Pilsudski* government the task of strengthening its political course within the country, i.e., the cruel campaign of terror against the broad masses. The government has used the assassination as an excuse for introducing concentration camps and filling them with thousands of prisoners. The Minister, President *Kozlovski*, the successor of *Pieracki* in his function as Home Minister, publicly announces torture and ill-treatment: "The regulations in the concentration camps will be hard and painful." All these measures show the meaning of the "change in inner policy" announced in the government press.

The oppositional elements in the national-democratic and the social-fascist parties are to be made amenable in the concentration camps. The concentration camps are to be a whip against the agents of the fascist dictatorship who are insufficiently disciplined. But the spear head is chiefly directed against the revolutionary movement, against the broad masses who are fighting against fascism and capital's starvation campaign, against the Communist Party.

The Communist Party of Poland has the task of developing a broad campaign against the concentration camps. It is clear—and the government makes no secret of it—that not only Communist, but also social-democratic workers are to be handed over to these concentration camps. All the more stormily grows the indignation of the masses.

Meanwhile, in many towns, a new strike wave (textile, building workers, etc.) is rising. The capitalists announce fresh wholesale

wage reductions, the government a more vigorous attack on the relics of social services.

For the Communist Party all this creates a basis for the further building up of the fighting united front, for the unfolding of new fights of the toiling masses. The June resolution of the Communist Party of Poland characterises the situation in Poland to-day as follows:—

"The growth of the revolutionary forces and the advancing concentration of the forces of the counter-revolution make the situation one of continued tension, which again forms the basis for the mass struggles of the proletariat and toiling peasants at a higher level, for sudden sharpenings, powerful conflicts, and revolutionary outbreaks. The turn to great political fights which is taking place under these conditions not only demands increased activity and readiness for sacrifice on the part of the Party, but also an improvement in the methods of work, a perfecting of tactics, and the building up of an organised basis among the broad masses."

Social Democratic Legislation in the Interest of Fascism

By Gustav Johannson (Stockholm)

The social-democratic government in Sweden has just passed an outspokenly Exceptional Law against the workers. The social-democratic press maintains that, with the help of this law, it will be possible to prevent the fascists from arming as they did in Germany and Austria. The exact contrary, however, is the case. In the first paragraphs of the Act it is stated that all armed fascist formations which co-operate with the military or the police are excepted from prohibition.

Two years ago the petty-bourgeois government of the liberals, in order to pacify the population, was compelled to dissolve an armed formation led by officers. It had leaked out that the murderer of Karl Liebknecht, Pflugk-Hartung, with the support of other fascists, had smuggled in great quantities of weapons and munitions for this formation from Germany. Horleman, the police president at that time, who has since resigned, boasted in an article in the Right-wing press that this organisation, led by fascist officers, was organised and armed with his express approval. The leaders of the numerous fascist and semi-fascist organisations will, by means of their close connections with the reactionary police, see that their organisations are recognised as "strengthening the forces of law and order," and thus be exempted from prohibition.

The "Associations for the Support of National Defence" are perhaps of even greater importance because they are financed by the government and are well provided with weapons. These include the volunteer reserves, consisting of "reliable" bourgeois and big peasants. This reserve force can be regarded as the Swedish counter-part of the "Stahlhelm" and the Austrian "Heimwehr."

In numerous localities of late the members of open fascist organisations have joined the volunteer reserves in crowds and also obtained the leadership of them. Whilst the fascists are already able to drill and arm themselves at the cost of the democratic State and with the benevolent toleration of a "Labour government" for the approaching fight against the workers, any revolutionary worker who possesses fire-arms can be punished and his weapon confiscated.

The "Law against armed formations," which was rightly described by the Communist members of Parliament as a law for armed formations, gives the police and the courts far-reaching powers to smash all anti-fascist organisations. The elastic formulation: "Organisations which by their form of organisation and activity can be compared with military organisations," can be interpreted by the reactionary authorities how they wish and be used in order to prohibit also the Communist Party.

Certain hints dropped by the social-democratic speakers in the parliamentary debate indicate that the police have already forged the necessary "Communist document" for this purpose and are holding it in readiness. The organ of the big bourgeoisie, "Svenska Dagbladet," declared that by means of this nebulous formulation it would be possible to prohibit even the reformist trade unions. If, in spite of this, the extreme Right voted against the Bill, it was only because they wish to prohibit the Communist organisations directly instead of by roundabout means. The leaders of the extreme reaction are, of course, perfectly aware that

the law will not be used in order to prohibit any fascist organisation.

The Kilbom party adopted a shameful attitude during the discussion of this measure in Parliament. Kilbom even collected signatures among the reactionary members of Parliament in order to limit the time for speakers in the discussion to five minutes, giving as a reason that members could then go home to bed at 2 o'clock. When it came to the vote the Kilbom people, who had pretended to criticise this measure in their press, abstained from voting.

The decision of the Swedish Parliament on armed formations shows once again how the social-democrats in every country smooth the way for the fascist dictatorship. For the workers it is a new object lesson, showing how the fight against fascism must be closely connected with the fight against social-fascism.

The White Terror

Hands off Rakosi!

By Josef Avar

The following is an extract from the introduction to a pamphlet, bearing the above title, which is to appear shortly.—Ed.

Regarded even from the purely juridical standpoint, the Hungarian government's treatment of Rakosi is absolutely unprecedented. According to Hungarian law, a common criminal who is charged with two offences must be brought to trial for the second while he is still serving his sentence for the first offence. Hungarian law prescribes that in such cases the two sentences must not be added together, but must run concurrently, and a part of the total sentence remitted. But what applies to common criminals does not apply to Communists. It would have been quite possible to bring Rakosi to trial eight-and-a-half years ago not only for his organisational and propagandist activity in the C.P. of Hungary, but also for the part he took in the Hungarian Commune. But the Public Prosecutor, the Court and the government neglected to do this. Only after eight-and-a-half years does it occur to them that Rakosi was not only the organiser of the C.P. of Hungary in the ten months of his illegal activity, but also People's Commissar at the time of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Even a bourgeois paper in Hungary, a government organ, has to report regarding the great concern created even among bourgeois jurists by this unexampled judicial crime:—

"Great indignation prevails among Hungarian jurists on account of the unprecedented case of a prisoner, who after having served a sentence of eight-and-a-half years imprisonment, is faced with a trial in which he can be sentenced to death." ("Az Est," Budapest.)

In legal practice in Germany it often happens that a person sentenced to death for robbery with murder also receives a sentence of one or two months' imprisonment, say for carrying fire-arms without a licence. But this is only a formality. It has never occurred to a German Court to order that a prisoner who has been sentenced to death shall first serve his sentence of imprisonment and then be executed. Hungarian justice, however, intends to carry out in practice this legal fiction. Imprisonment first and then the gallows!

One asks: Is such a thing possible? Is the world upside down? Has bourgeois justice lost all sense of reason?

Yes, such a thing is possible, the world is actually upside down.

If it is possible in Hitler Germany, against all logic and reason, to deny all the old principles of bourgeois law and to enact laws with retrospective powers, and under such a retrospective law to bring Comrade Thaelmann before a counter-revolutionary court and threaten him with death, it is possible in fascist Hungary—which became fascist not in 1933, but in 1919—in defiance of all logic and reason, to deny all the principles of even bourgeois law and to bring Rakosi, after having served eight-and-a-half years imprisonment, before an Exceptional Court and to condemn him a second time.

The world stands on its head, so long as capitalism stands on its feet. The fascist bourgeoisie brushes aside all formal, apparent divisions between might and right. Behind all the legal procedure of the bourgeoisie we see only naked brutal class interests. Bourgeois legality is degenerating into fascist terrorism.

Germany

The Crisis of Fascism in Germany

By Karl Radek

In a recent article devoted to Papen's speech ("Isvestia," June 22), I stated: "The fascist party constitutes such a hotchpotch of social contradictions that they are bound to lead to a conflict in the ranks of the party." The events of June 30 are the outbreak of these contradictions. This outbreak has taken place sooner than one would have expected and has assumed such forms that one can already speak of a crisis of fascism, for the leadership of German fascism, by shooting down a part of the S.A. leaders, is destroying its petty bourgeois mass basis.

The petty bourgeois masses have not yet risen in a body against their leaders. The S.A. will hardly venture to rise throughout the Reich in order to protect their leaders. Their weapons are in the hands of the S.S. (Schutzstaffeln), consisting of sons of the bourgeoisie, a special fascist guard which is now merged with the political police. Isolated risings of the S.A. would be crushed by the combined forces of the police and the Reichswehr. The S.A., robbed of their leadership, are being reorganised, drastically reduced in number, and "cleaned up," and there will remain in them only those elements which are prepared to do anything in return for a bit of bread. The S.A., as an organisation consisting of millions of the petty bourgeoisie, who are convinced that the fate of Germany is in their hands, have ceased to exist. They have ceased to exist even before their dissolution, for they have lost that faith with which they were originally inspired.

There are more than 10 million petty bourgeois in Germany. The small shopkeepers, the artisans, the poor peasants, the lower officials form that vast mass from which the German imperialist bourgeoisie recruited the millions who went to the front for it in 1914 and bravely fought for it on the battlefields. They believed that if Germany conquered an empire, extending from Hamburg to Baghdad, they would be free from the devastating consequences of capitalism, for Germany would have plenty of elbow room, would require a vast number of soldiers, officials, technicians, and merchants, as a vast territory would be open to it for colonisation. This dream was completely shattered in the trenches of Verdun, in the Polish swamps, and in Palestine. These masses returned to Germany beaten and defeated. They had lost faith in the Kaiser, in the Thyssens and Krupps. They streamed into the social democratic party, into the newly-created democratic party, into the Catholic Centre, as they believed that bourgeois "democracy" and "pacifism" would give them that which the Kaiser and imperialism had failed to give them.

A few years passed, then came the inflation, and democratic Germany robbed the petty bourgeoisie of its last shirt. The trust and bank magnates pocketed milliards. With the milliards thus acquired the monopolist bourgeoisie organised the campaign against Weimar Germany. They declared that behind the democratic government stood the Jewish bankers. They declared that the Entente, which was extorting reparations from Germany, was responsible for the ruin and misery. The only means of rescue, they asserted, was a new national government which would be capable of protecting Germany from the blows of foreign capital. For this purpose they must in the first place put an end to the working class continually demanding better conditions, whilst the small business people had to go without everything. In addition, an end must be put to the class war conducted by the workers, and there must be a united German people which would act like one man in the defence of its interests, against Jewish capital and against foreign countries. The petty bourgeois masses, who had been sorely disappointed by the policy of the social democracy, began to listen. As long as the stabilisation lasted, that is to say, as long as the Weimar government succeeded in borrowing money from abroad, in extending industry and sharing in the international trade revival, the petty bourgeoisie still hesitated.

When, however, the crisis put an end to the fata morgana of a stabilised Germany, when it began to throttle the rural bourgeoisie through the drop in the prices of agricultural products whilst taxes

remained the same, when it began to plague the small and middle urban bourgeoisie, when the salaries of the officials sank from year to year, millions of the petty bourgeoisie began to attend the meetings of the fascists and to listen eagerly to the speakers who promised them salvation. Hundreds of thousands of these masses joined the S.A. To march under flags and to the sound of the drum meant to forget the unheated dwelling, to forget the humiliation which the young petty bourgeois felt when he was told at home that he was a burden on the family and was unable to earn anything himself. In the S.A. these young petty bourgeois lost the sense of humiliation. They were comrades. Life had a meaning for them. When they attended the demonstrations and saw huge masses in brown shirts like themselves, it seemed to them that a new army of a new Germany was springing up which would not only compel foreign countries to recognise "Germany's right to live," but would also destroy all class differences in Germany itself. Did not Hohenzollern princes belong to the S.A. and wear the same brown shirt? They thought: the whole of Germany is poor now, and if it unites and creates its own government will the big capitalists venture to resist it? The Communists want to set up a workers' and peasants' government, but they are unarmed, they have no military leadership, the intellectuals will not go with them. But the fascists have with them the intellectuals and the officers, Hitler and the "Doctor" (i.e., Goebbels)—honest people, under whose leadership it will be possible to establish the "Third Reich of justice and work." And then we shall be able to talk to the foreign countries.

In his polemic against Plechanov in the year 1903 Lenin wrote that, until the petty bourgeoisie goes over to the side of the proletariat, i.e., abandons its position of a class of small property owners, its representative can only be the nationalist, the anti-semitic, the agrarian, the Cesaerean, the representative of a policy which endeavours to manoeuvre between all classes in the interests of the decisive class. All these features are combined in fascism. And now the petty bourgeoisie of Germany, which defends its position as small property owner, rose under the flag of German fascism to fight for the utopia of a realm of labour and justice without the destruction of capitalism.

Although Hitler and the representatives of fascism had long since become the representatives of the interests of the monopolist bourgeoisie, the mass of the petty bourgeoisie did not believe this. They did not see the negotiations which the leaders of fascism conducted behind the scenes with the coal king Thyssen in Essen, or the negotiations in the office of Schroeder, the bank magnate, in Cologne. When, however, the petty bourgeois in a brown shirt saw gentlemen in silk hats driving up in Rolls Royce cars to visit Hitler at the luxurious Hotel Kaiserhof, he cried hurrah and his breast swelled with pride. He thought: the national socialists are so strong, Hitler is such a great man, that the rich have to go to him to pay homage.

If the working class had not been split by the social democracy, if it had been united by the will to conduct a revolutionary fight for power, if it had shown these masses that it is capable of crushing the monopolist bourgeoisie, then the petty bourgeoisie would have begun to vacillate, it would have begun to listen with more attention to the warnings of the proletariat in regard to the new swindle. But the working class was split by the social democracy. The social democracy had already shown that it sacrificed the interests of the mass of the people. The Communists, in spite of their growing influence, had not yet sufficient strength in order to put the question of the seizure of power. Therefore the petty bourgeoisie went with the fascists, misled by the last illusion, the illusion that fascism would save them, that it is not a tool of the big bourgeoisie, but the defender of the interests of the people.

This last illusion was so strong that it spread to sections of the working class and the slum proletariat. These people, who had been thrown on to the street by unemployment, and were seized with mistrust of demonstrations which were broken up by baton charges of the "democratic" police, had lost faith in the

power of the working class and asked themselves: Perhaps it is true, it may be, perhaps, that fascism will lead us out of all this? To join the S.A. meant at least that they no longer wander about the streets looking for cigarette ends, no longer to sit about aimless and hopeless at home, but to live in a heated barracks and, thanks to the new connections, to be able to find work. Thus fascism succeeded in winning even a part of the working class.

This great mass of S.A. men constituted a source of great strength to the fascist party. They were active from morn till night. They carried on agitation in the streets of the towns and in the villages. They attacked the revolutionary workers and behaved most savagely in this fight. They were no worse and no better than the mass of the petty bourgeoisie in general, but the fascist leaders, who knew for what purpose they were to be used, got them to carry out this murderous work, taught them to hunt down revolutionary workers, whom they represented to them as being the chief obstacle to the salvation of Germany. And the fascist leaders succeeded in rousing the most bestial instincts in a part of the S.A. men and let them loose like a pack of hounds against the revolutionary workers.

And then fascism came into power, when the bourgeoisie, frightened by the rising wave of the proletarian revolution, decided with the aid of fascism to crush the working class. The S.A. allowed themselves to be used as the main force of the bourgeoisie for shattering the mass strength of the proletariat. They shed the blood of those whose victory would have opened to them the way to a decent human existence. In the Brown Houses and concentration camps they tortured the best sons of the German people. Drunk with victory, they behaved like madmen. But this intoxication could not satisfy their hunger nor hide from them the fact that fascism, having come into power, was not keeping its promises. In a secret S.A. circular sent out in March last it was admitted that in some places the S.A. men saw how the masters ruled more ruthlessly than ever before, and having at last obtained work after being unemployed for years, they had to suffer more than ever from cuts in their miserable wages. And they experienced a winter of cold and distress in which they collected money for the unemployed S.A. men. They took part in the parades and marches in the expectation that now at last, after the "marxists" had been smashed, fascism would begin to fulfil its promises. They were allowed to close the Jewish shops for two days. But behind the Jewish big stores were the big banks, and the S.A. men were given plainly to understand that they must keep their hands off them! In Mecklenberg, in East Prussia, they waited for the confiscation of the estates of the big landowners to begin. They were allowed to listen to the speeches of the fascist Minister for Agriculture, Darré, who praised the peasants who defeated the big landowners in the 13th and 14th centuries. But they were not allowed to do anything to the big landowners of to-day. Fascism found work for some of the unemployed in the factories at the cost of the employed workers, who were allowed to work only three days a week. In other words, fascism permitted the starving workers to maintain the unemployed. Other unemployed were sent to the labour camps, where, in return for their bare board, they had to work for the big landowners, rich peasants, and build strategic roads.

Ever-increasing masses of the Storm Troops came to realise that they had been betrayed. They commenced to whisper about a new revolution, for they all regarded the fascist seizure of power on January 30, 1933, as the commencement of the national revolution. This talk went on in the S.A. barracks. Here and there S.A. men commenced to conceal weapons. This movement also spread to sections of the sub-leaders and a part of the fascist intellectuals. **The petty-bourgeois mass began to demand of the fascist leaders that they fulfil their promises.**

The leadership of the S.A. consisted of cunning people who knew which way the wind was blowing. Roehm, Heines and the others did not believe in any second revolution, but they knew that their whole power rested on the strength of the S.A. They therefore wanted to maintain the S.A. in the hope that they would be able to combat the revolutionary tendencies in them by arresting the unreliable elements. The leaders of the S.A. created a special military gendarmerie to fight against the revolutionary S.A. men, but demanded that the S.A. should remain and that the new army should be based on it. Roehm had behind him a good ten thousand leaders and sub-leaders of the S.A., of whom only an insignificant part would have been given positions in the

enlarged Reichswehr as officers and non-commissioned officers. **The upper sections of the S.A. leaders fought, not in the interest of the petty-bourgeois masses, but for their own positions;** Hitler, however, who is conducting a policy in the interests of monopoly capital, had to comply with the wishes of the Reichswehr generals and Krupp and Thyssen in regard to the question of the S.A. The leading sections of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners were of the opinion that the army, which must stand the test of a new war, must have tried and reliable cadres which do not cherish any hopes of a revolution. But it was not only a question of the Reichswehr. The fact is that as long as the S.A. were not vanquished the whole of the petty bourgeoisie and the fascist workers saw in them their support and would resist the complete liquidation of the factory committees and the measures of the factory owners which aimed at reducing wages. The fascists have been in power seventeen months and Hitler has not ventured openly to destroy collective agreements, but has cut wages by round-about means. Right at the beginning the capitalists secured the dissolution of the organisation which embraced the unions of traders and artisans. But this did not avail anything. The S.A. still remained the centre point of the anti-capitalist tendencies in the apparatus of fascism and interfered with the arrangements of the employers, supported by the consciousness that they had brought Hitler into power. Therefore Hitler was compelled to resort to sharp measures against the leadership of the S.A. who defended their existence. In view of the obviously increasing influence of the Communist Party, the conflict between the S.A. and the Nazi leaders might have helped to rouse the whole proletariat to activity.

In our first article we pointed out that Papen's speech against those who advocated a second revolution was to be explained as being not only the result of his agreement with the big landowners, the big capitalists and the Reichswehr, but probably also as a result of an agreement with Hitler, or the hope that he would be supported by Hitler. This assumption has proved to be absolutely and entirely correct. Whilst Herr Goebbels, after having forbidden the publication of Papen's speech, threatened that the fine gentlemen would be trampled on by the boots of the S.A. men, it transpired that Herr Papen had not uttered idle words when he threatened that those who dream of the guillotine might be the first to be brought to it. The fascist leaders, on the orders of monopoly capital, have by a sudden stroke robbed the main mass organisations of their leaders. This means, however, that **fascism in Germany has made a decisive step on the way to losing the petty-bourgeois masses.**

It would be incorrect to believe that the bourgeoisie has decided finally to get rid of Herr Hitler. On the contrary, it still requires Hitler as a cloak. It is prepared for the time being to give him every support. He has acted very energetically on their behalf. Herr Hitler has no desire to be president without power and that Goering should take over the chancellorship. But Goering has connections with the generals. Goering has, as Air Minister, established close connections with the monopolist bourgeoisie. The further inner-party struggle will probably proceed along the line of the antagonisms between Hitler and Goering.

But the main tendency is in the direction of converting the fascist government of Germany into a government of the monopoly capitalists and the big landlords of Germany, supported before all by the Reichswehr and the police, but not by the petty-bourgeois masses. The real masters of the situation so far as strength is concerned are the generals of the Reichswehr. In 1933 they were afraid of a conflict with the fascist party, which constituted a tremendous mass force. Now, however, when the fascist leadership has turned against the fascist petty-bourgeois masses, the Reichswehr generals feel themselves to be the only buttress of "law and order." Hitler to-day is purging the fascist party of homosexualists. If to-morrow he will have to purge fascism of the drug addicts, or if, contrariwise, it should occur to the latter to discover vices among other leaders of the government, then the Reichswehr, the generals of the cadres of the imperialist Germany, will prove to be the only force which is free from reproach.

It would be wrong to believe that the German monopolist bourgeoisie has already decided to restore the monarchy and to throw the fascist flags out of the window. But these flags have been already torn to ribbons by the fascist leaders. To-day one can already say that **the events of June 30 have greatly reduced the prestige of German fascism abroad.** They have shown, that the social contradictions, which have been pressed into the frame-

work of a single party, are rending it from within. All this is taking place because outside of this party there are ten million workers who have not capitulated to fascism. Up to now only the Communist advance-guard of the proletariat has actively combated fascism. But the whole mass of the proletariat is opposed to fascism. Fascism feels the sullen hatred of these masses; it is endeavouring to plaster together the fissures in its organisation in order that the revolutionary lava shall not force its way through these channels. Therefore it is compelled to carry out its "party discussion" in such a brutal manner before the whole world. By destroying its petty-bourgeois organisation it is destroying the branch on which it is sitting. It was called to power by the bourgeoisie in order, supported by the petty bourgeoisie, to throttle the labour movement. If it loses the petty bourgeoisie, then the fascist government can rely only on brute force, and it will find it extremely hard to maintain power.

The events of June 30 in any case constitute an important historical milestone. Fascism has been unable to secure the stability of the bourgeois regime even by letting loose terror against the working class, and it will be still less able to achieve this aim by employing terror against its own petty-bourgeois basis. The pace of historical development in Germany has proved more rapid than one might have expected. The events of June 30 are a second warning signal.

Down with the Government of Assassins and Adventurers!

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany

Workers, peasants and toilers!

Hitler is directing his murderous weapons against those on whose shoulders he was carried to power. This murder plot was framed in the Hugel Villa. The lords of black reaction, the Krupps and the Thyssens, demanded from their lackey Hitler that he put an end to the "bleaters and the grumblers."

With fear and anxiety because of the underground rumblings of the proletarian uprising, Roehm and Ernst, Schleicher and Strasser were seeking new methods of saving the capitalist regime. Through a strengthening of social-demagogy, in regard to the Storm Troops, they hoped to avoid the worst. Krupp and Thyssen were mortally afraid of the consequences of these methods and were afraid of a challenge to their own predominant position in the system of dictatorship. Their nod was for Hitler a command. The revolvers spoke. It is not, of course, our job to be enraged when enemies of the workers, adventurers and generals are cutting each other's throats.

Hitler, Goering and Goebbels are seeking to hide their agreement with the reaction behind hypocritical anger about the immoral Roehm. They have known this for ten years, and yet they placed Roehm at the head of the terror army against the workers. Every word of the gangster Hitler is lying and hypocrisy. He lies about a reactionary plot on the part of those who have been shot in order to be able to strengthen still more his own holy alliance with the magnates of the armaments industry and the Reichswehr generals. He had Roehm shot, but the bullets were directed against the hundreds of thousands of deceived Storm Troop men. The politicians in the Storm Troops demanded that Hitler give effect to his oath to carry on a real fight against reaction. Hitler answered them with the bullets of the Reichswehr.

Toilers in the National Socialist Party! Stop having faith in the Messiah Hitler. . . . The victory of the Commune over the system of lies, murder and incendiarism is your salvation also. Struggle alongside the Communists! Not a shot, not a blow against them. In the struggle of the capitalists, the Reichswehr generals and the officers of the secret police against the Commune, all fighters for freedom will stand on the side of the revolution.

Proletarians in the Storm Troops! We have always told you that in every shot against us you wounded yourselves. Do you want the palaces of the rich to become the dwellings of the workers? Then organise in the "cleansed" Storm Troops a secret opposition against the regime. Do you want the workers to become the masters of the factories? Then take care of your weapons for the struggle of the workers against the secret police and Goering's Black S.S. detachments.

Social-democratic and Christian men, women and youths! We

are united in a common hate against the fascist oppressors. Together we will overthrow Hitler. We do not wish to carry through our struggle, involving great sacrifices, in order that the martial law of the military dictatorship, the Weimar Zörgiebel terror, the police sabres of the Hohenzollerns shall take the place of the fascist dictatorship. The bankrupts of the Weimar era are again trying to tie you to the chariot of their coalition policy. The freeing of the working class is the task of the working class itself. Only the Bolshevik way out will make an end of the chaos and lead to peace, well-being and happiness. Our comrades who are your friends will approach you and your groups in the factories and in the working-class districts with a view to common action. Form committees of action with us. Come with us in the counter-offensive against capitalist offensive and terror.

Workers, peasants, toilers, militant youth! From the Hitler Reich there rises the foul stench of moral decay, of political adventurers. We Communists, when we come into power, will establish socialist order. We will demand an account for all the crimes of the bourgeoisie. Let us all unite against the fascist slaughterers! Do not let us be silenced any longer by terror. Let us accuse, let us proclaim aloud that Hitler is planning fresh provocations in order to slaughter the leader of the German proletariat, Thaelmann, and hundreds of anti-fascists in the concentration camps.

The struggles among the leading cliques of the dictatorship have not been done away with by Hitler's orgy of murder; they have increased. Sudden turns in the development of events are possible any day. Let us increase the difficulties of the bankrupts by fighting on all fronts! Take advantage of every fissure in the dictatorship in order to advance with our revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement in the factories, workers' quarters, fascist mass organisations, into legality and break the fetters of terrorist suppression!

Let us awaken in all our brothers and sisters the will to power in order to anticipate by the proletarian revolution the economic and war catastrophe organised by Hitler! Let us say to all who doubt in the strength of the proletariat that the general strike of the German working class has already twice swept away a band of adventurers (Kapp and Cuno).

Let us be clear that we can only reach our unshakable goal of Socialism by the way of armed insurrection and the building up of the revolutionary Soviets as the organs of the proletarian struggle for power.

Open the gates of the prisons and the concentration camps!

Release Thaelmann and all other imprisoned anti-fascists!

Down with the Hitler government!

Long live Soviet Power! Long live Socialism!

The International Red Aid in the Thaelmann Campaign

By Hertha Mueller

The campaign against the fascist terror in Germany which the I.R.A. has been conducting since the Hitler government came into power experienced a great upsurge as soon as it became known that Ernst Thaelmann has become ill in prison and is being mishandled. This fact penetrated through the prison walls even before Ernst Thaelmann himself reported this to the Saar delegation. The I.R.A. set all its sections the task of concentrating their work on the fight for the release of Thaelmann and all anti-fascists who have been condemned to death. As a matter of fact the 14 million members of the International Red Aid are so closely connected with Ernst Thaelmann, as the symbol of the anti-fascist struggle, that they developed the greatest initiative themselves.

Dr. Gallagher, who took part in the Leipzig Reichstag fire trial, is touring the U.S.A. on behalf of the I.R.A. and mobilising the working people at meetings and demonstrations for the fight for the release of all political prisoners in Germany, in particular of Thaelmann.

In France, where the anti-fascist movement is growing, the role of the I.R.A. in this movement is likewise increasing. The Red Aid of France sent a workers' delegation to Thaelmann.

In the Scandinavian countries the I.R.A. seized the initiative for setting up special Thaelmann committees. In Copenhagen a conference took place which sent a students' delegation to Thael-

mann. In *Holland*, where Thaelmann committees were set up on the initiative of the Red Aid, the red helpers are conducting a very intensive and lively campaign.

The *Belgian delegation* to Ernst Thaelmann was likewise sent by the I.R.A. The same applies to the *Swiss delegation*. In Switzerland the Red Aid has taken the initiative for setting up Thaelmann committees.

In *Czechoslovakia*, where the Thaelmann campaign is being carried on at meetings and demonstrations, the I.R.A. instructed its lower units to set up Thaelmann committees.

The delegation of the Saar workers has greatly enhanced the importance of the I.R.A. for the anti-fascist struggle.

In *Latin America* the campaign against the terror in Germany is led by the I.R.A. and the sections are displaying great initiative.

In *Bulgaria* the campaign against Hitler fascism and for the release of Thaelmann is being continued even under the new fascist government. Also in *Yugoslavia* a committee against the fascist terror in Germany has been set up. In *Rumania* the campaign for the release of Thaelmann is being continued.

In spite of the terror the Red Aid of Germany is conducting a broad campaign for exposing the terror of the Nazi regime and for realising the proletarian solidarity. At present its activity is concentrated on the campaign for the release of Thaelmann. The international delegations, which show the close alliance between the toilers of the whole world and the German proletariat, greatly helped the Red Aid of Germany to mobilise the masses.

The 104 press organs of the I.R.A., published in all languages of the world, are devoting most of their space to the campaign against the Hitler terror, against the executions and death sentences, for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all anti-fascists. This campaign is being linked up with the struggle against Dollfuss fascism, for solidarity with its victims and all the anti-fascists pining in the prisons. The meetings at which the delegations of the various countries sent by the I.R.A. to *Austria* deliver their reports also serve to mobilise the masses for the release of Ernst Thaelmann.

The results of the campaign up to now show that the red helpers of all countries are determined to conduct with the greatest energy the struggle for the release of Ernst Thaelmann as well as of the 37 anti-fascists condemned to death.

Help the Anti-Fascists who are Threatened with Murder!

Appeal of the Committee for the Relief of the Victims of Hitler Fascism

The World Relief Committee for the Victims of Hitler Fascism have just published an appeal in which it is stated:—

Murder is rife in Germany! Hitler himself is leading the murder gangs. The fascist dictatorship, which is on the point of collapse, is, according to the will of Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, to be consolidated by new mass murder.

Hitler fascism came into power by means of arson and murder. The staging of the Reichstag fire, the murder of over 3,000 anti-fascists in the torture hells of the S.A. barracks and of the State Secret Police and with the axe of the executioner, the concentration camps, the crowded prisons—these are the bloody symbols of the Hitler dictatorship.

The cold-blooded murder of innumerable S.A. leaders and other national-socialist functionaries, and the details which have become known in connection therewith, confirm the accusations which the World Relief Committee made right from the beginning before all the world against the Hitler fascism. To-day Hitler himself reveals the horrible fact that the leaders of the S.A., of the national-socialist party, and of the party dictatorship are thorough criminals who do not shrink from arson and vile murder, who treacherously betray and murder their own comrades if they think to gain any advantage thereby.

The bandit leaders Roehm and Heines who have been slaughtered by Hitler were his fellow conspirators in the murder of thousands of anti-fascists. They were his accomplices and confederates in staging the Reichstag trial, in the cruel and bloody pillaging and oppression of the working people of Germany.

The fascist dictatorship still rules. Thousands and tens of thousands of anti-fascists, men and women, are still in the hands

of these people as hostages in the concentration camps and prisons. Hitler, Goering and Goebbels have repeatedly threatened to murder the anti-fascist prisoners if the world public does not keep silent regarding their crimes.

The lives of the imprisoned anti-fascists in Germany are in danger! In spite of the strictest censorship, news is reaching us that Hitler's murder and terrorist bands are raging with the most bestial cruelty against the anti-fascists in Germany.

The lives of thousands of anti-fascists in Germany are at stake! Come to their aid! Raise a storm of mass indignation! Flood the German Consulates and Embassies with protests! Let the murder bands know that they cannot murder thousands of innocent people with impunity!

Help the World Relief Committee for the Victims of Hitler Fascism by material support to conduct this fight and to assist the victims of Hitler fascism in Germany!

Intellectuals, working people! In this hour raise your voices against Hitler fascism, which is wading in blood. Unite your forces with the force of the anti-fascists in Germany, in order to overthrow Hitler, Goebbels and Goering and the fascist dictatorship in Germany!

For the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Ossietzki, Torgler, Muehsam, Frau Beimler, Frau Steinfurth and Frau Wallisch, for the release of all anti-fascists!

World Relief Committee for the Victims of Hitler Fascism.

Comrade Richard Scheringer

Among the victims of the national-socialist Bloody Sunday was our Comrade *Richard Scheringer*, who up to the year 1930 was a lieutenant in the Reichswehr, but was tried by the Supreme Court for carrying on undermining work in the army and found guilty of high treason. While serving his sentence of fortress arrest he had the opportunity of making a thorough study of Marxism and becoming acquainted for the first time in his life with Communists, with the result that he broke with Hitler and came over to the Communist Party of Germany.

The trial of the Reichswehr officers, which took place after the first big election victory of the national-socialists in the autumn of 1930, created a tremendous sensation at the time. Hitler appeared as a witness at the trial and declared that his movement was perfectly legal and that after his victory heads would roll. The eyes of the whole of national-socialist Germany were turned to Leipzig. The strongest pressure had to be exerted on the Leipzig Court in order that a verdict of guilty should be brought in. The Reichswehr officers were hailed as national heroes. All the greater, therefore, was the sensation when, six months later, Comrade *Sheringer* openly opposed Hitler, stigmatised him as a traitor, and declared that only the Communist Party of Germany could and would achieve the national and social emancipation of Germany. Whilst serving his sentence Comrade *Sheringer* received a large number of letters from national-socialist circles, and when he published the most important of them with his replies in pamphlet form he was again charged and brought before the Court. The judges were now able to wreak vengeance on him. He was sentenced to a further two years' fortress arrest.

When Hitler came into power Comrade *Sheringer* was still serving his sentence. The Nazi rulers now endeavoured to win him over to them, but Comrade *Sheringer*, who was a man of strong moral character, scornfully rejected their most tempting offers and proudly proclaimed his allegiance to the Communist Party of Germany. When he still rejected these offers, after his discharge from prison, he was placed in a concentration camp. There was method in the cowardly and bestial murder of Comrade *Sheringer*. A man who exposed the treachery of Hitler already at a time when most of his followers had no idea of it, could, of course, not be allowed to live when it was intended by a mass murder to intimidate and terrify the millions who had finally recognised Hitler's treachery and were turning against him.

The Communist Party of Germany loses in *Richard Scheringer* a brave and faithful member, who did not aspire or claim to be anything more than the thousands and thousands of persecuted and hunted victims of fascism, and who has now become one of the thousands of martyrs by whose bestial murder the Hitler regime only hastens its own bloody end.

Great Britain

The Acquittal of Tom Mann and Harry Pollitt

By R. Bishop (London)

When the case against *J. R. Campbell*, then Editor of the "Workers' Weekly," took place in 1924, a debate in the House of Commons made it clear that no charge of sedition was ever brought against a political leader without the matter having first been discussed and sanctioned by the Government. Consequently, the ridiculous collapse of the prosecution's case against *Tom Mann* and *Harry Pollitt*, at Swansea Assizes last week, is not only a big victory for mass action by the workers, but a serious blow at the national government itself. The prosecution was undertaken under peculiar circumstances, and from the first it was obvious that it was no ordinary case, but an attempt to crush the revolutionary movement and to behead it at a critical moment of working-class upsurge.

Comrades Mann and Pollitt had been doing a speaking tour in Wales at the time when the *Great Hunger March* was in progress. The arrival of the marchers in London was to be greeted by great demonstrations and a National Congress of Action. The Hunger March had aroused a wider working-class response than any previous march. All sorts of working-class organisations had repudiated the ban placed upon the march by the Labour Party and the T.U.C., and throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain, workers, even in the most remote villages and country towns, had welcomed the marchers into their midst with open arms.

The government were nervous as to what would be the outcome, so they seized the opportunity of arresting Comrades Mann and Pollitt, with the idea of preventing their attendance at the London demonstrations and Congress. Immediately there was a terrific outcry from the workers, particularly in *South Wales*, where the speeches had been made. The workers saw through the pretence of "Sedition" in the charge. They knew that Mann and Pollitt had delivered similar speeches all over Britain and that the charge on this occasion was but a pretext.

The mass pressure of the Welsh workers compelled the release of Mann and Pollitt on bail after the preliminary police court hearing, but both arrived at the Congress of Action too late to make their speeches at it.

Eventually Pollitt and Mann were sent for trial at the Glamorgan Assizes. For the last three months, the period between the conclusion of the police court proceedings and the opening of the Assizes, a vast flood of resolutions had poured into the office of the Home Secretary from trade union branches, labour party branches, co-operative guilds, and other organisations, as well as from mass meetings, demanding the withdrawal of the charges against Pollitt and Mann.

In *Swansea* itself, where the Assizes were held, a huge mass campaign developed. Night after night meetings were held in different parts of the town, the workers were canvassed from door to door, and practically the whole working-class population of the town was drawn into the protest movement.

The interest of the Swansea workers was still further roused by the fact that on the Sunday prior to the opening of the trial, *Mosley*, leader of the British Union of Fascists, spoke at a demonstration. Three thousand people—mainly drawn from the middle class—listened to him inside the hall, while fifteen thousand workers demonstrated against him outside.

Even inside the hall strong opposition to *Mosley* was manifested, and he and his bodyguard had to be smuggled out of a back entrance.

The role of the *Communist Party*, as the leader of the fight against fascism, became increasingly manifest, and the growth in sympathy for Comrades Mann and Pollitt, as leaders, of the Communist Party, became evident.

On the morning that the trial opened special police precautions were taken to prevent crowds congregating in the precincts of the court. The trial was nominally public, but admission was almost impossible for anyone not officially connected with the case as prisoner, witness, press, counsel and so forth.

A large demonstration assembled in the local park and marched round the town, carrying slogans demanding the withdrawal of the charges and so forth.

Comrade Tom Mann, 78 years of age, was defended by an

eminent lawyer, *D. N. Pritt*, whilst *Harry Pollitt* was to defend himself.

The case against Mann was taken first. All the evidence against him was police evidence; not a single member of the audience at either of the meetings could be found to support the police evidence.

The statements that the police attributed to the two comrades were ludicrous in the extreme, but not so much the ludicrous nature of the charges as the idiocy of the police witnesses betrayed how complete a frame-up the whole charge was.

After the first police witness had given evidence of having taken down Mann's speech in shorthand, he was subjected to a searching cross-examination by *Pritt*.

The policeman admitted that his knowledge of shorthand was "imperfect." He stated that he had taken his notes on his knee at the back of the hall. *Pritt* demanded that he undergo a test under similar conditions. The constable went to the gallery, with his notebook on his knee, while *Pritt* read out Mann's speech. Within two minutes the constable was complaining that *Pritt* went too fast. *Pritt* started again to read the speech, this time in slow, deliberate tones. A second time the constable complained. *Pritt* tried once more; then, when the policeman still proved unable to follow him, *Pritt* recalled him to the witness-box. It was found that the constable could only read back the first nine words of his notes.

Four other police officers gave evidence, and although they all admitted that they were taken either in longhand or in "imperfect" shorthand, all reports tallied, word for word. Challenged about this, one officer claimed that he could take a speech down in longhand for ten minutes and guarantee perfect verbal accuracy at the end.

Tom Mann was alleged to have stated: "The Communist Party stands for civil war, for bloodshed, brother against brother, etc." *Pritt*, in his speech to the jury, showed that this was a quotation used by Pollitt, not Mann, taken from a labour party leaflet issued during the Clay Cross by-election, where Pollitt had been the Communist candidate. *Pritt* also exposed many another ludicrous statement attributed to Mann, which he could not conceivably have made.

The next day opened with the prosecution withdrawing the first charge. Then the defence witnesses were heard. First Tom Mann gave evidence. He made no pretence to deny the revolutionary character of his speech. Asked by *Pritt* if he had said anything about revolution, he declared in tones that rang throughout the court:—

"I did very distinctly and very purposely. It is my habit to make clear that I am a revolutionary."

The next witness was a shorthand writer attached to the Supreme Court of Justice. He said he had examined the notebooks of the police officers, but found their notes almost indecipherable. He characterised the statement of the police that Tom Mann spoke only at the rate of 60 words a minute as nonsense. From his own experience Tom's rate was at least 140 words, faster than *Pritt* had read the speech, even the first time.

A shorthand clerk who had attended the meeting said that he had intended to take the speeches down for practice, but Tom spoke too fast for him to be able to do so, yet he was competent to do speeds up to 100-120 words a minute.

Never was there a more complete police debacle. Every scrap of their evidence was riddled by a brilliant cross-examination and the evidence of independent witnesses.

Even the judge, in his summing up, was compelled to refer to the possibility of the police evidence having been "cooked," and said that the jury must consider whether the officers had "endeavoured to adjust their notes and make them better than they really were."

Within 35 minutes the jury were back: "Not guilty" was their verdict on both counts. Tom Mann was free.

Pollitt went into the dock. The prosecuting counsel said that as he was relying on the same evidence for this case he would not be able to proceed with it. The jury returned a formal verdict of "Not Guilty" and *Harry Pollitt* too was free.

Tumultuous scenes of welcome took place outside the court as soon as the news reached there. Cheer after cheer went up from the serried ranks of the workers assembled in the vicinity. That evening, when Mann and Pollitt addressed a huge meeting, there were scenes of enthusiasm such as Swansea had not witnessed since the General Strike of 1926.

The prosecution was launched by the Glamorgan County Police, with the knowledge and approval of the Cabinet. These police are under the control of the Glamorgan County Council, a body on which there has been a strong labour majority for many years. Yet there is no part of the country in which police have had a freer hand in "dealing with" the working-class movement.

The release of Pollitt and Mann represents a tremendous victory for working-class solidarity. It also gives a great impetus to the campaign against the Seditious Bill. It has encouraged every militant worker in Britain to redouble his efforts to get the Seditious Bill withdrawn, and to smash the National government, which had hoped to get outstanding working-class leaders out of the way whilst it pushed through such fascist measures as the Seditious Bill and the Unemployment Act, as a preliminary to attempting to smash the entire working-class movement.

In a statement to the "Daily Worker," after the verdict, Comrade Pollitt said:—

"The result of the trial has provided full justification for the anger and resentment that the workers expressed at the attempt of the National government to frame us up on the eve of the National Congress and Hunger Marchers' campaign in London.

"The mass resentment that the workers have shown, the insistent and untiring demand for the withdrawal of the charges, the magnificent way the Swansea workers demonstrated their determination to obtain our release, have all had their effect in securing one of the most damning exposures of the National government and a great victory for mass united front activity.

"We should all learn from this experience that the workers can secure their demands.

"We must now get the same fine, united spirit related to the campaign against the Seditious Bill, the Unemployment Act, and against the whole policy of the National government and employers.

"At the same time it is our duty to use this victory in Britain to intensify our efforts to save the life of Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, the heroic leader of the Communist Party of Germany."

The Balkans

The Military Fascist Dictatorship in Bulgaria and the Revolutionary Struggle of the Working Class

By D. Vlachov

The military-fascist government in Bulgaria is proceeding further in its efforts to build up its State apparatus, to penetrate all branches of public life in order to carry out its principle of incorporation.

The greatest attention is being paid to the youth organisations. At a meeting attended by nearly all the fascist youth organisations, the greatest inciter against the Communists and against the Soviet Union, the ideologist of the fascist dictatorship, Ivan Charisanov, discussed the question of the basis on which the new united youth organisation is to be built. He declared that the Bulgarian State to-day was an organism above all parties. The task of the present-day State, he said, was to rouse the spirit and strengthen the national idea: the present State is based on nationalism.

In the new Youth Organisation which is to be founded, there are to exist various departments: for physical culture, to which all sport, gymnastic and tourist associations are to belong, a department for intellectual education, in which all nationalist and chauvinist organisations are to be represented, and an organisation department, which shall organise propaganda.

The "Institute for Social Regeneration," the Bulgarian Propaganda Ministry, is engaged in organising peasants, women, intellectuals, free professions, industry, commerce, banks, artisans and . . . workers. Work among all these sections of the population is still at the commencing stage.

The government is endeavouring to approach the workers. It proclaimed at first that it would not tolerate any workers' organisations pursuing political aims. As a matter of fact, all

workers' organisations and their press have already been prohibited. At the same time it also declared that workers' organisations pursuing economic aims would not be persecuted but supported in their activity. This, of course, was only a manoeuvre. The so-called "national" trade unions, which are fascist and, up to now, have no following among the workers as the great majority of the workers were organised in the revolutionary trade unions, have now been instructed by the government to compel the workers to join them. At the last meeting of all trade unions of Bulgaria, convened by the leadership of the so-called "national" trade unions, expression was given to the wish of the government to found a united trade union organisation in which, not membership, but the collective agreements concluded with the employers, are rendered obligatory for all workers.

Only two associations will have the right to continue their existence as at present. These are the associations which placed the fascist rulers into power: the Association of Reserve Officers and the Association of Reserve Non-Commissioned Officers.

Not only all the political, cultural, social and sport organisations of the workers have been prohibited, but also all Left-inclined publications, including the publications of the peasants, the working emigrants from Macedonia, Thrace, etc.

Together with this fascist incorporation, with the strengthening of the fascist propaganda, the most cruel and brutal terror is being employed against the working class, the peasantry and the revolutionary emigrants. Continual house-searches and hundreds of arrests are taking place everywhere, especially in the big towns, in the workers' quarters. The arrested are subjected to the most cruel torture. In Burgas, sixty high-school pupils, including thirty girls, have been thrown into prison and are to be brought up for trial. The defensive action of the working masses is increasing in strength. Since the military dictatorship came into power, flying meetings have been held in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Starazagora and other big towns at which revolutionary slogans have been issued. In June, 1934, the 11th anniversary of the first military-fascist coup d'état, three meetings, attended by thousands of workers, were held in Sofia. One of the speakers was able to speak for twenty minutes.

The main support which the present rulers used for their coup d'état, the army, is not reliable. On the day of the coup d'état, soldiers replied to workers, who asked them: "What shall we do?" with the words: "Hold demonstrations!" On the same day the pupils of the military telegraph school refused to fight in the streets.

In general, the new military-fascist government was received with great pessimism. One often heard it said: "These people will not be able to do anything, either!" "One ought to send for Georgi Dimitrov. He will save the country and free it from the crisis and dictatorship!"

Dimitrov's popularity in Bulgaria is indescribable. The masses of workers and all toilers see in him the hero who, as the leader of the Bulgarian proletariat, will free the working class. If one takes into consideration the inner antagonisms of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, which are becoming more acute every day, and the serious economic crisis, then one must say that the present government is in the greatest difficulties and is sitting on a volcano.

The Bulgarian proletariat, under the leadership of its brave Communist Party, is continuing its revolutionary fight to overthrow the military-fascist dictatorship and set up the Soviet Power of the workers and peasants.

International Thaelmann Day on July 21 and 22, 1934

Paris, July 5, 1934.

The International Committee for the Release of Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists requests all anti-fascist organisations to hold an International Thaelmann Day in all countries on July 21 and 22.

The Release Committee proposes that on July 21 big mass meetings and people's tribunals against Hitler fascism be held in all towns, and on the following day propaganda material for the release of Thaelmann be distributed in the streets and dwelling houses of the towns and villages.

The anti-fascists of the whole world must reply to the incitement to murder Thaelmann and the prisoners in the concentration camps by a powerful counter-action.

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

The Campaign for the International Women's Congress

By Gertrud Dubi (Paris)

Thousands and thousands of women are already gathering round the World Initiative Committee for the International Women's Congress. In all important countries, such as France, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and even in the Balkans, united front committees are at work preparing for the Congress.

The toiling women of Germany, which is pining under the most brutal dictatorship, will be represented at the Congress; and Dollfuss will be unable to prevent women from Austria being present, among them Frau Muenchreiter, the wife of the hero of Vienna.

North America is also displaying great activity. Conferences have been held in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee and New York. At San Francisco ten towns of California were represented by 100 delegates from 30 organisations, including trade unions, student and church societies.

In Canada conferences were held in the most important parts of the country, and the national committee reports that a delegation will appear at the Congress. South America reports by telegram that a great campaign is being conducted for the Congress.

In Australia a national conference of women against war and fascism was held which was attended by 300 women, and a delegate was elected for the Congress. From Syria three delegates are reported, and from Indonesia two delegates.

In the European countries the elections of delegates to the Congress have just begun. The North of France reports 100 delegates, Rouen district 50 delegates. Holland reports 50 delegates, Czechoslovakia 40, Norway 12, Sweden 12, Denmark 12, the Saar district 15, Switzerland 25, Belgium 30, etc.

A great number of trade unions have affiliated to the movement. In addition to all unions of the C.G.T.U., we can report the affiliation of a union of officials (Section Charente) of the C.G.T. as well as that of the autonomous union of the officials, which subscribed a large sum to the propaganda fund of the Congress. Many trade unions are displaying great activity. Thus, for instance, the unity union of the building workers, which has only a few women members, sent circulars to all its sections, setting them the task of mobilising the wives of their members for the Congress. Inside the railway workers' union committees were set up for the preparation of the Congress. Conferences and meetings are being organised and large quantities of agitation material distributed among the members. The union undertook to issue 10,000 cards expressing support of the Congress. The French Women Suffrage League, numbering thousands of members, and the organisation of the war widows with 100,000 members affiliated to the Congress.

It is already evident that the aim of the Initiative Committee, to obtain a broad basis for the Congress, has been realised. Socialist women, Communist women, women pacifists, working women, peasant women and intellectuals will be represented at the Congress.

In Spain the National Initiative Committee includes socialist women such as the woman member of Parliament, Margarita Nelken, and Veneranda Garcia Franco, Republican women such as Victoria Kent, Communist women as Pasionaria, trade unionists as Josega Hernandez. The trade unions of the postal employees, the women transport workers, the employees of the underground railway, as well as various factories (caoutchouc, metal, explosive, chemical, bookbinding and aeroplane factories of Madrid) have elected delegates to the Congress. In Catalonia the appeal of the Catalonian committee was published in all newspapers.

The Belgian Committee includes the socialist woman leader Isabelle Blume and the representative of the women students Dr. Aleshinsky, the woman pacifist Madelaine Thonnart, and the representative of the Amsterdam-Pleyl Committee, Comrade Heyligers-Leroy.

In France the movement is steadily growing. Conferences and meetings are taking place, our propaganda material is being distributed in thousands of copies among the women. In spite of

Leon Blum's warning against the World Congress the socialist women are taking active part in the movement. Dozens of socialist women teachers have expressed their approval of the Congress and actively work in the committees. At a meeting of the post, telegraph and telephone employees a member of the World Initiative Committee, the woman socialist, Giroux, explained the purposes of the Congress.

Socialist women are working in the committees in Levallois (suburb of Paris), in St. Etienne (Loire), in Pau (Pyrene). In the 15th Paris district the socialist women unanimously declared their adherence to the Congress, in Grenoble the socialist women are forming the majority on the committee. In Dordogne a whole village declared its affiliation to the Congress.

In the last few weeks of rallying the forces for the Congress the initiative committees of all countries must concentrate on overcoming the two main weaknesses of the movement: (1) The still incomplete agitation among the factory women workers, in particular in the industries connected with the war; (2) the fact that the initiative committees have not yet exerted all their forces in order to win the women organised in the social-democratic parties and in the trade unions. Work must be greatly stimulated in this direction.

"Women's Week" from July 14 to 22

Paris, July 5, 1934.

The World Initiative Committee for the International Women's Congress against imperialist war and fascism has arranged for a "Women's Week" to be held from July 14 to 22, during which the greatest propaganda is to be made for the Women's Congress. During this week meetings and conferences will take place in which delegates are to be elected for the World Women's Congress. At the same time collections are to be made to meet the travelling expenses of the Congress delegates.

Meeting of the International Bureau of the World Relief Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism

Paris, July 5, 1934.

The Secretariat of the World Committee reports: The Secretariat of the World Committee decided at its Plenary session of June 29 to convene the meeting of the International Bureau of the World Committee for July 30 and 31. This meeting will be held jointly with the International Bureau of the World Youth Committee.

The agenda of the meeting was fixed as follows:—

1. The international situation and the organisation of the mass struggle against war and fascism.

Supplementary reports:—

(a) The concrete tasks of the struggle against war, its methods and forms.

(b) The result of the struggle against Hitler-fascism and the ideological struggle against fascism in all countries.

(c) Report on the activity and the next tasks of the World Youth Committee.

2. Report on the work of the national committees and their tasks in organising the united action of all toilers.

3. Supplementary elections to the Secretariat of the International Bureau.

Labour Youth Against War

London, July 9, 1934.

A demonstration against war held by the Labour Party League of Youth in London turned out to be a good united front rally, despite the ban placed by the National Labour Party upon association with the Young Communist League.

Members of the Y.C.L. marched side by side with members of the Youth League, of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth, and young workers with no political affiliations. In all the contingents a spirit of deep working-class fraternity reigned.

Before the North London contingent set off a short meeting was held at the point of assembly, at which representatives of the Y.C.L. and the Labour League of Youth spoke on the need for developing united action.

The Labour Party bureaucracy were able to prevent the Y.C.L. from having a speaker in Trafalgar Square, but, nevertheless, the day ended with the deepening of the feelings of unity between the Communist and Labour Party Youth.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Foreign Workers in the Soviet Fatherland

By Our Special Correspondent in Moscow, L. F. Boross

Direct contact between the workers of the capitalist countries and those of the Soviet Union is becoming more and more frequent and more and more extensive. Three times in the year (for the International Women's Day, for the First of May, and for the anniversary of the October Revolution), workers' delegates arrive in the Soviet Union from every country in the world. For years now thousands of foreign workers and experts have been working in Soviet enterprises. Living and working here are many thousands of political exiles, among them the most recent arrivals—more than five hundred Austrian Schutzbündler, who until a short time ago were still being trained in the social-democratic spirit and viewing the Soviet Union through the spectacles of the social-democratic press.

To the toilers of the capitalist countries it is a matter of the utmost interest to learn the opinion of the workers living here and the impressions received by those visiting the Soviet Union, concerning conditions in the first proletarian State, in what is to-day the one fatherland of the international working class. We are attempting in a series of articles to reproduce briefly a picture of these impressions and opinions.

During their journey the southern group of the German, Austrian and Swiss Workers' Delegation covered a distance of many thousands of kilometres: Moscow, Dnjepr Power Station, collective farms of the Saporoshj district (Ukraine), Sochi, Rostov, Kabardino-Balkarian district, Donetz Basin, Moscow, Leningrad. After the unforgettable 1st of May on the Red Square, when, in particular, the march past of the armed factory workers among the troops of the Red Army convinced the delegates with one stroke as to which class is in power here, it was the vast amount of building activity that made the greatest impression upon the delegates.

"The whole of Moscow is one single building site," wrote the Swiss workers' delegation in their first letter to the workers of the reformist Building Workers' Union in Zurich, by whom they had been sent as delegates to the Soviet Union. They saw the vast constructional works of the underground railway, dominating the entire city; they saw on the scaffolding of each building site notices stating that so and so many bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, fitters, labourers were wanted to begin work at once.

But when, continuing their journey, they saw along nearly every kilometre of their trip scaffolding and new buildings, small and large—whether a sky-scraper or whether merely a modest stable or farm buildings; when they saw around every station a large number of new dwelling houses and, practically everywhere, a big new club for the railway workers—then they changed their minds, and said: "The whole of the Soviet Union is one single building site."

The delegates were able to watch socialist building activity in its most concentrated form in the neighbourhood of the Dnjepr power station and at Sochi on the Black Sea. Surrounding the Dnjepr power works—incomparably beautiful in appearance—is an entire new industrial city. This city's blast furnaces—partly electrical—aluminium works, and chemical works, all built within the compass of the First Five-Year Plan, employ to-day, including the building workers, about 80,000 workers and office employees. Beside them we saw immense new building works that confirmed the statements of the local comrades: that by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the Dnjepr combination would be employing something approaching two hundred thousand workers and office workers. We saw the new residential town, with its handsome modern flats (buildings of several stories or houses for two families), large open spaces, sports grounds, social and cultural institutions, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that we were able to realise that hardly five years ago this was all bare steppe.

In Sochi and neighbourhood we found sixty new workers' sanatoria, built during the last few years for the benefit of factory

workers and provided with the most up-to-date medical equipment. We saw, too, the palaces of former princes; to-day serving as holiday homes for thousands of workers. We saw how the coal-mining town of Gorlovka had changed from a centre of barbarous exploitation, with dwelling hovels so like those of the Chinese coolies, that in popular speech they bore the names of Shanghai and Peking, into a modern town, with good dwelling-houses, parks, convalescent homes and immense open spaces for recreation.

The other delegations were able to confirm from their experiences that the same energetic work of socialist construction was prevailing in the other districts of the Soviet Union. The new city around the Dnjepr power station is only one of more than a hundred new socialist towns and workers' settlements; Sochi is only one of the many workers' health resorts; Gorlovka is only one of the transformed socialist towns in the Donetz basin.

The Austrian delegates—for the most part until quite recently, some even still to-day, members of the social-democratic party—became thoughtful. Up till now the municipal houses and social services of Vienna had been their pride. These services had played their part in making it possible for Otto Bauer and his kind to persuade the majority of the Austrian working class that Austrian social democracy was a party "different" from the German or any other party that had already been recognised by the workers as treacherous. It was drummed into the workers that this was really a socialist island.

It was only after the February days that most of the Vienna workers recognised that these services represented those bonds with which the bourgeoisie bind them to capitalism and which at once vanish like a dream the moment the bourgeoisie consider it necessary, in view of the revolutionary mood of the working class, to bind them with real prison chains of iron. When, however, they compared the few dozen municipal houses in Vienna with the tens of thousands of new socialist buildings in the Soviet Union, and the meagre arrangements made in Vienna for the care of children with the five-and-a-half milliard roubles which the Soviet Power devoted in one single year to social insurance without placing the slightest burden on the worker's wage—then they had, perforce, to see how cheaply they had been sold by social democracy. They saw how miserably little they received—and that, too, only until it was taken away again—for not carrying through the revolution, in comparison with what the entire Austrian working class could have gained if they, following the Russian workers, had captured power.

They could grasp only with difficulty that all this that they saw here could belong to the workers. When, however, they did grasp it, they began not only to think about it and to talk of doing the same thing in Austria, in Germany and in Switzerland as well; they began also, with true proletarian fighting instinct, to speak already of what they meant to do differently, what they meant to do better. They began to regard and to criticise what had occurred with the eyes of the proletarian owner.

Inspired and overwhelmed by the unimaginable quantity of new building work going on in the interests of the working class, they found also—particularly the building workers travelling with us (three Swiss and one Austrian)—much to find fault with as regards the quality of workmanship in some new buildings. They criticised in some buildings the unpractical lay-out of the lighting and heating plant, the inferior quality of the paints, and so on. The comrade from Upper Austria made use of his expert experience by putting forward a number of useful suggestions for rationalisation in a memorial addressed to the Building Workers' Union.

They easily understood the causes of these temporary deficiencies when they saw that, in consequence of the great amount of new building going on in the Soviet Union, on many building works scarcely no skilled building workers were working, and that hundreds of thousands of fresh workers had to be brought to the buildings from the villages—workers who naturally had not immediately the experience and ability of skilled workers.

"And at home," said one building worker to his Russian colleagues, "many even of the best expert workers are out of work. It's plain that even your deficiencies are a sign of the social superiority of the Soviet system."

"Apart from that," said another delegate, "these new buildings, whether they're well built or badly built, belong to you. What have we got, though, from the loveliest of show buildings?"

For this reason alone the delegates were inclined to "excuse"

the faults and deficiencies in the building work. They had to learn, however, that the Soviet workers are not so forgiving about their deficiencies. They were shown the latest building decree, which prescribes the strictest measures to ensure in the future that the building tempo—a tempo that the world has never known before—shall be combined with high building quality and fine appearance. The lines generally to be followed by building operations could be seen already by the delegates in the great number of remarkable completed new buildings, particularly in the Red capital city.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Eleventh Anniversary of the Coming Into Force of the Soviet Constitution

The 6th of July is celebrated every year as the day of the Soviet Constitution, the day of brotherly unity of all nationalities of the Soviet Country. The whole press published articles on the eleventh anniversary of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, which was adopted in July, 1923, at the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

The "Pravda" writes:—

"The national policy of the Soviet power achieved such brilliant results because it was based on the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin, and because it is and remains the policy of support and brotherly assistance for the formerly backward and oppressed peoples. As a result of this policy, the Soviet Union has become a real vast native country for dozens of millions of toilers. The Soviet Union has rightly won the confidence of the oppressed peoples of the whole world and become the banner of their emancipation."

The chairman of the C.E.C. of the Soviet Union, Comrade Kalinin, declared at an interview with press representatives:—

"The nature of the Soviet Constitution can be briefly characterised: the suppression of the bourgeoisie, the liquidation of capitalism and the construction of Socialism. This is the basis of the whole policy of the proletarian dictatorship and also the foundation of the Soviet Constitution. . . . The Soviet Constitution, which expresses the dictatorship of the proletariat, gives the toilers of the Soviet Union the possibility to build up and strengthen the united front of the Soviet peoples under the hegemony of the working class and to be victorious. Old Russia was one of the most backward countries in the world in regard to industry, agriculture and cultural life. The Soviet Union is winning first place in all spheres, not only in the cultural but also in the technical and economic sphere. The Party of Lenin and Stalin awakened vital and creative forces among the workers, peasants, and dozens of smaller nationalities in the Soviet Union, such as no other party than the Communist Party and no other State system than the dictatorship of the proletariat, no other power than the Soviet power could awake."

34,211 Motor Cars and 44,762 Tractors Manufactured in the First Half-Year

The chief administration of the auto and tractor industry has delivered its report on the output of this industry in the first six months of 1934. In the first six months the auto factories of the whole country produced 34,211 motor-lorries and motor-cars, i.e., 100.6 per cent. of the plan. The Stalin automobile works manufactured 9,965 motor-lorries, the Yaroslavl factory 1,235 motor-lorries, the Gorki factory 14,595 motor-lorries and 8,416 passenger cars. On an average all these factories exceeded their stipulated programme.

The Stalingrad works delivered 20,608 tractors in the first six months, the Kharkov works 20,874, and the Cheljabinsk works 3,480 tractors. Altogether 44,762 tractors were produced.

The Niva Power Works in the Arctic District

A new achievement is to be recorded in the history of the cultivation of the Arctic district of the Soviet Union. The first turbine of the Niva power works has commenced working.

The Niva power works will be of tremendous importance for the 160,000 inhabitants of the Kola Peninsula; the factories of the important industrial centre of Chibinogorsk and the chemical combine of Kandalaksha will be supplied with electrical current. The electrification of the Murman railway has now become possible.

Work on the erection of the power works on the Niva, 100 kilometres north of the Arctic circle, was commenced already in June, 1911. "Niva I" was built exclusively by young workers. Work on "Niva II" has already commenced, and work on "Niva III" will soon be started.

Largest Irrigation System of Transcaucasia Completed

The irrigation of the big Alasan valley, which has an area of 44,000 hectares, will soon be completed. This largest irrigation system of Transcaucasia extends over a length of 90 kilometres. Large tobacco plantations and vineyards will be laid out in these irrigated fields. Big stretches of barren and fruitless land will be converted into fruitful fields as a result of this irrigation work.

Collective Peasants of the Volga District Write to Comrade Stalin

The "Pravda" publishes a letter from the collective peasants of the Kamenobrodsk district (Central Volga Republic) in which they report on their brilliant achievements in irrigation work. Drought had always caused bad harvests in this district, but now the peasants have been able to create large-scale irrigation works, which was impossible for them as individual peasants. With the support of the State, 14 large and 23 small dams have been built. The collective peasants are expecting already this year a harvest yield of 15 to 20 cwts. of grain.

Commencement of Building Work on the Second Large Svir Power Works

Work has commenced on the erection of the second large hydro-electric power works on the shores of the River Svir (Leningrad district). The first power works will have four of 80,000 horse-power turbines and four of 40,000 kilowatt amperes generators, as well as two small turbines. One-and-a-half million cubic metres of ferro-concrete will be used in the erection of the power works—that is 2½ times as much as the first power works. Twenty thousand building workers and experts will be engaged on the building works. Work will be carried on under the control of Graftio, member of the Academy, the builder of the first Svir power works as well as of the Volchov power works.

Trade Union Movement

Before the Congress of the Amsterdam Miners' International

By I. B.

This year's Congress of the Amsterdam Miners' International is to be held from 6th to 9th August in Lille (North France). The International of the Miners has always been the best support of the International Federation of Unions. The policy of Herbert Smith, and later of Edwards of Great Britain, Delattre of Belgium, Husemann and Dr. Berger of Germany, Vigny of France, Stanczik of Poland, who formed the Executive Committee, was in every way similar to the anti-working-class policy of the I.F.T.U. bureaucracy.

It will be remembered that the former general secretary of the Amsterdam Miners' International, Frank Hodges, was awarded in 1928 by the British mining magnates for his faithful services with the position of a general manager with a very considerable salary. When this fact became known, the other members of the Executive declared that one could be general secretary of the Miners' International and at the same time a general manager of a capitalist mining concern. It was only because the salary which Mr. Hodges received from the mining capitalists was somewhat too high that Messrs. Husemann and Edwards declared that he could no longer retain the position of general secretary of the Miners' International, and Delattre of Belgium was appointed in his place.

The change in the general secretariat did not, however, mean any change in the policy of the Amsterdam Miners' International. On the contrary, the policy commended by Hodges was continued. Hodges was the "inventor" of the international coal agreement, of the international coal office, as well as of the international introduction of the seven-hour shift. This policy was very agreeable to the reformist miners' leaders in all countries. It supplied them with a justification for their strike-breaking activities in all countries. They declared that strikes for the realisation of the justified demands of the miners, international solidarity and support of the fight of their comrades in other countries, were no longer necessary, as all this could be settled quite peacefully with the aid of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations. The result of this policy is now clearly seen in the unprecedented fight for sales markets, the cost of which the miners have to pay with lower wages, prolonged working hours, and the disasters which have occurred in the last few months.

The reformist leaders have again placed the Coal Agreement and the international introduction of the seven-hour shift on the agenda of the International Congress to be held from 6th to 9th

of August. The Congress is again to demand of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations that a Coal Conference be summoned for the purpose of putting an end to the present anarchy and arriving at an international agreement on the coal market. This is what the Executive Committee has decided. It is clear that this is only a new manoeuvre. If a coal agreement was not arrived at in the years 1928-33, an agreement will not be concluded in 1934. This manoeuvre has been resorted to again solely in order to be able at least to justify the existence of the Amsterdam Miners' International.

The chief reason for this deceitful manoeuvre is the present pronounced radicalisation of the miners. In all countries the intensified rationalisation, the continued wage cuts and the speeding up in the pits have increased the indignation of the miners to boiling point. The wave of miners' strikes is increasing. Strikes of miners are breaking out in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Belgium and in France. In the British mining industry 287,000 working days were lost in 1932 owing to strikes, in 1933 the number of days lost was 446,000, and in the first five months of 1934 the number of strike days increased still further. The fact that it has been impossible for the Belgian mining capitalists to reduce the tariff wages of the miners, and that 6,000 to 8,000 miners in Belgium went on strike in the last week of May for increased wages, are signs of the growing militancy of the miners.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee, held after the fascists came into power in Germany, Delattre of Belgium and Vigny of France declared that there must now be an end to the policy represented in the Miners' International by Husemann and Dr. Berger, who went over to the fascists a year ago. But they soon reverted to their old policy, and their last Executive meeting and the agenda of the Lille Congress furnish fresh proof that Delattre and Vigny are following the same path as Hodges and his friends Husemann and Berger, the path that leads direct to fascism.

The Congress of the Amsterdam Miners' International in Lille, the first to be held after the events in Germany and Austria, will show the miners what path the Amsterdam leaders wish to pursue.

In the International

Plenary Session of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia

Prague, June 20, 1934.

In the middle of June there was held in Prague the plenary session of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia. The session was attended by all the elected members of the Central Committee, with the exception of two comrades who are serving prison sentences. There was only one item on the agenda: **The political situation and the tasks of the Party.**

Comrade **Gottwald** reported on the political situation and formulated the tasks confronting the Party. **The leader of trade union work** specified the tasks of the Communists in the red and reformist trade unions. **The organisation secretary** gave a report on his work and the further Bolshevik construction of the Party. All the members of the Central Committee present took part in the discussion, which revealed the complete unanimity of the Party leadership, complete agreement with the appraisal of the situation as given by the reporters and laid down in the resolution, and complete agreement with the tasks set the Party.

The resolution adopted by the Plenum of the Central Committee analyses the development of the economic crisis, the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, the development of fascism, the growing acuteness of the class struggles and of the imperialist contradictions on a national and international scale. The resolution points to the rapid approach of a fresh cycle of revolutions and wars and places in the forefront of the activity of the Party those tasks arising out of the struggle of the Party and of the Czechoslovakian working class against fascism and imperialist war and for the capture of State power. The resolution therefore stresses the importance of work in the reformist trade unions, among the social-democratic workers and in the other mass organisations led by the social democrats, and the consolidation of the Party and its Bolshevik construction. The ful-

filment of these tasks is indispensable in order to capture the majority of the working class and win the victory for the proletariat. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

The Central Committee further decided to send a telegram to Comrade Ernst Thaelmann and an appeal to all revolutionary class fighters in the prisons in Czechoslovakia.

Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.Cz.

Fiftieth Birthday of Francesco Misiano

By Willi Muenzenberg

Comrade Misiano has just celebrated his 50th birthday, and at the same time 27 years of work in the revolutionary labour movement and 12 years of activity in leading positions in the Workers' International Relief.

Comrade Misiano was born on June 26, 1884, in the neighbourhood of Naples. In the year 1907 he became a member of the socialist party of Italy. Right from the commencement of his activity he was a determined and active champion of the revolutionary wing of the party and has always remained faithful to his revolutionary position. From 1908 to 1914 he was the secretary of the Naples branch of the socialist party, secretary of the railway workers' union and secretary of the local branch of the clerks' union in Naples. He was one of the few members of the radical wing who after the outbreak of the world slaughter took up the revolutionary fight against war.

After being victimised on account of his participation in a political strike in Naples he went to Turin on behalf of his party, where he worked as secretary of the union of railway workers as well as editor of the Turin socialist paper, and displayed great activity in the fight against the imperialist war. He was arrested in 1915 and sentenced to four months' imprisonment. In 1916 he refused to go to the front, was again arrested, but escaped from prison and went to Switzerland. In Zuerich Misiano was appointed editor of the newspaper of the revolutionary socialists, secretary of the Italian socialist party of Switzerland, and administrator of the co-operative of the Italian emigrants. He participated in the general strike, spoke at hundreds of meetings of Swiss workers, and was arrested by the Swiss police on account of his revolutionary activity and then expelled from the country.

On the instructions of Lenin he was to have gone to the Murman front as editor of the Italian newspaper for the Italian soldiers, but on his way through Germany he was seized by the revolutionary wave which was sweeping the country. He supported the activity of the Spartacus League in the January days of 1919, and took part, together with some other Italian comrades, in the seizure and occupation of the "Vorwaerts" building. Here he was arrested and sentenced to ten months' imprisonment.

Meanwhile the Italian workers and his party gave expression to their confidence in him by electing him as their representative in Parliament for Turin and Naples. As a result he was released from prison in Germany and returned to Italy, where he resumed the fight for the principles of revolutionary socialism. Misiano was one of the champions of the Italian proletariat who were most hated by the bourgeoisie and in particular by Mussolini. Several attempts on his life were organised by the fascists.

In the period when the split took place in the socialist party of Italy Misiano was one of the first who took the initiative for the founding of the Communist Party of Italy and its affiliation to the Communist International. In the year 1921 he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and the loss of his parliamentary seat. The Central Committee of his Party delegated him to the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. and then to the Central Committee of the Workers' International Relief, to which he belonged since 1922.

Comrade Misiano helped to develop the W.I.R. into a firmly-welded world organisation. In the year 1924 the Central Committee of the W.I.R. decided to entrust Comrade Misiano with the management of W.I.R. undertakings in the Soviet Union. In the year 1926 he became chairman of the Artists' Council of the Meshrabpom Film Society.

Comrade Misiano, who has become well known far beyond his native Italy on account of his activity, is an exemplary comrade who has done his duty in all positions with which the revolutionary and Communist movement has entrusted him.

Twenty Years Ago

Lenin and Imperialist War

By L. M.

"War is only the continuation of politics with other means." And the first question that Lenin put after the outbreak of the world war was: What is the nature of this policy of which the world war constitute its continuation—with other means? All the socialist parties talked about "defence of the fatherland," of "freeing oppressed nations." The German social democracy declared that the war was a war against tsarism. The French, English and Belgian social democracy declared that Prussian militarism had to be destroyed. The general in command of Petrograd caused an appeal issued by Plechanov to be posted up, in which Plechanov called for the defence of the fatherland against the militarism of the Hohenzollerns.

All imperialist governments wanted to free the "oppressed nations" which were oppressed by the other enemy imperialists. It was declared that the war was a war for "democracy." Every country declared that it had been attacked. In every country it was alleged to be a question of national defence. All the governments and all socialist parties declared that this war would be the last war, that it was a war to end war. Lenin pointed out, however, that war is only a continuation of the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie, a continuation of the policy of finance-capital with other means. Lenin proved that the war was an imperialist war, a result of imperialism, a form of expression of imperialism, the logical development of imperialism itself.

Imperialism, however, is the new, the last stage of the development of capitalism. The imperialist world war meant the commencement of the general crisis of capitalism. And if the Second International adopted resolutions at Stuttgart and Basle, declaring that in the event of war it would be the duty of the working class to make use of it in order to hasten the fall of capitalist domination, then the thunder of the guns of the world war meant that the hour of the fight for the social revolution had arrived. From this there followed the strategic slogan of Bolshevism: Convert the imperialist war into civil war. That is to say, not civil peace—for a Marxist civil peace with the bourgeoisie can never come in question—but revolutionary class struggle. That means, however, not support of one's own bourgeoisie, but fight, revolutionary fight—also with other means—against one's own bourgeoisie, against one's own government.

As, however, the social revolution does not constitute one single act, as the law of inequality of development is the decisive force in the period of imperialism, the proletariat of one country can, and must, introduce the social revolution by means of revolt. Therefore, the proletariat must not wait, but must do everything in order to let loose the social revolution in its own country, to convert the imperialist war in its own country into civil war.

Trenches traversed the whole world. National hatred and chauvinism, in the interests of the bourgeoisie and with the aid of the social democracy, drove the working masses into the trenches. There could be heard only the thunder of the guns of world war. Lenin, however, heard amidst this cannon thunder the underground rumblings of the approaching revolution. The world war introduced a whole epoch of imperialist wars and civil wars, of interweaving of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions, of interweaving of proletarian revolutions and revolutionary fights for national emancipation, a whole epoch of forcible solutions of crises.

The 4th of August meant, however, also a leap in the development of the workers' movement. Opportunist, reformist quality became social-chauvinist, social-imperialist quality. Opportunism, reformism grew into social-chauvinism, into social-imperialism. And practically all parties of the Second International, with the exception of the Bolsheviks, succumbed to chauvinism. Lenin saw in the policy of civil peace the logical continuation of opportunism. That meant, however, that the Second International, corroded and disintegrated by opportunism, was bankrupt. Hence the slogan of the Bolsheviks: Never with the Second International! Long live the Third International!

Already in 1905 Lenin's sensitive ears heard in the discussions between the reformists and the Marxists the sound of battle between the Gironde and the Mountain. Already at that time he predicted that the fight between the Gironde and the Mountain in

the Labour movement would be decided in the last resort by force of arms. Already then he heard in the theoretical discussions the noise of battle of the future civil war. Already at that time he prophesied that the Gironde of the Labour movement would be on the other side of the barricade, on the side of the bourgeoisie. And now the hour of decision approached, which was also the hour of decision between opportunism and revolutionary Marxism.

This meant, however, not only a fight, the most ruthless fight against open chauvinism, which openly stands in the camp of its own bourgeoisie. It meant for Lenin the most ruthless fight also against centrism, against Kautsky, Trotsky and Martov, who with their policy screened the social-chauvinists, did not wish to accomplish a political and organisational breach with them, demoralised the revolutionary proletariat with pacifist illusions, rejected the slogan of conversion of imperialist war into civil war, did not recognise the bankruptcy of the Second International and—willingly or unwillingly—supported the bourgeois governments in that they did not wish to break finally with social-imperialism.

That meant for Lenin, however, the sharpest criticism, comradesly, but nevertheless sharp criticism of the mistakes, the faults, the inconsistency and half-heartedness of the Lefts, who failed to understand that the hour had come for an organised break with opportunism. That also meant for Lenin the fight on two fronts in his own Party, the fight against the Right and against the Left in the appraisal of war, in the national question, in the appraisal of opportunism, in the theory of the State, in all fundamental questions of Marxism, which at the same time are fundamental questions of the revolution.

That meant for Lenin, however, the fight for the purity of Marxist theory, for its extension and development, for its application in the period of imperialism. Amidst the noise of battle Lenin worked out the theory of imperialism. He worked at developing Marxist teachings, Marxist theory and tactics in the national question; he developed the Marxist theory of the State and also found time to study Hegel again in order to be able further to develop dialectical materialism and to overcome Plechanov's errors, Bogdanov's distortions and Bucharin's deviations.

"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice." And Lenin forged the theoretical weapon, the weapon of criticism of imperialism, which then rendered it possible to carry out the overthrow of imperialism by means of weapons.

The pitiable figures of the Second International who served their own governments as Munition Ministers and war propagandists sneered at him. He was isolated, he was a fanatic, a dreamer, a disrupter, they declared. The Centrists scorned him. He does not understand, they declared, that the International is only an instrument of peace. He is swimming against the stream. And indeed Lenin did swim against the stream and thus secured the October victory of the Russian proletariat.

"For King and Country"

By Nemo

The Entente Powers went to war ostensibly in order to free all oppressed peoples. The Central Powers went to war in order to obtain "a place in the sun." The working class, which in view of the resolutions adopted by the Second International at the Stuttgart and Basle Congresses hoped that, in case of need, these decisions would be followed by deeds, were betrayed by the Second International. Only the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, the Spartacus League in Germany, founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and a few other groups upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism and rallied the masses for the fight against imperialist war and for the founding of a new International, filled with a revolutionary spirit.

The first world war lasted from August 2, 1914, to November 11, 1918—1,565 days. And when the war was at an end, humanity drew up the following balance-sheet:—

The losses of the armies in the world war:

Armies	Killed	Wounded	Invalids
French	1,550,000	3,100,000	300,000
British	725,000	2,050,000	350,000
German	1,335,000	4,215,000	600,000
Russian	700,000	2,750,000	410,000
Losses of all the belligerent States	9,000,000	20,000,000	5,000,000

Decrease of population as an immediate result of the world war:	
Population at the end of 1913	400,850,000
Probable number of population under normal conditions	424,480,000
Actual number of the population in 1919	389,030,000
Total loss as a result of the war	9,829,000

In the ten European States alone the population decreased by 35 million during the war. The world war took toll of as many victims from the civil population as from the soldiers at the front. Millions died from famine and mass epidemics. No less than 70 million were mobilised during the world war, of whom 10 million were killed, 20 million wounded, five million crippled, and another five million were missing. According to the calculations of the American Professor Langsam, twice as many people were killed during the world war as during all the wars from 1790 to 1913, including the Napoleon wars, the Crimea war, the Danish war of 1864, the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, the civil war in America, the Franco-German war of 1870-71, the Boer war, the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 and the two Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913. If all the dead in the world war were buried in separate graves they would fill a cemetery 100 square kilometres in extent.

Seventy million people were withdrawn from the process of production during the world war, and those who could work were engaged in the manufacture of instruments of destruction. The following arms were manufactured during the world war:—

Country	Guns	Rifles	Acoplanes	Tanks
France	21,000	88,000	51,000	3,200
Great Britain	27,000	24,000	55,000	2,818
Italy	10,000	37,000	—	—
Russia	17,860	24,477	3,000	—

For the manufacture of these enormous quantities of war material during the years 1917 and 1918, the following number of workers were withdrawn from normal production: In France 1.8 million, Great Britain 2 million, and U.S.A. 1.2 million. The German army alone used a total of 286 million guns, to the value of 24,000 million marks.

The devastation caused by the world war was so enormous that nobody up to now has been able to furnish correct data regarding it. Thus, for instance, in Northern France 290,000 dwelling houses were destroyed, 500,000 buildings, 65,000 kilometres of high roads, 22,160 factories, and 9,700 railway bridges. This is only the result of the world war in one country; these figures would be enormously swelled if we added the number of devastated dwellings, etc., in Belgium, Russia, the Balkans and the Near East.

In the first three years of the world war expenditure amounted to 123 million gold dollars a day; in the year 1918 the expenditure had risen to 224 million a day, i.e., every hour 10 million dollars were blown into the air. The sum directly expended on the war is calculated at no less than 186,000 million dollars, the indirect war expenditure at 337,000 million dollars.

The war not only swallowed up the whole national income of the most important belligerent countries, but also a considerable portion of their national wealth, as is to be seen from the following table:—

In thousand million dollars:

	National Wealth	National Income	Direct War Expenditure Total	Annual Average
Great Britain	70.5	11.0	33.4	7.7
France	58.5	6.0	31.3	7.2
Germany	80.5	10.5	46.3	16.8
Austria-Hungary	40.0	3.8	24.8	5.7
Russia	60.0	6.5	—	7.6
Eleven of the important belligerent countries	567.0	80.8	249.4	57.5

The direct war expenditure swallowed up the whole national income of the belligerent countries. In addition, the damage to private property amounted to 30,000 million dollars; the neutral States recorded a loss of 6,800 million dollars, the loss caused by the destruction of human life was calculated at 30,000 million dollars, and the loss caused by the diminution of normal production at 45,000 million dollars. It is no wonder therefore that world economy did not regain the pre-war level until 1925-26. The capitalist economic system was so shaken that it could not emerge from the crises, and actually declined to the level of last century.

The first world war left five million widows and ten million orphans. Europe was completely exhausted and bloodless in November, 1918, when "peace" was restored. Europe resembled a

heap of ruins, drenched with human blood. Toiling humanity had experienced a blood-letting unexampled in history. Europe had been converted into a human slaughter-house for the sake of "King and country."

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Outbreak of the War in the Light of Mass Struggle Against War and Fascism

By C. Ulrich

The masses of the people in the capitalist countries are reacting against the war preparations of the imperialists with a sensitiveness hitherto unknown. The reason for this lies in the fact that the nearness and horror of war are more clearly to be seen than ever before.

On the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of war the capitalist world is armed to the teeth. The war budgets swallow up fantastic sums, which are squeezed by dictatorial methods out of the masses of small tax payers, State officials, people with small means, and workers. A huge, disgusting, chauvinist drive is developed through the press, the film, the school, national remembrance days and all other methods of bourgeois propaganda.

The Soviet Union is the powerful opponent of the imperialist madness of working up to a new world war. The toiling masses of the whole world follow the fight of the Soviet Union for peace as their own cause, they develop more and more the will to resist, and by their growing action are making those guilty of preparations for war understand that they support the policy of the Soviet Union, which is nothing else than proletarian internationalism.

The propaganda of the **World Committee Movement Against Imperialist War and Fascism**, which gathers together all currents inside the working class and the middle classes, who reject war and fight fascism, is showing valuable results in all countries.

Mass action of unusual spirit is growing in all countries against fascism and for the freeing of Thaelmann. The World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism has proposed to the national committees to organise powerful mass demonstrations against war and fascism in all countries during the week July 29th—August 5th. In spite of the very obvious weakness of some important national committees in the question of action against war, there are signs that in the campaign for the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of war, proletarian internationalism against war is making great advances in all countries and will deal the chauvinist drive a severe blow.

The National Committee in Great Britain is organising great mass demonstrations throughout the country. At the same time a mass congress of the youth is taking place in Sheffield, which is accompanied by the support of the broadest strata of the working youth of Great Britain.

The French National Committee is developing a campaign of united action with all Left organisations of the workers for the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of war. For two weeks throughout the country, and above all in Paris, mass demonstrations are being held against imperialist war. The Canadian National Committee is preparing a great demonstration for the 4th of August, which is to be an answer to anticipated military manoeuvres. In Spain, Czechoslovakia, in Greece, in Switzerland and in a number of other countries, the national committees, supported by masses of social-democratic workers, are taking measures for coming out into the streets during the week 29th July—August 5th, by the masses of opponents of war and anti-fascists.

Boycott of Japanese ships and the ships of the swastika! This is the leading slogan of action of the campaign.

On the 5th of August, in Saarbrücken, there will be held a great international youth demonstration for the support of the heroic fight of the population of the Saar against Hitler fascism, and will be supported by the adult working class. Thousands will be present from France, with delegates from factories in Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany.

Within the framework of the campaign for the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of war, the preparation and carrying through of the **World Congress of Women Against Imperialist War and Fascism**, which is convened on the 4th and 5th of August in Paris, takes the most important place. Parallel with the preparation for this, there is the campaign for the carrying through of the **Brussels Congress of War Victims** and the **International Meet of the Worker Sportsmen in Paris**.

The World Congress of Women is developing a great mass movement of working women against war and fascism in all countries, even in those farthest from Europe. In more than thirty countries already hundreds of women's committees have been formed. Among the delegates there are: striking textile working women from Verviers, in Belgium; employees of the underground of Madrid; tobacco working women from Greece; women teachers and students; peasants and women intellectuals from different countries, more than a thousand delegates will be gathered together in Paris, among them representatives of the fascist countries, women from North and South America, from the French colonies, from the Far East, in order to decide on measures for the fight of toiling women against war and fascism.

The campaign for the World Congress of Women has been welcomed with particular enthusiasm by women who belong to the social-democratic parties. Not only rank and file members, but also leading women functionaries of these parties have joined up with the Congress. Hardly had the establishment of the fighting unity of the masses of women begun than the Executive of the Second International could not help using its well-known splitting tactics, by warning the adherents of social democracy, in the name of discipline, from taking part in the Congress. The movement among social-democratic women is, however, strong enough to prevent this resolution from having the effect that its proposers would like. The women's committees in the countries are seeing to it that this attempt on the part of the Second International to split the movement for the Congress is opposed.

The leaders of social democracy are to-day, even more than twenty years ago, determined to take part in the coming new world carnage on the side of their bourgeoisie.

But the masses of the whole world to-day, not as before 1914, are calling: We do not want war, we will oppose the criminals, the war-mongers, with all force up to the final victory over imperialism and over the most recent form of its domination in its decline, fascism!

All revolutionary opponents of war must now, as quickly as possible, turn this fighting will of the masses into a real force through the organisation of fighting action against imperialist war and against fascism, for which the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of war must be the first great signal.

In the Camp of Social Democracy

The S.P. of the United States Goes "Left"

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

In the midst of one of the greatest strike waves in years, with attacks on the working class, intensifying and war preparations being speeded up at a terrific pace, the 18th Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States suddenly went "Left." The reactionaries of the type of the late Hillquit were ousted from power, but Norman Thomas and the conglomeration of overnight radicals who replaced them are equally dangerous.

The Convention was held at Detroit from June 1 to June 3, attended by 156 delegates and 53 alternates; among them were few workers, so well-dressed and well-fed did they look. They were mainly higher party functionaries and trade union officials, business men and professionals; only two delegates were Negroes, both intellectuals. The membership claimed was 22,860, as compared with 20,655 in January, 1933, and 15,330 in 1932. There were three main groupings in the Convention, consisting of many more groups. The reactionaries or old guard were led by Waldman, Panken, Oneal and Soloman, and included such semi-fascists as Sharts, Ohio State chairman. The "Militants," led by Prof. Krueger, Kantorovich and Beimler, recruited unto themselves all the rats who left the sinking ship of the old guard: Thomas, Krzycki, Hoan, Graham, etc. Recently, they had lost their outstanding leaders, Upton Sinclair and Blanshard, to the democratic and republican parties.

The *Revolutionary Policy Committee* (R.P.C.) was a group largely composed of petty-bourgeois and intellectuals, under the influence of the Lovestoneite renegades and endorsed by the Trotskyites. (Lovestone is now regularly invited to participate in S.P. events, such as May First, League for Industrial Democracy conferences, etc.) Its programme, signed by 80 active Party members, calls for the united front and the proletarian dictatorship, but does not mention Soviets, the destruction of the capitalist state, etc. One of their leaders and chief advocates of the united front is J. B.

Mathews, ex-chairman of the Left-wing American League Against War and Fascism, who left the League when threatened with expulsion from the S.P. They favour collaboration with the A.F.L., attempting to reform the Second International, and attack the C.P. and C.I.

The keynote speech was made by the National chairman, Krzycki, who spoke of disillusionment with the N.R.A. and New Deal, but urged no struggle against it; he made no reference to the increasing war preparations and growing menace of fascism. The real keynote speech was made by Max Winter, ex-vice-mayor of Vienna, who attacked the U.S.S.R., grouping it with the fascist countries and defended the treachery of the Austrian social democrats.

The new N.E.C. of 11 members consists of eight Militants, two "Left"-wingers, and one of the reactionaries. Krzycki was re-elected chairman by a deal between the Militants and Old Guard; Thomas was nominated by the latter and, declining, left Krzycki the only candidate.

The bitterest struggle in the Convention was on the new *Declaration of Principles* forced through by the Militants and R.P.C. The opening day, the first resolution to come up was one on international unity, sponsored by the Militants and presenting the same position as taken by the minority at the Paris Congress of the Second International. It was defeated by 8,344 to 7,831, though exactly the features objected to by the reactionaries were in the Declaration later adopted by a large majority (10,823 to 6,512).

The core of the Declaration of Principles, as adopted, reads: "If the capitalist system should collapse in general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the socialist party, whether or not in such case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organising the government under the workers' rule."

The reactionaries, led by Waldman, attacked this Declaration bitterly, calling it "... the end of the S.P. ... an anarchistic, illegal, Communist doctrine. ..."

The Declaration affirms the faith of the S.P. in democracy, hopes to achieve power by "peaceful and orderly means" (not by majority vote), but if fascism refuses to respect its mandate, the S.P. "will not hesitate to crush by our labour solidarity (!) the reckless forces of reaction and to consolidate the socialist state."

Another moot point in the Declaration was the attitude toward the war danger. It called for massed resistance through a general strike to prevent war and to win a victory for socialism. Thomas supplemented this by the following interpretation: "The only way to prevent (!) war is to let the masters of the world know that the sentiments we express are the sentiments of the masses." He would probably let them know by registered letter. He wishes to forget that in the last war the masses in the U.S. let the capitalists know of their opposition to war by refusing to volunteer, and that the answer was to draft them. Thomas goes on: "By educating the masses to uncompromising opposition to war we shall do more than in any other way to make war impossible. ... We will not fight, you lords and masters of the world." This combination of pacifism and demagogy is typical of this liberal. Throughout the Convention all groups talked of *educating*, but seldom of organising, the workers.

The Old Guard opposed the Declaration, despite its milk-and-water confusion, with threats of splitting, charges of illegality, etc. They formulated all the arguments the government could wish to have, saying that under the declaration members could dynamite munition plants and the party must support them, would commit treason, would favour the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the like. Among the supporters of the Declaration was Allen, who declared himself a pacifist.

The Congressional Election Programme adopted is centred on "establishing the co-operative commonwealth." There is the usual vague talk of establishing a new order and abolishing capitalism, but nowhere is there a word as to *how*.

The resolution on the N.R.A. attacked the New Deal severely, reversing the earlier position of considering it a "step toward socialism." A section criticising the A.F.L. merely for its "obsolete ideology" was deleted; there was no word about its class collaboration, racketeering, and gangsterism. Even this weak criticism was attacked by the reactionaries and by Militant Krzycki. The Resolutions Committee, completely controlled by Militants, withdrew it unanimously; Thomas refused to speak on this issue when given the floor.

The Resolutions Committee adopted a resolution on inter-

national unity, denouncing the Communists and favouring unity only if agreed on by the C.I. and Second International; it never reached the floor. Other important resolutions, such as those on the U.S.S.R., fascism, Scottsboro and Mooney, were also buried by referring them to the incoming N.E.C. Unemployment insurance and relief were not touched, nor were other burning questions, such as the great wave of strikes and the murderous terror of the government against all attempts of the workers to organise and win improved conditions.

On the Negro question the Convention was equally reactionary. Of the two delegates who were Negroes, one (Crosswaith) received the lowest vote of 19 candidates for the N.E.C. and was defeated. A conference on the Negro question upheld their segregation into separate S.P. locals in the South, and refused to permit discussions of Scottsboro. No programme for Negro work was worked out, only a motion being passed that the N.E.C. have a sub-committee to carry on educational work on the subject. Other conferences were held on unemployment and women's work, again, as in the Negro conference, with no party leaders present.

After the Convention, the N.E.C. referred the Declaration of Principles to a referendum. The reactionaries have set up practically another organisation which is waging a bitter fight to reverse the Convention decision. The Declaration has also been referred to a committee of lawyers to study it in connection with legal conditions in the various states, and it will doubtless be completely castrated.

The C.P. had issued a call to the S.P. in March for a united front against war and fascism, but the S.P. leaders had sabotaged it. Before the Convention a united front call was again issued, but it was kept off the floor. Since the betrayal by all factions, many honest elements have publicly quit and joined the C.P. These include a Buffalo organiser, a former national organiser of the Socialist Youth, a member of the California State Executive, the editor of an S.P. paper in Hartford and Youth organiser, five leading workers in New Bradford, and others.

Proletarian Mass Organisations

The Convention of the Cuban I.R.A.

By William L. Patterson (New York)

On May 16 and 17 the First National Convention of the Defence Obrera Internacional (D.O.I.) of Cuba took place. The sessions were secretly held in Havana, the D.O.I. being outlawed by the so-called liberal Mendieta regime. The Convention made a complete review of the political and organisational position of D.O.I. Ninety-one delegates were present, representing every province in the country, most of its basic industries, the intellectuals, Negro masses. Eighty of the delegates were men and eleven were women; seventy-three white, sixteen Negro, and two Chinese.

The fact that sixty-five of the delegates were members of the Communist Party of Cuba and of the Y.C.L. definitely stamps the Convention as narrow. This narrowness was reflected in the composition of the leading cadres, the greater percentage of whom were intellectuals. The composition of the Convention also reflects the weaknesses of the preparatory work. This was largely due to the loss of contact with the masses after D.O.I. had led great struggles of the masses against the Cespedes regime and, in the early days of the Grau San Martín administration, had led the mass struggle in opposition to it. Despite these weaknesses in preparation, which were recognised by our comrades under the conditions of extreme illegality and of the sharp terror, the presence of 26 non-Party members, coming as they did from basic organisations, is evidence of the deep-going influence of D.O.I.

The presence of Comrade William L. Patterson, National Secretary of the American Section of the International Red Aid, and a representative of the Mexican Section of the International Red Aid, were concrete expressions of the international working-class solidarity now being developed in the Americas.

The return of Grau San Martín from exile in Mexico occurred only two days before the Convention opened. This event was of tremendous significance to the Convention and was correctly

analysed but not sufficiently dealt with. Grau had been driven from Cuba when American imperialism viewed this step as the best possible one to check the revolutionary upsurge of the masses and the growing student movement. Driving him out, however, left no crystallised "opposition" to Mendieta under the control of a pawn of Wall Street. The danger was that the inability of Mendieta to acquire any influence over the masses offered a more favourable opportunity to the revolutionary organisations to operate. The very fact that they had been driven underground would create sympathy for them, even though it militated against their freedom of action.

The report dealt at length with the defence activities of D.O.I. It was upon the basis of this analysis of its achievements within the period of the last year that a thorough-going examination of the shortcomings was made. From the analysis of its achievements, which were unquestionably the result of the correct application of the line laid down by the E.C. of the I.R.A. for our Cuban comrades, they were able definitely to disclose the basic character of our weaknesses and the causes for this. At the same time the question of the necessary remedial measures were correctly approached.

The early stages of the discussion in the Convention brought out clearly the various conceptions held even by leading comrades of the role and the tasks of D.O.I. Some of the leading cadres in the Communist Party and some of the leading Communist elements who were working in D.O.I., overcome by the tremendous difficulties confronting an illegal Party, were for placing the burden of carrying the Communist programme forward upon D.O.I., rather than aiding D.O.I. to develop the necessary campaign to give the Communist Party again a legal status. The fight for the legality of the Party of the working class is a struggle for workers' rights, a struggle for democracy.

The Convention brought out clearly one of the basic fallacies of this conception of the role and tasks of D.O.I. Comrade Patterson, speaking on this question, carefully analysed the social composition of the Party of the working class and that of D.O.I., and showed the absolute impossibility of expecting an organisation such as is D.O.I. to carry out the tasks of the Party.

The Convention worked out a programme to meet the unbridled terror against the Communist Party, the revolutionary trade unions, the Negro masses, the unemployed workers, and also to win the great mass of workers under the influence of the reformist organisations.

A new National Executive Committee of 21 members was elected. Six of these were Negroes, one a Chinese. This is the first time in the history of D.O.I. that Negro workers have been placed upon the Executive Committee. The discussion around the Negro question brought out the tremendous weaknesses of D.O.I. on this field.

Approximately 35 per cent. of the Cuban population is Negro. The exploiters have divided this mass within itself, giving to the Mulatto certain privileges denied the blacks, and pitting one against the other. In the province of Oriente the Negro population constitutes approximately 90 per cent. of the whole. There is the Cuban black belt, the homeland of the oppressed Negro nation of Cuba. The existence of democratic rights to these people means in the last analysis the granting to them of the right of self-determination. D.O.I. endorsed the demands launched by the Party of the working class for the right of self-determination for this group. It accepted the slogan of full social, political and economic equality for Negroes as its own.

The presence of six Negro comrades on the leading committee of D.O.I. will strengthen its influence among the Negro masses. The development of campaigns around the vicious discrimination and segregation of which they are the victims will draw these masses as by a magnet into the ranks of D.O.I.

But the First Congress of D.O.I. also had its tremendously important lessons for the sections of the I.R.A. in the United States of America and Canada. The high political level attained by the Cuban workers, the tremendous revolutionary possibilities opening before them, cannot help but give impetus to the revolutionary movement in the United States.

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