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## CORRESPONDENCE

## CONTENTS

<b>Politics</b>	<b>Against Imperialist War</b>
Aodh MacManus: The "Boycott British Goods" Movement in the Irish Free State .. .. . 935	Tom Bell: The Aero-Naval Manoeuvres in England .. .. 948
<b>Germany</b>	The Revolutionary Movement in Paraguay Growing in the Fight against War .. .. . 949
Letters from Berlin: I. "Provision of Work" Quietly Dropped .. .. . 936	<b>Proletarian Youth Movement</b>
Fritz Heckert: Revolutionary Agitation and Propaganda in Fascist Germany .. .. . 936	World Congress against War and Fascism .. .. . 949
Declaration of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany on the Leipzig Reichstag Arson and Communist Trial .. .. 938	<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union</b>
The Proceedings at the Leipzig Trial .. .. . 939	L. F. Boross: The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity .. .. . 951
<b>China</b>	The Week in the Soviet Union .. .. . 952
Tai-Dan-Chen: The Struggle of the Chinese Proletariat .. 945	<b>In the International</b>
<b>India</b>	Communist International's Reply to the I.L.P... .. 953
V. Basak: The Present Situation in India (Continued) .. 946	<b>Obituary</b>
	Comrade Max Hölz .. .. . 955
	<b>Book Review</b>
	Louis Colman: Sacco-Vanzetti Lawyer Reveals his Betrayal 958

## The Leipzig Trial Accused Become Accusers

Increase the International Protest Campaign to Save Thaelmann, Dimitrov, Torgler and Comrades

The Leipzig trial, one of the most cynical legal comedies of modern times, began on the 21st September before the Supreme German Court. It is a process against the Communist Party, against the whole revolutionary working-class movement in Germany.

The very first days of the proceedings left no doubt in the minds of the class-conscious workers of the world concerning the class character of the tragi-comedy being staged in Leipzig. The "witnesses" who appeared for the prosecution were too obviously the instructed agents of the Public Prosecutor. No representatives of the press of the Soviet Union are permitted to enter the court. The representatives of the other foreign newspapers have been given an unmistakable lesson concerning how "objective" their reports must be. There are no foreign lawyers permitted to act at the trial. The officially appointed "defending lawyers" are the assistants of the Public Prosecutor. The only "chosen defender," Dr. Sack, organiser of a fascist free corps in 1919, Kapp Minister in 1920, and at heart a National Socialist to-day, has declared the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany to be composed of swindlers and double-crossers. From the beginning of the proceedings this Dr. Sack has done his best to put on the mask of an "independent" lawyer for the defence. He has not been successful in this, for the very first days of the trial revealed him for what he is, the assistant of the prosecution.

It could easily be seen that the main point of the indictment would be that van der Lubbe was a Communist and that he had

maintained close connections with the leaders of the Communist Party up to the 27th February, and that the whole stage management of the trial would concentrate on proving this point. For two days the President of Hitler's court did his best to "elucidate" these "facts." "Are you a Communist?" he asked van der Lubbe. "You gave yourself out to be a Communist." However, van der Lubbe maintained that which was proved conclusively by the counter-trial in London, namely, that van der Lubbe parted company with the Dutch Communist Party between 1928 and 1931. The "upright and just" judge then had the insolence to declare that this more or less compulsory resignation from the Communist Party was certainly a manoeuvre. Did the Communists plan the burning down of the Reichstag in 1928 to take place in 1933 and therefore part company for tactical reasons with van der Lubbe? "Consider the matter again until to-morrow," ordered the President threateningly. When the next day came and the obstinate sinner van der Lubbe had still not "reconsidered" the matter properly his examination was temporarily abandoned.

Why did the stage management of the trial which has been carefully rehearsed for months break down at the critical moment? The foreign press representatives write: "Van der Lubbe is either an almost incredibly clever actor, or he is half-witted." If the representatives of the Nazified German press dared to write that they would be carried off to a concentration camp immediately. The mental specialist Dr. Bonhoefer, brought into court as an expert by the Nazis, declared insolently and under oath that whilst

examining van der Lubbe he had been able to discover "no factor which indicated any mental derangement". It would indeed be an unfortunate business if a mental expert of Hitler Germany went into the witness-box and gave evidence to the effect that the instrument and crown witness chosen by Hitler and Goering for their criminal provocation against the Communist Party was in fact a congenital idiot. The "defending counsel" Dr. Sack naturally made no attempt to demand the examination of van der Lubbe by foreign mental experts.

The failure of the carefully rehearsed stage management with regard to van der Lubbe seriously damaged the "authority" of the court, but the examination of the accused revolutionary working-class leaders dealt the indictment the first smashing blows. **The accused working-class leaders Torgler and Dimitrov became accusers. Their fearless indictment of the fascist judges and their unshakable loyalty to Communism acted like a breath of fresh air in the fetid atmosphere of venality, corruption and farce which pervaded the court and had its centre on the judges' bench. Dimitrov declared boldly in the face of the judges: "I am here to defend Communism." And Torgler passionately refuted the foul accusations made against himself and the Communist Party. The accused Communists were intimidated neither by the threat of death nor hard labour, and they raised the banner of the revolutionary class struggle, the banner of Communism in the fascist court.**

**The heroic attitude of the Communist accused gave the character to the first days of the Leipzig proceedings.** However, the fact that the proceedings have begun so unfavourably for those who staged them does not mean that the danger to the lives of our comrades has in any way been lessened. To assume the contrary would be to harbour a dangerous illusion, for the brown minister camarilla which organised the burning of the Reichstag and which has staged this trial is well aware that very much is at stake. The representative of the English "News Chronicle" at the trial writes:—

"Every German knows that it is not the accused alone who are on trial. The prestige of the Nazis is also on trial. The good faith of the German government is on trial. The prosecution is straining every nerve to prove that the accused were responsible for the burning of the Reichstag and not the National Socialist leaders, for the latter alternative would represent a terrible accusation against a party in whose hands the leadership of a great country is now held."

But it is not the foreign political prestige of the fascist adventurers, already on its last legs, which is threatened at the Leipzig trial. Outside the doors of the Leipzig court there is the more and more threatening internal situation of the country. We must not forget that the arson of the 27th February was not merely a link in the chain of terrorist acts of fascism against the proletarian revolution, but that it was also the culminating point of the fascist campaign of demagogy to deceive the German masses. By throwing the lighted torch into the Reichstag building, Hitler and his cronies poisoned the minds of millions of petty-bourgeois and even of the more backward sections of the working class in order to whip them up into a pitch of murderous hatred against the Communists and the revolutionary workers. Emancipation from their own impoverishment and misery seemed identical with the extermination of the "Communist fire-raisers," and the systematic campaign of bloody terror organised by the Nazi bands against the Communists, the torture cellars of the Storm Troop barracks, etc., seemed to them to be the merited punishment for the "Communist sub-humans," for the "Moscow terrorists" who had fired the Reichstag and who would, if left alone, poison the wells and murder women and children. "It is the undying service of the national government that it prevented this chaos. It is the holy duty of the Government towards the German people to exterminate physically the red traitors to their country."

That was the tune struck up by the swastika swindlers on the day after the burning of the Reichstag, when Hitler and Goering published the following official communiqué: "This crime of arson is the most fearful crime yet committed in Germany by the Bolshevik terror. . . . The government demands from the appointed guardians of the security of Prussia that they should take stern action in accordance with their duty to the German people, and that in this moment of danger they should maintain the authority of the State at all costs."

If the Leipzig indictment should collapse the Hitler government would stand exposed as the band of fire-raisers and swindlers, of murderers and adventurers it really is. Such an exposure would rock the whole fabric of Nazi lies in which millions of petty-bourgeois still believe to-day. The "reasons" the Hitler government offers for the murder of revolutionary anti-fascists, with which it is preparing the monster process against the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, **Ernst Thaelmann**, its lying swindle of "provision of work," "planned economy," "national commonwealth," would all be exposed and the faith of those who still offer the Hitler government a mass basis would be shaken beyond repair.

The aim of the Leipzig trial is not merely to bring Communist leaders into jail or on to the scaffold, but, above all, to clear the Hitler government of the charge of having fired the Reichstag. It is not merely a question of covering up the past, but of preparing new murders and provocations for the future. It is therefore clear that the Leipzig trial must end with the conviction of the accused Communists as "accessories" to the Reichstag fire.

It is clear that all means from perjury to murder will be adopted if necessary by Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and their servants the judges and lawyers in Leipzig in order to force the tragedy to a satisfactory conclusion. The Leipzig trial is not an attempt to discover the truth, to discover the real criminals; it is a carefully prepared and detailed class process organised by the capitalists and their brown agents, the German fascists, against the only anti-capitalist party in Germany, the Communist Party. Replace the crucifix in the courtroom with the axe of the executioner, put executioners on the bench instead of judges, put the executioner's assistants in the place of the lawyers, and at last you have a true picture of the trial, the truth without a mask, the process without the accompanying legal decorations of "objective justice."

Only the agents of Hitler can attempt to deny the class content of this process. Only people who wish to hamper the growing solidarity action of the international proletariat can write:—

"The President of the Leipzig court, Dr. Buenger, must not be judged by the fact that he has rejected the demand of the accused to be defended by foreign lawyers. . . . It is to be hoped that in this difficult process Dr. Buenger will follow only the voice of justice. If Buenger would really do this, then there would be no need to worry about the fate of the accused."

The press organ which published the above and in harmony with the Nazified press of the German Propaganda Ministry assumes that the President of the Leipzig farce could "follow only the voice of justice," bears the title "**Deutsche Freiheit**" ("German Freedom") and is the official organ of the social democracy in the Saar district. At about the same time the "**Voelkischer Beobachter**," Hitler's personal mouthpiece, published the following as a fascist contribution to assist Dr. Buenger to "follow only the voice of justice":—

"I know those faces. It was such faces that Liaptcheff showed me on photographs shortly after the bomb outrage in the Sofia cathedral. Most of these people were summarily hanged at the time. These men who are now in the dock at Leipzig still live."

They "still live." One need not worry about the fate of the accused. The leaders of the Second International are loyal to the capitalist law-breakers and perverters of justice right up to the scaffold when Communist heads are at stake.

The brown bandits cannot and will not leave any means untied in order to force their comedy of justice through to a satisfactory conclusion. **The only power which can save the victims of fascism from the scaffold is the power of proletarian internationalism.** Intensify the action of solidarity in Germany and outside its frontiers. Connect up the daily struggle in Germany against the fascist wage-cutters and the introducers of forced labour with the political struggle for the release of all the imprisoned anti-fascist workers, to save the revolutionary anti-fascist fighters from the scaffold, to save **Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev**. Overwhelm the fascist court with indignant protests. Overwhelm the fascist consulates abroad with protest resolutions. Turn the weapon of protest and mass strikes against the perverters of justice, against the bloody fascist dictatorship and its agents on the judicial bench in Leipzig.

## Politics

### The "Boycott British Goods" Movement in the Irish Free State

By Aodh Mac Manus (Dublin)

The "Boycott British" struggle is intensifying in the Irish Free State. Wholesale raids on beer houses selling English ale have occurred not only in Dublin, but in almost every part of Southern Ireland. In most cases supplies of Bass ale were destroyed and advertising material relating thereto seized or defaced. Over a score of arrests have taken place in connection with this struggle; the Fianna Fáil Government is openly warning militant Republicans that the movement will be ruthlessly dealt with; while republican workers demonstrating outside Dublin courts in sympathy with their comrades on trial have been batoned down by de Valera's police and dragged into the dock for daring to invade the sanctity of His Majesty's Free State law.

In this situation it is imperative that the Irish Communists appraise correctly the boycott struggle and make clear to the working masses their attitude towards it.

The boycott movement commenced in the summer of 1932, when British imperialism's economic strangulation of Ireland was beginning to be sharply felt. The movement was inaugurated by the setting up of a Boycott British League, composed largely of representatives of militant republican organisations. No attempt was made to widen the League on a really mass basis, and no reformist Labour or Trade Union body was affiliated, although the Revolutionary Workers' Groups (now the Communist Party of Ireland) had a representative on the Executive Committee and from the outset participated actively in the movement. The League achieved little result; its chief activities were the issuing of circulars, the holding of a big mass meeting in Dublin, and the visiting of publicans with a request that they no longer stock Bass' ale (Colonel Gretton, head of the firm of Bass, was alleged to have said that the Irish should be exterminated; this and the claim that it was better to concentrate on one sphere and deal with it properly led to the confinement of the boycott to the one article). Eventually it became obvious even to the promoters of the League that something was lacking, and like the Arabs it folded its tents and stole silently away.

It is clear that the idea of a boycott of English goods by the Irish people is petty bourgeois in its class roots. It is the method of fighting Britain which springs to the mind of the shopkeeper and the small manufacturer, as combining patriotism with profit. In India, for instance, it is seen to be blatantly a policy of the Indian bourgeoisie, who, so far from using the boycott against Britain, turned it to their own mercenary class advantage and against any serious struggle by the Indian masses. The boycott is not a weapon of the working class. It can in no way lead to a fundamental challenge to British imperialism in Ireland. But does this mean that we oppose the boycott movement and isolate ourselves from it? No. Our task is to deepen and extend the struggle, at the same time pointing out to the Irish masses its weaknesses and deficiencies.

The boycott struggle presents many different features from last year. True it commenced just when the strongest united front struggle was necessary against the Fascist Blue Shirts, and therefore may have served some people as a diversion from the pressing question of anti-fascist mass activity, but the fact remains that the boycott fight has risen to new heights.

The struggle is still being confined mainly to Bass' ale, but measures on a much wider scale have been taken. The consternation of the de Valera government at this new boycott upsurge may be judged from the *Irish Press*, the government organ, which after the first Dublin raids asked angrily in an editorial: "What agent-provocateur has done this?" Immediately afterwards there followed arrests in several parts of the country, including Dublin, Cork, Drogheda and Tralee. In Kerry the police were insufficient to hold back the republican workers who demonstrated at the court house during the trial, and a cordon of troops had to be stationed outside with fixed bayonets. In Dublin, on September 8, the court was thrown into turmoil. The *Irish Independent* of September 9 reports the scenes as follows:

"Some of the young men carried banners with the slogans: 'Should Ireland be held in bondage?—Well done,

Kerry and Dublin; 'Irish goods for Irish people—Boycott enemy goods; 'Boycott British goods and courts,' etc. The banner bearers broke through the police cordons, and both parties (of republicans) joined forces outside the main gates of the court, where there were cries of 'Up the Republic!' The police here intervened in force, and a series of baton charges swept the crowd back beyond two strong cordons at each end of the court. . . . Several were injured in the isolated melees, and many of the demonstrators, who frequently stood up to the baton charges and attempted to fight the Gardai, were also injured. . . . Inside the court struggles then took place between the police and the interrupters, who behaved in the wildest manner, some of them escaping from the Gardai and rushing to shake hands with the defendants, who stood up in the dock and responded to the greetings."

The government organ the following morning commented most "democratically" on these scenes, which an editorial dubbed "a disgrace." The *Irish Press* (September 9) continued:

"We have been bitterly criticised from the Right and from the Left during the last few weeks for standing firmly by the authority of the people's elected representatives. Now it should be clear to everybody what the course that began in organised attacks on property must lead to . . . minority tyranny or abject chaos."

De Valera followed up his press organ with a speech at a mass meeting at Dundalk on September 10. After dealing with the merger of the pro-imperialist groups into the United Ireland Party (the "New Empire Party," the *Daily Express* happily dubs it) and campaign by big farmers in Waterford to secure an organised refusal to pay rates, de Valera turned his attention to the Boycott League's activities. Saying that he wanted to declare deliberately that these activities were "playing into the hands of the enemies of Irish independence at home and abroad," he continued:

"I want to warn these Republican enemies of the government. I want to warn them in time that their present course may very well lead to national defeat and disaster, and the end in our time of all our hopes."

And Mr. Frank Aiken, Free State Minister for Defence, capped de Valera's warning by assuring the meeting that

"there are sufficient resources and sufficient forces at our control to deal with any rowdy element and its forces." (*Irish Press*, September 11.)

It is clear then that the following can be said of the boycott movement:

1. The events in Dublin and Kerry show that it can be turned away from terrorist actions isolated from the masses, and can serve as a bacillus bringing the masses into action against imperialism. It can serve as a lever carrying the struggle forward to a higher plane than is looked for by the Republican leadership.

2. The struggle is rapidly increasing the differentiations between the de Valera government—the main obstacle to any mass struggle against imperialism—and the revolutionary republicans, who everywhere are seeing their comrades arrested and sentenced for anti-imperialist actions.

The Irish Communists therefore must give full support to the Boycott movement. They must fling themselves into the struggle, at the same time making clear its limitations. They must strive to win the leadership of the movement and turn it into mass channels that will bring the Irish working people as a whole into the fight, extending it from one insignificant article to a frontal attack on imperialist interests in the country. The differentiation between the de Valera government and the militant rank and file of the Republicans must be increased; Communists must seize every opportunity and instance to drive home the lessons of the government's repressive measures. The boycott must be linked to the broad anti-fascist fight. Above all the Communists must raise the class issues involved before the workers. This issue the Boycott League is trying to avoid. The boycott must not become a weapon to assist the Guinness's, the Jacob's and other sections of so-called Irish capitalism, the basis of imperialism in Ireland. The issues of wages and conditions in Irish industry, the struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism leading to the establishment of the Workers' and Farmers' Republic of a united Ireland, must be kept constantly before the masses of the Irish working people

## Germany

# Letters from Berlin

### "Provision of Work" Quietly Dropped

The words of Karl Marx: "The bayonet points of the bourgeoisie break like rotten tinder in face of economic facts" has again been strikingly proved. Hitler and his associates can rattle the sabre; they can murder workers, but they cannot give the workers work and bread. On September 13 there took place a solemn meeting in the Propaganda Ministry. This meeting was attended by the heads of the authorities, including Hitler and Frick. Göbbels delivered a big speech on the fight against cold and hunger in the coming winter. He declared:—

"The government is quite aware that all has not yet been done by a long way. In his last big speech to the political district leaders of the national socialist party at Obersalzberg, Adolf Hitler stated that the attack on unemployment is to be carried out in three stages. The first stage is nearly ended (!). It aimed at reducing the figures of unemployment by autumn by at least two million. It is now necessary to proceed to the second stage. Its aim is to return and absolutely secure the successes which have already been achieved for the coming winter."

This means that the "provision of work," which existed only on paper, is regarded as ended and that now the second stage is approaching. A more miserable deception of the people is scarcely imaginable.

The "fight against hunger and cold" merely means that a central relief fund is set up, which the government administers. And now an intensive collection campaign is to commence.

The whole "Campaign of National Solidarity," for which Hitler issued an appeal, is nothing else but a piece of large-scale begging. The street collections and a new lottery clearly reveal the mendicant character of this action. Göbbels and Hitler declare in official statements that this action proves the "socialism" of the new government. What this "socialism" is actually like was divulged by Göbbels in the following sentence:—

"Apart from the money obtained thereby, the poor are to be shown **one day in the month**, and this on a Sunday, that the whole people sympathise with them."

Thus every four weeks, a day of "socialism." The cost of this "socialism" will have to be borne by the working people. Göbbels made the further announcement:—

"Everyone will understand that his gift is of value only if it means a sacrifice to him; when the whole of the working people rightly realise that this measure must mean a sacrifice for everybody, then there will grow up from it the conviction that the community of the people has become a living thing."

In the practice of the Nazis, this means, however, that on top of all the numerous reductions from their wages and salaries, the workers and employees have to make further sacrifice. Thus it is already announced that "negotiations are to be commenced with the employees' and officials' organisations for the purpose of arranging graduated deductions from their pay as contributions to winter relief work." At the same time the Reichs Cabinet, at its first meeting after the summer vacation, adopted a number of decisions which intensify the attack on the standard of living of the working masses. The government has decided in the first place to continue to collect the poll-tax, generally known as the Negro tax, against which the national socialists "fought" when they were in opposition. Not content with continuing to collect this anti-social tax, all alleviations in connection with it have now been done away with. Hitherto all persons not entitled to vote, and all minors with an income of their own, were exempted from this tax; now they have to pay like the rest of the population.

A further decision of the government forbids the sale of tobacco products at less than the retail price printed on the packets. Hitherto 60 per cent. of the tobacco was sold below this price. This measure means an increase in the actual price of the cheaper brands of tobacco. The government then pronounced in favour of increasing the prices of all agricultural products as a means of salvaging agriculture. In particular the government promised the

big landowners that a "remunerative fixed price for corn must be established." This means that the government will use the money squeezed out of the tax-payers to buy up corn in order to get rid of the "surplus supplies."

"Fight against cold and hunger?" It is a fight for cold and hunger, for further increase of the wholesale misery in Germany.

### Revolutionary Agitation and Propaganda in Fascist Germany

By Fritz Heckert

During the first weeks which followed on the accession to power of Hitler a great silence spread itself over Germany. No man trusted his neighbour and everyone was intimidated by the frightful wave of terror. Some time passed before revolutionary agitation and propaganda began to make itself felt again.

What experience of illegal activity had the German proletariat? Very little if any. The anti-socialist laws of Bismarck were a generation behind. It is important to remember this in order to understand the difficulties in the way of carrying on any broad mass illegal work. Under Hitler we see for the first time the majority of the population openly supporting a capitalist dictatorship. The violence of the fascists was approved of by this mass. The Hitler regime has not only a mass support amongst the peasantry and amongst the urban petty-bourgeoisie, but also amongst the white-collared proletariat, the masses of the clerical workers. The Hitler regime even enjoyed a certain amount of support from the ranks of the workers and in particular from the unemployed. As a result of this the worker felt himself suddenly surrounded by enemies. Each worker feared his neighbour at home, at the labour exchange, in the factories, in the trade unions, feared to be denounced and fall victim to the fascist sadists and murderers.

Taking all these things into consideration it is extraordinary that in the short space of a few weeks the Communist Party has succeeded in developing a broad mass illegal work. Even Hitler himself was astonished, for he imagined that his measures against the Communist Party had suppressed it for a long time to come. "Marxism is dead, Communism no longer exists in Germany," declared the Nazis boastfully at Easter. But by the end of April the Nazi Police Presidents all over the country were complaining bitterly of the mass distribution of illegal Communist literature. Others had taken the place of the thousands of arrested Communists and filled up the breaches in the Communist ranks. The illegal newspapers appearing in Fascist Germany are increasing in number, as also are the leaflets, for the most part cyclostyled.

Hitler then adopted radical measures against the Communist propaganda danger, measures which promised to be successful. He offered large rewards for the denunciation of Communist printing shops and places in which Communist propaganda was prepared. Secondly, he organised mass raids and searches in the working-class quarters, and wherever they found typewriters and duplicating machines the police and storm troopers confiscated them. The owners of such machines were beaten up and transported into concentration camps without more ado. And thirdly Hitler caused the confiscation of all Marxist and Leninist literature in all the searched houses in order to burn them publicly as "evil works." No country has ever seen such a systematic and organised campaign to remove all possibility of the spread of revolutionary ideas.

Without the existence of a real Communist mass party Hitler's measures would certainly have been successful in preventing illegal Communist work for a long time, or at least they would have succeeded in reducing it to a minimum. However, in the past the German Communist Party has not confined itself merely to organising Communist agitation and propaganda, it has also warned its members of what might be expected under a fascist dictatorship. For years the party has taught its members that in case the party should be persecuted they should then act on their own initiative to carry on illegal agitation and propaganda. To make such work possible it was necessary that the party mem-

bers should master the necessary illegal technique, and in fact tens of thousands of party members have learned how to bring out newspapers and leaflets with the mechanical means at their disposal. Not only the setting, the printing, the cyclostyling, etc., had to be learnt, but also the writing and editing. To say that from 25,000 to 30,000 members of the party have learned to do all this is no exaggeration. This is to a great extent the factor which makes it possible for the party to carry on a widespread illegal work all over Germany despite all the fascist counter-measures.

When the illegal work began it was quickly seen that many of the old "tried and trusted" methods of illegal work were no longer any good. The enemy knew all about them and had taken precautions accordingly. New ways and means had to be worked out and developed in order to carry on the illegal work successfully. These ways and means are chiefly the result of the inventiveness and adaptiveness of the lower party officials and workers. Very soon they became the common property of the whole party because the party leadership carefully notes and collects all such ways and means and hands them on to all its followers. This method of rapidly passing on all valuable methods, etc., was a great assistance in getting the mass illegal work going so strongly in such a short space of time. The rank and file comrades observe that the party leadership does not merely tell them, do this, do that, but assists them with practical advice and support in every possible way, and in particular takes all possible measures to safeguard the party work and the party workers. Such measures are of the greatest importance because the fascists have captured tens of thousands of workers, many of them members of the party. As a result of these arrests a great part of the backbone of the party has been torn out, because, naturally, it was the well-known comrades who were arrested first. These heavy losses cannot be made good merely by filling up the ranks from the volunteers who pressed forward into the breach. Hard training is necessary if the difficult tasks of Communist agitation and propaganda are to be carried out under the conditions existing in fascist Germany. Closely connected with the development of illegal Communist activity in Germany is therefore the training of new forces capable of carrying out this work under the new and much more difficult conditions.

It is not necessary to go into any detail here regarding the importance of such illegal revolutionary agitation and propaganda, and in particular the importance of the illegal revolutionary press. It is clear that in times such as those which exist at the moment in Hitler Germany the significance and the effect of the illegal Communist press (providing that it is really distributed on a mass scale) are greater than the significance and effect of the legal Communist press before the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. Up to the present the Communists have been the only ones who have shown themselves capable of publishing illegal anti-fascist newspapers in Germany. The Communists have in fact a monopoly of the illegal literature. Whether this will continue to be the case in the future is something which cannot be decided at the moment. In some districts the Communist Party is able to issue its illegal newspaper at regular intervals. In a great number of districts the appearance of the illegal newspaper is a permanent feature. However, in most parts of the country the printed illegal newspapers still appear irregularly. Sometimes they disappeared for a while when heavy losses had been sustained in printing and distributing them, a circumstance which has unfortunately happened very often. The illegal "*Rote Fahne*," the central organ of the Communist Party of Germany, has appeared as a printed organ on innumerable occasions. Many editions of the "*Rote Fahne*" have been mimeographed and issued by the lower party organisations in the districts. Most of the Communist district newspapers continue to appear as printed organs under their old names at longer or shorter intervals of time.

Apart from the general newspapers, the factory newspapers and the house-block newspapers, large numbers of leaflets have been printed and distributed, many of them in editions of over 100,000 copies. These leaflets were issued usually in connection with definite happenings and giving the standpoint of the Communist Party, or they dealt with the general situation. Such leaflets are very often very cleverly disguised. They appear with some big slogan on the top referring to a department store, a theatrical or film performance, or something similar. Between the heavily printed lines which immediately catch the eye and are themselves part of the leaflet appear the actual text and content of the leaflet. Two very strongly worded leaflets appeared respectively under the

titles: "Everyone must have a wireless set" and "For good cycles go to so and so."

In the same way a number of pamphlets have been published on the situation in Germany, the tasks of the Communist Party, the Reichstag fire, etc. Such titles as: "Art and Science in the New Germany," "The Cecile de Mille Film The Sign of the Cross," "Purchase the new Electrolux Vacuum Cleaner" were adopted successfully. In many cases the wrappings and envelopes of highly reputable and respectable firms were used in order to send the material through the post. Such material was sent out by an innocent society for assisting children leaving school, by a firm of clothiers anxious to provide the trousseaux of young women about to be married, by firms of undertakers, and in one case by the official Post Office Savings Bank. When the women who deliver the early morning newspapers in Germany put down their heavy bundles in order to save themselves the trouble of carrying more than the newspapers they require up the flights of stairs, such opportunities are utilised by Communists to insert illegal Communist leaflets into the leaves of the newspapers. In cases where comrades themselves distribute leaflets in the house blocks and in the factories great precautions are taken to see that they are not surprised and arrested whilst on the job, and they are afforded strong protection. In innumerable cases Communists have used the roof gardens of the big department stores, railway viaducts, and the entrances to the underground railway stations in the rush hours in order to scatter illegal leaflets amongst the crowds. Such leaflets are snatched up by the masses like hot cakes. A method repeatedly used is to attach illegal leaflets to children's toy balloons and then let them loose.

Apart from all this written propaganda, spoken propaganda is again being adopted. Suddenly speakers appear before crowds assembled on the streets, before cinemas, etc., and deliver short addresses. Groups of young men and women suddenly appear in the courtyards of working-class houses and shout Communist slogans in unison. Street singers and street musicians appear in the courtyards, and after a non-committal song or two strike up the old revolutionary favourites of the workers. Revolutionary gramophone records have often been put on in the gramophone departments of big stores and loud speakers carry them all over the building until the arrival of the police. Very widespread is the small sticker with Communist slogans. Such stickers can be stuck up fairly easily without the propagandist being observed. Such stickers are found everywhere, on doors and walls, in railway carriages, on buses, in the shops and department stores, in the factories, on the moving bands and moving stairways. The paint and whitewash columns have again resumed their activities, and Communist slogans appear in great lettering on the sides of railway bridges, on railway embankments, on factory chimneys, on walls and hoardings, on the stone banks of the canals, on the pavements, on sloping roofs, etc. Many of these slogans are painted in places which are extremely difficult to reach, for instance, a huge Communist slogan complete with hammer and sickle was painted up the length of the great 140-metre chimney of the Halsbrueck foundry and a red flag was placed on the summit. In order to prevent anyone hauling down the flag the iron foot-rests at the very top had been sawn off for some distance down.

The most difficult propaganda of all is that by word of mouth at meetings. The workers can no longer gather freely together. They must continually fear mass arrests. Innkeepers who let their premises be used for such meetings are punished with hard labour. Owing to the spy danger it is also almost impossible to hold street meetings. All that remains is the holding of small meetings at the homes of comrades, meetings at which, maybe, half a dozen comrades come together to discuss the work to be done and how to do it. Other methods are rambles in the woods or little boating parties on the rivers and lakes. However, only small meetings are possible. With larger meetings the danger of denunciation, raids and mass arrests is too great.

This mass illegal propaganda and agitation very cleverly exploits the demagogic demands put forward by the Nazis themselves prior to their accession to power. In this way a whole series of illegal strikes have been organised, and meetings have been held in the factories at which the Nazi speakers have been howled down by the workers and driven out of the meetings. The success of this sort of propaganda has been so great that Hitler's Propaganda Minister Goebbels was compelled to declare at a meeting of Berlin officials of the National Socialist Party that any member of the



party who came forward with Hitler's book "My Struggle" or with the 25 points of the fascist party programme and asked, why haven't you done this, and why haven't you carried out that, should immediately be expelled from the party as a Communist agent. Another indication of the success of this type of work is given by the numerous revolts and mutinies which have taken place in the Nazi storm detachments in recent weeks.

The Communist Party lays particular stress at the moment on the theoretical training of the new members who have come into the party since the accession of Hitler to power. The burning of great quantities of party literature makes it difficult for the new members to learn directly from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, or from the official documents of the Communist Party and the Communist International. These works must first of all be reprinted and distributed. The theoretical training of these comrades must therefore take place in small study circles whereby for the most part there is no literature to hand and no notes may be taken, in order that in case the police raid the circle the comrades present are not compromised by the presence of revolutionary literature and notes. The measures taken by the police and the Nazis when revolutionary literature is discovered can be seen from the following incident which took place at a building job in Spandau. Thirty copies of a pamphlet entitled, "What is Happening in Germany?" were discovered. The police surrounded the building site, which was thoroughly searched, and every man on the job was subjected to a bodily visitation. In addition everyone present was closely examined and a large reward was offered for information leading to the arrest of the person or persons responsible. Six of the building workers were found in possession of copies of the pamphlet and were taken off to prison.

It is with the greatest satisfaction that we can say that despite all the difficulties and despite all the measures of the authorities, revolutionary agitation and propaganda in Germany is rapidly increasing, that the Communist Party is rapidly winning new supporters and new influence, and that this propaganda and agitation is preparing the workers for the moment when the big counter-offensive against fascism will set in.

## Declaration of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany on the Leipzig Reichstag Arson and Communist Trial

The following important declaration was sent by the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany to the International Commission of Enquiry in London, with the following accompanying letter:—

"Contrary to the assertions of the German incorporated press, according to which the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany have placed themselves in safety outside of the German frontiers, the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany states that all members of the Central Committee, insofar as they have not been arrested or murdered, are still in Germany. The plans for provocation prepared by the Hitler government, and which have already been exposed by the Communist intelligence service, render necessary the presence of every leading member of our Party in Germany. We therefore request you to take note of this declaration and to have it read out before the Commission."—Ed.

The burning of the Reichstag, staged by the Hitler government, served the obvious purpose, in a general pogrom atmosphere created by the terrorist act, to suppress the Communist Party, to proclaim the bloody terror against all anti-fascists as necessary for reasons of State, and to enforce a "people's plebiscite" for the Hitler-Hugenberg government on the day of the Reichstag election on March 5. The "plans of revolt" of the C.P. of Germany, inspired and forged by the lie-propaganda minister, Göbbels, and at present published by the German press, as well as the attempts on the lives of Hitler and Hindenburg, dynamite outrages and poisoning of wells, for the carrying out of which the burning of the Reichstag is alleged to have been the signal, is the desperate attempt at absolution by a political band of adventurers and criminals found guilty by the whole world. The fact alone that, according to the reports of the German press, the "discovered material" is based on official sources, whilst the same press has to admit a few lines farther on that official material was not placed at the disposal of the press, shows that it is nothing else but forgery and invention. It is not the first time, and even lacks all originality in the history of the

persecution of the German and the international labour movement, that provocations and forgeries have been resorted to in order to create the pretext for slaughtering revolutionary workers in the interests of the "safety of the State."

Contrary to the German fascist government, which before its seizure of power promised the masses of its supporters the social and national revolution, and now, after the seizure of power, interns in concentration camps even those of its own supporters who demand the fulfilment of the promises made:—

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." (From the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Engels.)

The existence of the fascist dictatorship in Germany confirms the correctness of the Communist strategy and tactics, that the ruling capitalist class cannot be overthrown by means of the "peaceful" "democratic seizure of power," as the social democracy maintains, but only by the organised revolutionary force of the proletariat acting unitedly and the working strata allied with it. Precisely, therefore, the Communist Party leaves no stone unturned in order to lead the majority of the proletariat into the general strike by means of organising partial and mass struggles, so as to prevent the setting up of the fascist dictatorship of blood and starvation. The class-treacherous policy of the German social democracy and of the German General Federation of Trade Unions prevented the revolutionary mass actions of the German working class. The social democracy and the trade union federation, under the leadership of Wels, Leipart, Severing and Grzesinski, replied to the open general strike offer made by the Communist Party on July 21, 1932, against the fascist coup d'état in Prussia with cowardly and contemptible capitulation to the fascist rulers. These leaders replied in the same way to the renewed offer of a general strike made by the Communist Party on the occasion of the taking over of the government by Hitler on January 31 and the national socialist Reichstag arson on February 27. The dominating influence which the social democracy at that time still exercised over the majority of the German proletariat rendered it impossible for the Communist Party to bring about in February, 1933, the overthrow of the fascist regime by revolutionary mass actions and to adopt the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

The Communist Party of Germany, as the only party of Marxism, is ruthlessly combating all putschism and political adventurism. It thereby bases itself upon the strategy of Marxism-Leninism:—

"We cannot win the victory with the advance-guard alone. To throw the advance-guard alone into the decisive fight before the whole class, before the broad masses directly support or, at least, exercise a benevolent neutrality towards it, would not only be stupid, but also a crime." (Lenin.)

The Communist Party openly declares to-day that the Hitler dictatorship can only be overthrown by the general strike and its development into the violent uprising of the majority of the German proletariat. The Communist Party, unbroken in its strength and filled with the firm confidence of its victory, declares that it is working uninterruptedly, in daily illegal mass work, in defiance of every kind of terror, for the day of revolutionary settlement with the social and national deceivers. It is precisely for this reason that the Communist Party is not pursuing any "secret plans of revolt," but is openly preparing together with the masses the forceful uprising against the Hitler dictatorship. Hence it is irreconcilably opposed to provocation and individual terror as fighting methods. Individual terror and provocations are the methods of a ruling system doomed to perish, in order to divert the masses from the fight for their own emancipation and to make use of the most backward sections of the toiling people for pogroms against the progressive revolutionary advance-guard. The Reichstag arson is part and parcel of the methods of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, just as the fascist dictatorship itself represents the terrorist form of the rule of the capitalists and junkers for exploiting and oppressing the toiling masses and preventing the inevitable social revolution.

Against the forger's tricks employed at present by the Hitler government and its propaganda minister, Göbbels, against the Communist Party, the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany is

able to produce numerous Party official and programmatic documents on the question of the individual terror. The Central Committee refers, *inter alia*, to its decision of November 10, 1931, in which the ideological and practical defence of individual terror was declared to be incompatible with membership of the Party. The Central Committee refers to the important programmatic statements of its imprisoned leader, **Ernst Thaelmann**, which were published in the theoretical review of the Party, "**Die Internationale**," of December, 1931, No. 11/12:—

"Those workers who allow themselves to be influenced by the systematic Nazi provocations and apply the same methods of individual terror in defence, are alienating themselves from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in regard to the methods of the proletarian struggle for emancipation. For individual terrorism has just as little place in the system of Leninism as the cowardly, miserable, liberal talk of the social pacifists . . . needless to say, we Communists are in favour of using force, without which no historical transformation has been possible. . . . But all this has nothing to do with individual terror, into the meshes of which the national socialist murderers wish to entice the revolutionaries. Class-conscious workers, who allow themselves to be diverted from the tasks of mass work to this sphere of individual terror, exchange the armour of Leninism for the methods of the social revolutionaries of the period of Russian Tsarism, methods which have long ago been refuted by the history of the labour movement. . . . Thus the decision of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany of November 10, 1931, against individual terror is by no means, as the bourgeois press wishes to persuade the revolutionary workers, a mere 'tactical manoeuvre' in order to safeguard the Party against prohibition, but in reality 'not meant seriously.' On the contrary, the main reason for this extremely serious and important decision was the consideration that any neglect of the Bolshevik fight against individual terror and any conciliatory attitude to it would only facilitate the game of the national socialists and thereby of the bourgeoisie who wish to divert the working class from the decisive revolutionary tasks of the mass struggle."

Only a government whose members are interested in concealing the origin and perpetrators of the Reichstag arson, only political bandits who are daily making workers and intellectuals, Christians and Jews the target of their provocations, of their

sadism, their moral depravity and political bargaining, can impute to the Communist Party the use of individual terror and provocations, arson and poisoning of wells as fighting methods.

The Communists, **Torgler**, **Dimitrov**, **Popov**, and **Tanev**, accused in the Leipzig trial, have just as little to do with the Reichstag arson as the Hitler government has to do with the social and national interests of the German toiling people. The intellectual instigators of the arson are Hitler, Göring, Göbbels, the German Reichs government and the leaders of the storm troops and special troops, Heine, Helldorf and consorts, entrusted by Göring to carry out the job.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany submits this declaration to the world public, and exposes at the same time the fresh plans of provocations of the Hitler government to be carried out in the autumn and winter, and which were discovered by the Communist intelligence service (bomb outrages on railways and water-works, arson on peasants' farms, robber attacks, attempts on the lives of leaders of the storm troops and special guards, as well as on members of the Reichs government).

By means of the Leipzig trial, by means of the judges and lawyers dependent on the Hitler government, by means of the witnesses bought by the government, the Hitler government wishes to justify its past crimes and cover up its future provocations.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany is firmly convinced that the fresh threatening crimes of the Hitler government, before all the threatening judicial crime against Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the Communist Party, will be prevented by the disciplined revolutionary mass struggle of the German proletariat, by the revolutionary united front of the social democratic and Communist workers against the class-treacherous policy of waiting pursued by the social democratic leaders.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany calls upon the workers of the world and all friends of the proletarian emancipation movement to side with the German communards in the fight of the Communist Party of Germany, the only organising force for the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship, for winning the proletarian Soviet power, for the German workers' and peasants' Republic.

Berlin, September 14, 1933.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

(Signed) Wilhelm Pieck.

## The Proceedings at the Leipzig Trial

### Lubbe Plays the Game of the Attorney-General—Sack Plays the Part of Public Prosecutor

From the German Frontier, September 21, 1933.

The commencement of the trial in the large hall of the Reichs Court, where already thousands of Communists have been condemned by the class justice of the Weimar Republic and where to-day the same judges who formerly dispensed "justice" for the Weimar Republic are carrying out the orders of their fascist masters, bore the usual fascist stamp. It is hardly necessary to say that there is present an incredible number of police and uniformed national socialists, that the entrances to the Court are closely guarded, and that all journalists and guests are searched and have to show their papers four times and more.

There are present about 120 press representatives, of whom only about 30 are foreigners; the rest are all Nazi journalists.

Numerous foreign journalists have been refused admission because, it is alleged, they have not complied exactly with all the regulations and conditions. The "guests" consist almost exclusively of national socialists. The accused were conveyed to the Court in specially guarded motor-cars. Behind each of the cars in which the accused were conveyed there drove a motor-lorry filled with police.

The trial commenced at nine o'clock this morning. The personal details of the accused were first ascertained. Already at the first glance Lubbe gave the impression of being only half-witted, if not worse. In addition, he is in an exceedingly weak state physically. His arms are hung down limply and his eyes were deep sunken. Beside him sat his interpreter and two police

officers. Lubbe's hands were fettered. He remained however, perfectly passive and his complete indifference to all the proceedings make a profound impression. Lubbe is the only one of the accused who wears prison clothing.

The behaviour of Torgler and the three Bulgarians stood out in sharp distinction from that of Lubbe. They were resolute, calm and collected.

The expert witnesses were as follows: Government Counsellor Professor E. Zosse, Berlin; Government Counsellor Werner, Berlin; Fire Brigade Captain Wagner (what has happened to the actual captain of the Berlin fire brigade Gempp still remains a mystery, but there are persistent rumours that he has been got out of the way because he knew too much). Another expert is the fire brigade officer Dr. W. Schatz from Berlin.

The witnesses summoned for the first day of the proceedings were: Police Constable Oscar Sommer, a certain Lindner from Niederau, the Berlin Criminal Commissioner Keisig, and finally the former burgomaster of Brockwitz in Saxony (where, as is known, Lubbe stayed for a time and openly claimed to be a national socialist), and Bruno Keil, former member of the social-democratic party. Keil has been brought from the concentration camp in Dresden. Other witnesses present who may be called upon to give evidence are Police Captain Meiers and Police Sergeant Krummbiegel.

At the commencement of the proceedings the President of the IV Penal Senate Bünger made a declaration which was intended as a reply to "the various attacks" of the foreign press and the findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the Burning of the Reichstag. The declaration is a pitiable attempt to refute the

overwhelming evidence which was published by the world press, with the miserable assertion that the statements of the foreign press and the findings of the Counter-Trial have no value as evidence because they are not in agreement with the "findings" of the State organs of investigation. This declaration called forth an understanding smile from many representatives of the foreign press.

There then commenced the examination of the accused Lubbe. Both the attitude of Lubbe and the way in which the President carried out the examination were exceedingly strange. The President for hours addressed the most unimportant questions to the accused, whose answers were almost unintelligible and so inaudible that the Dutch journalists present were unable to tell whether the replies were correctly translated. The attitude of Torgler's "defender" Dr. Sack was very strange already during the examination of van der Lubbe. He continually interfered without it being possible to see what he was aiming at unless his purpose was to show that the accused are more or less equally guilty.

Lubbe was cross-examined first regarding his antecedents, and the President did everything in order to represent the slum proletarian anarchist environment in which Lubbe was brought up as being a "Communist atmosphere." To the immediate question of the President, which was put in the definite form of a suggestion, whether he was a Communist, Lubbe replied with a definite "No." That is one of the few clear replies which Lubbe has given. In reply to further questions, it was ascertained that Lubbe left the C.P. of Holland, of which he was a member for a short time. The evidence was then taken of the first witness, the police commissioner Keisig, who gave information regarding Lubbe's pass. Lubbe's pass, he declared, is forged, for the name van der Lubbe is written without the two dots over the "u." To the question of the President: Did you put the two dots over the "u"? Lubbe replied "Yes."

To the question of the President, for what purpose he made his journeys abroad, Lubbe declared—according to the translator—he wished to become acquainted with countries and peoples.

There was then read out a letter which "friends of the accused"—who, it is significant to note, are not named—are said to have written to Lubbe and in which it is stated: "We side with you against the bonzen (bosses)." The President then did all he could to induce the accused to say that he meant by this the *Nazi* bonzen. Lubbe however maintained complete silence.

To the question of the President, also put in the form of a suggestion, whether he had taken part in a meeting of the Communist Party in Berlin, van der Lubbe replied: Yes, in a public meeting.

The absolutely apathetic behaviour of Lubbe caused the President to indulge in an outburst of fury, which was probably only feigned. Lubbe, however, remained absolutely unmoved thereby, as obviously this "incident" had been arranged beforehand.

To the question whether he attempted to go to Russia, Lubbe replied in the affirmative. He declared, however, that he did not succeed in getting into Russia. He had been held for three weeks in a frontier prison on Russian territory and then released.

The examination then turned on a question which is obviously very disagreeable to many Nazis. Lubbe was questioned regarding his stay in Zornewitz in Saxony. A number of witnesses were examined in order to "clear up" this question. During his stay in Zornewitz Lubbe slept at the house of the national socialist councillor Sommer, to whom he declared he was a national socialist. During the cross-examination of the social-democratic member of the Saxon Diet Bruno Keil there were one or two significant incidents. Keil had informed the public of van der Lubbe's connections with the Nazis, and the national socialists had never sought to deny them. Keil has been brought from the concentration camp in Dresden and is completely terrorised. He now declared that he did not attach any great importance to the matter. The more significant therefore was the intervention at this point of Dr. Sack, who declared that another witness from the same locality where Lubbe had stayed several nights and claimed to be a fascist, was formerly a member of the social-democratic party, and definitely asserted that it was he, the witness, who handed over to Keil, the member of the Saxon Diet, the evidence regarding Lubbe's stay in Zornewitz. The result was that this witness was "settled with," because after this statement of Sack he could not risk saying a word which would incriminate

the Nazis. Here again Sack proved himself to be acting for the prosecution and not for the defence.

A very clear indication that Lubbe was playing a role that has been allotted to him is the following incident: During the proceedings Lubbe was laughing to himself and the President asked why. At first Lubbe did not reply, but finally declared that he was laughing at the whole proceedings which appeared so comical to him.

### Second Day of Trial

#### Medical "Expert" as Politician and Assistant Executioner From the German Frontier, September 22.

Yesterday's proceedings closed with the hint given by the President to van der Lubbe: "I shall give you time till to-morrow to think it over." What Lubbe had to think over was obvious: his evidence had not been quite as wished by the fascists, on whose orders he acts.

In reply to the question of the President: "Are you a Communist?" he replied with "No." When the judge asked: "What are you then?" and Lubbe simply preserved silence, the presiding judge endeavoured to make things easier for him, and asked: "But you gave yourself out as a Communist?" This again encountered silence on Lubbe's part. That Lubbe would answer "No" had not been reckoned upon. It was expected that he would at least say he was an "ideal Communist."

Time to think it over meant time to learn his role somewhat better.

The second day of the proceedings did not begin with the continued examination of Lubbe, but with the depositions of the medical "expert" Professor **Bonnhöffer** from Cologne.

Although Lubbe has been on remand in custody for more than six months, this fascist professor only employed five days for the examination of Lubbe's mental condition. And Lubbe's mental condition has been discussed more clearly and thoroughly by the foreign journalists, who only saw him for a few hours on the first day of the trial, than in the depositions of this expert.

Bonnhöffer's whole report aims at supporting the fabric of the fascist indictment.

Bonnhöffer declared expressly that he had "discovered no factors from which insanity can be concluded." It is true that Lubbe is not entirely insane. He was capable of carrying out the orders of the Reichstag incendiaries. But to declare this man—whom all the bourgeois journalists unanimously declare to be mentally defective—to be perfectly normal, is a feat possible only to a fascist professor.

The "expert" states that Lubbe was actually in "high spirits." This is easily comprehensible, since Lubbe possesses at least sufficient mental capacity to be pleased at the promises made him by the fascists if he will play his role to the end. But his mental powers do not appear to be sufficient for him to realise that he can just as well forfeit his life in the process. The professor states that Lubbe shows impatience at the length of time over which proceedings have been dragged out, and this too is easily comprehensible.

The Leipzig juridical farce reached a culminating point when the medical expert endeavoured to play the political expert, and declared, in contradiction to Lubbe's statements on the first day of the trial, that "Lubbe's motives for the deed evidenced a Communist train of thought."

This professor further serves the ends of the prosecution and the fascist government by stating expressly that Lubbe has not been examined as to "possible" homo-sexual inclinations. Evidently Captain Röhm, chief of staff of the Storm Troops, is to be shielded through thick and thin.

It is characteristic of Lubbe's readiness to play his role, but of his lack of skill in doing so, that he declared that he was personally acquainted with only one Communist—Thälmann! It had been hammered into him long enough that he only had to name Torgler, but his memory obviously deserted him, and he chose at random the name best known to him from the German Communist movement.

A further striking proof of the manner in which Lubbe has been drilled into his role by the fascists is his declaration that his intention in setting fire to the Reichstag was "to show the workers how to fight against the system."

It is notorious that for many years the "fight against the system" was one of the leading slogans of the National Socialist



Party. No document or speech issued by the C.P.G. has ever spoken of a "fight against the system." Firstly, because this mode of expression would have befogged the class character of the Communist struggle; and, secondly, because its frequent use by the Nazis has stamped it as a fascist slogan.

### Second Day of Trial—Close of Sitting

From the German frontier, 22nd September.

The "expert" medical opinion of Prof. Bönhöffer concluded with the statement that Lubbe had given a clear denial to the question of whether he had met Torgler on the day before the fire. Then followed the report of the German criminal commissioner Heisig on his "investigations" in Holland. Heisig is the same commissioner who examined Lubbe immediately after his arrest.

Heisig did everything to demonstrate that his singular investigations in Holland had proved that Lubbe is a Communist after all—in contradistinction to the facts ascertained by the Dutch police, who state definitely that Lubbe has had nothing to do with the C.P. of Holland since 1931, and has been active against the C.P.H.

This criminal commissioner brought forward as a special "hit" his interview with a certain van Albada. This van Albada belonged to the same group of "Soviet Communists" of whom there are only twenty in the whole of Holland. Heisig states that Albada told him: "In 1931 the C.P. of Holland requested van der Lubbe to resign from the Party. The impression was given that the Party cold-shouldered him. This is done now and again when certain members of the Party are singled out for actions in which the Party wants to remain in the background." This construction is intended to help the court over the disagreeable fact that Lubbe has expressly stated that he is not a Communist. At the same time it is increasingly apparent that the so-called "Soviet Communists" are a band of police provocateurs.

The aims and ends of the criminal commissioner Heisig are apparent from the voluntary confession which he has let slip. First the remarkable statement that "At first the examination (immediately after Lubbe's arrest on the spot—Ed.) brought very disconnected replies, but after midnight it became more fluent. At subsequent examinations everything went off entirely satisfactorily. Besides this, the fascist criminal commissar is completely betrayed by the confession: "A few minutes after his arrest, van der Lubbe was brought to him (Heisig)." Hence the criminal commissar was practically on the spot at the Reichstag, waiting for the perpetrator who was to be brought before him a few minutes after being arrested. This stage managing is too exact.

Should further proof be required of Heisig's remarkable methods of examination, it is given by the fact that Heisig declares the statements of the foreign press and the counter-trial to be wrong when they report that the house in the Uitersten Gracht, where Lubbe lived for a long time, represented a slum-proletarian milieu frequented by homo-sexual elements. Heisig's counter-proofs are as follows:—

"I passed this house in the company of a Dutch colleague. But the Dutch colleague made no remark. I myself saw nothing about the house to lead me to suppose that any such atmosphere prevailed there." Since this criminal commissar has such sharp discernment, it is no wonder that at the very first examination he received the "immediate impression that van der Lubbe was a real Communist."

Dr. Sack addressed a few questions to Heisig, among others:—"Did you ask him if he had acted alone?" Heisig replied: "He did not give me any adequate information on that point."

The next question dealt with was that of the defence of Lubbe. The lawyer Dr. Stomps, from Holland, heard as witness, declared that he had spoken to Lubbe alone, and advised him to choose a defending counsel. Lubbe had, however, refused to give any reply, and to give any reasons. It appears, however, that Stomps was not quite alone with Lubbe as an interpreter was present. Why an interpreter should be necessary for the Dutch van der Lubbe and the Dutchman Stomps is not stated.

The question was examined whether van der Lubbe was a Communist at the time of the committal of the deed. In reply to a question, van der Lubbe made the sensational statement that he had declared at a meeting in Holland that acts of terror must be committed against the will of the Communist leaders. This statement he at once withdrew and contradicted, obviously in obedience to a sign agreed upon beforehand.

What next followed was especially characteristic of the role played by Dr. Sack, Torgler's "defending" counsel. Sack informed the court that he had received a telegram from South America stating that several South American newspapers described the proceedings before the Supreme Court as a farce, aimed solely at expelling the Reichstag fire in the interests of the National Socialist Party. He recommended the court to expel the foreign representatives who are abusing the hospitality shown them. Sack promised to give the names of the papers. The public prosecutor, Werner, has already sharply reprimanded the foreign press representatives, and requested them to show more objectivity.

Our correspondent reports further that a number of English reporters have been repeatedly disturbed and interrupted when giving their telephone reports. The foreign journalists are highly indignant because extremely important parts of the proceedings have not been translated into Bulgarian, not even matters which may be of the utmost importance for the Bulgarian defendants. Our correspondent also observed that the Bulgarian lawyer Detscheff was refused admission to the court buildings, so that Detscheff entered a complaint with the public prosecutor. This is of special importance, since Detscheff is in possession of documents proving that there was not even any indictment brought against the three Bulgarian defendants in connection with the blowing up of the Sofia Cathedral in 1923.

## Four Revolutionaries Before the Tribunal of Incendiaries

Third Day of Trial

From the German frontier, 23rd September.

To-day's hearing at the trial commenced shortly before ten o'clock with the examination of one of the three Bulgarian defendants, the writer Dimitrov. In a two hours' speech, not concluded at noon, Dimitrov eloquently described his development and his past—the life of a proletarian revolutionist. Even though the speaker was not perfectly master of the German language, the speech lost nothing, especially in contrast to the senseless stammering of van der Lubbe on the two previous days, with its assertions almost inevitably followed by contradictions and withdrawals. The impression made by Dimitrov's speech increased as he went on. With the utmost sharpness and precision, with the utmost candour and courage, he stated that he is a Communist, but carefully drew the line of demarcation between the distorted conceptions named Communism by the public prosecutor and the judges.

The presiding judge thought fit to interrupt him with the remark that he was the defendant and not the accuser. Dimitrov replied: "I am here to defend Communism and myself!" Dimitrov then proceeded to a truly annihilating indictment against the fascist government in Bulgaria, chiefly the government of the butcher of the workers, Zankoff. His accusations apply directly to fascist Germany of to-day, and had he not constantly repeated the world Bulgaria, the impression would have been that he was also condemning German fascism simultaneously.

Dimitrov described the bloody suppression of the Bulgarian workers' and peasants' revolution in 1923, after which he was obliged to leave Bulgaria. He described how he has lived in various European countries as a persecuted emigrant, in Belgrade, in Vienna, and Moscow. He described how even as an emigré he has combated by word and writing the fascist rule in Bulgaria.

Again the president interrupted him, casting doubts on the truth of his statements. Dimitrov shouted his reply loudly into the hall: "Had I been given free and full rights of defence, I should have brought irrefutable proofs of the truth of my statements. But as a prisoner in solitary confinement, this has not been possible for me."

### Supplement to Dimitrov's Speech

From the German frontier, 23rd September.

Among the important details to be added to the report of Dimitrov's courageous speech is the fact that the president interrupted Dimitrov when he was speaking of the revolution of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, in which Dimitrov took part. The judge declared that, according to a report received through the Bulgarian Embassy, Dimitrov had been sentenced to death in Bulgaria for "forming armed bands." Dimitrov interrupted the judge with the interjection:—

"I formed no 'bands'!"

The president, already highly irritated at the sharply accus-

ing tone of Dimitrov's speech and by his courageous avowal of Communism, adopted an offensive tone:—

"You had better keep very quiet. I require calm answers."

Dimitrov simply ignored this remark from the judge. When describing the insurrection of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, he expressed his entire approval of their action, and only observed that he regretted that at that time the Bulgarian Party was not sufficiently trained Bolshevistically to organise the insurrection properly and to carry it out successfully.

Speaking of the blowing up of the cathedral at Sofia, he remarked that at the time he had been in Moscow, and had learnt the details of this event only from the press.

The president commented:—

"The Sofia cathedral outrage was organised by a secret band of Communists!"

Dimitrov protested energetically against this assertion, and declared that the Sofia cathedral explosion was a provocation organised against the C.P., and condemned by the C.P.

When Dimitrov showed up the "defence" given the defendants, which is no defence at all, he replied to an interruption from the president by the declaration:—

"I have no defending counsel in whom I have any faith."

When the president replied that Dimitrov was being defended in accordance with the German laws, Dimitrov simply shrugged his shoulders.

The president then entered into matters which have nothing to do with the arson case, and asked Dimitrov if the Bulgarian C.P. was financed through illegal couriers, Dimitrov answered that it is his aim to organise the Communist revolution in Bulgaria, and to this aim he approves all means, legal or illegal.

The president interrupted by saying that it was by no means a matter of course that Dimitrov should hold this view. He asked Dimitrov: "Have you considered everything to be permitted in your activities?"

Dimitrov answered again: "Of course, every means tending towards this goal were right, legal or illegal."

The president again reproved Dimitrov for his manner, which he described as impertinent, and declared: "If necessary, I shall find means to make you adopt a less aggressive tone. During your imprisonment you adopted an attitude which was out of place."

Dimitrov answered: "I have been provoked."

The president replied: "I repudiate that decisively, and reprimand you for using the expression."

Dimitrov answered: "The whole preliminary examination was monstrous. If you had been incarcerated as I have been for five months, perfectly innocent of the charge, and chained as I have been chained, you would understand that one may well become excited."

#### Popov's Examination

Popov was then examined. Like Dimitrov, he gave information on his revolutionary development. He spoke Bulgarian, and his depositions were interpreted. His examination lasted several hours. The charge against Popov is aiding and abetting the incendiary act. He is accused of having had personal relations with Lubbe in the summer of 1932. He is, however, in possession of a written certificate from the German Embassy in Moscow, showing that in the summer of 1932 he stayed in Moscow and the Crimea. On 3rd November, 1932, he went to Berlin for the first time in his life. He declares himself to be a member of the C.P. of Bulgaria, and to be a Communist now as before. He has never been involved in any case of terrorist action. In December, 1932, he was sentenced by a fascist court in Bulgaria in his absence to 12½ years' imprisonment for his Communist activities. Like Dimitrov, he has lived abroad for some years as a political emigré. During his stay in Berlin he occupied himself solely with the political questions of his own country, and did not take any part in German politics.

There was a sensation in court when Popov declared in a loud, firm voice that the police commissar in Berlin attempted to force him to confess to participation in the burning of the Reichstag, by threatening his extradition to the Bulgarian authorities. It was further laid to his charge that he had resided in Berlin without registering, a point which the court regards as suspicious. Popov declared: (1) That he was anxious to save his host the

annoyance which would have resulted from a registration. (2) He had never dreamed of being accused of so frightful a crime. He proposed to the political commissar examining him that his host should be examined in the presence of the commissar and of foreign journalists, but this was refused. Popov repeated this proposal again later, and asked that a sworn interpreter be engaged. The house where Popov had lived was searched and his host examined, but not a trace of evidence showing participation in the fire was found.

During the hearing Lubbe sat in his place in a state of collapse, whilst the public in the court room listened with intense attention to Popov. When Popov noticed that the interpreter was not translating his words exactly, he demanded that the court should ensure an accurate translation.

The sitting occupied itself further with the reading of documents showing that Popov had not occupied himself with German politics during his stay in Berlin, and that his writings had dealt solely with the political situation in Bulgaria.

#### Fourth Day of Trial

From the German Frontier, 25th September.

The fourth day of the proceedings commenced half an hour later than usual, as Torgler's "defending counsel," Dr. Sack, was delayed, and his connections with the Supreme Court are powerful enough to make the whole gigantic apparatus wait half an hour for him.

The proceedings commenced with the examination of Dimitrov's sister, the 27-year-old **Elena Dimitrova**. The presiding judge requested her not to smile, though she is not prohibited from maintaining a friendly air. Her depositions confirmed point for point the statements made by her brother. At the same time her statements confirm many of those made by Popov and Tanev, with whom she is also acquainted. For a full hour the presiding judge exerted his utmost efforts, by means of varying questions and numerous repetitions of the same question in different forms, to discover some discrepancy in any point in the statements of Dimitrov and his sister. All his efforts were in vain.

A fresh clash between the judge and Dimitrov ensued when Dimitrov addressed a question to his sister, and this was not accurately translated by the interpreter. Dimitrov protested energetically against the incorrect translation. The presiding judge now gave free vent to the rage which has been accumulating in him since the beginning of the examination at the courageous and bold conduct of Dimitrov, and shouted at him: "You have to keep silence!" Dimitrov met this attack coolly, as his request had meanwhile been acceded to.

After this Tanev was examined. He speaks Bulgarian, and does not understand German, a fact which has already been pointed out by a number of bourgeois journalists as showing that for this reason, if for no other, Tanev cannot possibly have carried out any political activities in connection with German affairs. Tanev, too, first gave an account of his development as the son of a revolutionist, joining the revolutionary movement while still very young and becoming a Communist, of which he is proud.

Tanev based his statements in part on extracts from documents. The judge asked him if his father had not lost his life in a revolutionary insurrection. Tanev confirmed this. His father was killed in 1906, during a national rising of the Macedonians against Turkish oppression.

Seven years ago Tanev was sentenced to 12½ years' penal servitude for his Communist activities. He served 11 months of this sentence. He was amnestied, and went abroad at the end of 1926. During his absence he was sentenced to several additional terms of penal servitude. These penalties were also amnestied, so that Tanev was considering a return to Bulgaria.

In 1929 he worked as bricklayer in Moscow, where he attended the courses of instruction at a workers' university, and continued his political schooling. He was returning to Bulgaria in February, 1933. He selected the route via Berlin, in order to see his political friends—Dimitrov and Popov. He arrived in Berlin a few days before the Reichstag fire, and was arrested, together with Dimitrov and Popov, at a mass hold-up.

According to the indictment, a waiter bears witness to having seen the three Bulgarians in the company of Torgler and Lubbe. The prosecution sees proof of guilt in the fact that Tanev, as also his friends, Dimitrov and Popov, stayed in Berlin under false names.

During his cross-examination, **Tanev** declared to the court that he is a member of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. To the question addressed to him by the court what special tasks fell to him as a member of the C.C. he refused to make a reply. He likewise refused to reply to the question what route he had taken when travelling from Bulgaria to Moscow. **Tanev** declared: "It is the job for the Bulgarian police to find this out."

\* \* \* \* \*

After **Tanev's** examination there followed the hearing of Comrade **Ernst Torgler**. Profound silence fell upon the court. As **Torgler** stood before the judge's bench, the effects of the long months of imprisonment, and of the five months in chains, were conspicuously noticeable. He stood calmly and collectedly, but under the strain of the attention concentrated upon him. He spoke with a firm, clear voice. In the preliminaries it was briefly stated that there was no previous conviction against him, and that he was formerly a commercial employee.

The moment **Torgler** was allowed to speak he commenced a declaration:—

"I am completely innocent of the criminal arson laid to the charge of my Party and myself. I would not participate in it either directly or indirectly, nor my Party either. This is the reason why I went to police headquarters on the day after the fire, accompanied by two lawyers, Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld and Kirchsteiner, in order to protest there against the rumours that I or my Party were guilty of the fire."

The presiding judge interrupted **Torgler**, stating that this was not the time for such a declaration. **Torgler** interrupted the judge, and replied passionately:—

"Let me speak. For seven months I have had to keep silence, for seven months I have been imprisoned, though innocent, for five months I was in chains day and night. I must take the first opportunity to make this declaration, to announce to the world my innocence and the innocence of my Party. A number of newspapers have asserted that I have suffered very little from the imprisonment on remand, and have felt very well in prison. But I have only been able to bear what I have had to undergo because I am a functionary of the Communist Party. (Sensation among press representatives.) This fact, the consciousness of my innocence, and the determination to refute the charges brought against my Party—this is what has maintained my powers of resistance."

**Torgler** then briefly sketched his life story and his development. His father was a gasworks worker. His mother was a socialist, and brought him up in a socialist spirit. On account of lack of means, he was unable to study, was apprenticed as clerk, and was then employed at different times as commercial employee, book-keeper, and salesman, until 1914:—

"Then I was sent to the front. I should like to state expressly that I mention these facts solely for the sake of completeness, not with the idea of gaining advantage from having been a soldier.

"In 1917 I separated ideologically from social democracy, and went over to the Independent Social Democratic Party. In 1920 I became a Communist. The assertion that I have been a good business man as politician is nothing but an infamous calumny. My sole motive has been the Communist idea. The fight for socialism has been, and remains, the aim of my life."

**Dr. Parisius**, one of the representatives of the prosecution, then read an article published by **Torgler** in the "Roter Wähler." The title of this article was: "Don't wait, act." This article, in the opinion of the prosecution, goes to prove that **Torgler** was capable of such an act as the setting fire to the Reichstag.

Here **Dr. Sack** replied that this article "had been written in the midst of a fierce election struggle." **Torgler**, however, stated that he demanded the right to defend the Communist policy and the Communist Party. **Dr. Sack** had told him that he was ready to defend him, **Torgler**, as a "human being," but not the German Communist Party. **Torgler** declared with a raised voice: "Therefore I myself will defend the C.P.G. with all the means at my disposal." In this connection **Torgler** dealt with the question of whether **Lubbe**, his friends and relations, are Communists or not. **Torgler**, who has been isolated for months from the outer world, and only very recently has been allowed to confer with the fascist, **Dr. Sack**, is obviously not aware that meanwhile **Lubbe's** role as

fascist provocateur has been established, and has been recognised, or at least considered to be probable or possible, by the whole international press, with the exception of the fascist German press.

**Torgler**, left in ignorance of many revelations by his imprisonment, stated, what has meanwhile become common knowledge, that this group of the friends and relations of **Lubbe** have no connection whatever with the Third International or with the C.P.G. **Torgler** stated that he would prove that the group is anarchist. As anarchists, this group had no connection whatever with the Third International or with any of its sections.

**Torgler's** speech, like **Dimitrov's** had a tremendous effect. The passion with which he refuted the accusations brought against him and the C.P.G., the frankness with which he acknowledged his Communism, his declaration that the whole aim of his life was the ceaseless struggle for the German workers, and then again the distance which he put between himself and **Dr. Sack**, and the demarcation which he drew between the Communist International and its Sections and all anarchism and individual terror—all this made it clearly apparent that **Torgler**, even in this fascist court of justice, feels that the German workers, under the leadership of the C.P.G., are siding with him.

After **Torgler's** hearing was concluded, the investigation of the "objective facts" commenced. First **Van der Lubbe** was re-examined. In spite of all assertions to the contrary, **Lubbe** is just as apathetic as before, if not more. He answers almost exclusively by nodding or by shaking his head. **Lubbe's** doings during the last few days before the fire are to be investigated. A deposition was read from the protocol, giving the statements of an alleged unemployed man who has never been heard of before. This protocol states that an unemployed man named **Zachow** told **Lubbe** that public buildings should be set on fire in order to arouse the workers. Another mysterious unemployed, named **Binge**, is stated to have told **Lubbe** that the beginning should be made with the Palace and the Reichstag. **Lubbe** now states that he cannot remember anything of this, or scarcely anything. The assertion contained in the protocol, that **Lubbe** had inquired where the "Central Bureau" of the C.P.G. was to be found, was first denied by **Lubbe**, but afterwards he admitted it might be "possible," only to withdraw this again. In reply to the question of whether he had designated himself as a Communist, he replied alternatively with "Yes" and "No."

After this a witness named **Janicke**, obviously a fascist spy, was examined. He maintains that he had spoken with **Lubbe**, and had at once gained the "impression" that **Lubbe** had been sent to Germany by the Dutch Communists "to study German conditions." **Lubbe** contests this. The assertion that he had said to **Janicke** that the "German Party is too inactive, something must be done, everyone must be his own leader, without waiting for the Party," is admitted by **Lubbe**.

#### Fifth Day of Trial

##### From the German Frontier, 26th September.

At the beginning of to-day's proceedings, Comrade **Dimitrov** rose and declared: "I have to make a statement. I have ascertained that in the German press my depositions have been completely distorted and misrepresented." The presiding judge shouted at **Dimitrov**—this is the only tone in which he seems inclined to hold intercourse with **Dimitrov**—"Stop! You have not the floor. Apply to your defending counsel."

**Dimitrov** replied to the judge that he had already explained to him once that he does not recognise the official "defending" counsel who has been accorded to him, and is therefore obliged to defend himself.

On this the presiding judge threatened to exclude **Dimitrov** from the proceedings if he uttered another word. The judge is obviously striving for this end. He is anxious to exclude **Dimitrov** from the proceedings, as his courageous stand, his relentless exposure of the fascist falsifications, and his exposure of the fact that the revolutionary defendants have been deprived of defence, are extremely inconvenient to the judge.

Next came the cross-examination of witnesses with regard to the three failures on the part of **Lubbe** to set buildings on fire in Berlin: one in the Public Assistance Office of the Berlin Municipal District Neukölln, the second in Berlin City Hall, the third in the Royal Palace in Berlin.

The public prosecution states that **Lubbe** threw a package of combustible material through the window of the Neukölln Public Assistance Office, but it failed to catch fire. This remarkable con-

trast to the technical perfection of the fire in the Reichstag was not touched upon at all, nor the equally obvious question why Lubbe attempted these three fires alone, whilst the police reports and the fire brigade experts have stated definitely that at least ten persons must have helped to lay the fire in the Reichstag.

It is stated that the attempt to burn down the City Hall failed because it was discovered and extinguished by a night watchman.

The prosecution alleges that Lubbe attempted to set the Royal Palace in Berlin on fire by climbing in through a skylight. Since the palace has no adjoining building whatever, it is difficult to see how Lubbe managed to reach this skylight. The prosecution asserts that Lubbe set fire to the roof woodwork, but the wind, contrary to its customary habits, extinguished it.

Various protocols relating to these attempts at arson were then read.

#### From the German Frontier, 26th September.

The hopeless position into which the fascist court has already been brought by the stand taken by the three Bulgarian revolutionists and by Comrade Torgler, and especially by Dimitrov's attitude, and the total inability of Lubbe to play the part assigned to him, or even to answer a mere "Yes" or "No," has now caused the presiding judge to announce a "complete reorganisation of the proceedings."

In spite of the unanimous verdict of the international press that Lubbe is in a condition representing a mere wreck of a human being, incapable of bringing out a single word, and although many newspapers assume that he is not likely to live long, the president continues to assert that "Lubbe is perfectly able to follow the proceedings; and he is fully conscious." The bloody plans of the tribunal of incendiaries can scarcely be carried out entirely without their agent provocateur Lubbe, however difficult he may be making it for them.

The following examination of Lubbe with respect to the three arson attempts which he is alleged to have made, show the same picture: the judge lays the answers ready in front of Lubbe, all that is required of him is to answer "Yes" or "No." Lubbe's replies are perfectly inaudible, and it is only the interpreter who states that he is replying "Yes" or "No," or both alternately. The president continually reads aloud extracts from the minutes of the preliminary examinations, but Lubbe "cannot remember the details." This statement of Lubbe's does not, however, prevent the president from arriving at the strange conclusion that "on the whole" Lubbe confirms his preliminary statements.

In striking contrast to this there stand a few generally comprehensible replies given by Lubbe to a number of definite questions put by the president.

The president asked him: "Why did you set fire to the buildings?"

Lubbe replied: "It was my own idea!"

President: "But for what reason? What did you want to attain?"

Lubbe: "I didn't know myself at the time!" (Sensation.)

The shameless attempts of the president to induce Lubbe to state that he had committed the deed in order "to arouse the workers" reached their culmination in the president's question:

"It is true, isn't it, you said that it was necessary to do this to arouse the workers who are struggling for freedom?"

Lubbe replied, so the interpreter stated, with a low "Yes." The president repeated the question again, saying:

"You did say that, didn't you?" Lubbe answered "No."

The president then read aloud a "political confession" allegedly made by Lubbe on 23rd April, 1933, when on remand in custody. The aid of the falsifying hand of the fascist officials is perfectly obvious. Otherwise this document is hopelessly confused. The proletarian revolution is described alternately as a "stage of advancing development" and as a "stage towards the destruction of the capitalist system." The hand of the fascist forger is especially conspicuous in the declaration, supposed to have been made at that time by Lubbe, that his motive had been to protest against the "system." This expression of the "fight against the system" was well known, in this form, as a fascist slogan.

After an interval, Lubbe's examination was continued. In reply to a question from the president, Lubbe declared that he had committed his acts of incendiarism alone. The president once more made a despairing attempt to induce Lubbe to make a

great "Communist declaration." Lubbe refused to do this, and declared that he was not going to say anything more on this subject.

Driven to desperation by this refusal of Lubbe's, the president asked the physician accompanying Lubbe if he could not induce Lubbe to answer. This physician, Dr. Schütz, here revealed himself to be another fascist tool. He did not give a medical opinion, but a political one: Lubbe's attitude is a deliberately defensive attitude, and the result of his political viewpoint. He is pursuing precisely the tactics required of him by the Communist Party.

This shameful assertion has, however, already been refuted by the bourgeois correspondent of the big capitalist "Chicago Daily Tribune," in the Paris edition of this paper. On 24th September this paper pointed out that the assertion that Lubbe's conduct was in accordance with instructions from the Communist Party was refuted by the fact that the four Communist defendants are not pursuing these tactics.

For the three Bulgarian defendants, only a brief resumé of this whole examination was translated into Bulgarian, entirely inadequate. Popov concluded from this that the three Bulgarian defendants are therefore not charged with having taken part in the three first cases of arson. The president confirmed this definitely.

Here Comrade Dimitrov intervened energetically, declaring: "During the preliminary examination Lubbe made his statements in a lively manner. To-day he preserves silence. If Van der Lubbe is really still normal, as the professors maintain, then for me there is only one hypothesis possible. . . ." The president, snorting with rage, interrupted him: "You have not to raise any hypotheses here!" Dimitrov continued steadily: "Then for me there is only one hypothesis possible. . . ." The judge interrupted him again, but had not got out a word when Dimitrov called to him:

"Ask Lubbe why he first answers 'Yes' and then 'No' then 'No' and then 'Yes.' Really magnificent! Comical!"

"Dimitrov: "Did Van der Lubbe read personally and sign the protocols of the preliminary examinations?"

President: "I do not permit this question."

Dimitrov: "Has Van der Lubbe spoken to anyone except the judge of the court of inquiry with regard to the arson affairs?"

President: "What is the object of that question?"

Dimitrov: "I should like to know if Lubbe has spoken to anyone."

President: "This question is to be rejected as superfluous."

Dimitrov: "Why did Van der Lubbe commit this frightful crime against the German workers and against Communism, and with whom?"

President: "This question, too, I refuse to permit. Van der Lubbe has already been put this question, and has replied that he was the sole perpetrator. All pertaining questions have already been put without any clear answer being elicited. There is no reason to repeat these questions."

The judge was so enraged at Dimitrov's questions that he could scarcely collect himself to reply, and Dimitrov continued: "Ask him who helped him? Ask him if he had ever heard the name of Dimitrov?"

The presiding judge was thrown into such confusion by the question "Ask him who helped him?" and replied only to the second part of the question, stating that Lubbe had already denied having helpers.

The whole Senate was indeed thrown into confusion by this question. The Senate retired to consult. It consulted on the possibility of stopping the mouths of Dimitrov and the other accused revolutionists without shocking foreign countries too seriously, since unless this is done the whole structure of the indictment, already tottering, will collapse.

The Senate returned to the court and announced: "Dimitrov will not be permitted to put any further questions." The court of justice, protected by officials armed to the teeth, trembles before the four Communists, who in the eyes of the world are no longer the defendants, but the accusers. The court had resorted to the last means of saving the tissue of lies of the indictment: it closes the mouth of the defendant.

The official reason given for this measure against Dimitrov is that he puts his questions solely for the sake of carrying on Communist agitation. And truly enough, the establishment of the actual facts, which has already made considerable progress during

to-day's proceedings with their exposure of fascist lies, is in this atmosphere Communist agitation.

Dimitrov was only able to declare: "I protest," before the Senate hastily adjourned till next day, not knowing how to carry on the proceedings. By to-morrow some new fascist device is to be thought out in order to make up for the loss of face, the exposure of the tribunal of fascist incendiaries.

## Dr. Sack Exposed

### Declaration of the Central Committee of the C.P.G.

Before the beginning of the Leipzig trial the C.C. of the C.P.G. publicly stigmatised the alleged chosen counsel for Torgler, Dr. Sack, as a tool of the public prosecution. Dr. Sack plays a shameful double role under the appearance of "objective defence." It is known that the Communist deputy, Torgler, has been refused every barrister whom he has demanded, even two lawyers from the Saar district, and therefore German subjects. Faced by the choice of defence by official counsel appointed by the German fascist government or of relinquishing any defence whatever, Torgler decided on Sack in the expectation that he thereby at least created a possibility of juridical defence for himself. There is no doubt, judging by the past and the whole attitude of Dr. Sack, that Torgler has fallen into the hands of a deceiver and agent of the Hitler government.

Dr. Sack is known as the reactionary lawyer who defended Chervonetz forgers, vehmic murderers, and Russian monarchists; who was active in 1918 as co-founder of the fascist volunteer corps, and appointed himself Kapp's minister of justice in 1920. At the London Inquiry Commission he declined to allow anyone to see the indictment papers which he had with him. He has refused to collaborate with any foreign lawyer in Torgler's defence. The material which has been brought forward now renders it almost impossible for the German public prosecutor to maintain the indictment against Torgler. Sack has therefore received orders from the Hitler government and public prosecution to do his utmost to have Torgler condemned as a political personage, and to throw the guilt of the fire staged by the Nazis on to the C.P., at the same time maintaining the guise of defending Torgler, so that all the past and future crimes of the Hitler government may be justified.

The public is aware that the methods of preliminary examination used by the Hitler government have left no stone unturned to accomplish the physical and mental ruin of the defendants before the trial, that their will might be weakened and their capacity for defence destroyed. Dr. Sack has abused Torgler's position, cut off from the outer world and from his Party, in a systematic endeavour to worm himself into his confidence, in order that he may exploit the result in the interests of the fascist criminals at the trial.

The C.C. of the C.P.G. stigmatises before the whole world the criminal methods of German fascist justice being applied at the Leipzig trial, of which Dr. Sack is a willing tool.

## Appeal of the International Propaganda Committee of Railwaymen

To all Organisations Affiliated to the International Transport Federation.

Comrades,—The monstrous trial on the Reichstag fire, the event which served the fascist hangmen as a pretext to launch the wave of savage and bloody brown terror against the German proletariat, has begun in Leipzig on September 21.

Throughout the columns of the world's press, throughout meetings and mass manifestations, public opinion is denouncing at the actual moment the leading masters of Germany as being the culprits guilty of this crime. Nevertheless, there are the innocent men: Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev, who shall be delivered to the hands of the public executioner! This fire is one

The Intercom. has been informed of *Edo Fimmen's* declarations stating that the I.T.F. had proposed to the leaders of the German labour movement to launch the general strike of the transport workers, in case the German workers were ready to resist Hitler by violence, but they refused to accept it.

We want to underline once more that the Communist Party as well as the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition has twice made an appeal for launching the general strike: on the 20th July, 1932, and on the 30th January, 1933, without having heard anything from the I.T.F.!

Comrades railmen, members of organisations affiliated to the I.T.F.! We know very well that it was your fighting spirit, your proletarian hatred against fascism, which caused Fimmen to make declarations of this kind.

On the other hand, your Trade Union International has adopted a resolution at its Congress in Brussels, urging the workers to boycott German goods. This slogan of highly passive character is very appreciated, too, by the different imperialists, because it favours national commerce. The real fight against fascism, that of attacking by all means is *the direct mass action on the basis of the united front!*

That is the reason why we are addressing ourselves to you proposing common actions on the following basis, on the 25th of September, which has been appointed as the day of international workers' protest strikes:

- (1) Retard of all trains, coming from Germany or leaving for there.
- (2) Joint manifestations against the exposure of Nazi literature, which is sold in the station libraries.
- (3) Distribution of leaflets and sticking of posters with anti-fascist slogans.
- (4) Joint manifestations against representatives of the Nazi system which may be in the frontier stations.
- (5) Establishment of *Anti-Fascist Committees* for the organising and carrying out of these actions and the setting up of *Frontier Committees* in the boundary countries capable of organising the manifestation of September 25 and of leading the anti-fascist struggle even after this fighting day.

*Long live unity in action of all railmen!*

*Let us save our comrades menaced by Hitler as well as all victims of the bourgeois class-justice!*

Paris, September, 1933.

The International Propaganda Committee of Railwaymen.

## China

### The Struggle of the Chinese Proletariat

By Tai-Dan-Chen

Whilst the fields of Manchuria and North China, the industrial quarters of Shanghai and Tientsin are trampled under the bloody heels of Japanese imperialism, the Kuomintang has taken over the task of crushing the national emancipation struggle of the workers and toiling masses inside the country. The Kuomintang government concluded peace with the Japanese interventionists. In this peace treaty it recognised Japan's rule in Manchuria and in North China and pledged itself, with the assistance of the Japanese and other imperialists, "to reconstruct the country," i.e., to put an end to the anti-Japanese movement and to destroy the most powerful factor of the anti-imperialist front: Soviet China and its heroic Red Army.

The short pause in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the strike movement of the Chinese proletariat which was to be noticed in the first months of this year, was followed by an impetuous movement, and the strike wave in the spring far surpassed the struggles of the same period last year in regard to the number participating in them and the stubbornness with which they were conducted. According to incomplete statistics, 130 strikes with 202,000 participants have taken place in the big towns of China.

The strike struggles of the year 1933 were participated in not only by the workers in the foreign undertakings, but also by those factories which are the pride of the national bourgeoisie and the support of the Kuomintang trade unions. Following cuts in wages, the reduction of the working week from six to four and even three days and mass dismissals, the workers of the following undertakings went on strike: The Anglo-American Tobacco Co. (11,000 workers), the Textile Combine Henjuan in Tientsin (20,000 workers), Daschen factory in Nantung (8,000 workers), the Schensin textile factory in Shanghai (10,000 workers), the coal pits of Chenchow (6,500 workers), the railway workers on the Shanghai-Nanking-Hankow railway (43,000 workers), 6,500 seamen in Canton, etc.

These strike struggles, which commenced with the putting forward of economic demands, were not only political but outspokenly revolutionary actions, for in most cases the factories were occu-



pied by the workers, demonstrations took place and many workers were killed and wounded in the collisions with the police. In the Schensin factory 11 workers were killed and more than 20 wounded. In the English-owned mines of Fugunsi (Province of Honan) two workers were killed, 16 wounded and about 400 workers beaten and mishandled. In Nantung eight workers were killed when the strike was crushed and more than 1,000 workers expelled from the town. In the Minshen factory in Hankow five workers were killed, etc.

The workers of one of the three factories of the Anglo-American Tobacco Co. in Shanghai repelled the offensive of the capitalists and achieved a partial victory. They had occupied the factory, driven away the factory guard and the police, and forced their way into the two other factories of the company, thereby inducing the other workers to join in the strike. The red union applied correct tactics by propagating the general strike, because it would have only been to the advantage of the capitalists to have one factory closed down in view of the bad economic situation.

The strike in the greatest macaroni factory is described as follows in the May number of the illegal workers' paper of Shanghai:

"The strike in the Houfing factory has just come to an end. In the year 1928 the monthly wage was still 15 dollars, but in the years of the Kuomintang rule it has been reduced to ten and even to eight dollars. The workers demanded an increase in wages. The advanced workers arranged a meeting at which they decided to demand a wage increase of two dollars. In the morning, before the commencement of work, the members of the group held a meeting at the factory gate and put forward their demands. They were supported by all the workers. They then went into the factory and commenced the strike. The workers surrounded the activists and proposed that they should be their delegates. Our comrades accepted this offer, but declared that all the workers must go in a body to the factory gate in order to ensure the victory. The workers accompanied their delegates and besieged the factory office. The employer rejected the wage demand, whereupon the workers demolished the office. Police were called, but the workers threw stones at them. As our comrades knew that the police would soon arrive in force, they proposed to barricade the factory, and the employer had to remain with the workers. In fact the police arrived and besieged the factory. Thereupon the employer was deprived of bread and water. A day passed and the employer was prepared to increase the wages by 1½ dollars, and requested the police at the same time to abandon the siege. A meeting was called at which our comrades explained to the workers how this victory has to be defended in the future. Since the strike the group of advanced workers has begun to make rapid headway."

There have not been any big anti-Japanese demonstrations in China lately, nevertheless many facts go to show that the situation is very tense and that the anti-Japanese movement still possesses potential strength among the masses. In spite of the unbounded white terror, a great militancy was displayed on the 1st of May demonstrations and the anti-war meetings on the 1st of August. The Shanghai newspaper "Shenbao" recently reported:

"The small fish traders have organised an association for the fight against the sale of foreign goods. The association organised a meeting at the harbour, which was attended by several thousand workers, traders, coolies and students. By chance it came to light that Japanese goods were stored in the harbour. The indignation of the masses was so aroused that immediately a collection of money was held, petroleum was bought and 600 bales of Japanese goods were set on fire. At the same time the police were beaten up."

As a result of the fierce class struggles the Chinese proletariat is becoming better organised. In the course of the last twelve months the red trade unions of China have increased their membership threefold and struck firm roots in the big industrial undertakings. The textile workers' union in Shanghai has increased in strength and a big tobacco workers' union has been reorganised.

Illegal workers' unions have been set up in the transport industry, in the docks and even in the arsenal, and they have succeeded in getting into contact with the spontaneous mass movement of the workers and thereby increasing the fighting capacity of the working class. The result is that strikes most dangerous for the Kuomintang and the imperialists were organised and led by the groups of the red trade unions in the factories.

## India

### The Present Situation in India

By V. Basak

(Conclusion)

#### I.—We Must Establish Party Spirit and Discipline in Our Ranks.

All the known facts show that among the Indian Communists there are still many wrong views, much confusion, and there is not yet a real Bolshevik approach to mass everyday practical work. It is true that the Communists have to build up their organisation, work out their views and political line in the conditions of tremendous isolation from the international proletarian revolutionary movement. British imperialism tries in every way to hinder the co-operation of the revolutionary movement of India with the international proletariat. It tries to isolate it from the influence on the Indian proletariat, to prevent the workers and Communists of India from utilising the experience and aid of the more experienced and older Communist Parties of other countries. However, the experience which has been accumulated and the comparatively high level of class-consciousness of the advance stratas of the Indian proletariat makes it possible for us to set firmly before the Communists of India the task: to summarise the lessons of the previous years, to put an end to confusion and to carry on sharp and open self-criticism of our past weaknesses and mistakes, rally our ranks, and unite the Communist forces on the basis of a common Bolshevik programme of action.

The period during which the Party is being formed and built never was an easy one. It could not be easy because the working class is surrounded by petty-bourgeoisie and the influence of the latter can be felt every day and every hour. The working class of India is young. Many of the workers only recently came from the villages. The influence of caste and other relics has not been eliminated. Not all have yet passed through the stern school of the class struggle and organisation. All this, together with the existence of some provincial isolation, the differences of languages, relics of the caste system, etc., is used by the enemies of the proletariat to prevent the working class from becoming an independent leading class force, the leader of the toiling masses. The development of the Indian proletariat took place in conditions of the growing anti-imperialist movement. The workers actively opposed the British oppressors. The bourgeoisie and the "left" national-reformists took advantage of the hate of the toiling masses towards national oppression; they try, while hiding themselves behind speeches on national unity, united national front, the non-class character of the National Congress, to strengthen the influence of the bourgeoisie among the working masses and convert the proletariat into an appendage of the reformist bourgeoisie so as to prevent it from separating out into an independent class force. But as a result of many years' experience of the treacherous policy of the Indian national-reformists, the broad masses of workers are becoming convinced that the struggle for independence is not being carried on by the national-reformists, that there cannot be a united national front with the Indian bourgeoisie, that for the victory of the Indian people it is necessary to overcome the influence of the national-reformists and liberate the toiling masses from bourgeois leadership. And for this purpose it is necessary to form a workers' independent revolutionary party—the Communist Party.

The task of the Indian Communists is precisely to understand correctly all the developments which are taking place in the working class, to get in touch and rely on the numerous advanced stratas of the proletariat, and by a correct policy to win over the majority of the working class and to mobilise around it and attract the toiling peasants and the urban poor and all those who are prepared to fight for the independence of India.

At the same time the Communist Party of India will not be rapidly formed and will not become a Bolshevik Party if the Indian Communists (while continuing energetically to develop mass activity) do not declare at the same time war on all the incorrect views mentioned above, if they do not revise their inheritance, if they do not carry on a firm struggle for the proper Communist line set out in the platform of action and in the open letter of the three Communist Parties (1932).

This struggle against deviations and mistakes must be carried on under the banner of struggle for a united Party, for amalgamation of the scattered groups in every town into a single local Party organisation and all local organisations into a single Party. We

must develop in every Party member a feeling that there is nothing higher for him than the interests of the Party, for the first duty of a Communist is to be a loyal, faithful, **disciplined** member of the Party. Every Communist must understand and realise **once and for all** that we cannot break the framework of the Party in defiance of the instructions of the Comintern and form fractions, and still less can we split the Party organisation. We must throw overboard and fight against all attempts to introduce into the Party personal, trifling and secondary matters. We must combat petty-bourgeois individualism and personal ambitions which interfere with the consolidation of the Party and which in reality represent an attempt to spread the influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie on the workers and is frequently used by the police for their provocative disintegrating work. The Indian Communists, united on the basis of a Bolshevik programme, should not keep silent differences on questions and principles or replace them by personal squabbles. The duty of the Communists is to examine and bring clarity on such questions, rally the ranks together, thus strengthening the unity of the Party. In the present epoch of the world proletarian revolution and the existence of the Communist International, all disputed questions of principle should be solved within the framework of the Comintern, and in case they cannot be solved on the spot they should be handed over to the E.C.C.I., and then the decision of the Comintern should be firmly and loyally carried out by all members of the C.P.I. **This is the A B C of Communism, and no one has the right to call himself a Bolshevik Communist if he does not understand or if he violates this principle.**

If we briefly formulate what is needed at the present time in the Indian Communist movement, it will be the struggle for Party spirit, for the Party as a **united, voluntary, fighting disciplined union of Communists with common ideas, who put the interests of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism above all.**

## II.—The Struggle for Party Spirit and the Elimination of Mistaken Traditions

The struggle for Party spirit and devotion to the Party demands that Communists should break away from the mistaken views and traditions of the past years. The trouble is that some Communists have not yet understood the criticism of the letter of the three Parties, have not understood that their personal attacks on each other are a distorted reflection of differences on political questions and that **without self-criticism** and a correct policy it is difficult to unite the scattered groups into a single party.

The swing of some of the revolutionary intellectuals towards Communism in 1928-29 played a great role in the development of the revolutionary workers' movement. However, many of the revolutionary intellectuals brought with them incorrect views. Among the chief of them is lack of confidence in the working class and **the failure** to understand that the proletariat has already become the vanguard (though not yet the leader) of the masses of the people, that among the workers there are many who have passed through the school of the class struggle and are capable of participating in the building of the Party and the mass organisations, are able to lead the mass movement. In practice this has led to a failure to understand that there are **conditions** for a struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the national movement. And this in turn has led to a belittling and even a slurring over of the struggle against "left" national-reformism, which in its turn made it more difficult to form an independent underground mass Communist Party. At the same time, when their split from bourgeois national-reformism took place, and they came over to the side of proletarian socialism, many of them slipped onto the path of sectarianism, isolating themselves from the mass national movement for independence. They counterposed the task of forming an independent class party of the proletariat—the Communist Party—to the task of winning over the masses in the anti-imperialist movement. Their conception of the role of the proletariat and understanding revolutionary leadership was limited to the idea of forming small groups of leaders, sometimes organised as the workers' and peasants' parties, sometimes as formless fractions in the trade union movement. As a matter of fact, following the organisational principles of the National Congress, it is quite clear that such a **belittling** of the role of the Party, coupled with the abandonment of the political struggle has led to bad results and a **practical** cessation of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat.

There are some revolutionary groups in the Communist movement who come from the workers' and peasants' parties, connected

with the peasant masses. The most dangerous mistake of some of these comrades is that they do not see the political difference between the Communist Party as the party of the proletariat and socialism, and the workers' and peasants' party which were revolutionary petty-bourgeois organisations of two classes, and as a matter of fact acted as the "**left-wing**" of the bourgeois national movement. Among some of these comrades there is a **mistaken** conception that the C.P. is the logical continuation of the workers' and peasants' party. Hence they do not see the necessity to revise and openly give up and criticise their old incorrect views. However, a revolutionary can properly call himself a Communist only if he understands and openly states that no revolutionary petty-bourgeois party, however honestly it might have accepted some of the socialist slogans, can call itself a socialist organisation, be a Communist organisation.

We cannot confuse and combine together the Communist Party and a petty-bourgeois party. From this only confusion arises. The party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, not only sets before itself the task of **consistent fight for the democratic tasks, but also a further struggle for socialism, and the Communist Party will solve even the democratic tasks in such a way as to further the struggle for socialism, to prepare conditions for the growing over of bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one.**

However, the separation of the Communist Party into an independent party distinct from the revolutionary petty-bourgeois parties not only does not mean refusal of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasants, **but on the contrary** leads to the **strengthening** of the fighting alliance of the working class and the toiling masses of peasants and ensures the victory of the masses of the people, while strengthening the hegemony of the proletariat.

A large part of the mistakes which have been pointed out depend on the failure to understand that it is **not sufficient** to recognise the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat abstractly and in words. Whoever recognises in words, but **in practice** does not see in India the conditions for carrying it out in practice, is not a Communist. Because whether he subjectively wishes it or not, he will either adapt himself to the bourgeoisie, following the programme of the Roy group, or he will turn into a sectarian, a chatterer, a phrasemonger, who will swear that he is loyal to Communism and the Communist Party and that he hates imperialism, but will drift away from the mass movement, carry on abstract propagandist work, leaving the field of the mass movement free for the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, and thus will make it easier for them to work for the disorganisation of the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants.

## Organisational Problems

Organisational tasks have never faced the Communist movement of India so sharply as now. Some Indian Communists brought with them, coming from the workers' and peasants' parties, the Congressite organisational principles. The essence of which is that groups of leaders are formed which replace the mass organisation and dictate their instructions to the masses from above. These organisational principles as far as the bourgeoisie is concerned have the aim to disorganise the national revolution, to prevent the masses of the people from influencing the decisions of the National Congress. These organisational principles in the workers' and peasants' parties were the expression of the lack of confidence of the revolutionary intellectuals, who had come from the petty-bourgeoisie, in the strength of the working class, in its ability to participate and lead the mass movement. The transferring of these principles to the Communist movement is an expression of lack of faith in the possibility of the hegemony of the proletariat, disbelief that there exist the conditions for the formation of a mass Communist Party and winning the leadership of the mass movement of the millions. Sometimes such a position is covered up by ultra-revolutionary phrases that in India the workers and peasants are so revolutionary and conscious that to organise the mass movement it is sufficient merely to appeal to the masses. This is a harmful petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary point of view, and in practice leads to the neglect of the education and organisation of the worker and peasant masses for the revolution. And it makes it easier for the bourgeoisie to carry on its treacherous work. As the result of such wrong views, many Communist organisations in their organisational work do not go outside the limits of small groups or weak, shapeless fractions in the trade unions, do not publish underground leaflets, etc. These principles are incorrect, harmful and anti-revolutionary.

No group of Communists has now the right to call itself a Communist group unless it gives up these principles and immediately reorganises its work on the basis of Bolshevik organisational principles. They must **immediately begin to form town Communist committees, district committees, section committees and nuclei in the factories.** We cannot limit ourselves to being members of a fraction in the trade union only. It is not correct to do as the Punjab comrades do, when they call themselves the Punjab Communist Party. It must be changed into the provincial Punjab committee of the Communist Party of India, and it must reconstruct its organisation, form town committees in all the towns, etc., speak in the name of the committees, sign underground leaflets in the name of the committee, etc. The same in all provinces, especially in Bombay, this should be done. Only in Calcutta the comrades formed the Calcutta committee, although, as far as we know, even here no attempts were made to form section committees (in Metiaburj, Garden Reach, etc.), and nuclei in the factories. The Communist groups must begin to form Party committees and united Party organisations. **An end must be put to the scatteredness of Communist forces in the various towns and attempts of each group to form its own all-Indian centre.** We must begin to unite our forces, discuss disputed questions within the framework of the united organisation, on the pages of underground bulletin specially issued for the Party members, at the same time developing energetic mass activity (legal and underground) among the workers and the toilers in the trade unions, factories, etc.

While forming Party committees, we must develop their activity, including the issue of Party leaflets, pamphlets and newspapers (legal and underground). It is necessary to overcome the existing organisational and technical difficulties. The refusal to publish underground leaflets on the ground of technical difficulties amounts to a refusal to form an underground party. It cannot be looked on otherwise.

A special difficulty in the work in many districts is the existing close interweaving of the apparatus of the legal and underground organisation. Such an interweaving must absolutely be abolished. We must **completely separate the legal and underground apparatus while strengthening the control of underground Party committees,** distribute our forces and change the forms of work with the aim of the greatest possible protection against government terror and provocation.

The development of secret work must take place on the basis of still greater contacts with the working masses, transferring the centre of work to the rank and file, to the factories, villages. Only in this way can the Communist Party stand up against the blows of the government terror. The **combination of legal and underground work** which was spoken of in the letter of the three Parties remains the **most important task,** especially at the present time of the development of the workers' and peasants' movement.

Organisational tasks have taken on prime political importance for India. Any further delay is impermissible and criminal. A sharp change must take place. This change will make easier the struggle against the scatteredness, the splits, the group quarrels, the personal attacks, the sectarianism and isolation, and will make it easier to form rapidly a united All-Indian Communist Party. The development of the Communist movement has already grown beyond the limits of the scattered group existence. It is necessary to pass on rapidly to the formation of **Party organisations, committees, nuclei and a united Communist Party.** It is necessary to take the line of unity conferences in the towns, the provinces, so as to prepare for a unity conference on a national scale.

This change can be carried on only on the basis of energetic recruitment of the class-conscious workers, tested revolutionary students into the ranks of the Party. We must end the situation in which, on the one hand, there is a group of leader-intellectuals, and on the other hand there are thousands of active workers capable and worthy of being Communist leaders of the working masses. We must begin to recruit the workers widely, testing **each one individually** so as to avoid provocation, building up nuclei and district organisations, promoting workers to active work in the trade unions, strike committees, the workers' press, etc. Only in this way will the Communists be able to get rid of the psychology of small groups which retreat in face of the enormous tasks, which do not believe in the **prospect of leading the millions.** Moreover, only from these perspectives, from the perspectives of the hegemony of the proletariat, from the perspectives of leading the millions, can we

correctly build up and carry on our everyday work at the present time in the struggle for partial demands. And for this purpose we must definitely put an end to the bourgeois Congressite organisational principles and pass on to Bolshevik principles. We must **form a United All-Indian Communist Party.**

## Fight Against Imperialist War

### The Aero-Naval Manoeuvres in England

By Tom Bell (London)

Aero-naval exercises on a grand scale have just been completed by the British Home Fleet off the Scottish coast in the North Sea. These operations are the first of the kind to combine aircraft with naval manoeuvres, and one of many contemplated by the Admiralty, including an attempted landing.

No less than 90 aircraft were assembled. Supporting the three ships of the line engaged in the "bombardment" of Elie were the aircraft carriers "Courageous" and "Furious" conveying 51 aircraft, the exercise being for the purpose of giving practice to units of both the air and naval services in reconnaissance, ship recognition and anti-aircraft defence.

Such a large force naturally entailed an enormous expense in fuel and in organisation, an important point to be noted having regard to the weakening Budgetary situation of the National government. It is an indication of the seriousness with which the war preparations are being approached in England.

Flying over 5,000 feet high, theoretically 48 bombs of 250 lbs. were dropped on the flying decks of the two aircraft carriers. "Knowing the high percentage of hits now attained even from greater altitudes," says one critic, "and bearing in mind the efficiency of the latest type of bombs, one could easily picture the carriers disabled as regards their particular functions."

These "Hart" bombers are deadly weapons carrying two bombs of 250 lb. each, the equivalent of four modern six-inch shells.

The motif of the exercises were apparently the pitting of a naval force against aircraft unaided either by ships or heavy shore batteries. Such a contingency would appear to rule out any thought in the minds of the Naval Lords of an attack on the home front which is provided for in case of war. But in the Far East conditions are different. There such a situation contemplated in the motive could arise, so that these exercises may be said to be connected particularly with the big naval programmes of Japan and America.

The problem of the replacement of the British Fleet is a live question among the naval critics and the Admiralty at the moment. All are agreed that a large scale replacement is overdue. The First Lord of the Admiralty has declared recently that if a programme of replacement was voted in 1937 (assuming agreement with Japan and America) certain British battleships would be obliged to remain in service until they were 36 years of age.

By the end of 1936 the British Fleet will comprise no less than 14 cruisers and 45 destroyers having passed the legal age and must be replaced by new units. This clearly becomes a financial question. Maurice Prendergast, writing in "The Navy" in June and July, proposes to vote in 1934-1935 and 1936 for the putting on the stocks eight, seven and four cruisers, and 16 destroyers a year, leaving the question of capital ships over till 1937.

It is clear that whatever the results of the *Disarmament Conference*, and the Naval Conference to be resumed in 1935, a heavy burden of naval armaments will figure in the forthcoming Budget Estimates. This means a further drive against the working class, more "economies," reduced wages and a speeding up all round.

In this connection the aero-naval manoeuvres have a great importance. Whatever be the technical conclusions of the General Staff of the Admiralty these will undoubtedly be brought in to reinforce their arguments for an enlarged Budget, already substantiated by the tense international situation and drive for war amongst all the imperialist countries.

## The Revolutionary Movement in Paraguay Growing in the Fight against War

Letter from Asuncion (Paraguay)

That the war with Bolivia is unpopular in Paraguay is a notorious fact. The first series of easy "victories"—victories for the big landowners and the bourgeoisie of Paraguay, who are allied with the foreign imperialists; defeats for the masses who are slaughtered at the front and for the masses at home who are suffering under the shameful regime of starvation and terror—have been followed by long months of privation and misery, starvation and death. Not only the workers are against the war, deserting in masses and rebelling (about seven officers at the front have been killed by their own men), but even the petty-bourgeoisie are no longer putting up with the war in silence, and their discontent has found vent in spontaneous outbreaks. Various students have delivered anti-war speeches to the recruits, and as a punishment have been sent to the firing line, since when nothing more has been heard of them.

Every day 50 to 70 soldiers die in the hospitals, some from their wounds, others from disease (yellow fever, tuberculosis, etc.). At the beginning of the war, convalescent soldiers were given 50 pesos and their fare home. As very many of them deserted while on leave, the military authorities no longer allowed them to go home, but, before they had hardly recovered, sent them again to the front, or kept them in concentration camps, which are real prisons. The food is not only quite inadequate, but is also impure and the cause of many of the sicknesses from which the soldiers suffer. Many soldiers have already been shot, as a warning example, for protesting against the bad treatment, bad food, etc.

Formerly soldiers who had been called up could travel on the railways, tramways, etc., free. Now they have to show a card from the War Ministry—which all of them do not receive—and those who do not possess one must travel at their own expense.

In spite of every difficulty imaginable, revolutionary propaganda has been able to find its way to the soldiers, and leaflets against war have been distributed almost in the firing line, and various revolutionary literature distributed. Up to the present, however, the actions against war have not been very numerous and have had a spontaneous character, a fact which is to be attributed largely to the influence of the anarchists, who regard desertion as an effective means of combating war.

Since the declaration of a state of war and the placing of the workers' organisations (sailors and railwaymen), with the sanction of their leaders, under government control, the situation of the proletariat and the working masses in general has become desperate. Those who have not been called up must work patriotically, i.e., for no pay in the workshops, docks, etc., and if they do receive a miserable wage it is of no use to them, for they cannot, as before the war, obtain credit at the provision shops, etc. The families of those who are sent to the front receive hardly any support—scarcely four kilograms of meat in a month. Compulsory labour, pompously described as "patriotic work," has been introduced. Special commissions go through the towns, waylay the workers at the exits of the few workshops and factories which are still working, and bring them to the docks, where they have to load and unload ships under supervision without any pay.

Espionage is indescribable. The anti-war and Communist propaganda has frightened the ruling classes of Paraguay, and the most drastic measures have been adopted in order to prevent it. Under the pretext of fighting against the yellow fever, the authorities visit the houses of workers during the night and carry out the most thorough house searches.

Large numbers of revolutionary and Communist workers are pining in the prisons. Obdulio Barthe, a Communist student leader, has been almost tortured to death on account of the protest which he and a group of comrades made against the bad treatment and bad food they received.

Under the auspices of the government a white guard has been formed, the aim of which is to "liquidate" subversive elements. The Communists have replied by forming self-defence groups.

The plight of the petty-bourgeoisie (small shopkeepers, etc.) is increasing from day to day. Like the peasants they are systematically robbed by the Red Cross bandits.

The position of the peasants is even worse. They have had to deliver up all the meagre stores of maize, etc. they had, not to speak of the cattle which was confiscated at the beginning of the war. At the same time all the peasants must continue to work their farms

in order to help "their country." The fact that plantations and small farms have had to be given up to a great extent, and the best cultivated districts have been visited by a plague of locusts, faces the whole of the working population of Paraguay with the grim spectre of famine.

This situation has already called forth numerous risings of the peasants and their armed resistance to the requisitions. Recently many of them have refused to cultivate their land. In many parts of the country the peasants have formed armed groups which resist the police and prevent them from entering on their farms. Recently the peasants near Villa Encarnacion derailed a train which was proceeding to the front, seized the supplies of food it was conveying, and helped the recruits, who were to go to the front, to escape.

In Asuncion, the capital town, there are many groups of workers which carry on anti-war agitation in the various workshops and factories. The same is true of some towns and villages in the interior of the country, such as Villa Rica, Encarnacion, Alberdi, Villeta, etc. These groups are in contact with the troops at the front who are against the war. Although working under the most difficult conditions, with very little experience in illegal work, and with considerable remnants of anarcho-syndicalist forms of work (the workers who now form the Communist Party come for the most part from the anarcho-syndicalist camp), their influence is increasing and offers prospects of the formation very soon of a firm Communist movement and a revolutionary trade union movement in Paraguay. The Central Committee against war in Paraguay is a mass organisation which enjoys great prestige and has numerous sections at the front as well as a wide network of sub-committees which render valuable support to the work in the interior of the country. Numerous leaflets and appeals have been published, which have been very well received by the workers and peasants of Paraguay. In all these groups there exist Communist fractions or elements which exercise a guiding influence over them, and this is approved by the masses. A remarkable fact demonstrating the militancy of the masses of Paraguay is that part of the delegation from Paraguay to the Congress in Montevideo made the journey, lasting 15 days, in a rowing boat on the river Parana, covering in this way a distance of 1,500 kilometres.

At the present moment, when the inner situation is becoming more and more acute, it is more imperatively necessary than ever that the proletariat of America and the whole world support the revolutionary movement which is commencing in Paraguay.

## Proletarian Youth Movement

### World Congress against War and Fascism

Paris, 22nd September.

The Youth World Congress against war and fascism was opened to-day in the great hall of the Mutualité Palace. More than 1,000 delegates have already arrived. The first to march on to the great platform were the delegates of Soviet youth. Comrade *Guy Jerram* introduced them to the delegates in the hall, who greeted them enthusiastically.

All the delegates have not yet arrived. More than 20 young German workers are, however, already here, having contrived to cross the frontier illegally at the cost of endless risk and danger. Twenty more delegates are expected to-day, and sixty from the Saar district. The Czechoslovakian delegation drove through South Germany in a motor lorry, giving themselves out to be an excursion. In spite of all difficulties, delegates have got here from fascist Poland, the Balkans, and Austria. The largest delegation is the French. The British delegation too is excellent, 80 delegates. Delegations have arrived from America, Spain, Holland, and other countries.

Among the delegates are many members of socialist youth, Communists, pacifists, Christian and non-party youth. There are also young employees, office workers, peasants, and students among the delegates. Of special importance is the fact that there are young delegates from the war munition undertakings—from the Schneider Creuzot Works and Renault (France), Skoda (Czechoslovakia), and from German armament undertakings.

After Guy Jerram had given the delegates technical instructions, Comrade *Plaud*, secretary of the initiative committee, declared the Congress to be opened. He welcomed the delegations. He then proposed the formation of the Presidium of the Congress.



Amidst the greatest enthusiasm, the honorary Presidium was elected. It included numerous well-known authors, Romain Rolland, Maxim Gorki, André Gide, etc. There were tempestuous demonstrations when the political prisoners were also included in the honorary Presidium, especially those now in the hands of the national socialist executioners in Germany. As a demonstration of solidarity, Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev, and Popov were voted members of the honorary Presidium.

Welcomed with great enthusiasm by the youth delegates at the World Congress Against Fascism and War, the French comrade *Raymond Guyot*, who has suffered severe sentences of imprisonment for his anti-war activities, mounted the platform of the Congress to deliver the *report of the International Initiative Committee*:

Comrades, fellow workers from all countries! Over a thousand delegates are assembled here to speak in the names of millions who have elected them all over the world, to challenge the capitalist world with our defiance of fascism and war.

For three years no young workers have been taken on in the French metallurgical industries. In Germany there are at the moment over a million young workers who are homeless. In the United States of America there are three million homeless young workers, and nine million children no longer attend school. Profit-hungry capitalists are doing their best to drag the youth into the labour camps. In Germany we can see that this system offers the youth neither an occupation nor bread. The working day lasts from 10 to 13 hours. No wages are paid. The quarters are barracks. The clothing is a uniform.

Those young workers who are still in the process of production lead a hellish life in the rationalised factories. The discipline in the factories, and particularly in the factories of the war industries, is very little different from the discipline in the labour camps. Since the 1st January, 1933, there have been eight deaths in the Schneider-Creusot works. An apprentice in these works earns from five to eight francs a day. No young skilled worker ever earns more than 20 francs a day before his period of military service.

The life of the young girl workers is even harder than ours. During the war and in the first post-war years they were drawn in masses into the factories to work for hunger wages and under terrible conditions, and now they are being flung out of the factories in masses.

The prospects of our comrades from the villages, for the sons of the toiling peasantry, are no better. The prospects for the students are also no more favourable. On the one hand the universities and schools are becoming more and more like barracks, and on the other hand the students are starving. It is therefore not surprising that a medical examination of the students conducted in Germany in 1927 revealed the fact that out of 405 students examined 46 per cent. were weak, under-nourished, anæmic and bronchitic.

In the countries of Asia, America, Africa, etc., which suffer under the yoke of imperialism, the life of the young workers and the children is still more tragic. The work in the rice fields and in the spinning mills begins at eight years of age, and the wages are a little rice or flour. In Indo-China mothers are compelled to sell their children in order to pay their taxes to imperialist France. What does present-day, so-called civilised society give to the youth? A life without light and without prospects. A descent into darkness. What prospects are we offered? The answer is given in two bloodstained words—fascism and war.

Even before it has broken out the new world war is decimating the ranks of the youth. From October, 1931, to the 1st January, 1933, 490 young soldiers of the French army died, 30 young soldiers committed suicide, nine young soldiers went insane, 689 were wounded, 90 of them seriously, and 3,377 had to go into hospital. According to the figures of M. Caillaux about 9,000 young soldiers who left the army alive must be added to these figures as they draw pensions as a result of sickness contracted during their period of service. The regime in the barracks is the beginning of the war regime.

Fascism and war are rejected by the whole youth as the worst possible evils. Fascism and war, which are offered as cures of the social evil, mean in fact the destruction of our generation.

Comrade *Plaud*, the secretary of the World Initiative Committee, then took the floor and was greeted with great enthusiasm. We shall not gain the victory and achieve our aims, he declared,

without action and without struggle. The broadest possible action and the most persistent struggle are necessary. First successes are of the greatest importance. We want to follow the splendid example of the heroic struggle of the youth in the past and to fight in the tradition of the great movement against war and fascism. It is our firm intention to extend our united front movement with all possible means. We want to rally the masses of the youth irrespective of their party affiliations and their political opinions, irrespective of their origin, provided that they are willing to fight against fascism and war. We take on the task of spreading the ideas of the Amsterdam movement and the European Anti-Fascist Congress amongst the youth of all countries. We shall carry on our activity at all places open to us, and particularly in the factories.

Our immediate task is to mobilise all possible forces all over the world to assist our German comrades in their struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship of Hitler by a revolutionary proletarian struggle. In order that our decisions shall be carried into action they must find their expression in the day-to-day struggle. With this aim in view our fighting movement against fascism and war will devote itself to the following tasks:

(1) To make every big factory and every harbour a fortress against fascism and war. To carry on intensive propaganda in these centres in close connection with the struggle for economic demands in order to mobilise the majority of the youth in our committees of action. To prevent the sending of war materials, above all to Japan.

(2) To oppose all chauvinist and war-mongering demonstrations in the mass organisations for sports and military preparation, and in the labour camps. To work for the removal of the officers and military instructors and for the democratic election of camp committees, the recognition of committees of action and for the dissolution of the labour service camps.

(3) To spread our fighting slogans against fascism and war in the barracks and on all warships and to win thereby new supporters for our movement. To conduct the same propaganda amongst the recruits and to persuade the associations of recruits to join up with our movement.

(4) To defend the rights of the young working men and girls against the fascist terror methods. To fight for the political rights of the youth. To organise a mass defence organisation against the fascist bands. To drive out the Russian white guardists and the agents of Hitler and Mussolini.

(5) To penetrate into the villages and win the peasant youth who are destined to be the cannon-fodder of the next war and whom the fascist agents are trying to win for fascism.

(6) To spread the network of our committees of action at all universities and schools by supporting the demands of the student youth and opposing the machinations of the fascists and militarists with all possible energy.

Over and above our struggle against fascism we shall work with all the enthusiasm of which we are capable for the establishment of a socialist order of society. (Protracted applause.)

The *third day* of the Youth Congress against fascism and war was opened on the 24th September under the chairmanship of Francis Jourdain. After speeches by youth representatives from Germany, Italy and Corsica, Comrade *Delaune* spoke in the name of the Red Sport International. After a Czechoslovakian young pioneer had spoken two young French soldiers appeared in uniform to address the Congress. The delegates rose in their places and sang the "International." One of the young soldiers spoke in the name of the troops in the Paris district, whilst the other one had come from the Eastern Command. They both expressed the determination of the young soldiers to fight against fascism and war.

The Communist member of the German Reichstag, Comrade *Becker*, then addressed the Congress in the name of the young Communists of Germany. He was followed by youth representatives from Alsace-Lorraine, Bulgaria and other countries. Amongst the speakers was the former pacifist conscientious objector *Launay*, who is now a young Communist.

Comrade *Timofeiev*, a delegate from the young workers at the "Stalin" works in Moscow, was greeted by the Congress with the singing of the "Internationale." He described the life of the young workers in the Soviet Union and declared that they followed with the greatest attention the struggle of the young workers in other countries against fascism and war.



In order to make it possible for the Congress to complete its work that day it was decided to carry on with the discussion without interruption and a series of delegates took part. The speech of a youth delegate from *Cuba* was particularly noteworthy.

A delegation from the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.) of France was greeted with great enthusiasm. In the name of the delegation Comrade *Gourdeau* greeted the Congress and expressed the good-will of the federation.

During the course of the discussion Comrade *Kachat* spoke in the name of the women's conference, and Comrade *Vanner* in the name of the students. Following on the appearance of a delegation of recruits from Saint Denis a young Rumanian railwayman, Comrade *Jonescu*, described the heroic struggle of the young workers of his country. He was followed by a delegate of the conference of unemployed young workers and by other delegates.

Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm a youth delegate from the Saar district handed over a flag to the delegation from the Soviet Union.

The Congress decided to send telegrams of protest against the

imprisonment of Comrade *Thaelmann* and against the brutal parody of justice being staged in Leipzig.

The secretary of the International Initiative Committee, Comrade *Plaud*, and *Raymond Guyot* then closed the discussion with speeches which were received with great applause. It was decided to send telegrams of greetings to Henri Barbusse, Maxim Gorki and Romain Rolland. After the Congress had listened to a report given by Comrade *Lebas* on the Trades Union Conference, which, he declared, had decided to organise a youth trade union commission, the Socialist Comrade *Thurotte* then read the manifesto of the Congress. The World Committee of Youth was then unanimously elected. The Congress was then closed by Comrade *Guy Jerram* and the delegates rose and dispersed singing revolutionary songs.

One thousand and ninety-two delegates took part in the Congress, according to the report of the Credentials Committee, including 553 young workers without party affiliations, 3 Christians, 20 pacifists, 7 secular republicans, 111 young Socialists, 10 supporters of the proletarian united party, 1 anarchist and 387 Young Communists.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

## The Masters of the Socialist Fields—Examples of Collectivist Democracy

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

"Your kolchos bears the proud name of 'Udarnik' (shock-brigader)! But you are not working like shock-brigaders! You are sowing badly. You have organised the work badly. You start work in the fields too late in the morning.

"The State has helped you a lot. It has given you land. It has provided you with machines. You have been lent seed and food by the State two years running. How many years do you wish to live at the cost of the workers' and peasants' State? Our workers' and peasants' State has no use for such collective farms as yours."

From whom did the collective farm "Udarnik" receive this letter? Perchance from the State supervising authorities? Or is it a threatening letter from the "Checka," about which the enemy press likes so much to write? Is it a confirmation of the legend, recently repeated by Vandervelde, that there is no democracy in the Soviet Union? No. The collective farm "Udarnik" received this letter from the collective peasants on the neighbouring farm "Der werktätige Riese" (The Toiling Giant).

This form of collective reproof of their backward neighbours from the kolchoses which are working well has, so far as we have seen at least in the Central Volga region, become a common phenomenon. These open letters of reproach differ greatly in their form and contents. One collective farm reproaches another with treating the draught animals carelessly. A third accuses the fourth of not having sufficiently rid itself of hostile class elements. There are others who raise objections to the mismanagement of their neighbours, pointing out that this is against the interests of the proletarian revolution. But in all these letters there is expressed the profound socialist transformation which the collective economic order has brought about in the lives and minds of the collective peasants. It confirms above all the fact that the old "jungle law" of capitalist competition, in which the mismanagement of one undertaking means advantage to another and in which each is the enemy of the other, has ceased to apply under the conditions of collective farming, just as it has in socialist industry.

In most cases the effect of these letters of admonition is surprising. In a few weeks, or even in a few days, there commences a noticeable improvement in the work and discipline of the collective farm in question. One should not of course simply imagine that the collective peasants on the farm which has been criticised immediately decide straightaway to work better. The feeling of shame, it is true, plays a great role, but ordinary questions of the class struggle also play a part. The first effect of the reproach is

that the collective farmers begin to consider the causes of their bad work. Are there kulaks, saboteurs, whom we have not got rid of who are disturbing our work? Is the income distributed in such a way that it destroys incentive to work? Such, and other similar, questions are discussed, and then there commences the fight to remove the causes which have led to their lagging behind.

But often the matter does not stop at reproaches. Here is another document from the Soliletzki district of the central Volga province, published by the central wall-paper of the collective farm "Sozialistisch er Sieg" in the village of Weltjanka.

### Letter from the Tractor Drivers of the Kolchos "Zwilling" to the Collectivists of the Farm "Sozialistischer Sieg"

"We, the tractor brigade, have our sowing plan. On the 5th and 6th of May, in the morning, we shall help you with our seven tractors. We shall help you to make up leeway, but on condition that you mobilise your best forces, properly feed the draught animals, and that each one does his full quota of work.

"Comrade collectivists! Forward to the fight against petty bourgeois muddling. Let us ensure an increase in the harvest yield and deliver a stronger blow against the kulak elements and idlers. Redouble the working enthusiasm and the fight for the Bolshevik collective farms and for the prosperity of all collective farmers."

A further document:

In a wall newspaper of the first brigade of the German collective farm "Rot Front" in the Volga German Soviet Republic we read the following, written in the crude handwriting of a collective farmer who to all appearances has only recently learnt to read and write:

"We must all see to it that nothing is damaged, for everything that is damaged means loss to all of us. We must keep a sharp eye on all who pilfer collective property; on those who hinder our work. We can only do this if we give publicity in the wall newspaper to the bad as well as the good sides."

When one remembers that in the Central Volga region alone there are 25,000 such brigade wall newspapers, in which hundreds of collective farmers whose interest formerly did not extend beyond their own diminutive farm, to-day, as collective masters of the agricultural big undertakings, exercise a controlling and guiding influence on their undertakings, then the social-democratic talk about the "undemocratic" character of the proletarian dictatorship is seen to be nothing else but downright lies, invented in the interests and on the orders of the capitalist exploiters.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### Brilliant Successes of the Autumn Sowing Campaign

The autumn sowing campaign is proceeding successfully in the Soviet Union. On September 15 several districts had already fulfilled and surpassed the whole plan of the autumn sowing, among them being the districts of Leningrad, Gorki, Western Siberia, Urals and the Tartar Republic. In these and other districts the area sown this year far exceeds the area sown in the same period last year.

The collective farms of the Soviet Union have sown about 16 million hectares, nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million hectares more than in the past year.

The Soviet farms have sown almost half a million hectares more than in the autumn of last year.

### Fulfilment of the Financial Plan for the Third Quarter Before Time

In a number of districts the financial plan has been carried out before the scheduled time.

In **Bashkiria** the financial plan was carried out 105 per cent. already on September 15.

In **Abchasia** the financial plan was fulfilled 145 per cent. on September 20.

In the **Tchuvashen Republic**, which was engaged in a socialist competition with the German Volga Republic, the financial plan was completed on September 15, and in some districts already on the 1st and 10th September.

### On the Front of Industrialisation

The foundation stone of the new locomotive works has been laid in the town of **Orsk**, in the East of the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics (R.S.F.S.R.). The works have an output capacity of 540 giant locomotives a year. A new town is springing up on the building site; houses for 6,000 persons have already been built.

On September 19 the fifth Martin furnace of the **Kusnetsk** smelting works delivered its first steel. Thus, in addition to the Martin furnaces already working, the Soviet Union now has a huge 150 ton furnace. It is exactly a year ago that the Soviet Union received the first steel from the Kusnetsk works. In the course of this year the works have turned out 155,000 tons of steel.

In **Leningrad** the erection of the largest dairy combine in the world has been completed. The combine is to supply 600 tons of milk a day; the main building covers an area of 62,000 cubic metres. The combine is equipped with the latest achievements in technique. Ten apparatuses for the pasteurisation of milk are being installed.

In the **Dnieper** Combine blast furnace No. 1 of the "Saporoshestahl" has been completed.

In **Magnitogorsk** the construction and installation work for coke battery No. 6 has been completed.

### The Development of the Towns

The building of the underground railway in **Moscow** is still proceeding successfully. The shock brigades of the Young Communist League are taking a prominent part in this work.

In **Leningrad** the waterworks in the south of the town, with a capacity of 28 million buckets, have been completed.

In the town of **Shachty**, in the Donetz basin, a water main 28 kilometres in length has been laid. It is now supplying the town and the neighbouring mining works with 7,500 cubic metres of water a day. The cost of laying the main amounted to about four million roubles.

### Opening of Motor Bus Lines and Building of Motor Buses

New motor bus services are being commenced in **Voronesh, Vyaika, Petrosavodsk, Alma-Ata, Shachty, Birobidjan** and **Ansherka**. Motor buses turned out by factories in the Soviet Union will be employed this year for the first time in **Magnitogorsk, Stalinsk, Archangel, Murmansk, Astrakan, Saratov** and a number of other towns.

In the present year the municipalities of 75 towns are receiving over 600 new Soviet-built motor buses. In **Moscow** the fleet of motor buses will be increased to 560, in **Leningrad** to 300, in **Ivanovo-Vosnessensk** to 50, etc. At the end of the year 1,500 motor buses will be running in the towns of the R.S.F.S.R.

### The Novosibirsk-Leninsk Railway Line Completed

A government commission has arrived in **Novosibirsk** for the purpose of opening the newly-built **Novosibirsk-Leninsk** railway line. The line is 300 kilometres long. With the opening of this new railway the **Kusnetz** basin has a fresh connection with the **Urals**.

### The Sugar-Beet Crop in the Ukraine.

The first days of the sugar-beet harvest have shown exceedingly favourable results. It is reckoned that the total yield will be 100 million centals. This will enable the sugar refineries in the **Ukraine** to supply the country with about 85 million poods of sugar, which is nearly 20 million poods more than was envisaged by the plan and about 25 million poods more than was turned out in the whole of last year by all the refineries in the sugar-producing area.

### The Erection of Dwellings in the R.S.F.S.R.

The presidium of the Housing Commission of the R.S.F.S.R. has confirmed the plan for the erection of dwellings in the fourth quarter of the current year. The sum of 26,526,000 roubles has been allotted for the erection of dwellings. The largest sums are granted to the **Moscow** and **Leningrad** districts. Four million four hundred and seventy-four thousand roubles are granted for the erection of dwellings in the town of **Moscow**, and 3,070,000 for the **Moscow** district.

Five million seven hundred and sixty-one thousand roubles have been granted for the erection of dwellings in the **Leningrad** district.

### International Water-Power Prospectors in the Soviet Union

The participants in the International Hydrological Conference of the Baltic countries, which is to be held in **Leningrad**, have arrived in **Kiev**. The delegations include scientists from **Germany, Denmark, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland** and **Danzig**. They have inspected the work of the **Ukrainian** research institute.

### Lindbergh in the Soviet Union

**Lindbergh**, the famous airman, has arrived in **Leningrad** with his wife. He wishes to see something of the life in the larger centres of the Soviet Union, visit the **Arctic Institute** in **Leningrad**, and meet **Polar** explorers and experts. **Lindbergh** has also expressed the desire to visit **Moscow**. He expressed great appreciation of the aviation and the maps in the Soviet Union, as well as the meteorological data provided by the **Leningrad** observatory.

### Marx's "Capital" in the Armenian Language

The Party publishers in **Armenia** have issued the first volume of **Marx's "Capital"** in the Armenian language. It has been translated direct from the German.

### Moscow to Kara-Kum and back by Motor

An expedition of motor-cars, all made in the Soviet Union, has just successfully carried out a tremendous endurance test for drivers and machines. The expedition left **Moscow** and drove over the desert of **Kara-Kum** to **Batum** and **Tiflis** and back the same way. The desert of **Kara-Kum** has been vanquished by motor-cars.

### Self-Criticism and Labour Discipline

On the 3rd August the "Pravda" published a criticism of the work of the lamp works of the **Moscow** combination **Elektrosavod**, complaining that the working time of the factory was insufficiently utilised. The party committee of the **Elektrosavod** works immediately called a special conference to secure the best possible utilisation of the working day, which is one of seven hours. The conference examined the question with scientific thoroughness and **Bolshevist** energy. No less than 335 photochronometrical shots were made and numerous other technical experiments were conducted. Not only each department, but each group of workers held preliminary meetings to discuss the questions at issue and make practical proposals to the conference. In a socialist factory the workers themselves are directly interested in securing the greatest possible volume of production.

### Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Turgeniev's Death

The cultural and literary organisations of the Soviet Union are organising lectures and literary evenings during the celebrations in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the famous Russian writer **Turgeniev**.

# In the International

## Communist International's Reply to the I.L.P.

### To the Independent Labour Party

Comrades,—After we had given a clear answer to the question put by your Party Conference as to how the Independent Labour Party may assist in the work of the Communist International, we received a letter from the National Administrative Council which made a series of absolutely unfounded charges against the Communist International and brought forward a proposal to “call a world congress of all organisations which are prepared to co-operate on a revolutionary Socialist basis.”

We consider that nothing useful can come out of such a proposal. If the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P., together with the independent fragments of Social-Democratic parties, calls a world congress, as stated in its letter, nothing will come of this except an attempt, foredoomed to failure, to resurrect the inglorious Two and a Half International, as was demonstrated by the recent Paris Conference of these organisations.

We doubt if this idea will be received with any enthusiasm even by the members of the Independent Labour Party itself. At the Derby Conference the representative of the National Administrative Council advocated the idea of an “all-embracing international” as against the resolution to approach the Communist International. But the majority decided for the latter.

We believe that the members of the I.L.P. wish to adhere to the decision of their Party Conference and do not wish to be dragged into new internationals with old bankrupt policies.

The idea of a “Left Socialist” world congress, which is advanced by the National Administrative Council, is basically the old idea of the I.L.P., which dates back to 1920.

At that time also, in the conditions of the extreme radicalisation of the British working class, the I.L.P. broke off its connections with the Second International, and the N.A.C. of the Party sent us a letter signed by R. C. Wallhead and Clifford Allen in which, on the one hand, it inquired about the conditions of joining the Communist International, and, on the other hand, informed us that the I.L.P. had “invited the Swiss Socialist Party to call a meeting of representatives of the Left wing of the Socialist Parties” on the question of “the possibility of restoring a *united all-embracing International*.”

Experience soon showed where this Left idea would lead. In 1921 the I.L.P. participated in the formation of the Vienna organisation of Left Socialist Parties, and two years later, in 1923, this Two and a Half Second International brought back to the fold of the Second International those radicalised workers who had left this treacherous International.

At that time, by means of this manoeuvre with the Two and a Half International, the Left workers in a number of European countries were kept back for a long time from the common fighting front with the Communist International against the bourgeoisie.

In Great Britain this manoeuvre guaranteed support for the bourgeois imperialist policy of the Labour governments from those workers who were under the influence of the I.L.P. and made it easier for the leaders of the reformist trade unions to betray the General Strike in 1926.

Further, this manoeuvre prepared the way for a whole series of capitulations, without a fight, to the systematic capitalist offensive.

All this cost the British working class a great deal. While the Left reformists were talking very much about the “Living Wage” and even “Socialism in our Time,” they did nothing to organise the mass resistance of the workers to the everyday attacks of the capitalists and the government.

Millions of workers were thrown out of the factories on to the streets; the situation of the unemployed worsened; unemployment relief was reduced; the Means Test was introduced; the wages of the workers were cut mercilessly, etc.

*Poverty and political reaction* were what the British working class obtained from the policy of the Labour Party, instead of a “Living Wage” and Socialism.

This offensive cannot now go on so smoothly. The working masses cannot tolerate it any longer. They have become embittered, indignant and they want to struggle for bread, for their cause. They no longer believe that “Ford has triumphed over Marx,” as the Press of the I.L.P. often assured them.

At the present time the radicalisation of the working masses in Britain is a fact from which practical political conclusions should be drawn. We Communists put forward the task of organising the mass struggles for the defence of the vital everyday interests of the workers, for the liberation of the majority of the working class from the influence of the reformists, for rallying together the fighting front of the proletariat and organising international united front actions against fascism, the war danger and the bourgeois offensive against the living standards of the working class.

But what could a joint congress of Social-Democratic and Communist Parties, such as proposed by the leadership of the I.L.P., give to the poverty-stricken working masses at the present time? Nothing but illusions.

The leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties do not want to struggle against the capitalist offensive.

They want to continue their class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and a joint congress with them could only distract the attention of the workers from the necessity of a mass struggle in defence of their interests.

Could such a congress enlarge and strengthen the proletarian united front? It could not. The Social-Democratic leaders are afraid of the united front of the working masses. In all countries they prohibit their supporters from participating in any militant united front activity with the Communists.

Time after time they rejected the proposals of the Communist Parties for a united front.

They expelled Communists and other revolutionary workers, who supported the united front, from the trade unions and from the Labour Party. They split the whole trade unions, and in addition, when our comrades organisationally rallied together the expelled members, they shouted that it was the Communists who were the splitters.

The last conference of the Second International in Paris once more demonstrated the hostile attitude of this International to the proletarian united front.

All this proves that the united front of the proletariat cannot be established by conferences from above with the lackeys of capitalism.

It will have to be forged in every separate country by the everyday co-operation of the revolutionary and reformist workers in the localities, in the factories, in the trade unions, and by developing their joint energetic struggle against political reaction and the capitalist offensive. There is no doubt that this task can and must be carried out.

For the carrying through of these most important tasks of the revolutionary working-class movement, the assistance of the I.L.P. in the work of the Communist International could be of exceptional value.

But some parts of the letter of the N.A.C. to us, and statements of prominent members of the N.A.C. (Brockway, Sandham, Jowett, etc.) during recent months, the breaking off of the united front with the Communists by some leading functionaries of the I.L.P. give grounds for fearing that the intention of the Derby Conference to assist in the work of the Communist International may be frustrated.

In view of this danger, we are compelled to put the following questions:—

*Firstly*, at a moment when the example of German Social-Democracy is plainly showing to all the workers of the world how the parties of the Second International betray the cause of the working class for the benefit of fascism, what does it signify that the N.A.C. of the I.L.P., instead of calling on the workers to carry on a determined struggle against the Second International, throws out the accusation against the *Communist International* that it “prevented that united action by the working class which alone could have defeated the forces of fascism and capitalism”?

This charge breaks down in face of the indisputable facts.

When the Hitler regime was in embryo, who was it that insisted on the necessity for the united action of the working class in order to break the power of fascism? Did not the Communist International make this proposal to the Social-Democratic Parties?

Who was it that carried on a real struggle in Germany against the seizure of power by the National-Socialists? Among all the parties, it was the Communist Party of Germany alone.

In vain it approached the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the General Federation of Trade Unions (A.D.G.B.) to carry on anti-fascist actions on the basis of the united front—this

was done on July 20, 1932, against the coup d'état in Prussia, and on January 30 and February 28, 1933, against the dictatorship of Hitler.

More than this, the Communist Party of Germany organised a whole series of militant actions with the participation of the Social-Democratic workers, such as mass strikes against the emergency decree of the Papen government to reduce wages, the general strike in Lubeck for the liberation of the arrested Social-Democrats; it fought jointly with the members of the Reichsbanner against the closing of trade union halls by the fascists (Frankfort, Dusseldorf, Hanover, Koenigsberg, etc.).

But the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions constantly restrained the workers from this common struggle by their warnings and threats. In addition, the Social-Democratic ministers and police presidents suppressed hundreds of anti-fascist actions of the workers by police force. These are the facts.

But, writes the N.A.C., the Communist International is "treating sections of the working class outside its own ranks as enemies."

No, we only look upon the Social-Democratic *Parties* and the *leaders* of the reformist trade unions as enemies, and not the trade union organisations and the Social-Democratic workers.

But the Communist International, says the N.A.C., is treating the parties of the Second International as enemies, "indistinguishable from the fascists and the most reactionary capitalists." No, we have always distinguished between them.

The parties of the Second International do not openly defend the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, like the fascists, but under a democratic cloak.

By their policy of support for the capitalist offensive, they clear the path for fascism, and then the fascists do their work.

In Germany, the Social-democratic leaders supported, as a "lesser evil," the governments of Bruening and Papen, whose emergency decrees so impoverished the masses of the people that millions of them in despair blindly swallowed the demagogic promises of Hitler.

During the presidential elections, as we know, the Social-Democratic Party did not agitate for Hitler but for Hindenburg. But Hindenburg handed over the reins of power to Hitler. In the Hitlerite Reichstag it was not the Social-Democrats who put forward the fascist programme of foreign policy. It was put forward by Hitler, and the Social-Democratic fraction "only" voted for it.

Thus, there is a distinction between the fascists and the social-fascists. But it is a distinction of such a kind that when the social-democratic workers see it, they do the same as the members of the I.L.P. did—they turn their backs on the Second International and their faces towards the Communist International.

But the N.A.C. noticing this, calls to the members of the I.L.P.: No, not only the Second International is to blame, but the Communist International as well.

What does this mean if it is not a concealed defence of the treachery of the Second International which cannot any longer be defended openly.

Secondly, at the very time when the N.A.C. is writing us a letter on the necessity for "united action by the international working-class movement against fascism, war and imperialism," what does it mean that the chairman of the I.L.P. writes articles containing the worst kind of slander of the U.S.S.R., Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International?

The Soviet Union is the bulwark of the world proletariat and the oppressed nations against imperialism and international fascism. Therefore the hostile policy of imperialism is constantly directed above all against it. All the world knows this.

Everybody who wants at the present time to fight honestly against war and imperialism will fight first of all against the imperialist preparations for an anti-Soviet war, particularly on the part of British and Japanese imperialism.

But what does Mr. Brockway do in his notorious articles on the seizure of power by the fascists in Germany? ("New Leader," June 16, July 7.) They do not contain a word against British or Japanese imperialism, but instead of this, a senseless libel that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union bribed the other parties of the Communist International so that they came out in the alleged interests of the U.S.S.R. for "acquiescence in Japanese imperialism" in the Far East and that they also "contributed to the victory of Hitler"!

These slanderous statements are quite as bad as the anti-Soviet attacks made by Citrine at the Trades Union Congress.

In using such dishonest means, Mr. Brockway merely displays his own desperate alarm with the fact that especially recently the British workers are learning more about the enormous political and economic gains of the Soviet Union, and the more they learn, the more they become filled with revolutionary enthusiasm and go over to genuine Socialism, an example of which is given by the victorious Soviet proletariat.

Thirdly, at a time when the I.L.P. adopts decisions for a united front and co-operation on a national scale with the Communist Party of Great Britain, what does it mean when some district committees of the Independent Labour Party either prohibit their organisations from carrying out any united front actions with the Communists (Lancashire), or refuse in general to discuss these questions with the representatives of the Communist Party (South Wales)?

At the same time as the National Council is writing to us: "We are prepared to continue this co-operation," a member of the N.A.C., Mr. Sandham, writes a circular on behalf of his district committee against this co-operation.

At the same time as the N.A.C. is informing us on the readiness of the I.L.P. to assist in the work of the Communist International, the representatives of the N.A.C., at the Paris Conference, are zealously assisting the fight of the Independent Socialist Parties against the Communist International for a *Social-Democratic policy* which only by its Left phrases differs from the policy of the Second International. What does this mean?

Allow us to state our opinion quite openly as to what it all means.

It seems to us that in your Party there are *two distinct tendencies*, two political lines. Many members of the Party are for the new line outlined by the Derby Conference, but many leaders are for the old reformist line.

Many members of the Party are for an uncompromising fight against the bourgeoisie and the Labour Party, but many leaders are sabotaging the fight against both one and the other.

Many members of the Party are firm supporters of the U.S.S.R., but many leaders are against the U.S.S.R. Many members of the Party want to get nearer to the Communist International and to co-operate with it, but many leaders want to get further away from it.

In short, many members of your Party are revolutionaries, but many leaders are reformists. To be more exact, they are Left reformists.

The latter are not quite the same as Right reformists, the leaders of the Labour Party or "National Labour." What do the Left reformists stand for?

They are in favour of a revolutionary policy in words, but in practice they are against it. They can accept a much more radical programme than the Right reformists, but they do not cease their resistance to the revolutionising of the practice of the Party.

They talk loudly about the united front of the proletariat, but act along the lines of conciliation with the Labour leaders and continue their co-operation with the saboteurs of the united front, such as Mr. Sandham, and in this way also helping the National Labourists and the National government.

Formally they are for co-operation with the Communist International, but actually they are assisting its bitter enemies in the setting up of a new international body for the purpose of holding back the masses from the revolutionary class struggle by means of deceptive phrases and Left manoeuvres which are essentially directed against the Communist movement.

For a long time the I.L.P. carried on an openly reformist policy, supported the MacDonald government, etc. Was this reformist policy correct or not? The Left reformists do not say. All they say is that now they want to carry on a "new policy," a "revolutionary policy," as there is now an economic crisis.

But day and night, year in and year out, they are waiting for the end of the crisis so that it will be possible for them to restore their old policy. Thus, for them a "revolutionary policy" is only temporary, dictated by the bad state of trade, a crisis policy, with the aim of putting the masses to sleep.

"We also want Socialism," say the Left reformists, "but by a pacifist technique of revolution." In other words, this means we do not actually want revolution, which brings all kinds of dangers.

But if Socialism could be brought in without dangers and fights, either by a democratic vote in Parliament for a suitable Bill, or by means of the peaceful organisation of legal Workers' Councils, then we would have no objection to Socialism.

But the British bourgeoisie are emphatically against the fate of capitalism being decided by peaceful means. It is strongly armed and is in favour of using the most merciless violence against the proletariat.

Its policy is a bloody one and its "democracy" is shown up as a class dictatorship. Its State is shown up as the apparatus of class violence.

Bourgeois class violence cannot be broken by "pacifist technique," but only by the class violence of the proletariat.

The British working class will be strong enough to do this if its vanguard, its revolutionary movement and the united front will be strengthened.

For this purpose it is necessary to take advantage of all actual possibilities and practical means, including the election campaigns and the Parliamentary tribune, to activate, to educate and organise the working class and to win its decisive strata over to the side of the revolution.

Such is the line of a genuine revolutionary policy.

The reformists complain that the present political situation is "disastrous." Some of them resign (Mr. Paton, Secretary of the I.L.P.), or seek a place in the camp of open reformism. Others twist and manoeuvre desperately so as to hang on somehow until the old times of stable capitalism return. But their calculations are mistaken. The capitalist system is bankrupt.

We say that the political situation is *favourable* for revolutionary work. A period of great class battles for power is approaching with the inevitability of historic law. This signifies the *possibility of great victories for the proletariat*. But everything depends on how the conscious revolutionaries carry on their work *at the present time* to prepare the working class for these struggles for power.

For this purpose it is necessary, above all, to have a *clear political line*.

The path of the I.L.P. lies forward and not backwards! Backwards means to bankrupt reformism. Forward means to Communism, which is already leading the working class in one-sixth of the globe from victory to victory and which will grow and conquer in all countries.

We propose that the following questions be raised for discussion in all the organisations of the Independent Labour Party:—

(1) **What concrete mass actions on the basis of the united front of the C.P.G.B. and the I.L.P. can and must be carried out in the near future, with the aim of a successful struggle for a ten per cent. wage increase, against the Means Test and other similar partial demands advanced by the C.P.G.B. and the I.L.P.**

(2) **Is it desirable for the Independent Labour Party to join the Communist International as a Party sympathising with Communism, with the right to a consultative vote, according to paragraph 18 of the Statutes of the Communist International?**

We are aware that the latter question has been advanced by some members of the Independent Labour Party. We consider it timely for the Party to discuss this question fundamentally.

With Communist greetings, on behalf of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

(Signed) O. W. Kuusinen.

The following is Paragraph 18 in the Constitution and Rules of the Communist International, referred to in their letter above:

"The E.C.C.I. has the right to accept affiliation to the Communist International of all organisations and parties sympathetic to Communism, such organisations to have a consultative voice."

### The Chemnitz Death Sentences Confirmed

Berlin, 23rd September.

The Supreme Court has rejected as unsubstantiated the appeal entered against the sentence passed by the Chemnitz assizes on 23rd May, condemning the Communists Bartl and Winkler to death. The case was that of the death of a dentist named Krebeck, on 5th August, 1932. The two men were charged with being involved in this. Although their guilt could not be proved, they were sentenced for the murder.

The confirmation of this sentence, meaning that another judicial murder is about to be committed, renders it necessary that the struggle against these and other death sentences in Hitler Germany should be taken up more energetically than ever by the international proletariat.

## Obituary

### Comrade Max Hölz

Moscow, September 16, 1933.

*Max Hölz was drowned on a boating trip on September 15, in the evening, on the river Oka near the Kavavino bridge in Gorki.*

The "Pravda" publishes the following obituary article under the title: To the Memory of the courageous revolutionary, Max Hölz:—

"Max Hölz was drowned on September 15 in the Oka, near Gorki. Max Hölz was the son of a sawmill worker in Moritz, near Riesa, in Saxony. He spent his youth as a child of the proletariat and entered life equipped only with the scanty knowledge provided him by the elementary school. At first he worked as a day labourer and then, at the age of 16, he went to the town. Some months later he went to England and worked in London as an apprentice in a technical bureau. He earned his living by night work in a motor garage. He was eager to get on in life. At the outbreak of war he joined the army as a volunteer.

"At the time of the collapse of the war Hölz was a member of the Independent Social Democratic Party (U.S.P.D.) in the Vogtland. He joined the Communist Party soon after its formation and worked enthusiastically for it. In particular, he was active among the unemployed. At a conflict with the burgomaster of Falkenstein the latter was forced to apologise on his knees. As a result the Reichswehr were sent into the district, the unemployed council was arrested and a price was put on the head of Max Hölz. At the time of the outbreak of the Kapp putsch Hölz returned to Falkenstein and, heading a detachment of armed workers, he repelled the Kapp followers in the Vogtland. He released the political prisoners in Plauen and compelled the bourgeoisie to pay the wages for the fighting workers. Under the leadership of Hölz, the workers of the Vogtland repelled the Kapp putschists completely.

"When, in the year 1921, the March action commenced in Central Germany, Max Hölz went into the Mansfeld district in order to assist the proletariat in repelling the bloody provocation of Hörsing, the social-democratic chief president of the Province.

"After his arrest Max Hölz was brought before a special court. The bourgeoisie demanded his execution. But the judges did not pronounce the death sentence. Hölz was sentenced to life-long hard labour and loss of civil rights. Max Hölz spent seven years behind prison bars. While in prison he continued his fight against class justice. Several times he had to carry out a hunger strike. In these years Max Hölz' fight was closely linked up with the struggle of the German proletariat for the release of the political prisoners.

"When, in the year 1928, Max Hölz was released from prison, his health was very much shaken. At the proposal of the C.C. of Germany he went to the Soviet Union in order to recuperate after his long years of imprisonment and to get a political training. But again and again he was longing for Germany. During his last stay he was wounded at a meeting by fascists. He had to return to the Soviet Union. The Hitler dictatorship deprived him of his right of German citizenship.

"Max Hölz was one of the most active revolutionaries in the ranks of the German working class. The courage he displayed in all revolutionary actions against the mercenaries of the bourgeoisie was one of the outstanding features of his character right up to his sudden death. The German proletariat and the international working class will preserve the memory of Max Hölz, the courageous revolutionary."

This article is signed by: Heckert, Maddalena, Schwab, Dietrich, Beimler, Heimann, Steinbring, Margies, Heimo.



## Book Review

### Sacco-Vanzetti Lawyer Reveals his Betrayal

By Louis Colman

Just six years after the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in Boston, Mass., Lawyer Ehrmann announces that "our duty now is to the record of history," and proceeds to make public for the first time the result of an investigation which established beyond doubt who were the criminals who committed the murder and robbery at Braintree for which Sacco and Vanzetti were framed.

For what purpose? To what end? Their duty was to defend supposedly the accused, in reality the capitalist system of "law and order." They performed their duty to the letter when they failed to exhaust every available medium of defence during the trial, particularly when they failed to give to the masses as a lever this evidence now revealed. Their duty now to the capitalist court is to use every means to isolate the exposure of this frame-up. This book is one more effort to that end.

The Sacco-Vanzetti defence was conducted in its legal aspects by "liberals," by lawyers in fact. There was not, as there is in the Scottsboro' defence for example, an organisational tie-up between the legal aspects of the case and the real defence which is provided by the masses. The inseparable was separated, and the defence successfully sabotaged by the legal representatives of the ruling class who pretended to be acting to save the lives of the fish-peddler and the shoe-maker.

You will search all through this book, which details the investigation and names one after the other the gangsters who committed the murders for which Sacco and Vanzetti were framed, without finding a single plausible excuse for the failure of the legal "defenders" of Sacco and Vanzetti to have withheld this story from the masses of workers and intellectuals who demanded life and freedom for the Massachusetts martyrs.

Pursuing the legalistic path of appeal to official murderers, Sacco and Vanzetti's lawyers presented the case against the Morelli gang in affidavits to a court they knew didn't care who committed the murder, a court determined to murder "their" clients.

"This evidence has never before been printed," the blurb says.

"Until Governor Fuller's decision was released on August 3, 1927, Mr. Thompson and I refrained from any public comment," Ehrmann says in his preface. "We believed that it was contrary to the ethics of our profession to try our (!) case in the newspapers. The legal aspect of the case, however, has been closed by death, and our duty now is to the record of history."

And now the book tells the story, "written like a detective tale," that should have been told more than six years ago. It gives names. It tells exactly how the South Braintree murder was committed in 1920, and the part played in the murder by each gangster.

The five gangsters who committed the murder were Joe and Frank Morelli, Tony Mancini, Celestino Madeiros and Steve Bankosky.

As soon as Ehrmann, conducting the investigation, had established the facts of the killing, he telephoned Assistant District Attorney Dudley P. Ranney, in charge of the prosecution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

\* A Review of *The Untried Case*, the Sacco-Vanzetti Case and the Morelli Gang, by Herbert B. Ehrmann. New York: The Vanguard Press.

"He had been a class-mate of mine at college and I felt I could talk frankly to him," Ehrmann writes. "To my surprise he showed no interest whatsoever in the news from New Bedford and Providence. I concluded my narrative by suggesting that the investigation of the Madeiros story would probably end not-crossing (dismissal by prosecuting officer) the case against Sacco and Vanzetti. The sudden hostility of his tone and the finality of his reply sent me away from the telephone flushed, angry and disillusioned. For the first time a fear began to come over me that the usual rules of the game were not to be applied to Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti."

After five years, the defence attorney in one of the most notorious class frame-ups began to suspect that "the rules of the game were not to be applied!"

But the "defence lawyers" kept to the "rules of the game" strictly. What were the lives of two men, the demand of millions of workers for their freedom, compared to the rules of the ruling class game called "law"?

The defence filed hundreds of affidavits, and the record shows filing and denial of nine motions and petitions, with the state and its court, following this telephone conversation. But not until six years after "death had closed the legal aspects of the case" does Mr. Ehrmann tell this story in full directly to those who alone had the power to force the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti, the masses of the workers of the world.

It is a useful book, nevertheless. It exposes several things, some intentionally, some unwittingly.

It exposes the working of a frame-up system, and shows in detail and concretely how capitalist courts will reject every proof, no matter how strong, of the innocence of its frame-up victims.

It exposes the utter futility of "legal" defence which is not also mass defence, in which the "legal defenders" actually sabotage the mass defence. There is scarcely a mention, except in quotations from Sacco and Vanzetti themselves, of the mass action that for more than six years withheld the hand of the executioner, and which, if properly supported by the legal steps and the attorneys forced by organised mass pressure to step out of the "rules" of capitalist justice and really become an adjunct of defence, properly led under correct slogans, might have saved these martyrs.

There is a passage, relating to Judge Webster Thayer, which strikingly calls to mind what lawyers and others have said of the great liberality of another lynch judge, in Alabama—Judge Horton.

"Judge Thayer listened impassively to the argument, which lasted five days. He was uniformly courteous, and engaged in an occasional pleasantry. To me it seemed he must be affected by the succession of undisputed and related facts as unfolded in Mr. Thompson's argument."

This is the same Judge Thayer who framed alibis for the Morelli gangsters and murdered Sacco and Vanzetti. "Uniformly courteous," like Judge Horton, who was forced to admit the innocence of the Scottsboro' boys—and has now ordered them to stand a new lynch trial.

The book is really written like a detective story. It is a useful form. It is used by Ehrmann to isolate the Sacco-Vanzetti case from the class struggle and mass defence, to set this story down as an isolated, incomprehensible instance of "justice miscarrying."

There is not a hint of the connection between this and a thousand other frame-ups in the capitalist world—the frame-up of Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev by the Hitler government; the frame-up of Tom Mooney, of the Scottsboro' boys, of Angelo Herndon, and of Athos Terzani.

The form helps nobly the betrayers of working-class solidarity, who would defend political prisoners, and treat them like criminals.

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