

# INTERNATIONAL

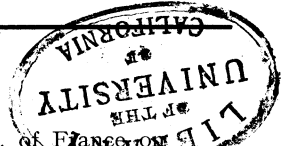
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# CORRESPONDENCE

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## The Barometer Indicates Storm

By W. Knorin

The barometer of the international working-class movement is pointing to a storm. Every additional month of crisis is a blow to the whole imperialist system equal in force to the greatest military defeat. The capitalist system is completely lost in the labyrinth of its contradictions. The productive forces have come into the most acute conflict with capitalist, productive relations. Poverty and want, starvation and unemployment, are mobilising the toiling masses against capitalism. The gigantic successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the successful culmination of the First Five-Year Plan, indicate the road to socialism to hundreds of millions of toilers in all continents and lands. As an antidote to the downfall and chaos of the capitalist world and the violent persecution of the toiling masses by the fascist bourgeoisie, the Communist International puts forward an international, proletarian, united struggle for proletarian dictatorship, for the abolition of private ownership of the means of production throughout the world, and for the reconstruction of human society on socialist lines; the Communist International offers the road taken by the October proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary theory and tactics of the greatest revolutionaries and thinkers in the history of mankind, of Marx, of Engels and of Lenin, which led to the brilliant victory of the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., is the guide to action of hundreds of proletarians; of the poorest peasants and of the toiling oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, who are rising to wage the only just war—the war against their oppressors. The leader of the masses in this revolutionary struggle is the Communist International, the "international party of proletarian uprisings and proletarian dictatorship" (Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Communist International), which "uniting as it does the revolutionary workers, who lead the millions of oppressed and exploited against the bourgeoisie and its 'socialist' agents . . . regards itself as the historical successor to the 'Communist League' and the First

International led by Marx, and as the inheritor of the best of the pre-war traditions of the Second International" (Programme of the Communist International). The creation of an international revolutionary party like the Communist International was the chief care of Karl Marx during the whole of his life, and was finally achieved by Lenin.

From the earliest days of his political activities Marx worked for the creation of an international revolutionary party of the proletariat. Already in September, 1843, in a letter to Arnold Ruge, he wrote about the creation of a party—"the organiser of the true struggle." In 1844, together with Engels, he already began practical work in this direction, and in 1846 the Communist Correspondence League was formed, under his leadership, and in 1847 the Communist League, the first embryo of the Marxist international revolutionary party. A straight road runs from this League to the International Workingmen's Association—to the First International, which was founded in 1863 and left its deep impress upon the development of the working-class movement of the world.

Between the epoch of Marx and Engels, the epoch of the struggle and activities of the First International and the epoch of the new international association of workers—the Communist International created by Lenin—there lies a long stage of development and struggle on the part of Marxism. But at the same time, during this period, the proletarian class parties which had grown extensively fell under the influence of reformists and centrists who took the road of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. There was only one party—the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and a small group of revolutionary elements in other countries—which in these years fought on behalf of revolutionary Marxism. This party of the working-class which alone based itself firmly on Marxism—the Bolshevik party—grew into a mighty political force and led the proletariat to victory in the October Revolution of 1917.

"The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia gave an impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in the centres of capitalism and in the colonies. In 1919 the Communist International was formed, and for the first time in world history the most advanced strata of the European and American proletariat were really united in the process of practical revolutionary struggle with the proletariat of China and India and with the coloured toilers of Africa and America." (Programme of the Communist International.)

Marxism grew into a mighty **material force**, embodied in the U.S.S.R. and a numerous army of Communists, imbued with the Marxist doctrine, throughout the capitalist world. Now against the Marxist party of the world, the Communist International, all the material and spiritual forces of the bourgeoisie are being mobilised, all the fascist storm troops, gas bombs, police tanks and aeroplanes are being set in motion, the most incongruous, foulest provocations and frauds are being organised.

Since the time of Marx much has changed in the capitalist world, but almost nothing has changed in the **methods** of struggle used by the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletarian party. The struggle to destroy the revolutionary working-class movement and to prepare for a new war, just as in the days of Marx, is accompanied by "sacred persecution," "war" (K. Marx) against the Communist International. All that is now being done by the bourgeoisie against the Communists and Marxism is an exact replica of what was done before, during and after the Paris Commune, and about which Marx, in his report on behalf of the London General Council to the Hague Congress in September, 1872, spoke as follows:

"But all the repressive measures, which the combined reason of the European governments was able to conceive, pale into insignificance in the face of the campaign of calumny which the civilised world is now conducting against the International with every lie possible. Apocryphal stories and secrets about the International, shameless distortions of official documents and private letters, sensational telegrams, etc., followed one after the other; all the floodgates of calumny at the disposal of the mercenary bourgeois press were immediately opened and let flow a flood of lies to drown the hated enemy. This war of calumny is unequalled throughout the whole of history both as regards the international theatre on which its activities are staged and as regards the wholehearted unanimity with which all kinds of party organs of the ruling classes are conducting it. After the big fire in Chicago, the telegraph spread throughout the world the news that it was the diabolical work of the International. We are only left to wonder why it was not made responsible for the demoniacal interference of the hurricane which almost swept away the West Indies." (Marx.)

On the sixty-second year after Marx had written these words, on 28th February, 1933, the telegraph spread throughout the world news in the face of which the old canard of the ruling classes about incendiarism "organised" by the International in Chicago pales into insignificance. "The Communists have burned down the German Reichstag!!!" This contemptible provocation on the part of the German fascist government, which aimed at destroying the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world, was so abominably organised that it met with no support even among world public opinion, with all its approval of terroristic action against Communists. The London **News Chronicle** declared that the statement that German Communists had anything to do with the fire is simply absurd; and all the more prominent organs of the press in England, in France, in Czechoslovakia and so on, are of the same opinion. But this piece of provocation had to serve as an excuse for making the Communist Party illegal, for arresting hundreds and hundreds of toilers; an excuse for using the Communist danger to frighten the petty-bourgeois masses before the elections; as an excuse for creating the right atmosphere for medieval Bartholomew nights against the workers and for hurling blows at the German workers "on a legal basis." The ruling classes are conducting their war against the Communist International and Marxism by means of provocation, calumny, false documents, because **all the weapons of force in their hands are insufficient to inflict the losses they desire upon the sturdily growing Communist movement.** Pilsudski's fascist regime has not only not eradicated, but has not even weakened, the Polish Communist Party; in spite of the terror, it has spread, and brought more and more new hun-

dreds of thousands of Polish proletarians and peasants under its influence. The Bulgarian hangman, **Zankov**, despite the mass shootings, the calumny and the provocation, has been unable to throttle the Bulgarian Communist Party, which has now mustered together the majority of the working-class, and is leading a considerable section of the toiling peasantry. The Hungarian hangman, **Horthy**, has not found it possible to eradicate the deep traditions of Soviet Hungary, and in his parliament his ministers are once more using the name of Bela Kun to frighten the souls of the Hungarian petty-bourgeoisie, while around the banner of struggle for proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, ever vaster proletarian and peasant masses are uniting. Even ten years of bloody terror and the most subtle system of torture and provocation have not helped Mussolini to destroy the Italian Communist Party, which, with every day that passes, becomes the leader of ever increasing vast masses of workers. The more so is it impossible for repressive measures, for "apocryphal stories" of underground passages in Karl Liebknecht House, and the "secrets of the International" fabricated by fascist bandits, or for fables about the "Muscovites," "the hand of Moscow" and "Moscow Gold," to destroy the German party, to "eradicate Marxism," to break the will of six million German toilers, who are prepared to fight to abolish the capitalist system.

The "Communist Plot" in Germany, beginning with the burning of the Reichstag—this fable was not believed by the most reactionary bourgeois newspaper of Europe, for the whole world knows the ways and methods used by the Communist Party to reach its goal. To accuse it of "plots" like this one is an old trick, which has been used time and time again by counter-revolution; it is always an excuse for settling accounts with the Communists. The numerous declarations made by leaders of the Nazis on the day before the burning of the Reichstag clearly show that they alone were interested in preventing the Reichstag from meeting; that it was they who set themselves the task of organising any sort of provocation to destroy the Communist Party, the only party that fights to defend the last remains of democracy, that fights for bread, for work, for the power of the toilers, for proletarian dictatorship. The bogus plot was a scheme to scare simultaneously the social-democrats and force them to be obedient citizens of the "Third Empire," force them to be a loyal weapon in the hands of the modern Cavaignacs, and their accomplices in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. **War against the Communist Party and Marxism in Germany**, which has been begun by the German bourgeoisie, is an indication of the fact that the bourgeoisie is preparing to take up a big civil war against the whole of the working-class of Germany, that it is directly preparing for a new imperialist war. **Imperialist war and civil war against its own proletariat, war against the Communist International, the Communist Party and Marxism—these three wars.** In March, 1872, Marx already laid on record that war against the International Workingmen's Association preceded the Franco-Prussian war and civil war in France, and accompanied them.

**The German proletariat is in the greatest danger.** The German bourgeoisie want to deprive it of leadership in the coming big class battles. But the increased provocation of the fascist bourgeoisie, the introduction of the system of political banditism, terror and shooting, is proof of the fact that the historic time has come for the end of capitalist rule.

**There remains to the bourgeoisie only a short period of power.**

How has it come about that Germany has arrived at fascist dictatorship?

How has it come about that the German bourgeoisie has decided to make a frontal attack upon the proletariat, to begin civil war in the land?

The Weimar Republic is bankrupt. The masses are in the greatest poverty and want. A considerable section of the organised forces of the proletariat are still under the influence of social-democracy, and have not yet shed their democratic illusions. Among the vast proletarian masses there is still lacking the determination to go into the last, mortal struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the ruling classes already cannot rule in the old way. There is still no sign of a way out of the crisis. The exploiting classes already see the prospects of the revolutionary downfall of their power. Consequently, counter-revolution is mobilising its forces with all the energy at its command in order to meet the gathering forces of revolution. But counter-revolution has no

economic resources to mitigate the desperate want of the people. For this reason it has turned to adventurous schemes, feeling its own doom. For this reason it has taken the jump into the unknown and itself let loose civil war.

The bourgeoisie wants to consolidate its position while the masses are still hesitating; it has opened fire first. But it does not see that it is shooting the democratic illusions of the masses. It does not notice that it has, itself, raised the immediate issue: **Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or proletarian dictatorship.**

Fascist dictatorship in Germany is the consequence of the lack of prospects, the despair, the hopelessness of the German bourgeoisie, which has hurled itself into open adventurism.

Two circumstances made possible the broad mobilisation of counter-revolutionary forces against revolution in Germany.

First, the fact that Germany was conquered and robbed in the 1914-1918 imperialist world war, that the German people's national feelings are wounded, they have no equal rights in the family of big nations, and have been subject to dual exploitation: by their own capitalists and, in addition, by foreign capitalists who forced the Versailles Pact on Germany and forced her to pay reparations. This circumstance was exploited, and on these grounds there grew up the mighty forces of bestial nationalism and chauvinism, directed **first and foremost against proletarian internationalism**, against the only party which linked up the true national emancipation of Germany with the international cause and proletarian revolution, and directed, secondly, **against political parties which for fourteen years have pursued a policy of open subjection to the Versailles Treaty.** The unprecedented increase in poverty and want among the masses, the pauperisation of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, made it possible for this bestial nationalism to attract millions of non-class conscious, petty-bourgeois, mediocre people, who seek to free themselves from the yoke of capitalism but who are still deceived into believing that this aim can be achieved as a result of war, as a result of crushing internationalism, the working-class movement and the Communist Party.

Second, the fact that the German bourgeoisie, after the downfall of the Wilhelm Monarchy in 1918 was able, with the help of social-democracy, to crush the beginnings of the proletarian revolution, although the bourgeoisie was not in a position to throw the masses immediately back into their pre-war position. It was compelled to extend labour legislation and openly call the social-democrats into the government as its main social bulwark. The Junkers, landlords, dukes and barons, Wilhelm officers and officials had for the time being to take a back seat, although the bourgeois republic, led by social-democracy, dared not touch a hair of their heads, dared not deprive them of a farthing of their incomes. All the terror of the November Republic was directed against the working-class alone. The plan to enslave Germany in 1918 could have been countered only by **a mass uprising, only by the revolutionary popular war of the proletariat** against their oppressors, which would have led to a mighty revolutionary upsurge throughout the European countries, and to the amalgamation of all the forces of the international proletariat throughout Europe against the stronger bourgeoisie of the victorious countries. In order to fight against the enslavement of Germany, there should have been a broadening of the place d'armes of revolutionary struggle inside Germany, the movement of the masses should have been raised to a higher stage, to the stage of real revolutionary civil war against the oppressors, leading this movement to revolutionary terror against the reactionaries, exploiters and oppressors. The political consciousness of the masses should have been aroused and they should have been led forward to the institution of proletarian dictatorship and the struggle for a victorious proletarian revolution in league with the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. The German social-democrats, who found themselves at the head of the mass movement, did the exact opposite. They crushed the revolutionary working-class movement to prevent its spreading and consolidating, to prevent any real revolutionary upsurge of the masses in the direction of war for their own social and national emancipation. In order to fight against the masses, social-democracy made a pact with the Kaiser's generals. It promised complete immunity not only to the property of the bourgeoisie, but also to the counter-revolutionary Junkers. But the ruling strata of the Wilhelm monarchy never forgave the fact that the November Republic pushed them into the background even for a time. When the extremely deep crisis shook the foundations of

the Weimar Republic, when a deep crack occurred inside the bourgeoisie itself, then **the darkest forces of the present, the stinking remains of unburied feudal society, the medieval reactionaries, Hohenzollerns and Wittelsbachs, retired Wilhelm officers, who had not died of starvation thanks to their pensions paid handsomely by the Weimar Republic, crept out of their holes and united round the national socialist party, in order to rush into a deadly struggle with the proletariat who were demanding bread, work and power, and who were threatening capitalism, incapable of feeding its slaves, with proletarian revolution.**

These two circumstances led to the downfall of the Weimar Republic and the setting up of fascist dictatorship.

This at the same time is the downfall of German social-democracy, the downfall of the Second International.

This is the bankruptcy of the theory of "democratic socialism," the theory which betrayed Marxism in 1914 and rejected the theory of proletarian dictatorship and preparations for realising the proletarian revolution.

Preparations for revolution and its leadership is the pivot around which all the thoughts of Marx rotated. **Everything comes second to the tasks of proletarian revolution**—this was the axiom of the mighty proletarian teacher. It was this axiom which was the starting point for him when in the epoch of bourgeois revolutions and national-liberation wars he supported one movement and fought against other movements. His axiom was **to reinforce the strength of the proletariat, to free the proletarian movement from foreign elements and liberal hangers-on, to widen the place d'armes for revolutionary struggle, to raise each movement to a higher level, to raise the national-liberation movement to the level of a revolutionary popular fight, by drawing in the masses and leading them to revolutionary terror against the reactionaries, exploiters and oppressors, and to lead them to proletarian dictatorship.**

All Marx's doctrine from beginning to end of his political life was penetrated through and through with these fundamental points. These were his leading ideas in the 1848 revolution, during the 1871 Paris Commune, and to the end of his life. As regards the 1848 revolution, he welcomed the fact that the proletariat put forward their own demands which were incompatible with the existence of the bourgeois order, despite the fact that this drove the bourgeois liberals away from Communism. As regards the wars for national emancipation, Marx strongly criticised the bourgeois nationalists for their inconsistency and bartering methods, declaring that a people that wants to win independence for itself, cannot limit itself to the usual methods of warfare. Mass uprisings, a revolutionary war and partisan troops are means which can be used to make a small people big; only in this way can a weak army offer resistance to a stronger, better organised army. He recommended that the same measures should be used as those adopted during the French revolution of 1789, dictatorial methods including revolutionary terror. He considered that the sacrifices in connection with the movement for Italian emancipation at Navarre would have been insignificant, if a real revolutionary war had begun immediately after the military failure, if the section of the Italian army that was saved had declared itself the nucleus of a general national uprising, if the ordinary army of strategical warfare had been converted into a national war like that of the French in 1789. He saw the signs of a transition to national warfare in the leadership of the Hungarian uprising by Kossuth; therefore he welcomed the uprising.

**Marx and Engels never became supporters of the peaceful road to socialism or of "true democracy," as the social-democrats assure us.** In December, 1884, Frederick Engels wrote to Bebel as follows:

"As for true democracy and its role in the future, I do not agree with you. It is quite obvious that in Germany it plays a more secondary role than in countries with an older industrial development. But this does not prevent it—for in this capacity it has already acted at Frankfurt—from becoming the last fortress for the whole of bourgeois, and even feudal, economy for a definite time. At a moment like this we find the whole of the reactionary classes behind it, strengthening it: all that was reactionary then dons the democratic mask. It has been like this with every revolution: the most compliant of all the parties capable in general of forming a government comes to power just because 'the conquered' see

in it their last hope of escape. The whole of the bourgeoisie and the remains of the feudal propertied classes, a large section of the petty bourgeoisie and agricultural population then rally around the extremist bourgeois party which will be most revolutionary in words; and I consider it most likely that this party will be represented in the provisional government and will, for a short time, even constitute a majority."

(Marx and Engels' Archives, I. 6. p. 297)  
Russian edition.

Long before 1914, when it openly betrayed Marxism, social-democracy occupied its position as theoretician of the whole reactionary masses and led them in the work of saving capitalism from proletarian revolution after 1918. All the forces of reaction followed in the wake of social-democracy, all the forces of bourgeois and even feudal society. But at the same time it continued to call itself a socialist, Marxist party, since a considerable section of the working class also remained under its influence. This was the meaning in 1914 of the peculiar class collaboration which existed in Germany. Now, in the face of the growing danger of a new revolution, the bourgeoisie, having removed social-democracy from direct participation in the government, is staging a struggle against it through the fascists, in order to force it to join the system of fascist dictatorship, so that with social-democracy as a bulwark it can begin open fascist terror.

Social-democracy crushed the proletarian revolution in 1918 in Germany. Social-democracy lured the masses with stories of the victory of socialism by democratic means, without any sacrifices, without any deprivations. Social-democracy has led to fascism.

This means **the second historic downfall of social-democracy, the downfall of its mass influence, the beginning of a new exit from social-democracy on the part of broad working-class masses.**

As a result of the dissatisfaction expressed by the working masses concerning the social-democratic policy, and their demand for a joint struggle with the Communists, the Bureau of the Second International, in order to increase its influence, has issued an appeal to the workers of the world, in which it writes:

"We call upon the German workers and the workers of all lands, in view of the tragic danger facing them, to cease all mutual attacks and begin to fight against fascism. The Socialist Labour International is always ready to enter into negotiations with the Communist International on the question of united struggle as soon as the latter expresses its readiness to do so."

Communists are not in principle opposed to agreements with other parties concerning joint activities. But in this they are following the example of Engels who, in 1883, in a letter to H. Triers, wrote that he was enough of a revolutionary, when circumstances required it, to reject just the same measure. The Communists follow the example of the Bolsheviki and Lenin, who during the Kornilov uprising invited the Mensheviki and socialist revolutionaries to enter into a militant agreement for joint struggle against Kornilov, changed the form of their struggle against Kerensky for the time being, and reinforced the agitation for what might be called the "partial demands" put forward to Kerensky: for the arrest of Miliukov, for arming the Petrograd workers, for calling faithful troops into Petrograd, etc. The Communist International did not believe in the sincerity of the Second International Bureau's proposal, and could not believe in it, because of all their past behaviour. Nevertheless, in the critical days it did not refuse the proposal. In its appeal to the workers of all countries, the Executive Committee of the Communist International declared that in the event of an immediate advance towards true, joint struggle against fascism and the capitalist advance, it recommends the Communist parties to accept the proposal of the Second International Bureau for "a cessation of mutual hostilities," but only during the joint struggle against the bourgeoisie and on condition that against everyone who violates the conditions of agreement in the work of operating the united front, the most relentless struggle should be carried on, as against strikebreakers undermining the united front of the working-class. The Second International, therefore, now has an opportunity of proving in practice that its proposal was sincere, that it is really intending to take the road of struggle at last. But social-democracy fears the true united front of the workers more than the plague, for this united front can only be a front of **revolutionary struggle**. As for German social-democracy, it has already proved that while offering a proposal to the Communists, in the pages of "**Vorwaerts**," to conclude a pact of non-aggression, it was urged by one motive

that the Communists should forget its past sins and cease criticising it in the present and that it should be free as before to betray the working-class. Even on 20th July last year, after the dissolution of the social-democratic government in Prussia by Von Papen, the German Communist Party made the proposal to the German social-democratic party and the all-German federation of trade unions, to organise a joint strike against fascism. In reply they qualified the Communist proposal to organise a joint strike as provocation, and thereupon turned it down. When Hitler came to power, the German Communist Party renewed its proposal and was again refused. Now, when the reign of terror has begun, and when the ink had scarce dried on the "**Vorwaerts**" with its article by Stampfer on the need for concluding a "pact of non-aggression" between the social-democrats and the Communists, the leader of the German social-democratic party, Wels, hurriedly quarantines himself from the Communists as from the plague, and, crawling on his belly before the fascists, writes a letter to the "Most Respected Vice-Chancellor" Papen to the effect that social-democracy has nothing in common with the Communists, that there exists no united front between them, and that "the exemplary discipline of the social-democratic party in these days" should convince Papen that there is no need to close down the social-democratic press.

The terror of the Hitler-Hugenburg-Papen fascist government against the working-class has considerably hastened the trend of history, but not in the direction desired by these gentlemen. In the days and nights of the present reign of fascist terror, millions of social-democratic workers are thinking heavy thoughts and forming new conclusions: they see that the fascists are aiming blows not only at the Communists, but at them as well, and that at the same time Mr. Noske is given a pension he asked for and Mr. Wels licks the boots of the hangmen. The social-democratic working-class masses are rapidly drawing the practical conclusions and turning their backs upon their treacherous leaders; they are extending a hand of fraternity to the Communists, who alone are honestly leading the fight for their emancipation and for the emancipation of the whole working-class to its final conclusion. And the Communist Party and millions of proletarians who follow in its train are passing through a rapid militant training under the blows of fascist terror. In this party and in the minds of these millions of workers who vote for the Communists, there remain to this day not a few legalist survivals, habits and illusions. Now, when the Hitler dictatorship is driving the Communist Party underground and terrorising the Communist workers, its countless exemplary cadres rapidly increase and learn to combine illegal work with preparations for open mass revolutionary action. Never before have the words of Lenin in **Two Worlds** written in 1910 been so applicable to Germany:

"The irony of history has brought the ruling classes of Germany, which in the second half of the nineteenth century created the strongest state and reinforced conditions for the most rapid capitalist progress and the most stable constitutional legality, to a position where this legality, **their** legality, **has to be smashed**, must be smashed in the name of bourgeois domination. . . . The time is now approaching when this fifty years of German history **must**, by force of objective reasons, give place to another period. The epoch during which the legality created by the bourgeoisie was utilised **is giving place** to an epoch of mighty revolutionary battles, and these battles will **actually** mean the destruction of **all** bourgeois legality, of the **whole** of the bourgeois order; and **in form** it should begin (and is beginning) with panicky efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie to get rid of the legality which it created itself and which has become insufferable. The socialist proletariat will not for a moment forget that they are faced with inevitable revolutionary mass struggle, which will break down all and every form of legality belonging to the bourgeois society which is doomed to die. . . . This is the meaning of the peculiar pre-revolutionary situation in Germany to-day."

German fascism has begun a devastating advance against Marxism and Communism. But Marxism and Communism are living and will live and they now reply to Hitler and to the whole of bourgeois society, groaning in the throes of crisis and seizing the last means to save itself, in the following words of the **Communist Manifesto** of Marx and Engels:

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution."

## Politics

### Suspension of the Constitution in Austria

By Oesterreicher (Vienna)

The christian-social fascist government have now carried out the sinister threats which were hinted at for some days in the government press. Taking advantage of the resignation of all three presidents of the National Council, which took place on the 4th of March at the sitting of the National Council in the course of an excited vote on a motion for amnestying the participants in the general strike of the railway workers on 1st March, the government issued an emergency decree under which the most important constitutional civil rights are suspended and a state of affairs introduced such as existed under the old Hapsburg monarchy.

That which the national socialists in Germany are doing by means of open terror, the Federal Chancellor **Dollfus** is accomplishing in Austria by bloodless "legal" methods.

Resorting to the War Emergency Powers Act passed in 1917, the government issued an emergency decree introducing confiscation of newspapers and a preliminary censorship. The emergency decree also provides that any persons or person making any offensive statements regarding the federal government, the provincial governments or even foreign governments, or even members of foreign governments, are liable to summary fines up to 2000 shillings or imprisonment up to three months. The obvious purpose of this provision is to protect Hitler. No matter what fascist bandit sits in any foreign government, in Austria he enjoys protection under the above provision!

Simultaneously with the abolition of the freedom of the press, the government has introduced a general prohibition of all political meetings, including meetings in closed premises, until autumn.

By these measures of the government the situation in Austria has been greatly aggravated. Ever since the formation of the Dollfuss government, which has a majority of only **one** in the National Council, the inner political situation has been very unstable. It was profoundly shaken, firstly in regard to the foreign politics, by the Hirtenberg munition transport affair, and secondly, in regard to home politics, by the progressive radicalisation of the working masses, of which the railway strike of 1st March was an expression. Owing to this radicalisation, however, the social democracy could no longer bear the responsibility of saving the government in the difficult situations as it had hitherto, by allowing the social democrat Karl Renner to retain the position of chairman of the National Council so that his vote did not count to the opposition. The attacks of the Communists upon this tactic of the opposition compelled the social democrats to order Renner to give up his position as chairman of the National Council.

Thus Dollfuss, no longer having a parliamentary majority, would have had to resign. The christian socialists, however, were determined to retain power by any and every means. Thus it became necessary for them to violate the Constitution. The setting up of the open fascist dictatorship in Germany appeared to provide them with a suitable opportunity for doing this.

What will happen now? The organ of the christian socialists, the "**Reichspost**," in its issue of 9th March, demanded the setting up of an "Estates Chamber" as an "autonomous organ for economic legislation."

In this moment, however, the **bourgeoisie** of Austria are by no means united—a fact indicative of the depth of the crisis. Although the government declared that the meeting of the National Council would be "contrary to the law" and threatened that they would have to oppose this most drastically, the third President of the National Council, the Pan-German **Straffner**, who has likewise resigned, has summoned the National Council for 15th March.

The **social democrats** announce the following "fighting measures" against the government's breach of the Constitution: they demand the convocation of the National Council, in which they, together with the Nazis, form a majority against the government. In addition, they had demanded the convocation of the Diets of Vienna, Lower Austria, Salzburg and Carinthia.

The appeal of the social democrats declares, at a time when

the Constitution has already become a scrap of paper, that the social democrats wish to employ "at first" all constitutional means, and in this sense then calls upon the working class to observe "strict discipline."

The future development depends entirely upon how far the **Communist Party** succeeds in further promoting the radicalisation of the working class and bringing them into action against the fascist blows of the government. For the government, which is determined to proceed ruthlessly and take advantage of the present situation in order to get rid of all "revolutionary rubbish," will have no difficulty in dealing with the social democracy, which before the Reichstag elections in Germany made the christian socialists an offer of open coalition and to-day still stands on the basis of the Constitution. To-day freedom of the press, freedom of meetings and the Parliament have been abolished; to-morrow the right of combination, unemployment insurance and the rest of social insurance can also be abolished and compulsory labour service introduced.

The government is aiming at political abolition, unless the working class prevent this by means of a revolutionary struggle.

### Establishment of a Military Fascist Dictatorship in Greece

Parliamentary elections were held in Greece on 5th March. They resulted in a defeat for the parties of the **Venizelos** government. The government bloc, consisting of Venizelos' liberal party, **Kafandaris'** progressive party and **Papanastasius'** peasants' and workers' party, obtained only 111 seats, whilst the opposition parties—**Tsaldaris'** monarchist people's party and the parties of the Generals **Kondylis** and **Metaxas** (national radical and free-minded party)—obtained 135 seats.

It is not yet known how many votes the Communist Party polled, but there is no doubt that the C.P. has increased its vote very considerably, in spite of the fierce terror which was waged against the Party during the election campaign. Hundreds of Communists were arrested for distributing election leaflets, the meetings of the Party were dissolved, the premises of the revolutionary trade unions were repeatedly occupied by the police, and in some cases even demolished. In **Salonica** a blood bath was instigated among the revolutionary workers who attempted to prevent the demolition of their trade union premises.

All this, however, failed to intimidate the masses of the revolutionary workers and peasants; they have voted for the Communist Party. In spite of the increased number of votes cast for the Communist Party, it has not obtained a single seat in parliament, because the elections were carried out not on the basis of proportional representation but on the basis of a reactionary majority-vote system.

The great advance of the Communist Party, the workers' and peasants' movements which have seized the whole country, and which are an expression of the discontent of the broadest sections of the population, caused great anxiety to the Greek bourgeoisie. They therefore decided to establish a military dictatorship. General **Plastiras** has been entrusted with this dictatorship; he has proclaimed a state of siege for the whole country and placed the press under censorship. In order to give the dictatorship a certain parliamentary garb, **Zaimis**, the President of the Republic, a puppet in Venizelos' hands, has formed a government consisting of both politicians and high military functionaries, in which, however, the most decisive posts are in the hands of the militarists. General **Othoneos**, the Minister for War, is at the same time the head of the Cabinet. He is the leader of the powerful military league, which is under the influence of Venizelos' party. Tsaldaris' opposition party is in agreement with this government.

It is officially declared that the new government will function only until the convocation of parliament. There is no doubt that the Greek bourgeoisie will strengthen its military fascist policy and concentrate all its forces upon smashing the Communist Party and the powerful workers' and peasants' movement. General Plastiras openly proclaimed his aim to be the destruction of Communism.

The military government will, however, be just as unable to solve the burning social and economic problems of Greece as all the former governments. It will only accentuate the class contradictions.

## Germany

# The Fight in Germany and the International Situation

By R. Palme Dutt (London)

The events in Germany throw a heavy responsibility on the working-class movement in every country. The international counter-revolution has struck its blow against the strongest working-class movement outside the Soviet Union. We must be prepared for a speedy extension of this offensive in every country and against the Soviet Union. The criminal folly of all the illusions of petit-bourgeois democracy are revealed to the widest masses throughout the world. The hour calls for the unification of the proletarian forces in every country for active struggle against the fascist offensive and against war.

What is the international significance of the Hitler coup ?

First, it carries forward the struggle of the working class against capitalism to a new plane on a world scale, marking the end of the conditions of stabilisation and the mortal blow to the social democratic illusions which were built on the basis of stabilisation, and confronting the working class with the barest alternatives of revolutionary mass struggle or defeat.

Second, it brings a new series of relations into the world situation, sharpening and intensifying every antagonism and leading to a position pregnant with war at every point.

Both these aspects of the new situation need the closest examination and understanding by the international working class.

Taking first the widest political significance of the Hitler coup, it means the direct **break with legality** by the bourgeoisie. The case of Germany, that is, of the most advanced capitalist country in Europe, with the most developed working-class movement, where the workers' revolution had already won power and social democracy had only been able to persuade the workers to surrender back power to the bourgeoisie in the name of establishing "the freest republic in the world"—the final outcome of this whole process in the smashing of the constitution by the bourgeoisie, the establishment of a fascist dictatorship and the violent suppression of the working-class movement, has a decisive world significance going far beyond the Italian example. Germany has been throughout **the central ground of the theory and practice of the Second International**; and it is through Germany that the heaviest lesson has been taught to the working class of the whole world what is the consequence for the workers of the policy of the Second International.

Fifteen years ago the workers held all power in their hands in Germany. Kautsky could write (in the 1931 Preface to the third edition of "The Proletarian Revolution"):

"In November, 1918, the Revolution was the work of the proletariat alone. The proletariat won so all-powerful a position that the bourgeois elements, to begin with, did not dare to attempt any resistance."

That was fifteen years ago. Where is that power to-day? What have the leaders of social democracy done with that power which the German workers won by their blood and their sacrifice and hopefully entrusted to their hands for the fulfilment of the socialist revolution? The leaders of social democracy gave the power back to the bourgeoisie. In the name of "democracy" they gave the power back to the bourgeoisie, disarmed the workers, armed the officers' corps, suppressed the workers' councils, drowned the workers' resistance in blood, chained the workers' organisations to the service of capitalist restoration, and on this basis proclaimed the victory of "freedom" and "peace." To-day we see the outcome of this policy for the working class.

**There is no middle course between the Workers' Dictatorship and the Iron Heel of Reaction.** That is the lesson of the German Revolution, as of every revolution since 1848. Because the majority of the German working class were not yet ready in 1918, when power was in their hands, to follow the Bolshevik

line and set up the Workers' Dictatorship because they followed the social democratic party leadership and put their hopes in the promises of "democracy," their reward is—Hitler and Von Papen. That is the iron logic of these fifteen years. Step by step, the circle is completed. First, social democracy occupies the leading governmental role, so long as it is needed to suppress the workers' revolution. Second, this task completed, it passes to a junior coalition role for the tasks of capitalist reconstruction. Third, with this task also completed, it is contemptuously thrust aside from government to perform the role of "voicing" and paralysing the workers' opposition. Fourth, even the bourgeois democrats and centre are pushed on one side, and the handful of militarists, junkers and fascist leaders openly proclaim their power and announce the "end of democracy."

The fascist dictatorship in Germany is a sign, not of the strength of German capitalism, but of its extreme weakness, of the intensity of the crisis destroying all stability, of the rising revolutionary discontent of the masses, of the impotence and failure of all the previous methods of deception to hold in that rising discontent. It is a stage opening new struggles, not closing old ones.

The Mussolini coup of 1922 took place at the close of the post-war revolutionary wave, when the world situation was passing to the period of capitalist reconstruction and stabilisation. Therefore its regime could share in that partial stabilisation. To-day the world situation is the opposite. The capitalist crisis is extreme, increasing, and insoluble by peaceful means. We move into a new era of wars and revolutions. In this situation the Hitler coup represents **not the close but the opening of New revolutionary struggles**. What receives its mortal blow is the illusions upon which social democracy is built. The working class receives the most powerful impetus to revolutionary consciousness and to revolutionary unity.

Just for this reason the international bourgeoisie views with manifest apprehension the consequences of the Hitler regime, despite all their delight at the blows against the proletariat. Not only the consistently cautious City organ the "**Economist**" gives characteristic expression to these fears (March 4th, 1933):

"It is a dangerous road. True, the Communist movement has grown to formidable proportions. One thing, however, is sure, and that is that the present developments will strengthen it and drive Germany towards both extremes. And if the Right in its present temper seizes power, what of the future? After all, it was not Communism, but the Wilhelmian compound of Junkerdom with Commercial Imperialism, that was responsible for Germany's supreme disaster in 1918. No thinking person can fail to ask himself whether like causes will not produce like effects."

But even the extreme Right militarist "**Morning Post**" is no less open in its alarm (24th February, 1933):

"It will be impossible to enforce working-class submission for ever. . . . The Nazis are driving the working class into unity and creating for the first time a real revolutionary danger."

In the same way the "**Temps**" expresses its anxiety:

"No one can tell what is reserved for the German people after to-morrow. The only fact that can be established is that the German crisis, which has been developing for months, is now degenerating into a civil war, and is pushing a great nation still further into anarchy and political chaos. No one in history has yet succeeded in establishing order in a durable manner through disorder."

The Swedish liberal "**Stockholms Tidningen**" expresses in all simplicity the basis of alarm:

"The German government is destroying just those democratic forces which are best capable of combating the red danger."

That is, social democracy is the indispensable basis for the maintenance of bourgeois rule against the workers' revolution. Too great a weakening and discrediting of social democracy raises at once the danger that the majority of the workers will become revolutionised and pass from its control.

Thus from left to right the international bourgeois press expresses the same alarm, that the Nazi regime will result, not in the suppression of Communism, but in the **enormous strengthening of Communism** and eventual victory of the Communist revolution.

But the immediate fight confronting the working class, in the face of this blow of fascism, is serious and urgent in the extreme. The offensive of reaction will not rest for a moment, but will use its hour of victory to push forward its positions to the utmost, while the workers' forces are still unprepared and disunited owing to social democracy's refusal of the united front. The question of **the advance to war** now comes immediately to the front rank.

In general, the advent of the Nazi-Nationalist regime means the intensification of all international antagonisms. The French-German conflict advances to a new stage. The days of the Daladier Cabinet are manifestly numbered; the ground is prepared for the transition to a government of national concentration, wiping out the remains of the "left" election victory of 1931, and the German events will hasten this process, leading to the direct confrontation of Right nationalist governments in France and Germany. This process goes with the ever sharper definition of the antagonistic blocs of France and the Little Entente against Germany, Italy and Hungary. At the same time the Polish question comes acutely to the front.

But at the present moment the strength of the wave of international reaction and the intensity of the capitalist crisis raises still more basic questions. The nationalist line represented by Von Papen (as against von Seeckt), the line of the bargain with France and Britain for the common front against the Soviet Union in return for Germany rearming and other possible compensations or revision of Versailles, is now strongly to the front and is reflected in Hitler's virulent anti-Soviet speech. German fascism still makes prominent display of hostility to France; but this may easily be the precedent to a bargain. It is sufficiently noticeable that the direct violation of Versailles by Germany in respect of the official arming of the Nazi storm troops as auxiliary police has aroused so far no protest from the French government, nor even strong comment in the French press. The sudden journey of MacDonald to Geneva is directly connected with the question of German rearming. There is even talk of a possible joint meeting of MacDonald, Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini. It is more than ever necessary to be prepared for a sudden advance of the anti-Soviet plans of imperialism, parallel to the Japanese offensive, with British-French support, in Jehol and open threatening of Manchuria.

At this point the question of **American policy** is of critical importance for the future development of the world situation. There are undoubtedly strong forces and financial interests associated with Roosevelt which are pressing towards recognition of the Soviet Union, all the more in view of the intensity of the antagonism against Japan. But the extreme present phase of the crisis in America, and strong fears of the internal situation, may lead to sudden and violent turns of policy. There was never more need for the working class forces to be prepared for a situation of extreme menace in the immediate future.

The decisive need is the building up of **the united working-class front**, not only in Germany, but in the countries outside Germany, and especially in Britain and France. The lesson of the German events must be learnt by the workers in every country. At each successive stage of the crisis and of the building up of fascism the social democratic party leadership has refused the successive proposals of the Communist Party for a united front of struggle against fascism, has declared the moment not ripe for action, has advocated the policy of the "lesser evil," and so has led the workers to ever greater surrender after surrender to the bourgeoisie. This path must be ended, not only in

Germany, but in every country. Only the united workers' mass struggle can end the ever-increasing advance of fascism and of the drive to war. The responsibility of the workers in Britain and France, the two countries responsible for the maintenance of Versailles, and the two countries where the open fascist weapon has not yet been brought into play by the bourgeoisie, is especially strong to enter into the closest solidarity with their German comrades in the common struggle, and to bring all their forces into play to check the advance of reaction.

The issues of the present situation are serious and urgent in the extreme. Every delay and every weakness are heavily paid for. But the path of united struggle, to which the workers are inevitably and increasingly awakening under the force of events, will lead to rapid transformation of the situation. We must exert every effort to hasten this forward.

## Germany After the Elections

The first manifesto of the so-called National Government, **Hitler's** latest speech in Koenigsberg, both proclaimed that the object of the elections was to "shatter Marxism." In **Herr Goehring's** announcement of victory, in which this central figure of the fascist dictatorship in Germany triumphantly enumerates the results of the elections, there is no mention of Marxism having been shattered. There is very good reason for this omission. The 5 million votes polled by the C.P. of Germany, this proclamation of allegiance by the best proletarians to the party of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party which is the deadly enemy of fascism, pierces like an arrow into the flesh of the fascist masters of Germany. The victor in these elections is the Communist Party.

For under what conditions were these elections carried out? The leaders of the national socialist "labour party" staged a large-scale criminal provocation by means of the fire in the Reichstag. They stirred up among their supporters, and beyond them among the whole of the bourgeoisie, a savage pogrom-mood against the Communist movement. A state of emergency was proclaimed over the whole country. Thousands of functionaries of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary mass organisations were thrown into prison. The whole of the press, all the election addresses, all the election placards of the Party were prohibited. All legal activity of the Communists was forcibly prevented. Savage terror against the revolutionary working class raged in the streets. Innumerable workers were brutally beaten or foully murdered by the national socialist terrorist bands.

On election day itself methods of fascist terror were employed which can only be described as Balkan methods. Everywhere heavily armed fascist brown-shirts came on the scene as guardians of the "election freedom" "guaranteed" by Hindenburg. Fresh arrests of revolutionary workers took place throughout the whole country. Many thousands of workers were placed under observation; they were not allowed to leave their houses during the time of the election. Hundreds of thousands of votes cast by revolutionary workers were declared to be invalid. Hundreds of thousands of bogus votes were placed to the credit of the national socialists.

That was the situation, that was the civil war atmosphere in which the "free elections" took place. That is how the national socialists managed to record an increased vote of 5½ million. That is how the Communist Party "lost" a million votes compared with the November elections.

The fact that in spite of the monstrous terror 5 million toilers cast their vote for Communism cannot be too highly appreciated. These 5 million votes are a determined challenge to the fascist Hitler government, to the German bourgeoisie.

The social democracy, which, even if many of its newspapers were suppressed, was able to continue its election agitation up to the last, was able to maintain its position. This was to a large extent due to a demagogic manoeuvre: the social democratic leaders sought to persuade the masses that it was useless to vote for the Communists, as in any event the Communist seats would be annulled. This manoeuvre was not without effect on certain strata of the working class. These masses will, however, very soon realise how much "worth" are the votes they cast for the social democratic party.

## PRESS VIEWS

### "Pravda" on the Final Results of the Elections in Germany

The "Pravda," in its leading article of 7th March, entitled "An enormous Political Victory of the C.P. of Germany," states :

The 4,800,000 revolutionary proletarians in Germany who voted for the Communist Party have given a fitting answer to the fascist dictatorship. The national socialists maintain that they have won the election. They maintain that on 5th March the nation pronounced its allegiance to them. The inner significance of the result of this year's Reichstag elections lies in the fact that in spite of the tremendously exaggerated vote allegedly cast for the national socialists, the proletariat of Germany has remained faithful to the end to its revolutionary flag, to the heroic Communist Party of Germany.

German fascism has achieved this election result by means of a flood of provocations. The terror reached its highest point after the fire in the Reichstag. On the day of the election, not a single legal workers' paper appeared in Germany. Agitation for the list of the Communist Party meant immediate arrest, in some cases even death. The Gorgulov people are keeping secret the number of victims of the fascist terror in the last few weeks. According to the calculations of the "Times," since 1st of January last 95 workers have been murdered by fascists. 6,000 revolutionary workers have been thrown into prison in the last 7 to 8 days. These are the official figures. The actual number of the arrested is, however, considerably higher and amounts to 10,000. The leader of the Communist Party and of the proletariat of Germany the Hamburg transport worker Comrade Ernst Thälmann, is in prison.

The utter shamelessness of the wirepullers goes so far that they seek to represent their spies and provocateurs as agents of Moscow. German fascism mobilised all its forces in order by means of a frontal attack to shatter the advance-guard of the European working class, the proletariat of Germany. This frontal attack of fascism has been repelled. That is the most important political result of the elections.

The elections have shown what deep roots the Communist Party has struck in the broadest strata of the toiling masses. Deprived of its press and of all possibilities of legal agitation, declared to be outlawed, the Communist Party of Germany, which is connected by thousands of threads with the proletariat and the working masses, has in these days of unbridled, savage fascist terror raised still higher the flag of Communism.

A third of the German people has been compelled to silence by fascism. It attempted to intimidate another third. The remaining third it attempted to bribe. On the eve of the elections the fascist dictatorship, with huge pomp, proclaimed a great favour which should be granted to the German people: 40,000 centners of butter and 75,000 cwt. of rye were to be distributed among the "true subjects of the Third Empire." How cheaply German fascism wishes to buy the millions of toilers of Germany.

Nevertheless the national socialists have not achieved their aim. They do not possess that majority of which they dreamed. They have not succeeded in ousting the Communist Party from its positions in the most important industrial centres, although they made use of every means. All forms of coercion, every possible falsification, of which the world press speaks already in its first comments on the election results, played a by no means unimportant role in swelling the national socialist vote. It is a fact that, for instance, in East Prussia the agricultural workers were escorted to the poll and compelled to cast their vote for the national socialists. And this plainly shows to what methods the fascists have been able to rig the elections in their favour.

Under these conditions the decline in the number of votes cast for the Communist Party is unimportant. There is no doubt that as a result of the fascist terror a part of the workers did not vote at all. There is no doubt that a part of the votes cast for the Communist Party have been declared to be invalid. It is not due to chance that at this election there were 322,000 "invalid votes," whilst at the elections in November, 1932, only 64,000 votes were declared to be invalid. The decline in the number of votes cast for the Communist Party is the result of the fascist terror.

Thanks to the furious terror against the working class, the two fascist government parties have, as a matter of fact, obtained a narrow majority in the Reichstag and in the Prussian Diet. The procedure of the fascists in **Hamburg, Bremen, Hessen, Baden, Wuerttemberg, Saxony and Bavaria**—in each case a coup d'état—clearly shows the line of further development. Hitler's storm troops occupy the Ministries and town halls, and where they encounter a weak resistance the Reich's government intervenes and transfers the executive power to the S.A. leaders. President Hindenburg, whom the social democratic party elected as the "guardian of the Constitution," gives his signature to all these coup d'états. In the South German states the centre and the Bavarian people's party have capitulated. In actual fact the Hitler-Papen government is all-powerful to-day in Germany. But even this omnipotence does not suffice in order to "exterminate Marxism."

The position of the German nationalists in the government has been very weakened as a result of the election success of the national socialists. Whilst up to 5th March the differences between the two government parties were easily bridged over, as for the time being they were pursuing the common aim of crushing the working class and securing their position, these differences are now again coming to the forefront. Very symptomatic of these differences was General **Blomberg's** proposal to proclaim a **military** state of siege, i.e., to transfer the whole executive power to the Reichswehr, which suggestion, however, Hitler promptly rejected.

The most important thing to be taken into account in judging the immediate future development is the fact that the world crisis of capitalism has again become further aggravated as a result of the American financial crisis. The intensified world economic crisis is bound to have an effect upon Germany. The class antagonisms, and also the differences within the bourgeoisie in Germany, will again increase on the shaken economic foundation; the economic misery among those sections of the working people who support the national socialists, and whom Hitler cannot and will not give either bread or freedom, will act as a factor disintegrating the fascist ranks.

The second most important thing is the **extreme aggravation of the foreign political antagonisms**. The strained situation in Danzig caused by the landing of Polish troops on the western platte has sharply raised the question of the eastern frontiers of Germany. The increase of the fascist apparatus of power by the Nazi auxiliary police and certain developments in the Reichswehr have not remained unobserved in Paris, and will undoubtedly not fail to have an effect.

The third and most important thing to be borne in mind in judging the immediate development is the **fight of the German working class**. Here it should be noted in the first place that the social democracy is still continuing its policy of capitulation. It surrenders all positions to fascism without a fight, endeavours to dissociate itself as much as possible from Communism, and seeks with all means to oppose the Communist efforts to lead the masses into the fight against fascism, and this in spite of the fact that fascism continues to suppress organisations of the social democratic party. The national socialists already threaten to take possession of the reformist trade union organisations and convert them into auxiliary organisations of fascism. A part of the workers are becoming rapidly revolutionised and demanding fighting measures; another part are still defeatist and console themselves with the hope that fascism will make "a mess of things."

For the German working class, however, the most important thing will be how far the Communist Party will succeed, in spite of the monstrous persecutions, which have been increased since the elections, in carrying on its work among the masses and setting up the **united front of action**, above all in the factories and workshops.

### Anti-Nazi Demonstrations in Madrid

Berlin, 9th March, 1933.

The German press reports that the German Ambassador in Madrid has protested to the Spanish government against Communist demonstrations in front of the German consulates in Barcelona and Seville. In Seville the consulate is said to have been damaged by the demonstrators. The Spanish government expressed regret and promised to provide special police protection for all the German consulates through the country.



The Prussian elections, to a greater extent than the Reichstag elections, are an irrefutable proof of the further revolutionary upsurge in Germany, in spite of the brutal terror and Gorgulov methods employed by the ruling classes in preparing for and carrying out the elections. Prussia is the decisive State in Germany. On this decisive front the Communist Party has won 312,000 new votes. 312,000 new fighters tried in these days of bitter struggle. This fact—the winning of 312,000 new votes—is politically more important than the considerable increase in the Communist Party vote at the previous elections.

One must bear in mind the conditions under which these elections were held in order rightly to appreciate the enormous political victory of the Communist Party. The elections of 5th March are the prelude to a new epoch of the class struggle of the proletariat of Germany. The advance-guard of the working class in Germany, numbering millions, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, stands like an unshakeable rock in the midst of a raging sea of reaction.

The national socialists, two days after the elections, already collide with another fascist troop, the "black-white-red" front. The most important antagonism that is rending the present government—the antagonism between agrarian and financial capital, has not been bridged over. The effect of this antagonism is now being felt in all its fury. German capitalism carried out "Rumanian elections" on the very day on which, in the United States, a financial disaster occurred the consequences of which are felt by the whole capitalist world.

What can the German fascists say under these conditions? Their leader declared on 4th March in Königsberg that he could give the answer to the question regarding his programme: "You have begun with lies, we begin with truth." This extraordinary programme, which exposes the miserable character of fascism and the emptiness of its demagoguery, proves at the same time that it has no programme for combating the crisis, and cannot have such a programme. It is impossible to satisfy starving people by means of prisons and bullets.

The knot of inner-political and foreign-political antagonisms of capitalist Germany is becoming ever tighter. The fascists, with their policy, are doing everything in order to aggravate these antagonisms still further. There is no class in Germany apart from the proletariat which can free the country from hunger and misery and break the chains placed on the working population by the criminal imperialist war. This class and its Communist Party will say the final word in the class struggles now developing.

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The London "Daily Telegraph," one of the leading English conservative papers, in its issue of 13th March, published on its principal news page a two column report of an interview its special correspondent had "with a well-known student of international politics" who had just returned to London from a prolonged visit to all parts of Germany. In the course of his interview, the correspondent was informed that:

"when the cabinet was formed the key positions, such as finance, trade, and foreign affairs, were given to the Papen-Hugenberg supporters. They thought that by so holding office they could effectively hold the Hitlerites in check. They did not anticipate the tremendous increase in the Hitler vote.

"Now the Papen-Hugenberg group are terrified lest they be pushed out of office by the victorious Brown Shirts. In this modern Germany such a critical change of office is by no means to be discounted.

**"The plan of the Papen-Hugenberg group was effectively quashed by the burning of the Reichstag. Nothing will convince the German nationalists that it was not organised by Capt. Goehring to capture wavering votes for Hitlerism.**

"The theory that the parliament building was set on fire by Communists is not believed by any responsible German in the Fatherland today. Besides this, Capt. Goehring had ready a series of decrees and repressive measures, just as if he knew something sensational was going to happen in Berlin that night."

On the following day, 14th March, in its leading article entitled the Nazi terror in Germany, the "Daily Telegraph" wrote:

"But if the anxiety aroused outside Germany by the triumph of Hitlerism can, and should, be allayed, within the country's borders there is proceeding an orgy of terrorism which, if it cannot be checked by the Nazi leaders, bids fair to complete the economic ruin of Germany as well as to stain her honour unforgettably. Already Herr Hitler's movement is shamed in the sight of all that is decent in Germany and outside it. The question is whether the desperado element can be mastered before that movement is finally ruined by disgrace."

## The Fire in the Reichstag Proved to be an Act of Provocation

### STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

Berlin, 3rd March, 1933.

The Press department of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany has issued the following communique:

That the Communist Party, as well as all other sections of the Communist International, and in particular the Communist Party of Holland, had nothing whatever to do with the setting fire to the Reichstag, was clear to every thinking person right from the first moment. There is no need therefore for the Communist Party of Germany to go into the details of the various lying reports issued by the national socialists, who for this purpose make use of the Prussian or other official organs of publicity.

1. Needless to say there are and never were any catacombs under the Karl Liebknecht House, but only the ordinary cellars which have been repeatedly searched by the police during the course of the last five to six years.

2. Of course there was no material stored in these cellars relating to a Communist attempt at a putsch for the 4th, 5th or any other day in March, 1933. On the other hand, already on January 30, the Communist Party of Germany removed all material from the Karl Liebknecht House relating to its present political activity, and ceased the whole of its clerical activity in the Karl Liebknecht House.

3. There was not a single pamphlet, nor any agitation material in the Karl Liebknecht House relating to the present political situation.

4. Of course there have never taken place any meetings of a "Communist Committee of Action" in the Reichstag or elsewhere in which "Van de Lütte," who was arrested in the Reichstag, participated. Firstly, there does not exist a "Communist Committee of Action" but only the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and its Political Bureau. Secondly, no individual like Van de Lütte, who is not a member of the C.P. of Germany or any other section of the Communist International, is allowed to take part in meetings of the Central Committee of the C.P. or any other bodies of the Communist Party. The absurdity of such an assertion is already to be seen from the statements of the police, according to which Van de Lütte has not been a member of the Communist Party of Holland for years, but founded a party of his own in order to be its leader.

5. Of course neither the Reichstag deputy Torgler nor any other functionary of the Communist Party of Germany has maintained any connection with the incendiary arrested in the Reichstag, alleged to be named "Van de Lütte," or had any knowledge of his plans.

6. Of course all the assertions of the official Prussian press service, according to which the Reichstag deputies Torgler and Koenen left the Reichstag at 10 o'clock on the day of the fire through a special exit, are pure inventions. In this case the lie spread by the official Prussian press service is particularly obvious, because as a matter of fact the deputies Torgler and Koenen left the Reichstag building a few minutes after 8 o'clock, between 8.10 and 8.15. At 8.30 the Reichstag deputy Torgler was in Aschinger's restaurant at the Friedrichstrasse railway station, where he remained a long time and was informed by the waiter of the fire in the Reichstag building. As these facts have been proved beyond

doubt by a number of witnesses, the absolute lying character of the national socialist report issued by the official Prussian press service is most drastically exposed.

7. Of course, all reports about alleged plans of the C.P. of Germany to seize hostages, to poison wells, etc., are idiotic inventions, just as is the impudent lie about black lists being found in Karl Liebknecht House of persons who are to be arrested in the event of a Communist insurrection.

To refute all these fables does not, however, appear to be the most important thing. The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany attaches particular and greater importance to exposing and stigmatising the actual originators of the fire in the Reichstag. These actual originators are to be found in the leadership of the national socialist labour party. It was clear right from the beginning to every thinking person that the fire in the Reichstag was an act of provocation carried out on behalf of fascism. The Communist Party of Germany is now in a position to give concrete facts and arguments establishing beyond doubt the guilt of the national socialist leaders, their role as organisers of the incendiarism in the Reichstag, as agents provocateurs.

We commence by recording the following facts :

1. According to the report of the Göring police and of the fire brigade experts, at least ten persons took part in the setting fire to the Reichstag. The porters in the Reichstag are absolutely in a position to give exact information regarding the persons who were present in the Reichstag on 27th February. Herr Göring, as President of the Reichstag, could very easily publish the names of those who were present and to which fraction they belonged. Why does he keep silent ?

We say already to-day : the list of the persons in question will never be published or only in a falsified form. For Herr Göring knows why he keeps silent. He keeps silent in order not to provide absolute evidence that the C.P. of Germany had nothing to do with the outrage. He maintains silence in order to prevent the national socialist party from being proved guilty of the outrage.

2. We are now already in a position to prove that Herr Adolf Hitler was aware of the plot to attribute the setting fire to the Reichstag to the C.P. of Germany. The proof of this was furnished by the "Völkische Beobachter" of 28th February, 1933, which states on the one hand that after an investigation lasting two hours, it was ascertained that the arrested incendiary, Van de Lübke, was a Communist. The same paper, however, reports that immediately after the outbreak of the fire, Hitler came to the Reichstag accompanied by his propaganda chief, Dr. Göbbels, and there stated that "this fire was Bolshevism, but the C.P. of Germany were ill-advised when they committed this act of incendiarism." The "Völkische Beobachter" thus itself reveals that Herr Adolf Hitler was aware two hours beforehand of that which the police investigation ascertained. In this case, therefore, the organisation of the outrage, which in all probability was in the hands of Herr Dr. Josef Göbbels, was badly managed.

3. Weeks before the fire in the Reichstag there was talk among the leading circles of the national socialists about carrying out a big provocative outrage against the Communist Party on 2nd or 3rd March. "An attempt to assassinate Hitler" was to have been carried out by reliable storm troops. It was intended by this means to overcome the objections which a part of the German bourgeoisie maintained out of practical considerations. The C.P. of Germany was able by means of its news service to expose this plot already a week before the fire in the Reichstag, and make the facts known throughout Germany by means of leaflets. For this reason the national socialists decided, instead of the attack on Hitler, to cause a real fire in the Reichstag. The Reichstag was chosen for this purpose as the national socialist leaders intended already to prevent by violent means a meeting or regular work of the Reichstag after the elections.

4. In order to secure beforehand the carrying out of this act of provocation, the whole staff in the police presidium was cleared out and replaced by reliable national socialists. It was for this reason that Melcher, in spite of his politically-reactionary views, was removed from his post as Police President and his place taken by a national socialist officer, Herr von Levetzov.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany will continue its exposure of this act of provocation.

PRESS DEPARTMENT OF THE C.C. OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

Berlin, 3rd March, 1933.

## International Solidarity with the Toilers of Germany

Paris, 2nd March, 1933.

"L'Humanite" publishes the following appeal :

Fascist terror is raging in Germany. The bourgeoisie wishes to destroy the revolutionary organisations of the German proletariat. Hindenburg, who was elected by the social-democrats, together with Hitler, is decreeing exceptional laws against the Communists—these are the fruits of the "lesser evil" of the social-democrats. They are the pace-makers of fascism.

Toilers of France !

Hitler has seized power and is speculating upon the misery of the masses overwhelmed by the burden of the Versailles Treaty. It is French imperialism which has enslaved the German people.

And it is we who have to bear the cost of this policy. Our salaries, our wages and pensions are being reduced.

The French social-democrats support the policy of our bourgeoisie.

Workers of all tendencies—social-democrats, Communists, non-party workers—join hands, organise meetings and elect committees for the support of the German people. Set up the militant united front against capitalism, the originator of misery, fascism and war !

**The Central Committee of the Communist  
Party of France.**

\* \* \*

Prague, 4th March, 1933.

The "Rude Pravo" publishes an appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia from which we print the following extract :

To the toiling people of Czechoslovakia !

Germany is passing through days of the most frightful fascist terror. In this fatal hour in which the immediate existence of the labour movement of whole of Central Europe is at stake, we call upon the **workers, peasants, small shopkeepers and proletarian intellectuals** of Czechoslovakia to raise their voices in a **powerful protest against the bloody fascist handits in Germany.**

We call upon them to set up a **broad united front as a powerful dam against the fascist danger in our country.**

We call upon them to express their solidarity with and render aid to the toiling and proletarian masses in Germany by taking up the struggle against our own bourgeoisie, against our own Hitlers and their aiders and abettors.

**Comrades, workers, working women, shopkeepers and intellectuals, raise your voices,** mobilise the public and shout into the ears of our rulers :

Down with the Hitler provocateurs and murderers !

Long live the courageous German proletariat and its Communist Party !

Long live the united struggle of the whole of the toiling people in town and country for bread, work, land and freedom !

**C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and  
C.C. of the Young Communist League of  
Czechoslovakia.**

\* \* \*

London, 11th March, 1933.

According to the report of the "Daily Worker," London, the C.C. of the Communist Party of Great Britain has sent a letter to the E.C. of the Labour Party, the I.L.P., the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Party, calling for united action against the capitalist offensive and fascism. The letter states, inter alia :

The fascist dictatorship in Germany, now extending to Austria, with its open violence against the working-class and all existing liberties of speech, demonstration, press and the right to strike, vitally affects the working-class of Britain. It is a part of the general offensive of capitalism against the working-class in every country. . . .

In view of the present situation of unprecedented gravity and menace to the working-class . . . we propose to your organ

sations that an immediate meeting should take place between the Communist Party, the I.L.P., the L.P., the T.U.C. general council and the central organs of the co-operative movement with the object of achieving agreement on a campaign for united action on the basis of the following proposals:

1. Immediate action in support of the German and Austrian working-class fight against fascism.
2. The fight against the national government and the employers' offensive in Britain.
3. For full support for the decisions of the Bermondsey anti-war conference, and the full strength of all working-class organisations to be used to prevent any munitions going to the Far East.

\* \* \*

The "**Daily Worker**," publishes every day numerous resolutions adopted at workers' meetings, unemployed demonstrations, etc., pledging their support to the proletariat in Germany. We publish below two resolutions, the first adopted at a meeting called by the Amalgamated Engineering Union Unemployed Committee in **Glasgow**, which reads as follows:

"Two hundred unemployed British engineers here assembled send their warmest fraternal greetings to their German brothers. We congratulate them on their heroic stand against the bloody fascist regime, and pledge ourselves to do our utmost towards rousing and organising the British workers in support of their German brothers in their courageous struggle. The German workers at this moment are the inspiration of the World Proletariat! Long live the German Revolution!"

Resolutions of protest were also dispatched to the German Consulate in Glasgow and in London.

And the second from the Tottenham and Edmonton (**London**) Branch of the F.S.U.

"This meeting of workers, convened by the Friends of the Soviet Union, assembled in the Municipal Hall, Tottenham, on 5th March, register their emphatic protest to the German government against the mass arrests and murders of Revolutionary Workers and Leaders in Germany.

"We send to all Communists, and socialists, whether German or Jew, our heartfelt sympathy with them in their struggles against their imperialist oppressors.

"We view these crimes against the workers of Germany as a prelude to imperialist attacks upon the Workers' Republic of Russia, and we call upon all Working Class Organisations of all Nationalities to enter similar protest."

The following resolution was adopted at the huge and enthusiastic **Anti-War Conference held at Bermondsey** on 4th and 5th March (report of which appears on another page):

"This Anti-War Congress sends its greetings to the revolutionary working class of Germany, at present engaged in a bitter struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Hitler—Papen—Hugenberg. We express our indignation at the monstrous attempt to foist the blame for the burning of the Reichstag (which benefited only the Nazis) upon the Communist Party.

"We regard it as a Nazi plot to provide Hitler with a pretext for his attempt to deprive the German working class and the whole German people of what remnants they possessed of democratic liberties. Now the danger of war is greatly increased by the accession of Hitler and his murder-gangs, and we regard his speech against the U.S.S.R. as a clear indication of a policy of a war of intervention.

"We pledge ourselves, through meetings, demonstrations, and conferences, to build up strong bands of international solidarity between the British and German working class, and to that end will work for the freedom of meetings, strikes, and press for the German working-class movement and for the repudiation of the Versailles Treaty.

"We welcome the announcement that a great International Anti-Fascist Congress is to be held in April.

"Finally, this great congress, gathered under the banner of the Mass Fight against War, sends to the whole German working class a message of class solidarity, knowing full well that the cause of the German workers is the cause of the British workers as well. Down with the fascist dictatorship of Hitler—Von Ppaen—Hugenberg!

**"Long Live the Solidarity of the British and German Workers."**

## The Fascist Terror in Germany

### Lives of Communist Leaders in Danger

A savage terror is raging in Germany. Wholesale arrests of revolutionary workers are taking place every day. The number of revolutionary workers pining in the police dungeons, fascist storm troop barracks and prisons already runs into tens of thousands. Nobody is allowed to communicate with them, not even their lawyers. Only here and there news regarding their terrible situation percolates through to the public by the statements of ordinary prisoners or through the cynical admissions of national socialist leaders themselves. Thus for instance, Gobbels boasted in the "Angriff" that Nazi Brown Shirts and prominent national socialists visit the prisons in order to indulge in the sport of mocking, tormenting and ill-treating the prisoners. Thus the Prussian Minister Goring, in a speech delivered in Essen, made fun of the fact that during the night captured proletarians are driven into the street in their nightshirts.

Just as in the January days in 1919, Communists are again being "shot while attempting to escape." Thus in Oberhausen, two Communist functionaries, Classen and de Longeville, in the building of the High School, where they were held prisoners along with hundreds of other revolutionary workers, were led out into the courtyard in the early morning hours, stood up against the wall and shot. The official report states that both of them attempted to escape and were shot while doing so. Revolutionary leaders are dragged from the prisons by Brown Shirts, who, after having done their work, will certainly be described as "irresponsible elements" or "Communist provocateurs." The fate of their victims is unknown, but the practice of the counter-revolutionaries in the other fascist countries, gives every cause to fear the worst.

Attacks on workers houses, during which the scanty furniture is wantonly smashed to pieces or set on fire, are a daily occurrence.

Among the imprisoned revolutionaries are leaders of the Communist Party, including **Thaelmann, Torgler, Stoecker** and others. Their lives are in the greatest danger!

\* \* \*

### Comrade Thaelmann Tortured!

Vienna, 12th March.

The fate of Comrade Thaelmann gives cause for the greatest alarm. According to the **Vienna "Rote Fahne,"** a visitor to the Moabit prison the other day witness a scene in which Comrade Thaelmann lay groaning on the ground, with traces of having been mishandled, whilst Nazi auxiliary police and police officials stood round.

Numerous relatives of arrested Communists, after enquiry to the authorities regarding the arrested, have received the reply that they are in the prison hospital. This is indirect but convincing proof that the reports in the foreign press on the torture of political prisoners are true.

\* \* \*

### Communist Workers Beaten Beyond Recognition.

#### The Life of Comrade Torgler in Danger.

Berlin, 11th, March.

The "**Arbeiterzeitung**," the organ of the C.P. of Germany, Sarre District, in its issue of 12th March, reports that Nazi Brown Shirts forced a bourgeois journalist to swallow a purgative mixed with spirits of salts. He became unconscious after being conveyed to the hospital. An editor of the "12-Uhr Blatt," a bourgeois paper, was arrested early in the morning; when he was released in the evening he was found to be suffering from poisoning. **Comrade Torgler** has been severely ill-treated in prison. Other workers have been so brutally and savagely beaten up while in prison, that on their release they were scarcely recognisable."

It is obvious, that seriously wounded prisoners are released in order that there shall not be too many cases of death in the prisons.

## The War in the Far East

### Jehol occupied by the Japanese

The great offensive of the Japanese and "Manchurian" troops against the province of Jehol commenced in the last week of February, almost on the same day when the League of Nations meeting at Geneva unanimously "condemned" the Japanese action, without, however, undertaking any practical measure of resistance against this action. To what an extent this represents only a tactical manoeuvre which in no way actually breaks through the united front of Japan, England and France, is perhaps shown clearly by the decision of the British parliament to "prohibit" the export of weapons to Japan and also to China, which "prohibition," however, is not to apply to those weapons orders for which have already been placed, and will require months, and in some cases even years to be completed. This "pacifist" decision merely means, in practice, that China, which does not possess any modern weapons, is deprived of every possibility of obtaining such, while Japanese imperialism, which is simply bristling with weapons, is practically unaffected.

In the course of about two weeks, the Japanese troops, numbering about 10,000 and almost completely motorised, have **occupied the whole of the province of Jehol**, which roughly is about four times the size of Switzerland. The Japanese were opposed by about 160,000 exceedingly badly armed regular Chinese troops, drawn up in three lines of defence, under the command of **Marshal Chang Hsue Liang** and the Commander of the Province of Jehol, **Tang Ju Lin**. In addition, 60,000 Chinese volunteers fought against the Japanese.

In spite of the boastful assurance made by Chang Hsue Liang to the Nanking government that they would be defended to the last drop of blood, all these defensive positions of the Chinese troops were taken by storm by the Japanese, although it is true, they thereby suffered far greater losses than they incurred in the occupation of Manchuria in September, 1931. The Japanese met with the fiercest resistance where they were faced by the Chinese volunteer detachments. But in spite of the heroic fight of the volunteers and Chinese soldiers, the Japanese, on 5th and 6th March, succeeded in occupying the whole of the southern frontier of the province, i.e., the eastern part of the Great Wall of China with all the strategically important roads and passes. In addition, they cut off the retreat of considerable bodies of Chinese troops from their points of support in North China, Peiping and Tientsin.

This severe defeat of the Chinese forces has aroused the greatest excitement and indignation throughout China. Numerous organisations accuse the Chinese generals of not having wanted to offer serious resistance, and that the Nanking Government also share the responsibility, as apart from pathetic speeches, they did not move a finger in order to organise real resistance. General Tang Ju Ling is said to have been murdered by his infuriated troops, and Chang Hsue Liang himself has telegraphed to Nanking offering his resignation. The "**China Times**" demands deeds of the Nanking government, and the "**Shunpao**" demands that Chang Hsue Liang be court martialled.

Whilst, however, the Nanking government and the Generals are engaging in recriminations and endeavouring to blame each other for the defeat, the Japanese are preparing to **continue the offensive against the whole of north China**, with Peiping and Tientsin as the objectives for the time being. The Japanese telegraph agency "**Demp9 Zussin**" reports from Mukden, that the combined Japanese and "Manchurian" troops have been "compelled" to occupy the district south of the Great Wall, because, "the Japanese troops are being constantly fired at by Chinese troops." As usual, the Japanese cynically declare that this action does not represent an invasion of Chinese territory but is only a measure for the "defence of Manchukuo." A state of siege has been proclaimed in Peiping and Tientsin. This war operations against North China proper have already commenced.

## Against Imperialist War

### The Parliamentary Fraction of the C.P. of France on the Growing Danger of War in South-East Europe

At the meeting of the French Chamber of Deputies on 9th March, the deputy **Gabriel Peri** spoke in the name of the Communist fraction on the danger of war and its intensification as a result of the Hirtenberg affair. The following are the most important points of his speech:

In Central and South-East Europe events are following hard on each others heels. A few weeks ago there was the provocative act in connection with the Trogir lions. This was followed by the Hirtenberg arms-smuggling affair, the rumour that an alliance had been concluded between Italy, Germany and Hungary, and in the last few days by the conclusion of an alliance of the states of the Little Entente, which is the most far-reaching alliance known in the diplomatic history of the last ten years. The crisis of the treaties of 1919 has set in in the Balkan and Danubian countries, as well as in the rest of Europe.

In these parts of Europe, the general staffs are already examining and testing the conditions for conducting the approaching military operations. Each of the hostile groups has a "Hirtenberg affair" to its discredit.

We do not fail to realise the danger which can arise in the transport of weapons when Italy is involved. We do not forget, however, that the states of the Little Entente are the best customers of the firm of Schneider-Creuzot, and that since the war this firm has acquired the most important arms factory in Central Europe—the Skoda works.

It is our duty to record that in the Balkans, in addition to warlike policy of Italian imperialism, there are warlike machinations of other states. Has not Yugoslavia recently placed an order in Czechoslovakia for 700 guns of large and medium calibre, accumulated considerable supplies of war material, and only recently built an aircraft factory in Malevo under the control of the French military mission in Belgrade? And was it not in the Rumanian parliament that revelations were recently made regarding intended supplies of weapons to Rumania in accordance with the new treaty concluded between the countries of the Little Entente?

The Pact of the Little Entente constitutes a palpable threat to peace, and this danger has increased still further, as a few days ago the three contracting parties decided in Geneva to pool their political, economic and military forces, and even to carry out together the construction of certain strategic works.

After signing the new pact of the Little Entente, the representatives of all political parties in Croatia denounced the signing of this Pact by the Belgrade government and announced that they did not feel themselves bound by this treaty. The oppressed population of Bessarabia and Transylvania do not recognise the signing of this treaty by the Bucharest government, for the Rumanian party to the treaty, the Rumanian monarchy, rules only with the aid of a state of siege and summary courts, as is proved by the suppression of the recent strike struggles.

Peace is not based on the existence of that system on which France has based its policy. Just as in Germany, where in spite of the terror, millions of workers have voted for the Communist Party, so also in the Balkans the main bulwarks of peace are to be found among the oppressed population, who are striving to throw off the yoke of oppression and set up the Balkan Federation of Workers and Peasants Republics after the model of the Soviet Union.

## British Workers Hold National Anti-War Conference

By Tom Bell (London)

The **Bermondsey Town Hall, London**, was filled to capacity during Saturday and Sunday, 5th and 6th March, with representatives of all sections of the workers' movement in a great conference against War; 1552 delegates attended, comprising 182 branches of trade unions, 27 branches of unemployed (N.U.W.M.), 52 branches of Co-operative organisations, 59 branches I.L.P., 23 from local labour parties, 56 branches C.P.G.B., 43 anti-war committees, 53 branches F.S.U., 15 branches peace societies, 120 Youth delegates, and 101 delegates from most of the universities and colleges in the country. Only three General Secretaries of unions attended: W. J. Brown, Civil Servants; Alex Gossip, Furnishing Trades; and Percy Collick, of the Locomotive and Firemen's Union.

Tremendous enthusiasm prevailed during the two full days' sessions; and excitement reached a high pitch when a telegram was read from the crew of the "Stanleyville," a ship carrying scrap-iron to Japan, saying they were prepared to leave the ship if they were maintained by the Anti-War Council, as, being coloured seamen, they would be stranded. Immediately the shout went up to send the guarantee. Within five minutes over £120 in paper notes, silver and coppers was sent up to the platform. Later in the day one delegate declared his readiness to double a second collection. This challenge was immediately taken up and another £33 collected. In all over £183 was raised. Delegates immediately left for Blyth, where the ship was lying, but policemen were mobilised to prevent the crew getting off, and river police patrolled the water. Despite the efforts of the delegates, who succeeded in getting on to the ship, it sailed. This action, however, had a great effect upon the delegates, who one after the other, in speeches, declared their determination to carry back to their localities the lesson.

An attempt was made by the anarchist Emma Goldman to attack the Soviet Union, in making reference to the fight against every government, no matter by what name it was called, that was making war; to the necessity for fighting **all** the governments who put workers in prison. She demanded the General Strike in the customary way of the anarchists. Her remarks were received with mixed feelings among the delegates, but in the main with little sympathy. Later in the proceedings another anarchist made an attempt to defend Goldman and individualism, but he was forced to resume his seat. The Conference was solid for the defence of the Soviet Union and passed the political resolution unanimously.

The **Organisation** Resolution declared for the immediate enrolment of 10,000 members, on the basis of (a) registered supporters; (b) local anti-war committees, comprising trade union branches, Co-op. guilds, peace societies and all local workers' organisations; (c) national organisations.

Each "registered supporter" to be given a registration card on subscribing a minimum fee of one shilling; national organisations to pay 2/6 for each 1000 members or part thereof.

The monthly bulletin "**War**" is to be enlarged to 12 pages, and the Conference placed as an immediate aim the increasing of the monthly sale of "War" to 25,000 copies in the next three months.

A resolution on the **Meerut Prisoners** and all class war prisoners within the British Empire was carried unanimously, as was an emergency resolution denouncing the Hitlerite fascist government in its terrorist attacks upon the German masses, especially the C.P. of Germany.

Pacifist opinions and the individual refusal to fight were given strong vocal expression during the debate; so also was the idea of the general strike. And it is clear there is need for more clarity within the Anti-War movement on these questions, and for an understanding of the Leninist way to fight war.

## The World Economic Crisis

### The American Banking Crisis

On 4th March, Hoover handed over the seals of office to the new President of the United States, Roosevelt. Roosevelt enters into office at a time when the whole structure of American banking is cracking at every joint, when, on the other side of the Atlantic, there is to be seen the biggest collapse in world history.

On the evening of 4th March, a few hours after Roosevelt had taken over the office of President, all the wireless senders broadcasted the alarming news: all banks of the United States have been closed, exports of gold stopped, no quotations for the dollar in New York, London, or Paris.

In the past week 120 million dollars in gold were withdrawn from the United States. On the other hand, the gold withdrawn from the banks for use at home amounts to over 100 million dollars. Whilst, therefore, the money in circulation rapidly increases, the gold reserves decline. These two contrary movements represent a palpable threat to the stability of the dollar.

What is actually happening? Since the huge bank crash in October, 1929, United States economy has not experienced any "revival," but on the contrary the crisis has increased from month to month. Unemployment is rapidly increasing, the farmers are faced with absolute ruin, and exports are constantly declining. Two years after the bank crash, at the end of 1931, 21 per cent. of the working population were unemployed. Industrial output sank by 30 per cent. compared with 1929. In the period from 1929 to 1931, 4000 banks were closed, and 3000 million dollars were swallowed by the bank crisis.

In the midst of this atmosphere of bankruptcy, the Hoover government resorted to the policy of credit inflation. State banking institutes with large capital at their disposal were established in order to render aid to the banks and industrial undertakings threatened with bankruptcy.

After functioning 10 months, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation entrusted with these attempts at salvage, distributed 788 million dollars to the banks.

When, however, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation published the results of its operations, when the names of the banks which had got into difficulties became known, the public again began to withdraw its deposits from the banks, and again there set in a fresh wave of bank failures. In the middle of February, Henry Ford, who was engaged in a fight with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, announced the withdrawal of his deposits in the Union Guardian Trust companies at Detroit, which controls 20 banks.

This announcement was the signal for a general panic, 550 banks in the State of Michigan ceased payment; and from Michigan the crisis spread like a spring flood over all the 48 States, until on 4th March the pillars of the American banking system, the New York banks, were shaken and a bank moratorium had to be proclaimed.

Today the deficit of the United States budget amounts to nearly 2000 million dollars. The State is living from hand to mouth. Millions of Americans are endeavouring to "solve the problem of living on credit."

Roosevelt, at a meeting of the governors of all the American States, elaborated a plan for restoring American national economy. This plan envisages a reduction of taxes, uniform regulation of relief for the unemployed, general directions for dealing with unpaid mortgage debts, prevention of further withdrawals of gold and other means of payments, introduction of a method by which the banks, provided with fresh cash, could continue to work.

All these formulas are exceedingly indefinite. Do they proclaim a policy of "moderate inflation," or abandonment of the gold standard, or depreciation of the dollar without abandonment of the gold standard?

The ailment from which American capitalism is suffering is not the expression of a temporary crisis. This ailment is a symptom of the collapse of a whole system. In order to avert

the approaching convulsions, Roosevelt appears to have decided to discard the time-honoured democratic parliamentary methods. Roosevelt demands dictatorial powers for himself, the exclusion of parliament and the alteration of the constitution.

In the United States, where in the course of the last two months the unemployed have marched to the capital, where the war veterans carried out their bonus march and fought the police and the military, where enormous strikes have taken place in the coalfields and in the automobile industry, the class struggle will in the not very distant future assume exceedingly fierce forms.

## The White Terror

### Free the Scottsboro Boys!

Edgar Owens

Two years have passed since the arrest, farcical trial and sentence of death against the Scottsboro Negro boys. During these two years the International Red Aid and its section in the United States have focussed the eyes of the toiling masses of the entire world upon the ghastly attempt of the American bourgeoisie to legally lynch the innocent youths.

Two factors have thus far stood between the condemned Negro youths and their executioners: first (and most important), the gigantic protest demonstrations and actions of solidarity that have taken place from Leningrad to Capetown, from San Francisco to Tokyo. These protest demonstrations, in which millions of toilers and intellectuals have participated before American embassies and consulates; the European tour of Comrades **Engdahl** and **Ada Wright**, Scottsboro mother; the flood of protest resolutions that flowed in a steady stream upon the bourgeois authorities in Alabama and Washington, compelled the Supreme Court of the United States to take up the Scottsboro case and forced the decision reversing the death verdict and ordering the new trial.

But there must be no illusions about "justice" for the toilers in the bourgeois courts. The continued incarceration of Mooney and Billings, in spite of the collapse of that monstrous frame-up, has effectively unmasked the pretensions of bourgeois "justice." The lynch atmosphere surrounding the trial, the character of the prostitutes who had been bludgeoned into charging the boys with assault and then compelled to go through with the hideous frame-up—these and other equally important class issues were brushed aside by the Supreme Court as immaterial and of no consequence; and since 7th November, 1932, when the Supreme Court reversed the death verdict and ordered the new trial, the whole land-owning, Negro-hating bourgeoisie of Alabama have been setting the stage for a lynch verdict that will pass muster before the reviewing courts.

On 16th December, 1932, the massacre of the Negro sharecroppers in Tallapoosa County, Alabama, took place, in which scores of Negro toilers, men and women, were killed and wounded and other scores arrested, while the whole Negro population of Tallapoosa and surrounding counties was terrorised by the landlord-sheriff-led mob, epitomised by the brutally frank statement of Sheriff Rose Riley: that he was prepared "to kill more men, women and children to clean up that mess." At the same time the International Labour Defence headquarters in Birmingham were raided, the custodian beaten and the office equipment destroyed.

Roy Wright, youngest of the Scottsboro boys, whose trial resulted in a jury disagreement and who has been held in jail for two years, was refused release on bail in January. The Alabama courts have refused to order the other Scottsboro boys to be removed from the death cells in Kilby prison, where they have been held since April, 1931. It was only after the most determined fight that the defence attorneys were able to secure a photostatic copy of the letter written by Ruby Bates, one of the prostitutes whose framed testimony formed the basis for the death verdict. In this letter she states categorically that "not one of the Negro boys touched me," and that she was forced by the prosecution to testify as she did.

Through Alabama and the other southern states terror against Negroes is growing sharper. Angelo Herndon, 19-year-old Negro organiser of the unemployed in Atlanta, Georgia, is sentenced to 20 years on the chain gang; frame-up machinery is

set in motion against the young Negro worker Eddi Worthan, in Oxford, Mississippi; Ed. Dunlap, a Negro worker in Greenville, Mississippi, is lynched over a wage dispute with the white foreman of a levee job; in York, South Carolina, Will Sanders, 16-year-old Negro boy, is charged with murder, arraigned, tried, convicted and sentenced to be executed, all in one hour and 17 minutes. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights reports lynchings in 1932 as follows: 23 shot, 8 hanged, 2 shot and drowned, 1 beaten and drowned, 2 beaten to death; total 36.

In this manner the Negro-hating white landlord class of Alabama and the Southern states is creating the atmosphere for the new attempt at the judicial murder of the Scottsboro Negro boys.

The retrial of the Scottsboro boys is under vastly different circumstances than the original trial in April, 1931. The legal defence that I.L.D. has assembled is able, courageous and experienced. They will take advantage of every legal aspect of the case. But legal defence will be without avail unless it is supported by solidarity actions and demonstrations of protest of the world's toilers and intellectuals.

## The Labour Movement

### Great Unemployed Demonstrations in Czechoslovakia

The C.P. of Czechoslovakia has recently come forward with a programme for providing work, the chief slogan of which is: Take from the rich and give to the poor. It calls upon the working population to continue and increase the fight for work and bread by holding hunger conferences, hunger marches and demonstrations. The appeal of the Party has met with a big response among the toiling masses.

At the Hunger Congress held on 19th February for the German Minority district of Northern Bohemia 2300 delegates from the unemployed, from the factories, and also delegates of small shopkeepers and small peasants decided to organise hunger marches to **Reichenberg**, **Teschen**, **Hohenelbe** and **Rumburg** for 2nd March. Although the police had forbidden these hunger marches, the 2nd of March was a day of powerful fighting actions. In **Reichenberg** the hunger march was participated in by over 10,000 workers—the police report speaks of some thousands of demonstrators—in Rumburg by 6000, in Teschen 3000, and in Hohenelbe by more than 2000.

These hunger marches were not simple demonstrations. They signalise the breaking through of the police prohibition imposed on all these demonstrations. In spite of the huge forces of police which were mobilised it was impossible to prevent the demonstration of the starving masses in Reichenberg. In the Bahnhofstrasse it came to a fierce protest demonstration in front of the German Consulate.

In Hohenelbe, over 2000 unemployed workers were masters of the streets for three hours. Although the authorities had forbidden the closing of shops, the small shopkeepers defied this order and thereby expressed their sympathy with the demonstrations. At the demonstration in Rumburg, which was exceedingly well prepared, 6000 persons from all strata of the working population took part.

But not only unemployed but also thousands of factory workers demonstrated on 2nd March. In Rumburg the workers in two enterprises went on strike. In Reichenberg various employers closed their works for the day in order to avoid a strike.

How great the sympathy of the middle classes with the hunger marchers was is shown by the fact that in the localities on the outskirts of the district sleeping quarters, with food, were provided for 6000 of the unemployed marching to Reichenberg.

The hunger marches in the famine districts in North Bohemia, the demonstrations in the streets of the towns in the whole of Czechoslovakia, prove that the fighting unity of the workers is becoming a fact in spite of all the sabotage and counter-measures of the social fascist leaders.

The working population of Czechoslovakia have also shown that they understand that the best support they can render the proletariat in Germany is to fight for their own demands, against social and national oppression and against fascism in Czechoslovakia itself.

## 50th Anniversary of the Death of Karl Marx

# The Communist International on the 50th Anniversary of the Death of Karl Marx

**To the Working Men and Working Women of all Countries :  
To the Exploited and Oppressed of the Entire World.**

Fifty years ago, 14th March, 1883, Karl Marx, the greatest thinker, the greatest revolutionist in the history of mankind of all time, died.

He was the man who proved that wealth and poverty, tyranny and slavery do not arise from eternal, divine or unalterable laws of Nature.

He was the man who proved that wealth and poverty, tyranny and slavery are the result of a definite mode of production and the corresponding social institutions which are created and overthrown by people, united in classes, struggling between themselves.

He was the man who discovered the great secret of the capitalist mode of production and bourgeois society—the secret of surplus value appropriated by the capitalists from the unpaid labour of the workers, the secret of the accumulation of capital on the basis of the exploitation of the working-class.

He was the man who showed that capitalism, in accordance with its own laws and because of its own inner contradiction, is moving towards its destruction and with iron necessity is creating the conditions for its own annihilation and the establishment of Socialism.

He was the man who showed that capitalism creates and welds together the class which historically is destined to become the gravedigger of capitalism which, in the revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeois class, will have to overthrow the role of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He was the man who showed that the proletariat, having expropriated the capitalist expropriators, in constant and merciless struggle against all the exploiting classes, will destroy classes and will build up the new classless Socialist society which will bring about Communism.

He was the man who gave to the proletariat the "consciousness of their own situation and the consciousness of the conditions for their own liberation." He was the man who armed the working-class with the principles of Communism—the teachings on the conditions for the victory of the proletariat.

He was the man who led the first Communist Party, the "**Communist League**." He was the man who threw out the world historic rallying cry: "Workers of the world, unite!" He was the man who formed and led the international working men's association—the **First International**.

The great task of the First International, the liberation of the working-class, is being continued at the present day by the **Communist International**, which solemnly, before the whole world, at its formation in the capital of the first proletarian state, undertook to finally fulfil the cause of the First International.

### **The Great Historic Victory of Marxism**

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the greatest teacher of the working-class, the passionate enemy of the bourgeoisie, the world reveals to us the picture of the great historic victory of Marxism.

Along the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat mapped out by Marx, Socialism is already being victoriously constructed before our eyes on one-sixth of the surface of the globe, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

According to the law of capitalist development, discovered by Marx, the capitalist system has now, before our eyes, reached its final and culminating stage—the stage of decaying monopolist capitalism.

Writhing in the death agonies of the general crisis, it is approaching a revolutionary crash, slipping into a new imperialist world war.

In the capitalist world, in the East and the West, a mighty revolutionary upsurge is stirring the proletarian and toiling masses.

In the struggle for bread, work and power, the proletarians are marching ahead, answering bourgeois violence with proletarian violence, preparing to deal a death-blow against the rule of capital.

Before our eyes the historic mission of the proletariat, proclaimed by Marx, is being realised.

Marxism is the great science of the working-class which not only aims at explaining the world, but at its revolutionary transformation. It has rallied the broadest masses and has itself become the material revolutionary driving force of history, directed against the bourgeoisie.

During the 50 years which separate us from the death of Marx the passionate struggle for and against Marxism has never ceased.

The struggle for Marxism was an inseparable part of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This ideological struggle, along with the economic and political struggle, served to defend the interests of the working-class, the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

Numberless creators of bourgeoisie ideology have made attempt after attempt to kill Marxism, the revolutionary theory of the working-class. Lecturers and professors, parsons and priests have made it their profession to "annihilate" Marxism.

Through the churches of all denominations, through the universities and academies, through their politicians—conservative and radical—the bourgeoisie has put into operation against Marxism the weapon of criticism, simultaneously making wide use of the police and troops, for the massacre of the class-conscious sections of the working-class.

The granite rock of Marxism could not be destroyed by the onslaught of these open enemies.

After the death of Marx, under the leadership of the great companion-in-arms of Marx—Friedrich Engels—in the struggle against petty-bourgeois anarchist and social reformist theories, Marxism won the leading position among the broad mass workers' parties and trade union organisations.

### **From Paris Commune to Russian Revolution**

The influence of Marxism grew much wider in the relatively peaceful period between the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution in 1905.

In the period of the Second International, Marxism won new strata of the working-class, new countries.

The bourgeoisie were driven to make an attempt to destroy Marxism from within the working-class. While continuing their attacks on Marxism, they began, inside the working-class, the falsification of Marxism.

Based on impoverished petty bourgeois elements, and upon a corrupted section of the labour aristocracy which arose out of the proletariat, there appeared revisionism, the theory of the revision and destruction of the principles of Marxism.

The social-democrat, Edward Bernstein, the champion of this revision of Marx in the German social-democratic party, the leading party of the Second International, openly denied all the basic principles of Marxism, and openly tried to eliminate the chief weapon of the working-class, the class struggle, from the arsenal of the labour movement.

Along with this open revision of Marxism there appeared on the scene Centrism, the disguised falsification of Marxism.

Under the cloak of the "defence" of Marx, the Centrists, under the leadership of Karl Kautsky, actually sacrificed the most important theoretical positions of Marxism and created the theoretical basis for the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

### Reformists Falsified the Teachings of Marx

The reformists and Centrists first of all falsified the revolutionary teachings of Marx on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Instead of the revolutionary overthrow and destruction of the bourgeois state—peaceful reforms through Parliament; instead of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—the peaceful growing of capitalism into socialism.

This reformist conception acquired undivided sway in the socialist parties in the Second International after the death of Engels. Revolutionary Marxism was finally abandoned in the Second International when capitalism entered a new phase, the phase of imperialism.

Imperialism directly raised the question of the historic fate of capitalism and of the international working-class: either imperialist enslavement, imperialist war for a new redivision of the world or proletarian revolution for the forcible overthrow of decaying capitalism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism.

Disintegrated by opportunism, which degenerated into social chauvinism, social imperialism and social pacifism, the Second International shamefully collapsed.

At the beginning of the imperialist war in 1914, the leading parties went over to the side of their own imperialism and helped their own bourgeoisie to drive worker against worker, peasant against peasant, in the slaughter of the imperialist world war.

The leaders of the Second International wanted to bury revolutionary Marxism by eliminating the class struggle in the interests of the defence of the capitalist fatherland.

In the service of their own bourgeoisie, they shamelessly mocked the internationalism of the working-class.

Dozens of social-democratic ministers doomed to starvation the wives and children of the millions who had been killed at the front, and robbed the workers in the militarised factories of the right to strike.

### Lenin Raises the Banner of Revolution

It was precisely at this time when the honour of the international working-class was being besmirched every day by its leaders, that the founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party, the only consistent Marxist, Revolutionary Party, which fought for revolutionary Marxism right through its existence, boldly and decisively raised upon the ruins of the collapse of the Second International, the banner of revolutionary proletarian internationalism, the banner of the Third International.

Rallying the revolutionary elements of the workers' movement of the whole world, this banner called for the conversion of imperialist war into civil war.

The Marxist who carried out this great work, the equal of Marx and Engels, was Lenin.

It was Lenin who, from the moment that he entered the labour movement, at the turning point of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, basing himself on an analysis of the new epoch of capitalism—imperialism—fought at the head of the Bolshevik Party for the working-class to fulfil its historic role which had been discovered by Marx.

It was he who, undeviatingly guided by the interest of the international proletarian revolution and the task of the struggle for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, worked out the theory and tactics of revolution in the epoch of imperialism.

He was the man who was the incomparable defender and the only consistent continuer of Marxism after the death of Marx and Engels. He was the man who, without hesitation, brought about the break with opportunism and carried on a merciless struggle both against revisionism and centrism, and mercilessly exposed the class treachery of the reformist leaders.

He was the man who, in three revolutions, led the working-class of Tsarist Russia and, in the October Revolution, led the proletariat to victory.

He was the man who built the first proletarian Soviet State and organised the defence of the Proletarian Fatherland against internal and external enemies.

He was the man who showed the path of socialism in town and village and who was the first constructor of socialist society.

He was the man who developed Marxism further for the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, and who gave to the working-class the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

Leninism is the only Marxism of the new epoch.

### Marxism Consummated in Workers' Dictatorship

Marxism, which was cast out from all social-democratic parties, by the leaders of the Second International, was consummated under the leadership of Lenin and his Bolshevik Party in the victorious armed insurrection of the October Revolution.

It was consummated in the creation of the proletarian dictatorship, in the workers' state, inscribing on its red banners the slogan of the Communist manifesto: "Workers of the World, Unite."

**The revolutionary teachings of Marx found their real place and only bearer in the Communist International founded by Lenin, and in its sections, the Communist Parties.**

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Parties, the organised vanguard of the working-class, heroically lead the fights of the proletariat, the toiling peasants and the oppressed nations, for the destruction of all exploitation, of all oppression.

But the Second International, restored after the war, and its social-democratic parties, what have they in common with Marxism and its theories and practice?

Instead of revolutionary philosophy, dialectic materialism—reactionary idealism.

Instead of the theory of the class struggle as the driving force of social development—collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Instead of the theory of the inevitability of the rise of periodic economic crises on the basis of the contradictions between social production and capitalist appropriation—the theory of overcoming the crisis by organised capitalism.

Instead of the theory of the inevitability of war under capitalism—the theory of eliminating war by the international organisation of the imperialist bandits of the League of Nations.

Instead of the theory of the bourgeois State as the apparatus of violence of the bourgeoisie against the working-class—the theory that the bourgeois State stands above classes, adjusting and reconciling the contradictory interests of the proletarian and the bourgeois.

Instead of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the transition stage of capitalism to socialism—the theory of a transition period of coalition governments with the bourgeoisie.

Instead of the theory of a socialist construction on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the theory of economic democracy carried out by a bourgeois Government.

Instead of the defence of the rights of nations to self-determination to the point of separation and the complete liberation of the colonies and dependent countries—the theory of the civilising role of imperialism in the colonies, and support for their own bourgeoisie in oppressing national minorities and plundering dependent countries and colonies.

There is not a single principle of Marxism which the leaders of social-democracy and the reformist trade union movement have not tried to distort and refute.

There is not a single revolutionary action of the workers under the banner of Marxism which they have not tried to break by deception, strike-breaking, and the murder of the workers.

What has happened to the theories of social-democracy in face of stern historic facts?



The devastation of the world economic crisis and the tremendous poverty of the toiling masses brought by the crisis, the use of merciless mass terror by the bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants, the growth of bourgeois democracy into fascism, the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism and the transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars—all these have scattered like smoke the theories which social-democracy put forward in opposition to revolutionary Marxism.

But Marxism is marching forward victoriously. Continued and developed in Leninism, it is being carried into practice in the U.S.S.R.

### The Workers' Theory

The revolutionary teachings of the working-class, slandered and falsified by social-democracy, the theory of the despised, the exploited and the oppressed, has become the theory of the working-class which rules on one-sixth of the earth's surface, the theory of many millions of workers, struggling in capitalist countries against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to victorious action in the heroic civil war, in the fights against imperialist intervention, in which the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union firmly held on to its power and retained the expropriated means of production.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to victorious action in the struggle for socialist industrialisation, in which the workers of the Soviet Union, filled with the enthusiasm of shock work, transformed a backward agrarian country into an industrial country, raising the standard of living of the workers and completely liquidating unemployment.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to victorious action in the struggle for the collectivisation of millions of small and middle peasant farms, in the struggle for the formation of giant socialist agricultural farms, and in the liquidation of the last capitalist class, the kulaks.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to victorious action in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan, in which the proletariat of the Soviet Union proved that the working-class is capable of creating the new as well as destroying the old.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to revolutionary action when the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. showed that it was fully possible to construct socialist society in a single country, and that the Soviet system is the only economic system which has no crises, and overcomes difficulties which are insuperable for capitalism.

**Marxism-Leninism was and is the guide to victorious action which made the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, victorious, showed it the path, steeling it and making it capable of conquering all difficulties, of capturing the strongest fortress.**

The First Five-Year Plan was triumphantly carried out in the hostile surroundings of the whole capitalist world and international social-democracy, with the help of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

It was triumphant only because the leading Party of the Soviet proletariat, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, uncompromisingly defended Marxism-Leninism in incessant struggle against every falsification from the Right and the "Left."

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the continuer of the work of Marx and Lenin, enriched and is still enriching the teachings of Marx and Lenin on proletarian dictatorship by solving the task of constructing socialism in the U.S.S.R.

### On to Victory in Lands of Exploitation

Marxism-Leninism is marching to victory in the capitalist countries, where the revolutionary upsurge is growing.

In China, the masses of workers and peasants, organised into a Soviet Government on an enormous territory, are fighting heroically under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party for their national and social liberation, against the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang, against Japanese and world imperialism, pointing the way to the workers of Japan, India, Indo-China, and all the enslaved colonial peoples.

The German, Polish and Bulgarian workers and peasants, the proletarians and the toilers of other capitalist countries, under the leadership of the Communist vanguard, in the struggles against fascism and social-fascism, are carrying out the behests of Marx and Lenin, struggling for the majority of the working-class for the revolutionary struggle, for Soviet Germany, Soviet Poland, Soviet Bulgaria.

The heroic working-class of Germany will not be broken by frenzied fascist reaction, which reflects the convulsions of the expiring capitalist system.

Marxism-Leninism is marching forward victoriously in the strikes and uprisings of the Spanish proletariat and exploited peasants, in which the Communist Party is winning the leadership of the working masses from anti-Marxist anarcho-syndicalism and reformism.

Marxism-Leninism is marching forward in the struggles of the millions of workers, small peasants and toiling peoples of all the imperialist, colonial and semi-colonial countries, against the capitalist offensive, against reaction and fascism, against terror, against imperialist war, in defence of the Soviet Union from armed intervention.

The entire ideological super-structure of capitalism is crashing everywhere. In this general crisis of bourgeois ideologies, only the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism receive new proofs of their truth every day.

**"The teachings of Marx are all-powerful, because they are true."—(Lenin).**

No wonder that the old falsifiers of Marxism, the arch enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the social-fascist leaders of the Second International, are again making an attempt to cloak themselves with Marxism. They are now making the discovery that there are "two Marxist parties," one of which is the party of social-fascism.

They do this to hinder the united front of the revolutionary and social-democratic workers, to keep them away from the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism, against imperialist war, and to drive them into the arms of the class enemies.

They do this to prevent the unity of the proletarian class movement, split by the treachery of the Second International from being restored under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the banner of the Communist International.

**Think carefully, social-democratic workers, and you proletarians who belong to the reformist trade unions!**

Is it possible that Marxism means in one Party struggles for higher wages, for unemployment relief and organisation of struggles against the oppression of capitalist rationalisation—and in the other: support of wage-cuts and reduction of unemployment relief, and support and encouragement for capitalist rationalisation and compulsory labour?

Is it possible that Marxism means for one Party revolutionary readiness for sacrifice in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, imprisonment, shooting, hanging, as was the case with Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and thousands, tens of thousands, of revolutionary proletarians throughout the capitalist world—while for the other Party—ministerial posts in bourgeois Governments, posts of police chiefs, hangmen of the revolutionary proletarians, as was the case with Noske and Zörgiebel, the German social-democratic leaders?

Is it possible that Marxism means in one Party proletarian internationalism, determined revolutionary struggle against imperialist war, while in the other Party it means defence of the bourgeois Fatherland, pacifist deception in order to cover up imperialist war preparations, and slander of the Soviet Union, the only Fatherland of the international working-class?

Is it possible that Marxism in one country led by the Communist Party to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the expropriation of the means of production of the capitalists, to the rise of proletarians to heads of gigantic socialist enterprises—while in the other country it is leading to the growth of capitalist enslavement under the leadership of the social-democratic party?

**Is it possible that Marxism in one country led to socialism and in the other country—to fascism!**

**Think it over, proletarians !****Can there be two kinds of Marxism ?**

Give your answer to the first Communist, to the first revolutionary proletarian—the fighter for the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin—you come across.

Think it over, and decide whether or not we are right when we declare that Marx belongs to the Communists.

To us, the Communists, who, at the head of the millions of proletarians in the daily uncompromising class struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, are carrying out his great teachings.

To us, Communists, who, in the Soviet Union are the master builders of the socialist society, who, in the imperialist and colonial countries are defending and protecting with our life's blood Marxism-Leninism, defending socialism ; which has been carried out in the Soviet Union.

To us, Communists, who are struggling for the liberation of all those who are oppressed by capitalist exploitation from the slavery of capitalism, struggling for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for world Communism.

**Marx belongs to the Communists !**

To us, the Communists, who have carried Marxism-Leninism to the countries of the Near and Far East, to China and India, to Indo-China, to Arabia, to colonial Africa, and to the semi-colonial countries of South and Central America, and who have extended the fighting front of the proletariat for socialist society by drawing the oppressed peoples into the fight against the common enemy, against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

**Marx belongs to the Communists !**

To us, the class-conscious revolutionary workers in imperialist and colonial countries, who are organising and leading strikes against wage-cuts and against dismissals, organising the struggle of the unemployed for relief and social insurance.

Marx belongs to us, the fighters against reaction, fascism, terror and imperialist war, to us who, through our revolutionary struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, are organising the toiling peasants and the oppressed peoples.

To us young working men and working women, for whom capitalism has taken away our means of livelihood and the possibility of vocational training.

To us, who are struggling courageously and with determination, in order to avoid the fate of our fathers, and not to become cannon fodder in imperialist wars ; to us, who are not willing to live the life of exploited wage slaves.

**Marx belongs to the revolutionary proletarian fighters, for Marx, above all, was a revolutionist, and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are the teachings of the organisation and leadership of the revolution against capitalism.**

**Marx belongs to those who are carrying out his teachings in practice.**

Proletarians ! Make his teaching yours ! Bear them to all corners of the earth !

Strengthen the class-consciousness of the working-class. Strengthen the united front of all workers, under the leadership of the international of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the international struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, for socialism, carry into practice the teachings of Marx.

The victorious movement of revolutionary Marxism cannot be held back by the fascists, the followers of the collapsing capitalist system !

The dying capitalist system cannot be saved either by vile provocations against the working-class or by the bloody terror of fascist gangs.

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE !**

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# New Work—New Life

## 15. The Secret of Planned Economy

By W. (Special Correspondent of the Inprecorr in the Soviet Union)

There is just as much misunderstanding abroad regarding the nature of planned economy in the Soviet Union as there is regarding the nature of socialist discipline. People often imagine that officials in high government offices engage in complicated calculations and work up plans which are then either realised or not. Such a view often causes capitalist savants, especially in the U.S.A., to reason as follows : " We can calculate and estimate better than the Russians, who, as is known, are very weak in the rules of arithmetic ; why should not we then produce a better Five-Year Plan than they ? "

If I remember rightly it was the American Professor Stuart Chase who proudly and arrogantly declared : " Why do the Russians make such a great fuss about their planned economy when the idea of planned economy was invented more than a century ago by an American bourgeois scientist. "

Be that as it may, at any rate capitalism has advanced no farther with the idea of planned economy than with the slogan, likewise invented by the bourgeoisie, of " Liberty, Fraternity and Equality. " The idea of planned economy crops up in the capitalist world during the periodically recurring devastating crises in a monstrous anarchy of economy. The Bolsheviki have successfully completed their first Five Year Plan precisely at a time when the capitalist world is experiencing its profoundest economic crisis resulting from the general crisis of capitalism, when capitalist anarchy is holding unprecedented orgies. What is the reason for this ?

Scientific planning of course plays a big role. In addition to the ability to calculate and estimate, scientific planning

requires a tremendous knowledge of the natural resources of the country, of the technical and economic conditions of production, and much else besides. It is not in this, however, that the chief difference lies. In order to grasp the secret of the successes of the Five Year Plan we must go into the workshops and factories. Instead of going into a lot of details, let us take a glance at two factory leaflets issued by the Kharkov Electro-Technical Factory (formerly A.E.G.). No. 343 deals with the counter-plan for 1932, the second, issued a year later, deals with the counter-plan for the second Five Year Plan :

**Proletarians of all lands, unite !**

**GENERATOR**  
(No. 343)

13th November, 1931.

**TO SET UP THE COUNTER-PLAN**

**on the basis of extremely economical use of material.  
100 per cent. utilisation of the existing plant and  
equipment.**

**That is the basis for working out the control figures and  
the technical counter-plan for 1932.**

**Chief things : Economy in the use of metal ; utilisation of  
the workshops and plant ; rationalisation of the technical pro-  
cesses ; improvement in the quality of production and productivity  
of labour.**

**New Construction : Substitution of non-ferrous metals by  
ferrous metals. Diminution of waste, economy in fuel and electrical  
energy, reduction of overhead charges.**

This is what must engage the earnest attention of the Chemssch workers.

The working out of the technical counter-plan is proceeding very badly.

Comrade Linik (works manager A 12) has up to now taken no part in working out the counter-plan; he has displayed no interest in it.

The situation is the same in many other departments.  
Works managers!

You are responsible for developing the elaboration of the technical counter-plan by the masses.

That is how the masses are mobilised. That is how the "slackers" are urged onward by the enthusiasts. The plan concerns the whole of the staff, and whoever does not act accordingly is soon told off by his workmates. But the development proceeds in spite of the "slackers." The factory leaflet issued a year later makes no mention of general laxity:

15th November, 1932.

No. 734 (1134).

#### GENERATOR

Re the Plenum of the  
Factory Committee of the  
Section of Technicians  
and Engineers.

In our factory, planning is no longer the work of a definite circle of specialists. The creator of the second Five Year Plan in our factory is the collective, numbering 18,000.

#### COMRADE DELEGATES!

None of you must be absent from the debates at to-day's meeting. We expect your criticism, your remarks and proposals regarding the following questions:

1. The quantitative and qualitative indexes of the second Five Year Plan in our factory.
2. The specialisation of our factory.
3. The reconstruction of our factory.
4. The development of the production of rails.
5. The introduction of new constructions.
6. The education of cadres.
7. Measures for improving the living conditions of the workers in our factory.

All your proposals will be embodied in the main plan of our factory.

If you should not have the opportunity of putting forward your views in the debate, then jot down your suggestions on the back of this leaflet and hand it over to the Presidium of the meeting or to the Bureau of the Section of the Engineers and Technicians.

You unemployed workers in the capitalist countries, do you know why there is no crisis in the Soviet Union, no unemployment, no anarchy, why the Soviet economy is advancing with seven-league boots? Because the creators of the plan in every individual factory, just as in the Kharkov electro-mechanical factory, are a collective numbering thousands of workers.

"Nothing is simpler," said the writer of a leading article which appeared recently in a German capitalist paper, who at least was able to realise the important role played by the masses; "we must learn from the Russians to call forth among our workers the same enthusiasm for constructive work as the Bolsheviki do."

Truly, how simple it would be to persuade the Berlin A.E.G. workers to form shock-brigades and do their best to promote the prosperity of the A.E.G. undertakings. Why do the A.E.G. workers not do this? They are quite as well, or probably better, trained than their Kharkov fellow-workers.

Of course, the German, American, the French and the English workers could turn out as much or even more work than the Soviet workers. But why do they not do it? Why? This is an insoluble riddle for the capitalist savants.

Nothing is simpler! Because the Soviet workers are the masters in their factory, in their state. That is why the million masses are interested in planned economy, why they participate in the economic plan, why they fight enthusiastically for the realisation of the plan, for mastering economy and technique. That is why they sweep forward over mountains of obstacles to socialism, because they are fighting for themselves, because there are no capitalist parasites in their country.

Millions of workers in the Soviet Union have solved the arithmetical problem of planned economy over which the best heads of capitalist society are puzzling in vain. They were able to find the missing link, because for them it means life, freedom, the future. The capitalist savants, however, cannot find it, because for them it means death. And only their death as a class will bring the solution in their countries.

For this "missing link" is expressed in figures:

25th October (old style) or 7th November, 1917, or in word and in deed: the victorious October.

## The Trial of the Wreckers of Agriculture in the Soviet Union

Moscow, 12th March, 1933.

The Collegium of the State Political Administration (O.G.P.U.), at its session of 11th March, 1933, dealt with the case of the arrested state employees—offspring of the bourgeois and landowning classes—in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and the People's Commissariat for Soviet Farms, who were accused of counter-revolutionary wrecking activity in agriculture in various districts in the Ukraine, North Caucasus and White Russia. The most active participators in the counter-revolutionary sabotage organisation were condemned to death for organising counter-revolutionary sabotage activity at the Machine and Tractor Stations as well as on the Soviet farms in various districts of the Ukraine, North Caucasus and White Russia, which injured the peasantry and the State, as well as for damaging and destroying tractors and agricultural machines, wilfully spreading weeds in the fields, setting fire to Machine and Tractor Stations, Machine and Tractor Workshops and bottle factories, for disorganising the sowing, harvesting and threshing—all for the purpose of undermining the material position of the peasantry and bringing about a state of famine in the country. The rest of the accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

# The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

## The Situation of the Working Class in Japan

### 4. The Situation of the Working Rural Population

By Shiro Yano

[The following article concludes the series on the situation of the working class in the most important capitalist countries.—ED.]

In spite of the rapid development of industry, agriculture is still of great importance in Japanese economy. This is not only because over one half the total population are engaged in agriculture, but also because the complete impoverishment of the working peasants is an important fact accelerating the maturing of the revolutionary crisis in Japan.

The intensive and rapid original accumulation in agriculture retarded the industrialisation of agriculture and helped to stabilise the feudal methods of production and exploitation. The peasants were robbed of their land and the tenant system was introduced on the basis of small holdings. The pressure of taxation on the poor peasants accelerated this process, while the high ground rents, amounting on an average to over half of the rice harvest, helped to drive the peasants into the ranks of the proletariat.

At the same time the process of centralisation is assuming a rapid pace; 35 per cent. of the total arable land is in the hands of 3 per cent. of the landowners. They are parasitic landowners, leasing out their land to tenants and investing the proceeds of the exorbitant rents in commercial and industrial undertakings. Seventy-five per cent. of the landowners possess only 23.3 per cent. of the total arable land. That is to say, their holdings amount on an average to less than a hectare, and they are compelled to rent extra land, to toil as seasonal workers or carry on home industry, such as hand-weaving, silkworm cultivation, etc. In addition, there are 1½ million peasants, or 30 per cent. of the total peasantry, who possess no land whatever. The arable land is divided as follows, according to the size of the peasant undertaking:

	Number of peasant families in thousands	Per cent of the families
Less than half hectare . . .	1,951	35
Half to 1 hectare . . . . .	1,885	34
1 to 2 hectares . . . . .	1,190	22
2 to 3 hectares . . . . .	321	6
3 to 5 hectares . . . . .	134	2
Over 5 hectares . . . . .	72	1

It is characteristic that 70 per cent. of all the agricultural undertakings are small holdings of less than a hectare, and that this percentage, instead of declining, is increasing. The result is chronic over-population, land hunger and feudal exploitation, which is maintained in the interest of a rapid development of industry.

The chronic agrarian crisis is the most important symptom of the general crisis in Japan. The price of rice has dropped very considerably since the crisis, as is to be seen from the following figures:

	Wholesale price	Retail price in Yen per koku	Cost of production	Profit of the peasants
1925 . . . . .	38.91	37.24	32.51	4.73
1926 . . . . .	36.79	34.32	33.67	0.65
1927 . . . . .	31.12	30.48	29.44	1.04
1928 . . . . .	29.22	27.87	28.41	— 0.54
1929 . . . . .	27.44	27.12	26.38	— 0.75
1930 . . . . .	18.29	17.80	26.12	— 8.32
1931 . . . . .	19.68	16.07	22.99	— 6.92

Assuming that the poor peasant who cultivates one hectare harvests 20 koku, of which 10 koku has to be handed over to the landowner as rent, in the best year, in 1925, his profits amounted to 47 yen. He cannot feed his family on such a sum. The prices of vegetables and silk cocoons, the cultivation of which together with rice cultivation forms the chief source of income of the peasant farms, have fallen by two-thirds since the

crisis. The disparity between the price of industrial and agricultural products is constantly increasing.

The situation of the peasants is deteriorating every year. Their indebtedness is still increasing. In the year 1929 the average indebtedness of the peasant farms had increased to 91 yen. The total indebtedness of agriculture amounts to over 6000 million yen.

The agrarian crisis in Japan, however, has severely hit not only the poor peasants, but also the middle peasants, many of whom engage in seasonal work and in years of good harvest managed to put by a bit.

The village poor, who usually earn their living as pedlars or handworkers, and the rural proletariat are actually starving. The wages of the rural proletariat fell in 1931 by 45 per cent. compared with the year 1925, and in Hokkaido, where there are a considerable number of capitalist big undertakings, amount to 88 sen a day, and in the province of Tohoku to 69 sen a day. Since the bad harvest last autumn the situation has become still worse, as is to be seen from the following reports:

"In a village in Hokkaido, where in winter the thermometer falls to below 40 degrees Centigrade, the peasants have no money to buy coal, owing to the bad harvest. They have already burnt their stores of wood. They are reduced to eating bad cabbage and soya beans. Many have sold their horses for two to five yen. But in Hokkaido the horse is an indispensable means of production and transport, especially in winter, when the snow is a yard and more deep. The peasant who has parted with his last bit of property has nothing in front of him but death from starvation."

(Kaizo, February, 1932.)

"In a village in the province of Tohoku two women were arrested. One had stolen a pair of shoes for her child in order that it should not have to go barefooted in the snow, and the other had stolen a shirt for her child.

"One no longer sees any young girls in this village. They have all been sold to the brothels in the town."

Many similar examples could be given. The agrarian crisis in Japan has entered on a new stage owing to the bad harvests. The famine threatening the masses of the peasants, especially in the province of Tohoku, the continual drop in the prices of silk cocoons, vegetables, cattle and poultry, the forced sales in the villages on the orders of the financial authorities, usurers and big landowners increasingly intensify the class struggle in the country districts.

The fascist and social fascist organisations wish to throttle and disorganise the threatening revolt of the peasants by petitions and deputations to Parliament and the government authorities, and the poor rural population, headed by the rural proletariat, are organising for the mass struggle. There is already a strong movement in the province of Totigi, where it has come to armed collisions. The tenant farmers are also entering the fight. From 1523 actions participated in by 24,300 in the first half of 1931, their movement increased in the second half of 1932 to 1621 actions, with 34,500 participants. The fight of the tenants is directed in the first place against the unbearably high ground rents, and is being waged under the general slogan of "The land to the working peasants."

The Japanese peasant has learnt from the insurrection of 1919. He is faced with the alternative: death from starvation or revolution!