

# Krylenko's Speech for the Prosecution.

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# The London Four-Power Conference.

By M. Louis (Paris).

If one views the results of the London Four-Power Conference on Tardieu's Danube Federation Plan from a mere **diplomatic** standpoint, the Conference appears to be fruitless, and one could even interpret it as an outspoken failure for Tardieu. Germany and Italy opposed the proposal of French imperialism; they refused to grant preferential tariffs to the States of the Danube bloc; they demanded the inclusion of Bulgaria in the Danube Federation, and insisted that the interests of Germany, as a Danubian State, and the interests of Italy, as one of the succession States of the Hapsburg monarchy, should receive special consideration. Tardieu's comprehensive plan to set up **at one stroke** a platform of understanding between the leading imperialist Powers, has failed **for the time being**. Tardieu was in too great a hurry, and as no previous understanding with Germany and with Italy had been arrived at, the imperialist antagonisms led to a temporary failure of the London Conference.

One can even record a certain aggravation of the imperialist antagonisms following the London Conference. The press organs of French imperialism are conducting an increased campaign against Germany, and one can reckon with certainty that increased pressure will be exerted on

Germany by the vassal States of France, especially by Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Italian imperialism has likewise prepared for a counter-stroke. The decisions of the Grand Fascist Council on the necessity of cancelling reparations and war debts, on the necessity of revising the peace treaties and of regulating the relations in the Danube countries, the decision on the customs question and the disarmament problems, indicate that Mussolini is replying to Tardieu's step with an attempt to place Italian fascism at the head of the bourgeois-nationalist tendencies against the Versailles system. Italian fascism thereby aims at rendering difficult the orientation of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and to a certain extent also of Germany, to France and at securing more favourable conditions for itself in the approaching negotiations between France and Italy.

The London Conference has proved that it is no easy matter to find a platform of agreement between the imperialist Powers, although the common hatred of the imperialist governments against the revolutionary labour movement in the West, against the national revolutionary movement in the colonies, and in the first place against the

Soviet Union, creates the prerequisites therefor. Tardieu was in too great a hurry to be able, for home political reasons, to point to the successes in the field of foreign policy. That France will not abandon its attempts at reorganisation, extension and strengthening of the anti-Soviet front with the inclusion of Germany on the basis of the Versailles system, but will continue them more energetically, can be accepted as a matter of course, the more so as the London Conference has shown that French diplomacy can point to definite successes in regard to a restoration of the Entente between France and England.

The catastrophic economic and financial situation of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and also Germany, as well as the circumstance that France and—even if to a limited extent—England, are the chief credit-granters in Europe create the prerequisites for the realisation of the policy of French imperialism. This is all the more the case as in Hungary, in Austria, and to a considerable extent also in Germany and Bulgaria, influential circles of finance capital support the so-called French orientation for the creation of the anti-Soviet bloc.

In all these countries the parties of the II. International advocate an understanding with France, i. e., the creation of an anti-Soviet bloc under the leadership of French imperialism. Whilst the bourgeoisie in these countries wish to bargain for a certain price, the social democratic parties stand almost unconditionally, and on the basis of the recognition of the Versailles system, for the setting up of the anti-Soviet bloc under French leadership. This is most clearly expressed by the Hungarian social democracy with its slogan: "Via Prague to Paris!"

The London Conference will find its continuation at Geneva; it means not the end but rather the beginning of the attempt to reorganise and strengthen the anti-Soviet front.

It is true, the international situation is complicated by a new and no less important fact: the United States, which after the palpable failure of the Hoover moratorium and partly also as a result of the imperialist advance of Japan in the Far East and under the pressure of the French attacks on America's gold reserves, has adopted an apparently passive attitude to European affairs. It was not hard to foresee that this passive attitude was only temporary, the more so because the contours of a Franco-British Entente and the contours of an alliance between France and Japan on the one side and between England and Japan on the other side, create both in the Atlantic and in the Pacific Ocean a combination of Powers which run counter to the interests of the United States.

The danger of a setting up of a united front of the European Powers on the question of war debts is likewise appearing ever more plainly on the horizon. This explains the new advance of American imperialism, the appointment of Mellon as American Ambassador in London, as well as the announcement of Stimson's journey to Geneva. The action of the United States acquires still further importance when one takes into account that at the same time it was announced that Stimson would not conduct any negotiations in regard to the war debt question, and a short time ago Stimson, in his celebrated letter to Borah, declared that the action of Japan in China would call in question all the treaties which had been concluded by the Washington Conference, i. e., the treaties on the limitation of the construction of dreadnoughts, the fortification of the Philippine Islands and Guam Island in the Pacific Ocean, as well as the treaties regarding naval armaments concluded in London.

It is hardly necessary to say that the United States is just as little aiming at real disarmament in Geneva as Italy. It is hardly necessary to point out that fascist Italy is aiming at a revision of the Versailles system not because it is opposed on principle to the imperialist robber-treaties, but because it is striving for a new division of the world in the interest of Italian imperialism.

All these facts imply an intensification and deepening of the imperialist antagonisms, and consequently an increase of the danger of an imperialist war between the great Powers; but they mean at the same time a strengthening of the tendency to set up as broad as possible a platform of understanding for the purpose of carrying out intervention against the Soviet Union.

The facts prove that this second tendency is the stronger. The London Conference has proved that not only the Franco-Japanese alliance, not only the Anglo-Japanese rapprochement,

but also the Anglo-French Entente are practically accomplished facts. The "truce" in Shanghai means an increase of the danger of intervention in Manchuria. The transport of troops and munitions to Manchuria, the activity of the white-guardist elements, the increase of Japanese provocations reveal the real meaning of the "truce" in Shanghai.

In Poland, the munition factories and railways are already being militarised. In France, a law has been passed which places the munition factories under protection of the espionage law. In Pressburg, there took place a conference of representatives of the General Staffs of the Little Entente, at which representatives of the Polish and French General Staffs were also present. In Rumania, an open war incitement against the Soviet Union is accompanied by open preparation for war, which is of course fully supported by the Rumanian social democracy. In Czechoslovakia, on the proposal of the social democracy, a bill for the reduction of military service has been introduced which in reality constitutes an increase of the army and the militarisation of the whole of the population according to the example of the Boncour law in France. The output of war material in all the important industrial countries in Europe has assumed such proportions as indicate the nearness of the danger of war.

These facts speak for themselves. If one at the same time takes into account that all parties of the II. International have greatly increased their war incitement, their campaign against the Soviet Union; that the united front of the German, Polish and French social democratic parties with the war provocateurs in Warsaw, with the sinister figures behind Stern and Vassiliev, has been set up, then it becomes still clearer that the London Conference means increased and accelerated preparations for war.

The passive resistance in the Poltke factory in Magdeburg, the refusal of the workers to load munitions at the berths of the Hamburg-America Line, the attitude of the workers of the Piesteritz nitrogen factory where the work of loading up the waggons became hopelessly disorganised for some reason up to now unexplained, the mixing up of the way-bills in consequence of the speeding up in the factory, the holding up of the steamship "Neu Amsterdam" by coloured seamen as a protest against the transport of munitions to Japan, the necessity to change the crew of the French warship "Primeauguet" seven times on account of the political unreliability of the men, the strike of the Polish workers at the Strom chemical works at Dombrova. 27 demonstrations of recruits in Czechoslovakia—all this shows that the revolutionary masses are beginning to fight against imperialist war not only in mass meetings and demonstrations but also by revolutionary acts.

## Anti-War Demonstrations in Italy.

Paris, 10th April 1932.

The illegal Communist Party of Italy is connecting the fight of the workers and peasants in fascist Italy for their economic interests with the struggle against imperialist war. A demonstration of factory workers and unemployed workers took place in **Cerignola**. Following an appeal of the Communist Party which was distributed in large quantities the masses marched to the Town Hall and demanded bread and work. The authorities made concessions, but when the masses were marching off they were attacked by armed police and fierce collisions occurred during the course of which many workers were injured and a number arrested. On the following day new communist leaflets were distributed.

In the **Cremona** district communist leaflets were distributed amongst the peasants showing them the tremendous achievements of the Five-Year-Plan in the Soviet Union and calling on them to fight against imperialist war.

Communist leaflets were also distributed in **La Spezia**, an important naval base. Thousands of leaflets against war were distributed in the five barracks. A number of secret meetings for the soldiers and sailors were organised.

Similar leaflets were also distributed in **Milan** and **Naples** and demonstrations of various groups of workers took place in the former town.

## POLITICS

### The Result of the Presidential Election in Germany.

Berlin, 12th April 1932.

The final results of the election in the Reich were:

	April 10	March 13
Thälmann . . . . .	3,706,388	4,982,149
Hindenburg . . . . .	19,359,642	18,662,181
Hitler . . . . .	13,417,660	11,338,798

The results in Greater Berlin were:

	April 10	March 13
Thälmann . . . . .	572,638	685,411
Hindenburg . . . . .	1,328,577	1,307,661
Hitler . . . . .	863,747	666,053

Today's "Rote Fahne" publishes the following statement by the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany:

The C.P. of Germany has fought a hard fight. The bourgeoisie carried out the Presidential election as a deliberate manoeuvre against the revolutionary movement before the approaching Prussian elections and the Diet elections in Bavaria, Württemberg, Hamburg and Anhalt. The bourgeoisie were aware that at the Presidential elections the votes cast for the class candidate of the C.P. of Germany would be fewer than at any Parliamentary election, because only those workers would give their vote to the revolutionary candidate whose class consciousness had attained a high degree of revolutionary clearness. The bourgeoisie calculated that also at the second ballot numerous revolutionary workers would not trouble to go to the poll, actuated by the mistaken idea that the result was already settled and that the second ballot was only a contest between Hindenburg and Hitler.

The attempt of the Hitler and Hindenburg parties to force a breach in the front of Communism was repelled. Of the 5 million electors who voted for the Communist Party candidate on March 13, a great percentage did not vote on April 10; in spite of the unscrupulous agitation, forged leaflets and dirty slanders of the opponents, only a very trifling fraction were induced to give their vote to one or the other candidate of the bourgeoisie. Before the election, at its meetings and in its press, the Communist Party clearly and soberly stated that it would be difficult on April 10 to retain the votes which were cast on March 13. The fact, however, that the furious attack of the class enemy was beaten back without the enemy succeeding, apart from a few exceptions in different parts of Germany, in forcing a breach in our ranks, is a result of the tenacious, indefatigable fight of our Party and of the revolutionary workers. Where this defensive fight did not succeed, this is to be attributed to the insufficient extra-Parliamentary mobilisation for the fight.

The bourgeoisie and the social democratic party speculate that the fact that at Presidential elections fewer votes can be obtained for the class dictatorship of the Communist Party of Germany than at ordinary Parliamentary elections, can have an adverse effect on the militant spirit of the working men and women at the elections on April 24, as well as in the extra-Parliamentary mobilisation for the struggle. But hundreds of thousands of Communists, millions and millions of revolutionary working men and women, young workers, indigent toilers in town and country will, at the coming elections, upset the calculations of the enemy. The Communist Party of Germany is frustrating these demagogic manoeuvres, tricks and dodges of bourgeois strategy. The Communist Party of Germany stood on the Morning after April 10, and stands today, ready to advance to the new offensive and to new attacks in the interest of all the oppressed in the whole country.

The Prussian elections and the elections in the other States, comprising in all five-sixths of Germany, must be utilised for the purpose of a drastic settling of accounts with the criminal system of capitalist mismanagement, with the brutal emergency-order dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, with the fascist terrorist programme of the Hitler party and the deceitful social-fascist manoeuvres of the "lesser evil".

How can fascism be beaten? This question, to which the Communist Party alone is able to give an answer in the sense of a real fight, is to-day occupying the minds of millions of workers and toilers who are still in the ranks of the social democracy and the Centre, who are still under the influence of the reformists and christian trade union bureaucracy. The Brüning-Severing dictatorship itself is bringing about the fascisation of Germany by means of emergency orders, robbery of the proletariat of its rights, and the capitalist policy of plundering the masses. Hitlerism cannot be checked by means of a ballot paper, whether it is for Hindenburg or for Severing-Braun. Many social democratic workers, many electors who voted for Hindenburg on April 10, will be able to recognise these facts in the next few days as a result of the increasing readiness of the Hindenburg front to enter into a coalition with the Nazis and the approaching new emergency orders. The murderous terror of the Nazis, which cannot be defeated by any election of Hindenburg, although it can be defeated by the united mass self-defence of the Reichsbanner comrades with us Communists, must also open the eyes of the proletarians in the Reichsbanner.

Only the Communist Party of Germany, as the sole anti-fascist force, is fighting against both wings of the fascist front. Those who wish to defeat fascism must march with the Communist Party, must vote Communist on April 24.

An end must be put to the cutting down of unemployment benefit and relief. The mass actions of the unemployed, in alliance with the workers in the factories, for the proletarian demands for the provision of work, for the building of workers' dwellings, schools and hospitals, sport places and public baths, for unemployment insurance at the cost of the employers and the State for the whole period of unemployment, for the abolition of forced labour for the young unemployed—this whole mass struggle of the unemployed is propagated by only one party, is ruthlessly conducted with all its strength by only one party: by the Communist Party of Germany. Those unemployed who wish to conduct a fight against a life of starvation, for work and bread, must march with the C.P.G., must vote Communist on April 24!

How can the capitalist anarchy, the bankrupt capitalist system be abolished? There is only one party that stands in irreconcilable, deadly hostility to this system, and which aims at setting up in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie the rule of the working class and Socialism. Only this party is conducting the every-day fight of the poor against the rich.

Only the Communist Party of Germany, allied with the revolutionary trade union Opposition, is unweariedly mobilising the factory workers for the strike struggle against wage reductions. Only this party is conducting the fight against the unbearably exorbitant taxes, the fight of the masses for the abolition of the poll-tax and the wages tax, for the abolition of the turnover tax, the fight for the cessation of paying any tributes to the princes, generals and retired Ministers and officers; it alone is conducting the fight for the introduction of a tax on millionaires and dividends, for the reduction of all the enormous salaries of the directors and the higher officials in the administrative apparatus and for a simultaneous increase of the salaries of the lower employees and officials.

Only the Communist Party of Germany is fighting under the slogan: Down with the high prices! for the cheapening of all articles of food and objects daily required by the masses by abolishing the extortionate customs duties, by reducing the price of gas, water, electricity and transport, by the reduction of rents.

Thousands of seven, ten and twelve-roomed flats are empty. Thousands of big dwellings and villas are used by the owners for their own luxury. The Communist Party of Germany summons the masses to fight to have workers' families with numerous children quartered in these dwellings.

Poor peasants, peasants' sons, landworkers are hungry for land. The Communist Party summons them to the fight for the taking over of the large landed estates without compensation.

All these demands can only be obtained in the revolutionary mass struggle of the working class, and the toilers allied with and led by it. This fight demands the mobilised forces of the proletarian masses, the red united front against hunger and fascism.

No Party which is bound up for weal or woe with the present system, like the Nazis or the social democratic party,

can seriously shake the fetters of the Versailles Treaty. Every bourgeois party is taking part in the war-incident and the war-preparations of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union, and already to-day supports the predatory war-like operations of Japanese imperialism. Only one party is actually mobilising for the fight against tribute-slavery and against imperialist war.

The C. P. of Germany, by seeking to launch the mass actions of the workers in the factories, of the unemployed, the clerks, employees and officials, the indigent sections of the urban middle class and of the working peasants against wage cuts, reductions of salary, cutting down of unemployment benefit, and extortionate taxes, refuses to the bourgeoisie the tribute wrung from the workers and toilers out of which the milliards are paid to international finance capital.

\*

By propagating and preparing strikes and mass actions against the delivery of any kind of war material and transport of munitions, it is conducting, as the only anti-militarist party, the fight against imperialist war.

The C. P. of Germany is the only party of struggle against the Young Plan and against imperialist war. Whoever wishes to fight for the emergence of the working people of Germany from the Versailles slavery, whoever wishes to stay the hand of the imperialist warmakers, must march with the Communist Party of Germany, must vote Communist on April 24!

## Communist Advance in the Urban Elections in England.

By R. B. (London).

The elections for the Urban District Councils in **South Wales** show a big increase in the relative **Communist vote** compared with last year. The results afford a clear indication that the influence of the C.P. has grown considerably as a result of persistent mass work. Slightly less candidates went forward this year—22 as compared with 28 in 1931—but nevertheless the total vote rose from 9,008 to 10,292.

The **Labour vote** in the 28 seats contested in 1931 was 28,481. The Labour vote in the 22 seats contested this year was 25,002. Last year the Communist vote was 32 per cent of the Labour vote in the seats contested. This year it was 41 per cent. And this when the Labour Party vote also showed a slight increase. The average vote recorded by Communist candidates increased by 45 per cent. The average vote of the Labour candidates increased by 12 per cent.

The significant feature of the elections is that generally both the Labour Party and the Communist vote increased. This was not true everywhere. In the **Maesteg** area the Labour vote dropped heavily. In the **Rhondda**, both the Labour Party and the Communist vote showed a small decrease. Many of the results showed a magnificent advance by the Communist Party, but this advance was by no means uniform. Some of the best results were recorded in areas and wards which were contested for the first time.

In the **Cilfynydd** ward of **Pontypridd**, for instance, where there has been a Party Local for less than 12 months, the candidate obtained 539 votes as against 670 for his Labour opponent. In the **Nantyllyn** ward of **Maesteg**, 503 votes were polled at the first time of asking against 744 for the Labour Party. In **Nantymoel** no contest had previously taken place but a seat was won with a majority of 32 from the Labour Party. In **Treherbert**, where again there was no previous contest, the Communist candidate got 724 votes.

In most of the wards contested, however, the Communist Party had contested previously, and in the majority of these increases were recorded. In **Caerau**, where the Party candidate polled 666 in 1931, 845 were obtained this year, only 15 less than the Labour candidate whose vote fell by 254. The Communist vote went up by 27 per cent, while the Labour vote fell by 23 per cent. In **Abertridwr** the Party vote went up from 92 to 342, an increase of 272 per cent, while the Labour vote increased from 602 to 975, an increase of 62 per cent. In **Risca** one of the Communist candidates got 499 votes against 613 for the Labour Party, an increase of 60 per cent. The Labour Party vote rose by 10.

In the **Rhondda** the Communist Party polled 4465 votes for 7 candidates as compared with 3,048 for 6 candidates a

year ago. This result however, is not so good as it looks. The figures are inflated by two good votes—**Treherbert** and **Mardy** (where **Arthur Horner** stood). Neither of these were contested last year. The four **Rhondda** wards which were contested a year ago present a different picture. The C. P. vote fell from 2,126 to 1,753, an average per candidate of 438 as against one of 531. The Labour Party vote in these wards also fell, from 1883 to 1758. Nevertheless the Party percentage of the Labour vote was reduced from 28 to 25. **Arthur Horner**, polling 1505 votes in **Mardy**, gives the **Rhondda** figures a totally different appearance from what they otherwise would have. In one **Rhondda** village, the vote fell particularly badly. This was at **Porth**, where it dropped from 570 to 216.

But the **Rhondda** figures contrast strangely with those in **Maesteg**. In the former both the Labour Party and the Communist vote fell. In the latter the Communist vote increased at the expense of the Labour Party. In the **Rhondda** they are a reflection of a lack of mass work which has been noticeable for some time. It is true that just lately, since the **Horner** case, there has been a recrudescence of activity, but it came too late to have much effect, except perhaps in **Mardy** where the Labour Party united with the open capitalist candidate to prevent the election of **Horner** whilst in jail.

Taken as a whole the Party made a **big step forward**. The support secured represented a tremendous force for mobilising in the future struggle against the Means Test and against the economic demands of the coalowners. But much remains to be done if this potential force is to be transformed into an actual one.

In **England** the wards contested show much the same trend, although here the majority of important centres do not have their elections until November when the Borough contests take place. As in **Wales**, one seat was won, in **Castleford**, a **Yorkshire mining area**. Almost everywhere where contests had taken place previously a big increase in the vote was recorded, and in many places not contested previously a good start was made. In **Long Eaton**, for instance, a comparatively new local got 246 votes for one of their candidates against a Labour Party vote of 837. In **Carlton**, near **Nottingham**, a Communist candidate got 248 votes against 214 Labour Votes, the seat being won by a Tory with 610. Six months ago there was not a single Communist in **Carlton**. As in **Wales** the good results came from those places where the last year had seen good concentration in factories and pits and at the Trade Union branches.

These elections in the smaller centres of industrial population, show that the workers are reacting violently against the "economy" drive of the National Government, a large part of which is left to be carried out by the local Councils. Hence the fact that the Labour Party shows a small advance, and the Communist Party has shown a big increase in support wherever it has justified itself in the eyes of the workers by consistent work. Big attacks are taking place on every section of workers. These attacks can be driven back. The workers are anxious to resist. They are looking for leadership, leadership which only the Communist Party can give them. The local Elections should act as an encouragement to every militant in the country to rally these workers who have voted for the policy of "Class against Class", and thousands of others who have as yet hesitated to do so, into the mass struggle against the employers and against the National Government of Starvation and War.

## Hoover, Arch-Enemy of the U.S.S.R.

By A. G. Bosse.

"You dear old Quaker!" (Ramsay MacDonald on Hoover.)

As France on the Continent is the bitterest enemy of the Soviet Union, so on a world scale the United States is the leader of the anti-Soviet imperialist forces. Its role is symbolized by its attitude on recognition and normal trade with the U.S.S.R. In the present war in the Far East the U.S. is doing its utmost, for a number of reasons which are well known, to push Japan to attack the Soviet Union at once. Just as it will fight Japan to maintain the "open door" in China, so it works to make an open door of the Soviet frontiers for the Imperialist and White Guard armies in Asia and Europe to walk through.

**Hoover** is one of the most representative presidents American capitalism has had since Washington. This starver of the

millions of unemployed has been a millionaire since the beginning of the century, an imperialist speculator during this period, a bitter exploiter of hundreds of thousands of workers on every continent, and one of the most vicious enemies of the U.S.S.R. since 1917.

At the command of Wall Street, Hoover has sent 202 warships, hundreds of aeroplanes and a large part of the army to Pacific waters. They have 58 warships at Shanghai, on the Yangtse and at Manila, 74 more at Hawaii, 45 at Panama, and others between these points. They stand ready to enforce their dictum upon Japan: together we smash the Chinese Soviets and attack the Soviet Union; also we preserve the open door or get our share of the loot.

Hoover stands for the group in America we might call the diehards. Standard Oil, General Electric, and others have compromised to the extent of having taken contracts and trade with the Soviet Union, but the Hoover-Urquhart group have held out stubbornly.

While Secretary of Commerce, Hoover stated that "the ambition of my life is to crush Soviet Russia". Before that (1921), upon becoming secretary, he said, "The question of trade with Russia is far more a political question than an economic one so long as Russia is under the control of the Bolsheviks ... There can be no real return to production ... That requires the abandonment of their present economic system."

In 1921 Hoover summed up the attitude and efforts of American capitalism to smash the Bolsheviks during the previous years, "The whole of American policy during the liquidation of the armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik or being overrun by their armies".

In 1919 Hoover's organisation (American Relief Association) gave Poland tens of millions of dollars worth of food, in order to prevent revolution there and to feed the army in preparation for and during their invasion of Soviet Russia. In the first 8 or 9 months of 1919 over \$50,000,000 of food was sent, while other large quantities of food, clothing, etc. were despatched through the rest of the year and a good part of 1920. These activities failed when the Red Army repulsed the Polish invaders and almost captured Warsaw.

Hoover had become a millionaire at the beginning of the century, by selling stock in bogus mines, by organizing and "reorganizing" holding companies, and by swindling his associates and stockholders at every turn. He made his first big killing by stealing control of the Chinese Engineering and Mining Co., a Chinese Government corporation operating in Chihli and Jehol, which the Japanese have now incorporated in their new colony of Manchuria. When oil was struck in Maikop (North Caucasus) Hoover was among the first to get in. Within a few years he organized eleven companies, nine of them in four months in 1910. Their total nominal capital was \$14,265,000, though in many of them Hoover and his friends invested only \$35, the legal minimum required in England. They floated stocks which netted them millions in cash but produced no oil. In 1912 Hoover turned them over to another company, which after another year and a half had a stock of oil worth \$145! The British public is reported to have sunk \$60,000,000 in these schemes, most of which the organizers pocketed.

To take another bit of business which is still the basis for claims against the U.S.S.R. Hoover and Urquhart were partners in a large number of Russian mining, timber and oil companies. The Irtysh Corporation was organized by Hoover with a paid-in capital of \$35 and a nominal capital of \$10,000,000, for which he sold stock. Of the latter sum he and his colleagues took \$165,000 in cash and \$5,000,000 in stock. This was only one of many jobs he put over. He was associated with Urquhart, Prince Saltikov, Baron Meller-Zakomelsky and other aristocrats in many other companies which the Bolshevik revolution consigned to limbo. In 1919, a year after their confiscation, Hoover and Urquhart reorganized the Russian-Asiatic Consolidated as a holding company to include the Irtysh, Kyshtim, Anglo-Siberian, Perm, Inter-Russian, Inter-Siberian, Russian Canadian Development, Tanalyk, and Russian-American Corporations. They reorganized the new company three or four times more, each time taking millions out of it and selling more stock to the confiding, until it became the Mining Trust in 1929. In the 1919 reorganization they took out \$5,625,000 in cash and other assets, and capitalised the new corporation at \$60,000,000, then filed a claim with the British

Government against the Soviet Government for \$280,000,000 for their "properties" and possible profits. Most of these companies were only holding companies for the Russians who had received the original concessions. When Hoover became secretary of commerce and then president, his associates tried to use his power to force the U.S.S.R. to pay these claims, going as far as to press them at a conference in Berlin in 1929. When their demands were rejected they hid this fact and buried their sorrow by issuing 3,500,000 new shares of stock, spreading publicity about a possible settlement, and selling them at a premium of 50%. Then they reorganized again, taking out \$5,000,000 in cash and as much more in stock.

Such are some of the economic interests Hoover and his kind have in smashing the Soviet Government. They have tried to do it through the White, Czech, Japanese, and "Big Four" intervention. They have used blockade and "relief", have subsidized monarchists and mensheviks—but all in vain, the power of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is too firmly entrenched for them. Now they are making preparations for one great push, with Japan at the termini of the Chinese Eastern Railway, using the Whites and Kuomintang as well as France and her minion states on the western frontier, and the U.S., England, Germany and the other capitalist powers behind them. Trotzky, doing his bit for the counter-revolution, calls for the overthrow of the Soviet power—making a complete united front of reaction. The Soviet workers are now successfully developing the resources that Hoover, Urquhart, Noble & Co. used merely for stock-jobbing schemes, and with these resources, and the revolutionary fraternal solidarity of workers in all countries, they will be able to smash the imperialist attacks for which preparations have now been completed.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### General Strike of the Hungarian Workers in Spite of Martial Law.

By Gregor.

General strike of the Budapest workers! The first for twelve years, the first since the overthrow of the Hungarian Commune.

It was not only a "Left" manoeuvre with which the social democratic leaders sought to restore their disappearing prestige with the masses, in order not to lose the leadership; the very fact that such a manoeuvre was necessary is a sign of the revolutionary upsurge by which the Hungarian workers in town and country are seized in spite of martial law and gallows.

The Hungarian revolutionary proletariat is to-day already so strong that a central organ of the "United Trade Union Opposition", some newspapers of the oppositional leather workers, building workers and metal workers can appear. The oppositional youth and sportsmen likewise have their own papers.

The opposition in the trade unions is growing. There is a ferment in the factories and workshops. On the 13th anniversary of the Hungarian Commune, impromptu meetings were held at the gates of many factories in Budapest without any disturbance. The workers at factory meetings declared in favour of a second dictatorship.

The starving rural population are beginning to stir.

The social democracy then intervened. In order not to let the leadership of the masses slip out of their hands, the "Nepszava", the central organ of the Hungarian social democratic party, adopted a "radical" tone which consisted, it is true, of "warnings" to the government. In addition, the social democracy, with the approval of the government, commenced a lively organisational activity among the small peasants. This, however, does not alter the fact that, social democratic peasants are also persecuted by the local bench and beater by the gendarmes just as if they were Communists.

Continuing their "Left" manoeuvres, the "Nepszava" protested against this. It was thereupon suppressed by Prime Minister Karoly for an indefinite period.

The Hungarian working class regarded this as a provocation. The printers went on strike. No newspapers appeared

in Budapest, with the exception of one government paper produced by the Technical Emergency Corps (strike-breakers).

The day on which the government suppressed the "Nepszava" was ill-chosen. The social democrats had already a week before decided on a half-hour general strike on April 7, in order to lend more impression in the eyes of the masses to the handing over of their "demands" to the Prime Minister. The employers replied to this with a general lockout which brought about the decision for a general strike.

Already on the previous evening the lightermen of the Hungarian Lake and River Shipping Co. and the Danube Shipping Co. went on strike. On April 7th the general strike was almost complete. In addition, in spite of the prohibition, it came to parades and demonstrations not only in Budapest but also in numerous localities in the provinces.

In Budapest thousands of strikers held a meeting in Stadtwaldchen which was attacked by the police. Also in other parts of the capital town demonstrators gathered together under the cry: "Work and bread!" until the police dispersed them. The revolutionary young workers stoned a street car driven by strike-breakers.

There were also demonstrations in many localities in the province, as for instance in **Szeged**, **Békéscaba**, **Debrecsen**, **Hódmezővásárhely** etc. In **Balmazújváros** a collision took place between strikers and mounted gendarmerie.

In all provincial towns it had been arranged that deputations should hand over the social democratic memorandum to the representatives of the State. In many places, however, the deputations, which went to notaries, local magistrates etc., grew to mass demonstrations.

The social democratic party leaders had not expected such an extension of the movement. The social democratic party hastened to call a retreat as soon as possible. The general strike was ended in 24 hours, the strike of the printers in two days, although the government had not withdrawn the prohibition of the "Nepszava". Thus this mass action has been brought to an end, but it does not mean the end of the growing revolutionary movement among the Hungarian toilers, of which it was the expression.

## THE BALKANS

### The Rumanian Siguranza at Work.

By D. Gard.

In the last few years, in which anti-Soviet and intervention tendencies have particularly increased, the bourgeois press have been carrying out one campaign of slander and incitement after the other against the Soviet Union. Only recently the columns of the bourgeois papers were filled with lying articles and reports about "compulsory labour", "dumping" etc. At present a new campaign of incitement is being conducted by the Rumanian and a certain part of the French press. In the last few weeks the newspapers have been full of reports regarding the "horrors on the Dniester", of the wholesale flight of Moldavian peasants from the Moldavian Soviet Republic to Bessarabia, of the shooting of several hundred refugees by the Soviet frontier patrols.

A whole crowd of Paris newspaper hacks, with the qualified provocateur and correspondent of the "Le Journal" **Geo London**, have gone to Bessarabia. At the same time the Rumanian Parliament decided to send an appeal to the League of Nations and demanded "aid" for the Moldavian population on the other side of the Dniester; special relief committees for the refugees are springing up, headed by Bessarabian and Rumanian landowners, priests and in the first place, of course, by the Siguranza (secret police).

This campaign of slander was preceded by a thorough preparation on the part of the Siguranza. Dozens of agents provocateurs were sent over the frontier. They carried on work among the kulaks in the Moldavian Soviet Republic, describing to them the splendid prospects awaiting them in Rumania, and undertook the organisation of illegal crossings of the frontier. The provocative campaign of the Rumanian agents of course met with no success among the working population of the Moldavian Soviet Republic; they only succeeded in winning individual kulaks for their purposes. In order to provoke incidents on the Dniester, the Rumanian agents arranged for whole groups to cross the frontier by bringing individual kulaks from various villages together at

the same spot. Thus in Olanester Forest there was organised a small group of kulaks who were recruited from three different villages. The Rumanian agents accompanying them fired at the Soviet patrols and attempted at the same time to retard the flight of the kulaks. It is significant that some inexperienced refugees who had arrived on Bessarabian territory, replied to the question of journalists why they had fled: "There were some good people who advised us, and now we have fled to Bessarabia."

After this preparatory action was ended, the Rumanian and following them also the French and other papers, developed their furious anti-Soviet campaign. The following are the facts:

At the present time Rumania is involved in a terrible economic crisis. In various districts of Rumania peasant outbreaks are continually taking place and are ruthlessly suppressed by the gendarmerie. Whilst the situation of the Rumanian peasantry in general has become hopeless, the situation in Bessarabia, which is regarded by the Rumanian occupation merely as an object of colonial exploitation, is even more disastrous. The low price of corn, the heavy burden of taxation and other impositions are bringing complete ruin to the Bessarabian peasants. Whole districts are literally starving; they are visited by epidemics and boundless misery prevails in them.

To the economic crisis and the robbery by the tax authorities there is added the ruthless terror of the administrative organs. The bloodbath of Tatar-Bunar, where the Rumanian soldiers stifled the revolt of the peasants in blood and slaughtered thousands of Moldavian and Ukrainian peasants, and similar wholesale massacres are still fresh in memory. The peasant outbreaks have not ceased in the last few years. Even to-day all the Bessarabian prisons are crowded with peasants who have resisted the terror and the selling up of their goods and chattels. The Rumanian Finance Minister **Argetoanu**, in his speech in Parliament on the conversion of the peasants debts, described the situation as follows:

"Gentlemen, I wish to call your attention to the fact that we are not, as many think, in a period of crisis but in a period of revolution."

The revolutionary movement is increasing among the whole of the Rumanian and especially the Bessarabian peasantry. The Rumanian bourgeoisie are endeavouring to paralyse and weaken this movement. For this purpose the Rumanian government passed the law for the conversion of the mortgage debts. This law is made use of by the landowners, but at the same time it serves to deceive the peasantry. The carrying out of this piece of deception, however, is rendered all the more difficult by reason of the fact that in the immediate neighbourhood, in the Moldavian Soviet Republic, before the very eyes, so to speak, of the Bessarabian peasantry, socialist construction is proceeding. In order to be able to curb the revolutionary feelings of the Bessarabian peasantry, the Rumanian government is resorting to provocation by staging the incidents on the Dniester, as described above.

With the provocation on the Dniester, however, the Rumanian bourgeoisie are pursuing another and no less important aim. It is intended by means of this provocation to conceal the crimes of the Bessarabian occupation, to divert the attention of the public from that system of monstrous terror under which the working masses of Bessarabia are groaning. In the last few months there have been wholesale arrests in the whole of the occupied district, especially among the youth. The arrested are mishandled with indescribable brutality in the torture chambers of the Siguranza. Many of them have died as a result of the tortures.

At the same time, during all these years there has been an uninterrupted flight of Bessarabian workers over the Dniester into Soviet territory. Since the occupation of Bessarabia, tens of thousands of workers have escaped from the Rumanian terror by crossing over into Soviet territory, whilst it should also be mentioned that in addition 50,000 Bessarabians have emigrated to Brazil. The Rumanian Siguranza are seeking to conceal all these facts from the public by their furious outcry regarding the crossing of the frontier by a few Moldavian kulaks, who have been persuaded thereto by the Siguranza agents.

This campaign appears in a very strange light when it is remembered that it was developed immediately after the bloodbath of **Soroka**, which called forth tremendous indigna-

tion not only in Europe but also in America. In Soroka, the Rumanian Siguranza fetched five young workers, among them two girls, out of their homes, bestially mishandled them and after long torture murdered them. In order to conceal this crime the corpses were thrown on the shore of the Dniester in order to create the impression that it was a case of an attempt to escape.

The fact that the anti-Soviet campaign of the Rumanian press has been eagerly seized upon by all the pro-intervention organs of the other countries clearly shows that it represents a long-prepared action against the Soviet Union. It is not due to chance that the white guardist officers' organisations in Rumania and Bessarabia have been roused to fresh life by subsidies from the War Ministry and the Siguranza. The anti-Soviet campaign in connection with the provocations on the Dniester is a part of the increasing campaign for intervention.

## "The Next Number of our Programme will be" . . . . .

By G. Ryklin.

In Paris, on the banks of the Seine, there are many dogs of various breeds.

The main occupation of this pack of hounds is to bark at the Soviet Union. Lately, the bark of all these Paris dogs and pugs is directed mainly against the domain under the control of the People's Commissariat for Water Transport.

The Soviet rivers do not give any peace to the various corrupt quill-drivers subsidised by the police.

Just look what has been done to the **Dniepr**, to what state the Bolsheviks have reduced the erstwhile free river described by Gogol! It has been put into concrete and iron fetters, and shock brigaders strut as proud as peacocks on the new dam!

Now they are getting at the **Volga**. They want to spoil the whole landscape of Mother Volga by erecting dams and power stations.

From the banks of the river Seine, curses are showered on the new Dniepr, on the new Volga, on all Soviet rivers.

The kennels in which the Paris dogs are domiciled, bear various names. One of them is the editorial office of "**Liberté**". This is the organ of the Paris police prefect, M. Chiappe.

Chiappe, together with his literary and police collaborators, specialises in infamous and senseless anti-Soviet fibs. This newspaper has already slandered the Soviet soil, its surface and its bowels. It has found fault with the Soviet sky: the sun there is not the real thing, the moon is of inferior quality, and instead of stars, there are buttons of the executed generals.

Now, "**Liberté**", with its usual energy and smartness, has taken in hand the Soviet waters. Its columns bring all the time articles, notices and photographs of various disorders on the various Soviet rivers.

For instance, in the number of March 24th, 1932, there is the picture of a group of Red Army men in a boat, and underneath it one reads:—

"Red Army men getting out of the river the bodies of Soviet citizens shot by them."

But in this connection something untoward happened. "**L'Humanité**" exposed this dirty trick of the Chiappe hounds. "**L'Humanité**" reproduces the picture and next to it another, exactly the same in every detail. This picture was produced in the same "**Liberté**" on November 12th, 1931, with the following inscription:

"In the special Far Eastern Army. Red Army sappers at work."

It seems that there is in the editorial office of "**Liberté**" one photograph, something in the nature of a regular dish to be used as a stand-by on different occasions. If it be necessary to show the "shooting of Soviet citizens" on some river or other, here is the photo. If it be necessary to show "U.S.S.R. Preparations for war"—the same photo again.

Though caught red handed and exposed, the police-subsidised quill-drivers are not perturbed. What of it? The trick has failed, the next number of our programme will be . . .

We assure you, there is a large repertory, and apart from rascality, no sleight of hand.

Puppies always imitate big dogs, and they know why. For this they receive a bone or so from the master's stable.

The **Rumanian** puppies are particularly active.

There is a body of police there called Siguranza. This word has a flavour of mediaeval horror. Tsarist dungeons and the past masters in the art of inquisition of ancient Russia are nothing compared with what is going on in the dark cellars of the Siguranza.

To deaden the groans of the tens of thousands of victims, the Siguranza raises always, and especially lately, a hue and cry about "atrocities in the U.S.S.R.". The Siguranza manufactures telegrams "from our own correspondent", conversations with "eye witnesses", and forwards them to all the kennels of the capitalist world.

The meaning of this is quite plain. When the police quarters of Paris and Rumania begin to worry about the citizens of the Soviet Country, it means that mysterious consultations are going on in the general staffs.

It is also quite plain why this campaign of lies and slanders is supported by the Rumanian social fascists. There is a good reason also for this. They received lately from appropriate governmental circles two million lei as a subsidy:—

Here is moething to go on with, little brothers. If necessary, we shall send more.

## The Whole Population of Bessarabia Hates the Rumanian Invaders.

By P. Ortanu (Vienna).

The position of the toiling masses of Bessarabia is steadily worsening owing to the crisis and the mismanagement of the Rumanian invaders. 70% of the Bessarabian workers are unemployed.

The peasant masses are in a state of semi-starvation. The agricultural labourers have not received throughout the winter the miserable pay due to them, according to the agreements for their autumn labour. Their protests and demands for money are suppressed by the gendarmerie and siguranza. The workers are starving in the literal sense of the word, whereas the Bessarabian landlords do not know how to get rid of their enormous stores of grain.

The "Agrarian Reform" promulgated in 1921, has delivered into the hands of the Rumanian landlords 15% of the land, and into those of the kulaks 22%, whereas 143,000 Bessarabian peasant farms have not received the least bit of land. The poor peasantry is groaning under the burden of debts and taxes. While one hectare of land gives to the tiller 4 to 5,00 lei a year after a good harvest, the indebtedness of the peasant per hectare amounts to 15,000 lei.

Rumanian wheat is sold at a price which is four times lower than its real cost. Wine in Bessarabia is cheaper than mineral water. The Bessarabian newspaper "Our Times" explains in detail the reasons of the "wine crisis" in Rumania and Bessarabia: "there is no demand for the enormous quantity of wine deposited in the store-houses". Vine-growers are ruined. The newspaper complains bitterly: "something hitherto unknown is going on in our epoch. Even vine-growers work at a loss, and can no longer get a living out of their trade that seemed so safe".

A bill is being prepared in Rumania "to stimulate wine-growing". Professor Teodoresku, secretary-general of the ministry of agriculture has introduced a bill which prohibits the further extension of the vine-growing area, as a guarantee for the existing area.

The tobacco industry is in a similar position in Bessarabia. According to the "Neue Züricher Zeitung", the tobacco industry in Bessarabia is done for.

Prior to the occupation of Bessarabia, there were to every 100 inhabitants 30 cows or bullocks and now 12 to 14. Horses there were 25 and now 14. Pigs there were 30, and now 10.

According to the statistics of the Rumanian government itself, in 1928 alone 400,000 peasants were on the verge of starvation. But the fact is that over half a million were practically starving.

The correspondent of the bourgeois organ "**Neue Züricher Zeitung**" describes the unbearable conditions of life in Bessarabia, and declares:

"All the strata of the Bessarabian population hate Rumania. In case of a plebiscite, there is no doubt

whatever that an overwhelming majority will be for Bessarabia's re-union with the U.S.S.R".

In 1931, there was a wave of insurrections among the peasants. These insurrections continue. Whole villages rise. The peasants protest against the exorbitant taxes, against the oppression of the gendarmes and pillage on the part of the tax-collectors. Assassinations of gendarmes become more and more frequent. The revolutionary spirit is growing.

Here is a brief enumeration, just taken from the latest newspapers, of the repressive measures taken by the Rumanian oppressors against the Bessarabian peasants.

In the Izmail district a number of peasants were recently arrested for their "socialist views". The gendarme Daviderian thrashed for a long time the peasant Petro Ivanov with a strap till he lost consciousness. The same cruel treatment was meted out to the other Bessarabian peasants: Fedor Raiko, Vassil Sushurkov, Vassil Kunev, Prokopi Dimov, Dimetre Spanchenku. The gendarmerie officer Dimitresku gave a severe beating to the peasants Mikhi Tzealach and Ignat Petr of Vaisal.

The gendarme Ungurean gave a severe beating to the peasants P. Offirim and Pavel Khirkov in the village of Kairachili, the men fainted. Sergeant-majors Nikolai, Sobnko and Topchil inflicted cruel tortures on the peasant Belerev for two days. He was stripped and beaten with straps, they trampled on him till blood flowed from the mouth and nose of the unfortunate man.

The peasant Ivan Lavrinchenko was cruelly beaten by several sergeant-majors. The gendarme colonel Drewdea inflicted cruel tortures on the peasant Pavel Berbatev.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Scottsboro Boys must be Rescued!

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The Alabama Supreme Court has handed down its decision on the appeal of the Scottsboro boys, affirming their death sentences and condemning them to be electrocuted on May 13. The International Labour Defence will file a motion for a new hearing, with an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court if that fails. But unless the workers of the world, by militant mass demonstrations, smash this crime against these innocent Negro boys and against the entire American working class, they will burn. The revolutionary **Russian** workers prevented the legal lynching of **Tom Mooney** by their demonstration before the American Embassy in Petrograd on April 25, 1917, focussing the attention of the workers in all countries upon his case. Today the proletariat and peasantry everywhere must and will do likewise, to snatch these working class children from the blood-stained clutches of the Southern landlords and their fellow-exploiters throughout the country.

In a minority decision the court admitted the innocence of the boys, but said their sacrifice was necessary to curb the Negro workers and peasants in all parts of the country. The chief justice, dissenting from the other six judges who voted for the majority verdict, stated:

"As to whether or not these defendants are guilty is not a question of first importance, the real one being did they get a fair and impartial trial. . . It may be that neither of the foregoing reasons, if standing alone, should reverse these cases, but when considered in connection with each other, they must collectively impress the judicial mind with the conclusion that **they did not get a fair and impartial trial** (Our emphasis—A.G.B.) . . ."

This admission is important, especially when taken in connection with a similar case recently. When **Barney Lee Ross**, a young Negro farmhand was framed up and electrocuted last December in Texas, on the charge of rape, despite indisputable evidence that he was innocent, the governor of the state said in denying an appeal:

"It may be that this man is innocent, but it is sometimes necessary to burn a house in order to save a village."

So brazen and decadent has capitalism become that it can openly admit that it sacrifices these workers.

In the majority decision the six judges state that the refusal of the trial court to include any Negroes in the venire from which the jury was chosen was not a denial of constitutional rights; nor was there justification for a retrial in the new evidence brought up since: the speed of the trial, the refusal to grant a change of venue, the lynch atmosphere created by the great display of military, the bosses' band, the lynch mob, etc. They deliberately brought in the case of Czolgosz, the anarchist who shot President McKinley in 1901 and was electrocuted with great speed, saying that some things are worse than death; for example, what allegedly happened to the prostitutes. But the fact that they were not raped was proved by medical examination and by their admissions when the boys were arrested.

Even where the mass pressure exerted throughout the world caused a concession, as in the reversal of the trial in the case of the eighth defendants Eugene Williams, who was less than 14 years old when arrested, the decision states that while the affidavits regarding his age "may be false, there is nothing in this case to prove their falsity".

The nine boys were arrested March 25, 1931, and were originally charged with fighting with white boys on the same freight train. When it was found that two prostitutes dressed in overalls were also on the train the charge was **changed** to rape. Although the girls at first denied any attack state officials forced them to support the frameup. The boys were tried April 6, without being given any chance to notify their parents or arrange for counsel, and amidst a great lynch mob (the trial was deliberately arranged for a day upon which there was a fair), eight were convicted and sentenced to death, and one held for retrial: A lawyer, sent to "defend" them by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, petty bourgeois tools of their white masters, worked with the prosecution and refused to ask for a verdict of acquittal. Now, after the state supreme court's decision, these traitors still pretend to be interested in saving the boys, and again offer their lawyers, **but** on condition that the I.L.D. withdraw.

In reporting this decision of the court, most of the New York newspapers tried to suppress the news, burying it in inside pages.

But the workers have already begun their campaign of protest. In **Detroit** 4,000 Negro and white workers demonstrated for their release, after hearing Violet Montgomery, mother of one of the boys, and Mrs. Mooney, 84-year old mother of Tom Mooney. Mrs. Mooney has been travelling across the country, though suffering from heart failure, campaigning for the release of the Scottsboro boys, the Harlan prisoners, and her son. The latter has written her to keep up the splendid fight, and urged a struggle for the release of the Negro children. In **San Francisco** 4,000 workers, parading from the centre of the city, demonstrated before the governor's home, against imperialist war, and demanded the release of the boys. Throughout the country the great demonstrations on April 6, bringing to an end anti-war week, will protest against the outrage and demand their freedom.

In other countries the campaign is intensifying. From various parts of the **Soviet Union** protests are being sent, Karelian women, American workers in Ufa, Moscow journalists, the I.R.A. and International Negro Trade Union Committee in Berlin, 300 German intellectuals, headed by Mann, Einstein and Goldschmidt, the Canadian Defence League, etc.

The attorney general of Alabama, son of the judge who wrote the decision, is thirsting for their blood. He has stated he will object to a rehearing before that court, "would oppose any delay in executing the Negroes". But the militant workers everywhere will fight to smash this lynch verdict, to force open the bloody jaws of American imperialism and release them.

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### Supreme Court rejects Scottsboro Appeal.

New York, 10th April 1932.

The Supreme Court of the State of Alabama has rejected the appeal on behalf of the seven young Negro workers who were condemned to death in Scottsboro on a framed-up charge of rape. An appeal has now been lodged with the Supreme Court of the United States in Washington.



## **The Trial of the War Provocateurs**

# **Comrade Krylenko's Speech for the Prosecution.**

Moscow, 9th April. Vassiliev and Stern, who were condemned to death for having attempted to assassinate von Twardowski, the Counsellor to the German Embassy, sent in a request for pardon to the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union. The request for pardon was refused and the sentence was carried out.

Comrade judges!

Under other conditions it would not be absolutely necessary speech of indictment. The fact of the attempted assassination is incontestably established by the evidence of the witnesses and by the depositions of the victim. The persons who carried out the attack and the persons who organised it are sitting here before you, they have been exposed, and they have confessed. The weapon used, the revolver, lies before you on the table. The injuries of the German Ambassadorial counsellor are not yet healed nor are they forgotten, and the whole fact of this base crime committed on our territory, on the territory of the Soviet Union, is still arousing the utmost excitement.

It may not appear necessary to say much about the essential nature of this affair. But still I must deal with this, for we cannot and will not regard this crime as an isolated case, standing apart by itself, and having nothing to do with those more serious, complicated, profounder, and much more important problems, those much acuter antagonisms, whose solution is at the present time the subject of the tormented efforts of all mankind, and especially of the capitalist world, which is exerting its utmost endeavours to find this solution. By a thousand threads this present case is bound up with these profounder, more serious, and more important problems, on whose solution depends—not the fate of these two persons and not the fate of one hundred persons—but the fate of millions; not only the fate of our country, but the fate of many countries.

These threads lead to all the growing contradictions in the capitalist world, they lead through a maze of conflicting interests to the increasingly complicated relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world. In the midst of the tense atmosphere of political life, we must keep in mind this fact, apparently simple and uncomplicated though it may appear if regarded alone. In the midst of the tense atmosphere of the thunder of cannons in the Far East, of exploding bombs, of streams of blood shed among the workers of China and Japan, it is this fact which lies behind the bursting shells supplying the accompanying music to the wretched chattering of the Geneva peace apostles, and which increases the frightful sufferings of the dozens and millions of workers' families groaning under the crises which is corroding the whole capitalist world—a world which is striving to ward off its impending extinction by means of war.

Comrade Stalin, in his speech at the 16th Party Congress, stated that the bourgeoisie would seek a way out of this crisis in war, but that the working class would seek it in revolution. This profound, trenchant, and brilliant political prophecy is now being confirmed by facts, and has already been actually realised in the fact of the war in the Far East, in the fact of the beginning of the world war, in the fact of the steadily increasing revolutionary fermentation all over the world, and in the fact of the firm and consistent peace policy pursued by the Soviet government in face of the capitalist war policy.

The working class of our country, the working masses of our Union, know the line which they have to follow, know what policy they have to pursue in this process of growing conflicts, this process for the provocation of fresh wars desired by the bourgeoisie.

Our line is the line of a peace policy, as demonstrated over and over again by the Soviet Union in a whole number of actions, documents, facts, and explanations, everywhere and always, wherever the question has arisen; both before the broad masses of the population and before the leaders of the ruling classes in Europe, the Soviet Union has shown its determination to avoid these bloody forms of solving international antagonisms, and has maintained this attitude on every possible occasion.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union is based on the firm conviction that this policy is the sole one according fully with

the interests of the broad masses of the international working class. Our policy is based at the same time on our firm conviction of the strength of our own forces, on the recognition of our own rights, of the justice of our cause, the justice of our aims, the justice of our ideals. This policy is based on the firm conviction of the inevitability of our victory and on our knowledge of the laws of history, laws which work for us and against our enemies. We have proved this peace policy on many occasions, both in the Geneva meetings of the "peace mongers" and in our direct proposals to individual neighbouring Powers to conclude non-aggression pacts with us. And we have proved it again in our policy in the Far East, a policy exceedingly difficult to maintain but pursued by us determinedly none the less, and representing most decidedly and above all a peace policy. We have stated over and over again that we do not want a war, that we do not need a war, and everyone knows this, most of all the working masses of our country and of the whole world.

At the same time we are exerting our utmost powers in our own country, in the Soviet Union, to attain as rapidly as possible the goals which we have set ourselves. We are not concealing these goals, but make them known to the broadest strata of the workers of our country and of all Europe. It is our avowed object to bring about, on the basis of industrial development and on the basis of the best and highest forms of industrial development and on the basis of the best and highest forms of industrial technics, those forms of social life, that form of social order and human relations, in which there is no room for class antagonisms, in which there are no class struggles, no class enmities, and in which there is therefore no need to resort to those means of solving class conflicts which are being employed in the capitalist countries in the class society of the capitalist world.

This we stated long ago. We stated it once more in so many words at the time when we accepted the directives for the drawing up of the Second Five-Year-Plan. We drew the attention of the whole world to the enormous extent of the tasks which we set ourselves, to the tremendous amount of energy we intend expending on the accomplishment of the gigantic and important tasks. The magnificent and unique character of these tasks is recognised not only by us alone. It is recognised by all. It is recognised even by our enemies, even by the bourgeois press of Western Europe, which has already made an appraisal of the Second Five-Year-Plan and fears its realisation.

From the West, the working masses of Europe are looking to us as the sole state in which the horrors of the capitalist countries are no longer known, in which there is no unemployment, no exploitation, and no rule of the minority over the majority. They look to us. In us they see the path which will lead them out of their present situation.

But not only have the working masses their eyes upon us; our enemies too have their eyes upon us, and our enemies are not few.

During the last few years we have witnessed a number of great trials—the case of the "Industrial Party" for instance, and the Menshevik case. These trials enabled a glance to be given behind the scenes of those adventurous undertakings which have not only existed, but still threaten us to-day, and to which Comrade Stalin referred at the 16th Party Congress. These trials brought to light the aims, the means and methods employed by certain strata of the West European bourgeoisie, and still being employed by them, for the preparation of intervention and attack upon us. They need this intervention. They need it, in order to stop our peaceful work of construction, in order to destroy our victory, to hamper our development, to postpone our final victory. They need the war against us; they are anxious to drown our country in blood so long as they still believe that their powers still suffice to crush the young socialist state, the land of the Soviets. This is what

they want. This is what they need, and this is the reason why they want war.

And a whole series of facts demonstrate that, in this fight against us, those strata which hate us, the strata of the international bourgeoisie, are ready to employ any means, will shrink from nothing, are restrained by no limitations whatever.

I shall now adduce a few facts from the history of the last few years, showing that one of the methods of combatting us, the method vividly illustrated by the present case, is no longer new. Its aim is to prevent our socialist construction, to shatter our peace policy, and to draw us into a bloody massacre. This is the method of provocation by murderous attacks from ambush, of provocation by assassination, by murders which are intended to lead to certain desired consequences.

This method already possesses a certain past. I refer to the following facts: One case, of which I spoke during the proceedings, was the murder of Comrade Voykov, the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Poland. Another case was that of Traikovitch, then the Polyansky affair, and again the case recently reported through the Tass, of the conspiracy for an attack on the Japanese ambassador in Moscow. Further, the Lubarski affair exposed at the proceedings to-day, and finally, the present case. A chain of facts, a chain of phenomena whose methods, content, and aims are analogous. All this forces us to the conclusion that here we are not dealing with an accidental crime. And this forces us to devote closer attention to the present case, to consider it more deeply and exactly, to penetrate into its smallest details, to examine even the slightest facts involved, and to draw from all this the necessary general conclusions enabling us to expose the main line of method, the hidden levers and mechanism, of the enemy, in order to enable us to take our counter-measures for the consolidation and development of our socialist construction and our peace policy, to arouse the increased attention of the working class of our country by the exposure of this crime, to increase the vigilance of our working masses, and to strengthen more than ever the contact, the close contact, between us, the Soviet power, and the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party.

Yesterday I asked the defendant Stern what this "defender" of the Soviet power thought about the consequences which would arise out of the terrorist action which he had committed. He replied, with a peculiar air and an evasive smile, that not every assassination was followed by a war. But he admitted—although he claims to play the peculiar role of a "hero"—that in every case diplomatic complications are caused by every assassination. Hence it is clear that under these circumstances the question of the inadmissibility, of the severe prosecution of any attempt made on our territory to create facts endangering our peace policy, is a question of the extremest political importance. And hence it is clear that it is our task to combat ruthlessly any signs of such attempts, so that not the slightest malicious suspicion may be raised against the essential character of our policy, or with regard to its content, its sincerity, consistency, and unshakeable firmness.

For these reasons, we must deal exhaustively and attentively with the facts of this case.

### The Organised Character of the Attack.

What, first of all, is the evidence for the prosecution? On 5th March of this year the citizen Stern fired 5 shots at motor car No. 279, occupied by von Tvardovski, counsellor of the German embassy. Stern fired these shots with the intention of killing the occupant of the car. This fact can be regarded as absolutely accurate and as absolutely proved.

Our comrades, the judges, here have examined the photographs of the motor car: Four bullet holes are observable, at the top of the car, at the right-hand corner of the back of the car and at the right of the window, at the level of the head of the occupant. One of the bullets wounded von Tvardovski in the neck. In view of this distribution of the bullets, it is absolutely impossible to assume that Stern had not the intention of killing.

At the time when Stern was still giving articulate replies, and was not endeavouring to represent himself as an imbecile, he said in answer to a question that he had seen the occupant in the car. I asked: Would you have shot at the car if it had not been occupied? He replied: No, I would not have shot at it. He saw that there was some-one in the car. It has been shown here that Stern knew the numbers of three of the nine

motor cars used by the German embassy. These three cars, as has been ascertained here, are those used personally by the Ambassador of the German Republic and by the first and second Embassy counsellors. These motor cars belong to the leading representatives of the Germany Embassy. Stern has deemed it meet to explain that these numbers, as he expresses himself, "accidentally impressed themselves on his memory". The explanation that precisely these three numbers remained accidentally in his memory is one which needs no comment.

This leads to the conclusion of the definitely ascertained facts that, firstly, the attack was prepared, secondly, that a murder was intended, and thirdly, that a certain person or under certain circumstances certain persons were to be killed.

Even were we to accept for a moment the version which Stern attempts to present, that he fired the shots in general, and that he accidentally hit this motor car, accidentally car No. 279 and accidentally precisely the motor car belonging to the German Embassy, even in this case the fact would remain of a deliberate attack on the authorised representative of a foreign power. Such a fact as this must be judged as an action capable of causing consequences which cannot be otherwise characterised than a complication of our international relations, a strain put upon our relations to foreign countries, an attack on the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

And what, above all, has been ascertained? It is evident to every normal person that such a deed could not be carried out without suitable help, without suitable organisation. The numbers of the three cars had to be ascertained; some-one must pass on the information; day by day the cars had to be kept under observation, to see who drove in them. One individual person could not do this; one person was not in a position to carry this out. Acquaintances were necessary to pass on information and give instructions with regard to the motor cars and the persons to whom they belonged. From this standpoint, too, we arrive logically at the necessity of the existence of help from other persons. Stern states that he received information from Vassiliev. We have heard the repeatedly confirmed statements of Stern that it was Vassiliev who told him the numbers of the cars, who described the appearance of the ambassador, and informed him as to the time when the ambassador was likely to be driving. It has been ascertained, besides this, that other details too were discussed. Stern has thought fit to advance at the last minute another version of how Vassiliev's name has been involved in the affair. At the same time another fact lies before us, the direct declaration made by Vassiliev: Yes, I was a participant and leader, in this regard I fully confirm Stern's statements. I informed him as to the appearance of the ambassador and the numbers of the cars; as he expresses it, I wielded the weapon with him.

I shall deal further with the analysis of Vassiliev's statements and with the analysis of the material which confirms the complete credibility of his declarations. I shall deal in detail with the motives which caused him to commit this crime; especially with the circumstances preceding the action and determining this. To begin with I record on the one hand the fact that Stern required direct assistance and that it was impossible to carry out the assassination alone, and on the other hand the fact of the statements made by Vassiliev and by Stern in his first depositions before the court.

What has Vassiliev further proved? Was Vassiliev himself in a position to obtain this information? Could Vassiliev himself have these details at his disposal? Who is this Vassiliev? A book-keeper employed by the central co-operative union. This is his position officially. But the book-keepers of the Zentrosyus do not possess such information. Both Stern and Vassiliev must have had the possibility of penetrating personally into the embassy, and of finding out personally the necessary details as to the motor cars and the persons to whom they belonged, the ambassador and the ambassadorial counsellor.

Vassiliev refers to third persons. This statement suffices (without any immediate inquiry as to the identity of these third persons) to show that the declaration given by Vassiliev, and by Stern in his first depositions, represent that version possessing the highest degree of credibility and probability. During the trial proceedings the following was established:

During the trial proceedings, both in the public session and in the session in camera, I purposely read the minutes of the confrontation which took place on 9th March in the presence of four comrades. When reading these minutes, I asked both defendants, point for point and question for

question, whether they agreed that this and that question had been put and this and that reply given. The matter referred to the third persons, and the joint activities of Vassiliev and Stern.

What did Stern answer? Cornered, and unable to say anything in face of facts ascertained by four persons, he imitated Vassiliev and replied: "I refuse to answer that question".

Comrade judges, every fact, every action, and especially every action in a court of law, must have some meaning; every fact, every word, every action must have a minimum amount of meaning. If Vassiliev says: "I refuse to name third persons for reasons of principle"—this has, however, no meaning. If Stern replies to the question of whether certain questions were put (and these questions were put in the presence of four persons who can confirm this fact at any time) by refusing to answer—this again has no sense in it. He only proves in this manner that there is no object in answering, since in this case there is only one answer possible, and that is the confirmatory "Yes". Any other answer would be senseless, silly. But Stern, seeking any means of escape, resorts to the most foolish imitation of Vassiliev, and says: "I refuse to answer that question." Refuse if you like. It is not of the slightest matter, it plays no part at all, it convinces nobody.

Stern's main statements, made by him repeatedly in the course of the month of the inquiry and subjected to special examination, and confirmed by his own signature and by the judge of the court of inquiry at the close of the investigation, are the absolute juridically investigated proofs which are alone to be taken into consideration in solving the question, and have thus been taken.

I believe that I do not stand alone with this standpoint, but that among all those who were present at the trial proceedings, there is no-one who differs from this opinion. And there can be no-one who differs, for the brains of all human beings work approximately alike, and the laws of logic are equally binding on all. Hence we may consider the existence of an organisation as an established fact, this organisation having three divisions: Executive Stern, leader Vassiliev, instigators and leaders third persons.

#### **The Connection with the Terrorist Organisations existing in 1928.**

Comrades Judges, I must ask you now to pay attention to a few details which we shall require later on in order to draw a certain analogy between the methods of the counter-revolutionary organisation with which we are at present dealing and the methods of a counter-revolutionary organisation of an earlier period with which we also had to deal in court.

Stern carried out the plan alone. From the point of view of conspiratorial technique Stern acted in an extremely clumsy fashion. He proceeds to carry out the plan, but at the same time his pockets are full of a series of documents, newspaper cuttings and other items which have nothing to do with his aim. After the attack has been carried out the instigators abandon Stern to the arbitrariness of chance. The organisation in question does not care what happens to him afterwards, it does not care what his fate will be. It has found a tool which it can use, exploit and then abandon. Stern was flung on one side like a worn out glove. The organisation left him to his fate.

And what was the situation with regard to **Leo Lubarski**, the young man who murdered Comrade **Shaposhnikov**?

This 18 year old youth who had just arrived in Moscow was drawn into the whirlpool and influenced to the point necessary to persuade him to carry out the attack (I will speak in greater detail on this point later on) and then abandoned to his fate. The organisation behind him did not care a rap what happened to him. The policy of this organisation was to take a promising young man who might have developed into something worthwhile, exploit him, and then fling him on one side to meet his fate whatever it might be.

It is important to compare the methods in these two cases. The unity of the methods adopted indicates the identity of the guiding hand. We see a similarity in the material used, a similarity in the aim and a certain psychological similarity. This does not mean that I intend to present citizen Stern as a helpless instrument without a will of his own, a victim who was sent like a sheep to the slaughter. This is not the case. Stern is not so simple, he is not even stupid. This is shown by an analysis of a number of other facts and in particular by his attitude under examination and before this court.

However, we must make a note of the similarity of attitude of the wirepullers behind the scenes both in the Lubarski and Stern cases.

Another point which is worthy of notice is the question of the weapon used. Where did Stern get his revolver? He stole it from a relative after having received instructions that his weapon should be a Russian one. We are aware what revolver Lubarski used when he murdered Comrade Shaposhnikov. This was also a Russian revolver and for the same reason. How did Stern obtain his revolver? Independently. How did Lubarski obtain his revolver? Independently. The material at our disposal in the Lubarski case proves this. In both cases this was a previous arrangement.

Let us now consider carefully Stern's first meeting with Vassiliev. This took place in November 1931. During our session in camera Vassiliev was asked when he received the instructions from a third person to organise the terrorist act. He answered that it was before he had made the acquaintance of Stern. I asked him when he had finished his military service and he replied that it was in October or even November 1931. The time between the conclusion of Vassiliev's period of military service and his return to Moscow where he made the acquaintance of Stern was therefore at the utmost only a few weeks.

Vassiliev began his military service in October 1930. Now as it is improbable that he received these instructions during that period, he must have received them either before it or during the few weeks which elapsed between his demobilisation and the time when he made the acquaintance of Stern.

In a previous statement read before this court, Stern declared that Vassiliev had told him that he, Vassiliev, had long been in touch with third persons. "Long" does not mean a few weeks; it can only mean a definite and fairly long period. When the year of military service is deducted this "long" must refer to October, or September, or perhaps even August 1930, taking a period of three months as likely.

And now we can raise the question, when were certain persons who had been sent to Moscow by Vsevolod Lubarski to organise the assassination of Comrade Shaposhnikov actually here? In June and in August 1930. These are definitely ascertained dates. These are definitely ascertained facts. In June 1930 an unknown person of Polish origin arrived in the rooms of Pankratyev from abroad at the instance of Vsevolod Lubarski with the proposal that the children of Shelkova, who had in the meantime been sentenced to death and executed, should be taken to Poland. A second visit took place in August 1930. August and October 1930. There thus remains a period of two months. A second period is the year during which Vassiliev served his term of military service plus a few weeks during which he made the acquaintance of Stern. The statement of Stern that Vassiliev had told him that he, Vassiliev, had long been in touch with third persons bridges this gap satisfactorily and provides us with certain indications which would otherwise not have been clear.

Naturally, this does not give us the right to assume that these same people came here again in November 1931 and in January or February 1932. But it does establish undeniably that during 1931 and 1932 relations were maintained with members of the same organisation. Further, there is no doubt that not one, but several persons were involved.

Let us now once again consider the facts pointing to the existence of an organisation behind the Stern case. When the Ambassadorial Counsellor von Tvardovski picked out the photo of Vassiliev twice from amongst seventeen other photographs which were placed before him he declared that the photo of Vassiliev was familiar to him in some unclear relation, he did not know what. What does this mean? We are now in a position to give a clearer account of how von Tvardovski met, saw and noticed Vassiliev.

Here it is not a question of a fact which is proved to the hilt in a juridical sense, but it is a question of a fact which must not be ignored because it characterises the preparatory work carried out, including the share which fell to Vassiliev, and this to an extent greater than is convenient for him.

Let us go further. Vassiliev told us the truth when he described how he was together with Stern on or about the 15th February in the building of the German Embassy in Leontiev Street and how together with Stern he fixed on the point on the corner of Leontiev Street and Herzen Street at which the attempt was to take place.

You will remember, Comrades judges, that I questioned Stern on the first day of the examination, even before the examination of Vassiliev, concerning this point. In reply to my question Stern declared that the point at which the attempt was to be made was decided on in February; he was unable to give the exact date. After three of four attempts I was able to fix the point a little more exactly. As we had already discovered, according to his own admission, that he, Stern, visited Leontiev Street three times inside two days, the question of the date on which the point was decided on at which the attempt was to take place, was according to his own calculation on or around the 15th February. This point was established before I had examined Vassiliev and was later confirmed by Vassiliev. This point is not unimportant, particularly when we remember that this statement was made by Stern after he had adopted the line of declaring that he had acted alone. This point proves that Stern and Vassiliev acted in concert. It was not much to establish the point at which the attempt was to take place. It was then necessary to fix the time at which the attempt was to take place. It was easy enough for two people to fix the point at which the attempt was to take place, but it was more difficult for the two of them to determine when the automobile would pass through the street in question.

In order to discover the numbers of the ambassadorial automobiles Vassiliev had to meet third persons and then to inform Stern of this and also of the appearance of the Ambassador. And then the best time for the attempt had to be fixed. Vassiliev was assisted in fixing this time by someone.

On the first day we questioned Stern concerning these points. He answered: "I walked up and down Leontiev Street once or twice and read a plate on the door of the Embassy which gave the time from 10 to 1. What these hours meant I don't know, but I realised that sometime after one o'clock would be the best time for the attempt". With a certain amount of logic and as though this fitted in with his other acts he arrived on the 5th March at 11.30 in the morning. He remained for about half an hour near the German Embassy. Then he drove to the Ussatchevka, walked round the Virgin Field once or twice and then returned to Leontiev Street at about quarter to two. He informed us later that he was absolutely determined to shoot on that day. I then asked him why he returned to Leontiev Street at the time he did. Why not later? Why not at four o'clock for instance? He then began to talk disconnected nonsense and declared that he might just as easily have come back at three or four, that it was quite by chance that he came back when he did. He then abandoned the quite logical statement that he had chosen the time deliberately and began to deny any exactitude in the fixing of the time.

What does this mean? The affair is not simple. The plate on the door of the German Embassy gave one o'clock as closing time, but he returned only before two, and in that case he had no reason to arrive as early as eleven o'clock. Stern was well aware of the time when it was necessary to arrive. The time had been exactly fixed, and not according to the brass plate on the door of the German Embassy, for this plate says little or nothing. Stern does not understand German and he did not know exactly what was on the plate. He arrived at two o'clock because he knew perfectly well that this was the time for the automobiles to leave the Embassy.

The organisation of the attempt was much more exact and efficient than either Stern or Vassiliev cared to tell us here. It is not impossible that Stern was not alone on the street and that other persons were there in order to assist him, to give him instructions. Perhaps they were there more than once. Perhaps they gave him the instructions when he was to come.

#### The Lubarskaya-Shelkova Case.

I will now examine the other statements which will assist us to get a little clearer view of the organisation behind the matter. We have dealt here with a former affair of this organisation in which Lubarskaya-Shelkova was involved and have done our best to investigate the general environment in which a number of members of this organisation moved at the time and even previously.

In August 1928 Leo Lubarski fired at Comrade Shaposhnikov with a revolver of Russian make and killed him. The revolver was obtained in Moscow. From the statements of the murderer we know that he followed Comrade Shaposhnikov who came from the House of the Labour Unions in which the

Congress of the Communist International was taking place, that he kept close to him and followed him into a tramcar where he sat down immediately behind him and that afterwards he shot him down at close range from behind in the Samara Street. Leo Lubarski gave the names of two other persons whom he numbered as first and second helpers of the main organiser who had instigated the attack, Vsevolod Lubarski. These two persons were the former white guardist officer Kvardi and Olga Alexandrovna Lubarskaya-Shelkova. Leo Lubarski also informed us, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of his statements, what Olga Shelkova had told him and what Vsevolod Lubarski had said in order to urge him on to commit the murder. They both spoke with him concerning the character of the Soviet power and declared that it must be overthrown and destroyed. They told him that he would be a hero if he carried out a terrorist act against the Soviet power. They declared that all means were justifiable in the struggle and discussed with him the role of Poland as an enemy of the Soviet Union.

This was in 1928 when Leo Lubarski was 18 years old. They spoke to him of Peter the Great who united the former Russian Empire. They told him that nothing would happen to him if he pretended to be mentally abnormal. They persuaded him that he would be able to escape to Poland. This was in August 1928. In the same month and in the same year and also in the previous months of 1928 and even in 1927 and 1926 similar discussions took place between Vassiliev, according to his own admission, and Olga Shelkova.

They spoke about the necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Soviet power, of the fact that Poland was the State most hostile to the Soviet Union, that Poland was the power on which the counter-revolutionary organisations could rely, that all means were permissible in the struggle, that empty theoretical, critical talk, was no longer any use, that the time had come for active measures to be taken. In reply to my question, "including terrorist acts?" Vassiliev replied, not at once, but later, "including terrorist acts".

These were the methods adopted by Olga Shelkova and Vsevolod Lubarski towards Leo Lubarski, and the same methods were adopted at the same time by the pair towards Vassiliev. Another detail, but not unimportant: what was the subject of discussion between Vsevolod Lubarski, Olga Shelkova and Leo Lubarski when they met in the Semenov Cemetery? Olga Shelkova, who by no means admitted everything that she knew declared that they spoke in particular of the murder of Comrade Voikov, the Soviet Ambassador to Poland.

And what did Pomyelov tell us here about his discussion with Vassiliev? They also spoke about the murder of comrade Voikov. Vsevolod Lubarski told Leo Lubarski that he, Vsevolod, had his subordinates in Moscow and mentioned Kaverda and Troikovitch. The witness Pomyelov also told us here that Vassiliev had said to him that there were very few people like Kaverda to be found. I asked Pomyelov whether this remark was made in a despairing sense or with a desire to find more such people. And Pomyelov declared that the remark had been made in the sense that it would be a good thing if there were more of them. At the end of the examination of Pomyelov I asked Vassiliev:

"What attitude did you take up towards Pomyelov? Was he to be used for your aims?"

Vassiliev answered: "No. He was no use."

"Unreliable?" I asked. And Vassiliev replied in the affirmative.

What does this mean? We observe an agreement in the methods used, an agreement in the arguments used to influence the persons in question, and an agreement in the dates concerned, not only in the years, but even in the months.

Taking the facts established by the examination as the basis, who was then the main leader of the organisation? Vsevolod Lubarski, Olga Alexandrovna Lubarskaya-Shelkova, Boris Lubarski, Anna Lubarski, Leo Lubarski and Kvadri are the known and convicted members of this organisation, but they were by no means the only members.

The witness Demidovitch told us here that Vsevolod Lubarski had informed him that he, Lubarski, had come to Moscow in order to organise a terrorist act, and that Lubarski had requested him to supply him, Lubarski, with a pass with which he could obtain entrance into a session at which members of the Soviet government could be met and killed. According to his own statement Demidovitch refused to do this. At first he promised to do so, and then later on refused

so that Vsevolod Lubarski finally ceased to count on him. Let us assume that Demidovitch spoke the truth here.

However, it is an undoubted fact that when the organisation was liquidated Demidovitch and obviously others, remained untouched.

Another detail: what did Leo Lubarski tell us? He informed us that the first task given to him was to obtain entrance to the House of the Labour Unions, in which the congress of the Communist International was taking place at the time, and to kill one of the responsible officials, preferably Bucharin. He was told that if he could not kill Bucharin then he should kill someone else. The victim was Comrade Shaposhnikov.

And what was the situation with regard to Stern? His task was to kill the Ambassador of the German Republic. The numbers of three automobiles used by responsible officials of the German Embassy were known to him. His task was to kill the German Ambassador and if this should not be possible then anyone who happened to be in one of the automobiles in question. In point of fact the shots hit von Tvardovski.

Let us now consider the political character of this counter-revolutionary group and above all let us consider the role played by the instigator Vsevolod Lubarski. Who is Vsevolod Lubarski?

Both Demidovitch and Olga Alexandrovna Lubarskaya-Shelkova here and in 1928 respectively have given us information on the point.

According to the evidence of Olga Shelkova she and her brother were born in Warsaw where they lived and were brought up until 1914. Demidovitch informed us that he was at school together with Vsevolod Lubarski in Warsaw. In 1914 Olga Lubarskaya left Warsaw for Moscow and Vsevolod disappeared. Later on he fled back to Poland from Ukrainia. In Poland he adopted Polish nationality, served in the Polish army and took part in fighting against the Soviet power under Bulak-Balakovitch. After this he went to Poland and from 1923 to 1928 he maintained illegal correspondence with Olga Shelkova through Anna Lubarskaya, and in particular through the channels discussed in our private session.

This systematic correspondence was maintained by Vsevolod Lubarski and by Stanislav Pavlovski, Olga Shelkova's first husband who is described by her as a fanatical Polish nationalist and a member of the Polish military mission attached to the staff of Denikin during the civil war.

This gives us a picture of a permanent maintenance of relations between Olga Shelkova, Boris Lubarski and others with a certain group of Polish citizens abroad who are engaged in various forms in a systematic and active struggle against the Soviet power.

It is worth while paying a little more attention to the persons of Vsevolod and Olga Lubarski. Olga called herself a Russian and a citizen of the Soviet Union. Demidovitch and others declared that she was a Polish citizen. She herself wrote that she came from Warsaw. The question of nationality is however, not so important. These are people who live for one thing only, a bitter hatred of the Soviet Union, and who have only one aim, to destroy the Soviet Union with all possible means. That they were prepared to use anything that came to hand is proved by the fact that Vsevolod Lubarski travelled to the Soviet Union as a diplomatic courier. Demidovitch has made clear and unequivocal statements in this matter. Leo Lubarski made similarly unequivocal statements. We are also in possession of official information.

What conclusions must be drawn from this? In 1928 a counter-revolutionary terrorist organisation existed on the territory of the Soviet Union. This organisation maintained systematic relations with a foreign organisation whose members were Polish citizens and of Polish nationality. This latter organisation sent a representative, Vsevolod (Przeslav) Lubarski in 1928 to Moscow in order to organise a terrorist act. This person journeyed to the Soviet Union in an official capacity and he used the official documents of his position accordingly. He organised the terrorist act successfully. Comrade Shaposhnikov was murdered.

Olga Lubarskaya and a number of other persons were members of the organisation, including Demidovitch, a Polish citizen who had become nationalised in 1920. Demidovitch treacherously concealed the fact that he had taken Polish citizenship and served as a Soviet citizen in the Red Army. This in itself was an act of treachery. Further, Demidovitch was connected by relatives to the chief centres of the counter-

revolutionary white guardists. His sister is the wife of Denikin.

### The Connection of Vassiliev with the Lubarski Organisation.

Vsevolod Lubarski's task was not only to carry out a terrorist act, but to strengthen and consolidate the organisation and to continue its work. Let us see what he did to this end. He questioned Olga Shelkova in the presence of the witness Demidovitch concerning likely youths. In particular Demidovitch himself was mentioned. Demidovitch pointed out at this discussion that the students at the high schools were no longer of the same category. They were no longer suitable. Olga Shelkova then declared that there was a high school in which the students were on the side of the counter-revolution.

We paid particular attention to this evidence because we were anxious to know how it was possible that a high school could exist in which the students were on the side of the counter-revolution. Our inquiries showed that this evidence was in accordance with the facts. You have seen citizen Archangelski and citizen Deichmann, two teachers at this school, and Pomyelov, one of the students. You have heard the evidence of Shelesnov and Shumova. They all declare that in the years 1920 to 1924 (Vassiliev ended his studies at this school in 1923) this school was an organised counter-revolutionary nest which was carefully kept apart from all pro-soviet influences.

Was this counter-revolutionary centre consciously organised? Citizen Archangelski did his best to avoid giving us a direct answer to this question. Archangelski is in all probability himself involved. He gave us a view of his own political features when he told us that the protracted and stern regime of the proletarian dictatorship produced a feeling of moral depression in him. The second teacher Deichmann did his best, in secret collusion with Archangelski, to justify his work to preserve the socially hostile nature of the school. The evidence given by Shelesnov at the request of the defence showed the social character of the students at this school and gave us an idea of Shelesnov himself.

Archangelski did not understand the expression "political double-dealer". He did not understand the deceitful nature of the policy of Shelkov, the director of the school, who pursued an anti-soviet policy towards the students and a pro-soviet policy outside. Vassiliev also confirmed the evidence given regarding the nature of this school. Immediately after this we made another discovery, namely one concerning the role played by Vassiliev at this school. He is reported to have been a leader and organiser, one who distinguished himself amongst his fellow students by ambition, organisational capacity and a strong will.

Comrades Judges, during the past two days you have made the acquaintance of Vassiliev and I don't think you will feel inclined to deny Vassiliev these good characteristics. Firmness, strength of will, independence and the capacity to use others as his tools was the characterisation of Vassiliev given to us by his teachers and I think this harmonises with the impression we ourselves have obtained of him.

Why did Olga Shelkova mention Vassiliev's name to Vsevolod Lubarski? She mentioned four persons to him, Buchvostov, Kaidan, Vassiliev and Pomyelov, as young people sympathising with the counter-revolution. Buchvostov has died since, Vassiliev is here and we have made the acquaintance of Pomyelov and he made no secret of his anti-soviet sympathies. Kaidan is also a graduate of the same counter-revolutionary nest. What did Vsevolod Lubarski want with these men? He wanted them for his further work, for the further preparations, for the strengthening of the organisation.

In order to show what he achieved in this connection I would like to draw your attention, comrades judges, to an incident which I consider to be very important. Vassiliev declared that in the years 1927/28 he had conversations regularly with Olga Shelkova. He declared that these discussions were intended to prepare him for terrorist activity. In September 1928, after the murder of Comrade Shaposhnikov, Vassiliev met Olga Shelkova. She informed him that for the moment he should not visit her any more. He declared that he then broke off all relations with her. Completely and absolutely, he added in answer to my express questioning. He also broke off all relations with Shelkov who remained in freedom. Concerning the arrest and execution of Olga Shelkova Vassiliev tells us that he heard quite accidentally in June 1929 through Pomyelov. However, we have evidence given by Shumova, Pereverzenzeva and Pomyelov himself, according to

which Vassiliev received the news of Olga Shelkova's fate with indifference. To use his own expression, he "made a note of it". We asked Archangelski, we asked Deichmann, we asked Pomyelov and we were told that the fact of the arrest and execution of Olga Shelkova was known to all the teachers, to the servants and other assistants, and that broad circles without particular connections with the school were aware of it, for instance, the servant of Archangelski, the porter of the house in which Deichmann lived, the students at the school, for instance, Shumova, Antonina Pereverzsenzeva, Claudia Pereverzsenzeva and Pomyelov.

I asked in what period the arrest became known and received the answer, in two or three days. The execution I was told became known within fourteen days. But Vassiliev, a man who was a regular visitor to the home of Olga Shelkova for years, who had spoken with her concerning active preparations for a struggle against the Soviet Union, who had been warned by Olga Shelkova two weeks before her arrest that he should not come to her, this man declares that for ten months he knew nothing of her arrest, that he did not know how the matter had ended, that he did not even know that on the 16th August Leo Lubarski had shot and murdered Comrade Shaposhnikov. And Vassiliev expects us to believe him. Vassiliev impresses the court as a man who knows how to fit things together, but this time he has not succeeded. He has lost the thread. That is peculiar. It can hardly be assumed that a man who maintained close conspirative relations with Olga Shelkova did not know what had happened to her and that when he was finally told he did no more than "make a note of it" without expressing any opinion. He "made a note of it" and said nothing further when informed for the simple reason that he already knew, and what is more, he knew much more than Pomyelov.

I will now deal with the direct relations between Vassiliev and Vsevolod Lubarski. Did Vassiliev know of the existence of a brother of Olga Shelkova abroad? He did. In the beginning he admitted cautiously that he was aware that she had relations abroad, but not that she had a brother. Later on he admitted that he knew of the existence of this brother. In fact Olga Shelkova introduced him to her brother, the brother from abroad. Vassiliev now wants us to believe that this was a superficial acquaintance, that he exchanged a few formal words with this brother and nothing more. That is not true, Citizen Vassiliev, and your contention is not even reasonable.

A third item. Why did Vassiliev deny so obstinately that he had spoken with Pomyelov concerning the murder of Comrade Voikov. When Pomyelov insisted on it, Vassiliev then admitted that he, Vassiliev, had conducted political discussions with Pomyelov "on the street". Stern also admits having conducted similar political discussions with Pomyelov. We have seen that the home of Vassiliev was unsuitable for conducting such political discussions. His home has only two rooms and the family is large. There are four sisters and a brother. The home of Pomyelov was also unsuitable for this purpose. They met there to play cards only. Pomyelov is not a fool. He represents himself as a man who did no more than release the letter-carriers. At first he was enthusiastically in favour of anarchism, but later on he withdrew, he tells us. Very well, let us assume that Pomyelov's home was also not used for such discussions. Pomyelov told us: "In 1927 we had a talk on the street concerning the murder of Voikov." Vassiliev, however, refuses to remember this. Why, what harm could that do him? Comrade Voikov was murdered in 1927 and they discussed the matter. Vassiliev is unwilling to copy Stern and refuse to answer. That would be too clumsy, instead he refuses to remember. I then caused Pomyelov to be brought forward a second time in order to discover when and under what circumstances this discussion concerning the murder of Comrade Voikov had taken place. When we had discovered these details, including the name of the street in which the discussion had taken place, I again questioned Vassiliev on the point, but his memory was still bad. The fact is that Vassiliev does not want to remember, it would be unfavourable for him. And then he began to lie.

It is not true that after the murder of Comrade Shaposhnikov Vassiliev had no relations with Olga Lubarskaya. It is not true that he knew nothing of the arrest and execution of Olga Shelkova until the middle of 1929. It is not true that his memory fails him with regard to the discussion on the murder of Comrade Voikov with Pomyelov, and further, it is not true that his acquaintance with Vsevolod Lubarski was quite accidental. However, that Vassiliev is unwilling to admit the truth of his relations with Vsevolod Lubarski fits in

perfectly with the attitude he has taken up here. Did he not tell us that third persons played a role, but that he refused to name them? For Vassiliev that is nothing abnormal, it is the logical result of his attitude and is nothing more than a proof of his connections. Why is Vassiliev unwilling to name these third persons? His defending counsel Kasnatcheyev asked him, obviously with a view to establishing extenuating circumstances:

"Tell us, Vassiliev: after all that has happened what attitude would you take up now? You have told us that you were an enemy of the Soviet power and that you considered all methods, including terrorism, to be permissible in the struggle. Would you do the same again?"

Vassiliev remained silent for a moment or two and then he answered:

"The traditions of my environment caused such opinions to develop in me. My opinions were not accidental and cannot be altered so easily. I was and still am an enemy of the Soviet power."

It is possible that there is something of the poseur here, but it may very well be his real attitude. When asked why he insisted on sharing the responsibility with Stern he answered that he felt himself morally bound to do so. It is possible that this is the truth. It is possible that other considerations also played a part. Whatever may be the real truth, one thing is certain and that is that the organisation formed in 1928 with the assistance of Vsevolod Lubarski has not yet been fully liquidated. This organisation still exists. Vassiliev is a member of this organisation and he is unwilling to name his other accomplices.

Another item: What was the situation with regard to Stern? Vassiliev's defending counsel asked him: "What would you have done if you had never met Stern?" And Vassiliev answered: "I would have looked for someone else". This confirms what I have already said: An organisation exists still and it is connected with the organisation of 1928, for there is an interruption of a few months only and not of one or two years as contended here.

And finally, we must turn our attention to another fact. One of the members of this organisation, Vsevolod Lubarski exploited his official position, his diplomatic passport and his diplomatic privileges in the interests of the organisation. This is an established fact, comrades judges.

And now let us turn to the characters of the accused. Vassiliev was mistaken in Stern when he estimated him as a man who would not betray him. Vassiliev overestimated the counter-revolutionary firmness of Stern. Stern did betray him.

#### The Characters of the Accused.

Who is Stern? We have examined his biography and even adopted an unusually difficult method, that of examining his sister. Extracts from the diary of Stern's fiancée, Taubina, have been read here. Persons who lived together with him have been examined. And finally, we have listened to his own statements. We are compelled to the conclusion that he is an egoist, and a petty one at that, and that this egoism was visible even in his childhood towards his parents, his sisters and his relatives. Remember the swindle he committed with the sale of the home prior to his departure from Odessa. At the same time he was an egoist who clung to certain of the comfortable things of life. According to the evidence of a series of witnesses Stern's chief complaint was that he was not in possession of sufficient of the material good things of life. When he stopped work in the factory why did he not fetch the monies due to him? He retained his ration card as a worker. He found that useful. Naturally, the card was later on taken away from him.

What sort of a worker was he? He was lazy, good for nothing, a man who had made a start in various jobs and made good at none of them. Let us take the incident which resulted in his expulsion from the labour union. Allegedly he had been issued with a dirty overall. The other workers told him to go to his bench and get on with the job, but no, he had been issued with a dirty overall and might catch typhus or something of the sort. He refused to go to his bench and in consequence he was fired and expelled from the union. This was not the end of the matter. He insisted on his rights. First of all he lodged a complaint with the Chamber of the Commissariat of Labour and declared that the statutes of the labour unions had been violated, that the full meeting of the labour union had not confirmed his expulsion. Thereupon the full meeting met and confirmed his expulsion. He then lodged an appeal and this appeal was rejected and the expulsion confirmed. The workers

themselves ejected him from their ranks, expelled him from the labour union and turned him out of the factory.

Much the same thing occurred at the University of Leningrad and in Moscow. He put down his name in the list of students, but then failed to attend the lectures, delivered no work and did no social work of any kind. He felt himself above all social work such as Red Aid work and so on. He then attended the Communist Academy and heard lectures on historical geography. May be this was really his aim, but it is also possible that there were other reasons. What has the Young Communist League to say about him? The organisation expelled him as useless ballast. Stern naturally declares that the labour union, the full membership meeting, the factory workers, the labour chamber, the committees of two universities and the Young Communist League are all swine, just as he said it to his fiancée Taubina, and that he was above all such things, as a valuable individualist.

And what had Taubina to say about him, what had the others to say about him? They declared that he was a man who had collected a certain amount of superficial knowledge and felt himself far above the "backward masses" in consequence. At the same time Taubina, who can hardly be suspected of prejudice against him, writes in her diary: "I have never heard a more or less original idea from him." Comrades judges, you heard him giving evidence here. The confusion he revealed when he attempted to explain his ideas about Europeans and non-Europeans and so on. Despite all this, he is not a man who can be ignored. He is dangerous. Stern, a man who did not want to work, who was unable to work with concentration, a narrow-minded, petty egoist, a bumptious and conceited individual without any depth of character, has nevertheless carried out a terrorist act. This man has endangered the relations of the Soviet Union to the German Republic. And then he had the lying insolence to declare that he was really a friend of the Soviet Union. All he wanted to do was to put its policy right by murdering the German Ambassador.

This is madness, but it is madness with a method. However, even cynicism has its limits. Patience has its limits. And insolence must have its limits also. What is the use of Stern? Who needs his existence? What good is he? What is the point of his further existence, apart from doing us damage? He despises the workers who have told him to put on an overall and to go to work. Therefore the workers have ejected him from their ranks. Let him live alone in his corner. Let him live alone, rejected by all those with whom he could not agree, and to whose demands he would not accede. But he would not remain still in his corner. You see that he wanted to play an international role, to intervene in international policy, to make an international gesture.

In the present period, at the present time, at this most serious juncture, when we can allow ourselves no jokes, and cannot permit questions of international policy to be dependent even in the least upon Mr. Stern, we must cut off all possibility of such an emergency, for there are more of these Sterns. This riff-raff of their class, these human dregs, continue to exist. So long as they keep quiet, we can pass them by. We can despise them. But if they make themselves objectionable, we must strike them down; if they injure us, we must cold-bloodedly destroy them. Stern must be shot; no other form of repression can be applied to him.

#### Vassiliev.

An organiser, leader, a teacher of certain cadres, in a certain milieu. It may be that he possesses some good qualities, but he has employed them to a bad purpose. "I am an enemy of the Soviet power. I am in favour of every method of struggle, including Terror. I organised the attack, I urged it on. My views are not accidental."

I believe, comrades, that I have proved to you that this is not by any means all, that other factors have played a part. Above all, this organisation is firmly welded. It has a certain way of holding its members together by a certain discipline. Therefore Vassiliev preserves silence. Not everything has been exposed here, not everything has been made known. Fight is fight, and crime is crime. Self-defence is the first necessity of the proletarian state, and for Vassiliev, too, there can be no other verdict, he too must be shot.

Now to the question of the third persons. We know one of these. This is Vsevolod Lubarski. And another whom we know is Olga Lubarskaya. There are more of these. An official document exists showing that Vsevolod Lubarski came to this country in 1928. There are Polish citizens abroad, and perhaps some in the country itself, who are members of the same

organisation. It has been definitely ascertained that it is an old organisation, not a new one. It has already a record of murders, and the names of the dead are an item on its balance sheet. It is an organisation which has set itself definite political aims, and is closely bound up with that clique of international reactionaries, that international camarilla, which has set itself the task of frustrating our peace policy at any price, of provoking us to war, of hampering our constructive work by means of war, and of postponing the collapse of the capitalist world.

I repeat that we cannot tolerate such organisations on our territory. We must continue to combat them till we have exposed them down to their beginnings. We have already discovered much, and we shall learn more. An end must be made of the representatives of this organisation.

No-one must be permitted to suppose that our country, our government, the working class, the working masses, are going to pass carelessly over an attempt to frustrate our peace policy, as if it were an unimportant fact. No-one may be permitted for a moment to think that we are going to tolerate such facts. This is not our policy.

Our policy is the policy of peace. This in the first place. And secondly it is a policy of relentless fight against all who attempt to frustrate this policy. Let them note this...

Comrade judges, I repeat the request that Vassiliev and Stern be shot.

## Systematic Provocation.

### The Trial of Stern and Vassiliev.

By Henri Rolland.

The attempted assassination of the German Ambassadorial Counsellor von Twardovski in Moscow, at the moment when war is raging in the East and Japanese troops are being feverishly mobilised on the Eastern frontier of the Soviet Union, was by no means a chance episode.

The shots fired by the assassin Stern are a direct continuation of a number of provocative attempts to frustrate the Soviet Unions policy of peace. Terrorist acts have played and still play by no means the least role in this system of provocation. It suffices to call to mind the long series of terrorist acts carried out or prepared by hirelings of the imperialist bourgeoisie against official representatives of the Soviet government outside of the Soviet Union in order to gain an idea of the energy and persistence with which the world bourgeoisie are striving to call forth a conflict which might lead to a new war.

These provocative acts—some of which were realised, but the greater part frustrated thanks to the vigilance of the Soviet authorities—have as their chief aim to involve the Soviet Union in a war with the imperialist Powers, to frustrate the consistent determined peace policy of the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie, strangled by the unprecedented, ever deepening crisis and torn by inner contradictions, are seeking a way out in the destruction of the Soviet Union. The imperialists and the Russian white-guard scoundrels in their pay, have lost all hope of being able to overthrow the Soviet Union from within.

The Sterns and the Vassilievs cannot overthrow the Soviet Power. They are too few of them and they have no followers in the country. But these Sterns and Vassilievs can be used in order to create provocative pretexts, and occasions for a new military intervention against the Soviet Union.

The course of the trial, the statements of the witnesses and the evidence of the accused have revealed with sufficient clearness the ideas and the hopes which inspired Stern and Vassiliev in their fight against the Soviet Power. Both agreed that only a military intervention could lead to the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat so hated by them. The only point on which they disagreed was as to whether intervention from the West or from the East could best achieve this aim.

Stern was of the opinion that a military intervention in the East would be the end of the Soviet Power. He cherished the hope of an attack by Japan on the Soviet Union. Vassiliev, who had connection with the so-called "third persons", with Polish circles who are interested in the overthrow of the Soviet Power, thought otherwise.

His foreign friends and principals shared with him the view that the fate of the Soviet Power would be decided by a

military intervention from the west. Vassiliev suggested this view to Stern. A united anti-Soviet front in the West must be created, he urged. A military intervention against the Soviet Union from the West would be exceedingly difficult without the inclusion of Germany in the anti-Soviet front. Hence the chief task was to call forth a conflict between Germany and the Soviet Union. How did the notorious "third persons" who were referred to in the trial, whose names and official positions were revealed at the secret meeting of the Court, operate?

The methods of these "third persons" are to be seen in the crime of Stern and Vassiliev and in the preceding terrorist acts which were committed or planned, but discovered in good time by the G.P.U. The characteristic feature is—as Comrade Krylenko clearly showed at the trial of Stern—that in various cases the criminals employed the same methods:

A representative of the white-guardist anti-Soviet organisation comes from abroad provided with a pass of an official of a neighbouring State of the Soviet Union. This agent, the intervention-monger, looks up old acquaintances—for the most part representatives of the former ruling classes, sons of merchants, ex-officers etc.—, they found a counter-revolutionary organisation whose chief task consists in carrying out acts of sabotage and terrorism. Its leaders seek out suitable people who are prepared to and capable of carrying out this or that terrorist act.

Thus Leo Lubarski received instructions from the counter-revolutionary organisation founded by Prazeslav Lubarski, who came from Poland, to murder a member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U. The victim of this assassination was Comrade Shaposhnikov, a responsible functionary of the Red Army. Also in the present case Stern was instructed by the same organisation to murder the German Ambassador von Dirksen.

Who are these Sterns, Vassilievs, Shelkovas and Lubarskis? They are the remnants of the shattered bourgeoisie and land-owning class of Russia. Stern came from a petty bourgeois family; he had no regular occupation; he was a good-for-nothing work-shy who everywhere lost his job on account of shirking.

Vassiliev is the son of a Moscow merchant who even after the revolution was educated in a nest of counter-revolution, in an industrial technical institute the heads of which were members of the Lubarski organisation. Vassiliev, as he continually repeated before the Court, is a sworn enemy of the Soviet Power.

It would be a mistake to represent these people as being merely blind tools of bourgeois counter-revolution. It was not due to chance that they were selected to carry out terrorist acts. All these people are inspired with the desire for a bourgeois restoration, for the speedy overthrow of the Soviet Power. The Soviet order offers no room for their nefarious activity. Under bourgeois rule Stern could be a pimp, a loafer, a bandit—in a word, he could maintain his place as a fit and worthy element of capitalist "civilisation".

Vassiliev could be a fascist leader or something similar. In the Soviet order there is no place for a follower of such a "profession". The successes of Socialism leave not the least hope for a return to the old order. In the Soviet Union a heroic fight is being waged, and everybody is faced with the alternative: to take his part in the work of construction or stand on the other side of the barricade.

A part of the bourgeois press, without waiting for the result of the trial, over-hastily designates the events in Moscow as an "outbreak of the indignation and discontent of the masses of the Soviet Union with the policy of the Soviet Power". As it is difficult to explain why Stern, whom the bourgeois press represents as voicing the feelings of the working-masses, should have fired at the German Ambassadorial Counsellor, who can hardly be held responsible for the actions of the Soviet Power, a part of the bourgeois press attributes Stern's act to the alleged "hatred of the workers of the Soviet Union for foreigners".

All these inventions of the bourgeois and social-fascist newspapers are only an attempt to obscure the tremendous political importance of Stern's terrorist act and to continue the same provocation at which the act aimed.

There is no doubt that the counter-revolutionary organisation which organised the attempt of Stern and Vassiliev, intended to achieve precisely such an effect. It was not without reason that Stern was recommended to use a revolver of Russian make in order to divert suspicion from abroad.

Stern, who at the trial fully realised the hopelessness of his position, attempted to play the hero by repudiating the statements he made in the preliminary examination. He attempted to deny his signature which he had put to this depositions at the preliminary examination, to his request for a copy of the protocol and his request for a defender at the trial. This, of course, could only arouse laughter. He attempted to stammer something about "un-European" methods of examination. The President of the Court and the Public Prosecutor called on Stern to explain what he meant by "un-European" methods of examination. The judges and the Public Prosecutor waited in vain for a reply: Stern was silent. He could say nothing in support of his assertion.

This remark by Stern sufficed the bourgeois, and especially the social democratic, press in order to conduct a provocative campaign of slander against the G.P.U., against the Soviet Court and against all other authorities of the Soviet Power. It is perfectly true the European methods of examination used by the Rumanian Siguranza, the Polish defensive, the Lithuanian Svagilba, the French Sureté, the Berlin I.A. are not employed in the Soviet Union. A glance at the appearance of Stern and Vassiliev sufficed to prove this.

All those who, like the "Vorwärts", wish to take Stern under their protection, to conceal the true meaning of his act, to slander the Soviet Court and the examination, expose themselves as active warmongers and inciters to military intervention against the Soviet Union. They deliberately wish to divert the attention of the masses from the real meaning of the trial. In vain! In view of the facts which were disclosed by the accused themselves before the Court, nobody will succeed in concealing who was the chief accused, even if this chief accused was not present in the Court. His name, however, was in everybody's mouth. No one doubts who the "third persons" are. The working class of the world, the true friends of the Soviet Union who are fighting against a new anti-Soviet intervention, must conduct a determined fight against all organisers and inspirers of this intervention.

## The Proceedings at the Trial of Stern and Vassiliev.

Moscow, 5th April, 1932.

At to-day's morning session the Court was engaged in ascertaining in what circles the accused Vassiliev moved. Archangelski and Deichmann, teachers at the Commercial School, as well as the school-friend of Vassiliev Pomelov, a pupil at the school, gave evidence to the following effect. In 1924, when Vassiliev attended the school, outspoken anti-Soviet feelings prevailed among the teachers and pupils, who are mainly children of the former privileged classes. These anti-Soviet sentiments were mainly voiced by the school director Shelkov and his wife, maiden name Lubarskaya, of Polish nationality and a teacher in the school. Vassiliev was on friendly terms with Shelkova, visited her frequently and had counter-revolutionary discussions with her. Shelkova had a strong influence over Vassiliev. She urged him to take up an active fight against the Soviet Power, pointing out that they would not be alone in this fight as they were certain of the support of the Western neighbours of Russia, especially Poland, which is the most irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet Power and thereby the "most advanced country".

The Public Prosecutor read a number of documents from the trial of Leo Lubarski and Shelkova, who on August 16, 1928, organised the murder of the Chief Inspector of the Red Army, Shaposhnikov. These documents showed that the murder was organised by Vsevolod Lubarski, who came specially from Warsaw for this purpose, with the active co-operation of his sister, Shelkova-Lubarskaya.

After the reading of this document, Vassiliev confirmed that Shelkova had introduced him in the street to her brother Lubarski. Vassiliev further stated that Shelkova requested him, in the second half of August 1928, i. e., immediately after the murder of Shaposhnikov, to cease visiting her. The statements of the witnesses, as well as the documents which were read out, proved beyond doubt the close connection maintained between Vassiliev and the Lubarskaya-Shelkova terrorist group.

There then followed the cross-examination of the arrested Demidovitch, brother-in-law of General Denikin. Demidovitch gave full particulars regarding Vsevolod-Lubarski and his



arrival in Moscow. He declared that Vsevolod Lubarski had been his best friend. During the Polish-Russian war, he, Demidovitch, was an officer in the counter-revolutionary "army" of Balachovitch. In 1921, he fled from Moscow to Vladivostok in order to escape service in the Red Army. In Vladivostok he acquired Polish citizenship. In August 1928, Demidovitch frequently met Vsevolod Lubarski in Moscow in the company of his sister Shelkova. Vsevolod informed him that he was a member of the Russian Club in Warsaw, as well as an agent of the Polish Foreign Ministry. During one of these conversations Vsevolod Lubarski enquired regarding the feeling among the pupils of the Institute in which Shelkova gave lessons. Shelkova gave a number of names of counter-revolutionary minded students, including Vassiliev. At these meetings Lubarski informed the witness that he had come in order to organise terrorist acts against members of the Soviet Government. Lubarski requested Demidovitch to obtain for him for this purpose a pass to the Trade Union House where the VI. Congress of the Communist International was then meeting, as well as a pass to the Kremlin.

Krylenko then read out the statement of Leo Lubarski, the murderer of Shaposhnikov, giving details regarding his intention to murder Comrade Kalinin. For this purpose, armed with a revolver, he lay in wait for Comrade Kalinin in Alexander Garden, but did not succeed in carrying out the assassination.

After an interval, a closed meeting of the Court was held, to which members of the German and Polish Embassies as well as representatives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs were admitted.

After this the public was again admitted and a number of documents read, whereupon the defence put several questions to the accused.

Vassiliev again confirmed the fact that Stern was prepared to carry out a terrorist act and that he, Vassiliev, directed this act against **von Dirksen**. To the question of Defending Counsel, what he would have done if Stern had refused to carry out the terrorist act, Vassiliev replied, "I should have then looked for somebody else to do this."

Regarding the intention to kill von Dirksen, Vassiliev again declared he had definite instructions to this effect from "third persons", whose names he would not divulge "on principle". To the question of his defender, Vassiliev repeated that he was an enemy of the Soviet Power. To the question of the Chairman of the Court to the accused whether they wished to say anything supplementing the results of the examination before the Court, Vassiliev replied no and Stern again sought to confirm that he undertook the attempt entirely on his own account and that he had no confederates.

Stern finally declared that he would clearly state the reasons for the assassination, but stood silent for two or three minutes, fumbling over the papers in front of him and then sat down very embarrassed without saying a word. This concluded the cross-examination of the accused and the witnesses. After an interval, there commenced the speeches for the Prosecution and the Defence.

## Judgement.

Moscow, April 6, 1932.

The judgement of the military collegium of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union in the matter of Stern and Vassiliev reads as follows:

The court proceedings showed that the Polish citizen Vsevolod Lubarski, who in the year 1928 went from Moscow to Warsaw in his capacity as Polish diplomatic courier, organised together with his sister Shelkova-Lubarskaya, Boris Lubarski, Leo Lubarski and others a counter-revolutionary terrorist group. On August 16, Leo Lubarski, a member of this group and acting on its behalf, killed the chief inspector of the Red Workers and Peasants' Army, Shaposhnikov in Moscow by shooting him with a revolver. As a result of the enquiry into the murder of Shaposhnikov, a part of the members of this group were arrested and condemned in the year 1929, whilst on the other hand, the rest of the members of this group were able to continue their counter-revolutionary terrorist activity. The Vsevolod Lubarski terrorist group, which was of the opinion that the most important means for the overthrow of the Soviet Power is armed intervention by the capitalist countries against the Soviet Union, which can be brought about by worsening the foreign-political situation

of the Soviet Union, resolved at the end of 1931 to murder the German Ambassador in Moscow von Dirksen in order, by this act of murder, to disturb the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union and to achieve a breaking off of the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The group entrusted Sergej Vassiliev with the organising and immediate carrying out of the terrorist act. Vassiliev, in turn, delegated the carrying out of the assassination to Judas Stern, who was personally known to him by his anti-Soviet views. Stern worked out the plan of the terrorist act together with Vassiliev. After having, in February last, stolen a Nagan revolver from the apartments of his brother-in-law, he began to keep a systematic watch on the German Embassy and the journeys made by the Ambassador's motor car, at the same time he repeatedly met Vassiliev, from whom he generally received advice and instructions regarding the carrying out of the terrorist act. On March 5, 1932, Stern, who waited at the corner of Leontiev Street and Herzen Street for the car of the German Embassy bearing the German flag and who mistook the German Ambassadorial Counsellor von Twardovski, who was seated in the car, for the German Ambassador, fired five shots with a Nagan revolver, slightly wounding von Twardovski in the neck and severely injuring his left wrist.

The Court accordingly finds the accused Vassiliev guilty. It records that Vassiliev, as an enemy of the Soviet Power and as a member of the counter-revolutionary terrorist group which was formed by an official of the State institution of the Polish Republic, the Polish citizen Vsevolod Lubarski, organised a terrorist act against the German Ambassador von Dirksen in order to worsen the foreign-political situation of the Soviet Union, and entrusted with the immediate execution of this act the accused Stern, whom he had suitably prepared for this deed. It finds Stern guilty in that he, as an enemy of the Soviet Power, and in order to disturb the foreign-political situation of the Soviet Union, on March 5 last, in collaboration with Vassiliev, carried out the terrorist act against the Ambassador of the German Republic von Dirksen by firing five shots at the motor car belonging to the German Embassy, whereby the German Ambassadorial Counsellor von Twardovski, whom Stern took to be the Ambassador of the German Republic, was wounded in the neck and in the hand. The military collegium of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, on the basis of the above-cited facts and taking into consideration that terrorist acts against diplomatic representatives of States which have normal relations with the Soviet Union is a serious crime against the State calling for the severest penalty, condemns Vassiliev and Stern under article 58, clause 4 of the criminal code, to the highest measure of social protection, to death by shooting. This sentence is final and cannot be appealed against.

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

### The Case of Ivar Kreuger.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

On March 13 news arrived that the Swedish match king Ivar Kreuger had shot himself. The German fascist papers wrote touching obituary articles. As by no stretch of imagination could it be said that Jewish blood had determined his character, and as, moreover, Kreuger was known to be a fanatical anti-bolshevik, the German national socialist press tried to represent the matter as if "a Germanic Hero" had been caught in the toils of and driven to ruin by "international, all-Jewish world finance". But it was not only in Germany that the bankrupt Trust magnate was lauded in such extravagant tones.

Meanwhile the English firm of Accountants and Auditors, Messrs. Price Waterhouse & Co., have submitted an auditors' account from which it is seen that the "typical Germanian" Kreuger was a common swindler and falsifier of accounts, that his "typical Germanic method of work" consisted for years in falsifying the balances of the Kreuger companies, that he was an adventurer who staked everything on one card, i. e. that an improvement in the general economic situation would help him out of his financial embarrassments, that he was a speculator who played with millions and brought enormous misery to the working masses.

Even the "Svenska Dagblad", Ivar Kreuger's organ, which had endeavoured for years to surround him with the halo of a genius and a national hero now writes:

"Kreuger was a gigantic swindler!"

Fascism has no luck with its "heroes" of industry and finance. In Germany the controller of the largest textile concern, the "Norddeutsche Wollkammerei", the supporter of Hitler and financier of the National Socialists, **Lahusen**, ended as a bankrupt, an illicit foreign exchange speculator and forger of balance sheets. In fascist Italy a similar fate was suffered by the Trust King **Gualino**, the friend of **Arnoldo Mussolini** the brother of the Duce, and in England by **Lord Kilsant** of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co.

It is a well known fact, pointed out by Marx and Engels, that the capitalists do not understand the workings of their own economic system, and therefore regard its crises and catastrophes as the work of "supernatural forces". But if to-day we see how the capitalist "leaders of economy" in all countries applaud all the nonsense which the fascist ignoramuses, who pretend to a knowledge of economic science, pour forth, this only demonstrates the ideological decay of the bourgeoisie which is characteristic of the epoch of declining capitalism.

The whole development of modern capitalism—this was already expressly pointed out by Karl Marx in the 3rd volume of "Capital"—is based on the role of credit; the joint stock companies, the concerns and trusts would be unthinkable without this function of "loan capital". The character of modern capitalism is determined by the coalescence of banks and industry, by the merging into each other of "loan capital" and "productive" capital to form Finance capital. In the so-called "economic leaders" there is united on a very large scale "loan capital" and "employer's capital", "acquisitive" capital and "creative" capital. For where would **Thyssen**, the head of the German Steel Trust, be without these bank capitalists? With their help he placed his share capital of 800 million marks on the market, took up loans amounting in round figures to 500 million marks, obtained long-term credits of 159,590,000 marks, took up rediscount credits of 25,310,000 marks and bank debts of 71,550,000 marks and gave acceptances amounting to 38,250,000 marks. It is quite in keeping with the "character" of a fascist "economic leader", in the face of such facts to pronounce death sentence on "acquisitive capital" and to talk about breaking the yoke of bank capital.

In Ivar Kreuger, the head of a world Trust, this character of the modern financial capitalist was, of course, much more clearly expressed than in the case of the smaller "gods" of German capitalism. He united in himself the employer who had control over several hundred factories, with the international financier who had granted loans amounting in all to 1,250 million Swedish crowns to fourteen different countries. The best information in this connection is furnished by the Balance Sheet of "Kreuger and Toll" for the year 1930, which announces the following profits.

Dividends on Industrial shares . . . . .	28,379,000	crowns
Income from real estate . . . . .	9,904,000	"
Dividends on bank shares . . . . .	4,704,000	"
Interest on debentures . . . . .	22,900,000	"
Net income from interest on current accounts . . . . .	9,183,000	"
Participation in Consortium, income from Match Concessions . . . . .	18,716,000	"
Profits on financial transactions . . . . .	32,186,000	"

Total profits 125,972,000 crowns

The fascist phrases about destroying the tyranny of loan capital, and the "fight against acquisitive capital" are merely a means in order to divert the working class from the class struggle against the bourgeoisie as a class, to reconcile them to a part of capitalist exploitation, to "creative capital", by shifting all the responsibility for the present crisis of the capitalist system on the other part, on to "acquisitive capital". This deceitful demagogy exposes the role of fascism as a movement aimed at rescuing capitalism. This is the reason why the fascist movement in Germany, as in all countries, is financed by finance capital.

It is one of the tasks of Communism to unmask the deceitful demagogy of fascism. The case of Kreuger is particularly suited for this purpose, because fascism was so candid as to praise Kreuger as belonging to the type of "Germanic" capitalists.

## The Effects of the Economic Crisis in South Africa.

By Molly Wolton (Capetown).

The intensification of the world economic crisis has fundamentally shattered the unstable colonial regime based as it is on slave conditions of exploitation. Due to the deepening of the agrarian crisis on a world scale, South African agriculture is to-day finding itself unable to compete on the world market. The low price for agricultural products received by the farmers due to the world crisis is further accentuated by the fact that Britain, being South Africa's chief customer for agricultural products, is off the gold standard and the farmers are thereby losing on the currency exchange. The **South African Party** is utilising this circumstance for demagogic propaganda in favour of South Africa leaving the Gold standard; implying that the panacea for the crisis would be leaving the Gold standard.

**Hertzog** and his Party knowing that no solution for the present economic crisis could be found by leaving the gold standard, makes a claim for economic independence in order to retain the waning sympathy of the backvelders. In all basic questions the Nationalist Party has become allied to British Imperialism, but of course the South African tool of Imperialism is prepared to utilise every difficulty of Great Britain in order to gain privileges for itself by Trade Treaties with other powers, etc., as also by the mooted loan for South Africa from France. Another reason for remaining on the Gold Standard is that Hertzog knows that in dealing with foreign Powers the only security he can offer is a stable £.

The definite policy of British Imperialism of retardation of Industrial development in the colonies, is also true in South Africa, and consequently, South African economy depends chiefly on **agriculture** and with the agrarian crisis becoming sharper all over the world, the agriculture of this country has received a death blow.

**Diamond mining** is a very important branch of S.A. economy and has also received a very severe blow, due to the world crisis, especially the crisis in the United States. At a time when money is scarce and with no sign of the crisis abating, this Industry was bound to suffer, and further the luxury nature of this Industry adds to this fact.

The **Gold Mines**, however, are still making huge dividends out of the brutal and callous exploitation of the Native miner. But for the temporary and artificial prosperity of the Gold mines, the deep crisis and imminent bankruptcy of the South African slave economy would have been more apparent.

Let us see the measures taken by the Government and analyse them one by one. First, we have **Pirow's Native Service Contract Bill**, and the aim of this Bill is to drive off the land those squatters who manage to eke out a semi-starvation existence on the small plots of land belonging to white farmers Land Companies and absentee landlords. The Bill gives the power to the Landowners and farmers to contract Natives and their families for a period of six months without pay by preventing the natives from cultivating their small pieces of land; it eliminates the competition of the small native peasantry and provides the feudal slave owners with unpaid labour, thus enabling them to compete on the world market. It chains the native to the farmer, for it provides the farmer with the right to whip his servant, either if he breaks his contract or is insolent, and thus under S.A. conditions murdering and whipping of Natives becomes sanctioned by law. At first the Whipping clause was to be applied to Natives under 18 only, but due to its great "popularity" among the farmers, it will be extended to Natives over 18 years of age. Thus on the already intolerable conditions of the native masses, another burden has been placed.

Professor **MacMillan**, who is in effect a South African Party supporter, at a lecture given to the local group of Fabians, stated "that the reserves are rural slums" with the people actually dying of starvation. The land hunger and congestion in the territories and reserves is appalling.

The proposed **cuts in the wages and salaries** of the Railwaymen and Civil Servants coming on top of the cuts operated early last year will amount to £750,000 from railwaymen, over £500,000 from civil Servants and also "sacrifices" from Ministers of the Crown, which will amount to £14,000, and

Lord Clarendon, Governor General, will lose a thousand from a salary of 13 thousand pounds. The closing down of the De Beers Mines and the Premier Mine in Pretoria has thrown out of employment thousands of Black and white workers.

The general crisis has also caused depression in the manufacturing industries, throwing out of employment thousands of workers in the Garment, Leather, Furniture and other industries, with the resultant destitution of the workers concerned.

The plight of the **unemployed** who receive absolutely nothing either from the State or the Municipal bodies, is desperate. It is impossible with any degree of certainty to estimate the number of unemployed in the Union of South Africa, as the workless, landless and destitute natives make up half of the adult population in the territories. Also in the Towns, unemployment is on the increase, not only among the unskilled and semi-skilled, but also skilled white artisans are swelling the ranks of the workless army.

In this period of general attack by the bourgeoisie on the standard of life of the toiling masses of South Africa, there can be witnessed a **rising militancy** among all sections of the working class and landless Peasantry. Food Riots in the **Transkei**; unrest and disturbances among the native and coloured agricultural workers in the Eastern Province of the **Cape**; strikes of native miners on the City Deep and Springs Gold Mines; strikes in the Leather, Clothing, Chemical and other secondary industries; the seething unrest among the workers in Government Railway shops, the growing dissatisfaction in the Civil Service among the white collar brigade; the militant demonstrations of the Cape Town unemployed, when about 1,000 unemployed were dispersed in a most ferocious manner by the police, injuring many, among them a woman and child—these and other manifestations of the increasing radicalisation of the masses in this country constitute the reply of the masses to the offensive of the bourgeoisie.

In this situation it is clear that the only organisation capable of showing the revolutionary way out of the crisis is the **Communist Party**.

There is no doubt that the agitation and work of the C.P. directly influenced and in some cases led the revolutionary struggles of the workers, but the Party did not succeed in all battles in placing itself at the head of the movement and consequently the reformist leaders of the Trade Unions succeeded in splitting the forces of the strikers and in leading the struggles into channels of conciliation and arbitration and in this way betraying the strikes (Crystallisers Johannesburg, Abbatoirs Capetown).

The **unemployed organisation** in Cape Town, although having a militant nucleus on the Executive and whilst the rank and file are extremely militant and ready to follow a militant policy, is still largely in the hands of timid opportunist elements who fear militant action. After the militant demonstration of the unemployed in Cape Town led by the C.P., the ruling class got a tremendous shock and now begin to consider soup kitchens, etc. in order to keep the unemployed quiet.

The last **Plenum of the C.C. of C.P.S.A.** in its deliberations has drawn the attention of the whole Party to the urgency of the tasks which stand before it and for the immediate concentration of the major work of the Party on the building up of the A.F.T.U. as the revolutionary unity centre of the black and white proletariat, making as the centre of gravity the basic industries of mining, agriculture and transport, while not neglecting the struggles among the unemployed and the workers in the secondary industries.

It is also very necessary to have effective Party training for members and to have all questions affecting the Party and the revolution in South Africa thoroughly discussed and clarified before the whole Party membership. Only by the whole Party arming itself with a Leninist Revolutionary Theory and by learning to link up this theory with revolutionary practice can a strong Communist party be built, capable of placing itself at the head of the revolutionary national movement of the oppressed masses against Imperialism, for land and freedom, under the slogan of a Federation of Native Republics; only by building strong trade unions and revolutionary mass organisations can the bourgeois democratic revolution against Imperialism be transformed within the shortest possible period into a Socialist Revolution, against all forms of exploitation of man by man.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain.

By Jose Bullejos (Madrid).

The **Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain** was held in a historical situation of great importance. The revolution has entered a more decisive stage. The strike movement of January 25th and 26th, organised and led by Communist Party, marks the beginning of a new stage in the revolutionary process, in which the proletariat, at the head of the fight, is consolidating its class hegemony.

In fact we are witnessing new tremendous revolutionary struggles in **Jaen, Cordoba, Seville, Antequera, Cadiz** etc. Some of these struggles have assumed the character of revolts (Antequera, Chipiona). Recently the peasants, just as in the first months after the revolution, have been attacking the landed estates, the hunting grounds and the civil-guard. This period, however, differs from the previous one not only in that the masses are shedding their democratic illusions, that they realise the class character of the Republic, that their struggles are being better organised, that the greater part of their struggles are led by the Communist Party, but also in that these struggles are conducted on the basis of the united front with the active and direct participation of the workers of the reformist trade unions, who are carrying out revolutionary actions against the will of their treacherous leaders.

The IV. Congress met in this situation in order to solve all the problems arising from it. It took place in Seville, the revolutionary centre of Spain, called "red Seville" by the proletariat.

The Congress bore an imposing mass character. From the Congress proceeded a mass mobilisation which no other Congress, either of the Communist Party or of any organisation of the Spanish proletariat, ever experienced. Dozens of workers' delegations from trade unions and factories brought greetings to the Congress, occupied places on the platform and participated in the deliberations of the Congress with advisory votes. The number of workers represented at this Congress amounts to approximately 100,000. A great number of workers attended the Congress as spectators and enthusiastically cheered the victories of the Parties and of the Communist International. The whole working class of Seville followed the Congress with close attention.

The letter from the Communist International constituted the basis of all the decisions of the Congress; it provided the means to cope with all the problems of the revolution and the class struggle. The discussions clearly revealed the revolutionary determination of our members, their faithful adherence to the Communist International, their firm will to change all the former working methods of the Party. The Congress has greatly promoted political education of the Party. It must, however, be emphasised that the Congress also clearly revealed the low political level of the whole Party and the urgent need to raise it.

Just as at the session of the Central Committee, also at the Congress three characteristic deviations were revealed: the opportunist, secretarian and Trotzkyist. Special mention should be made of the strong offensive of the Trotzkyists, who suffered a crushing defeat. The Congress unanimously condemned the attitude of those comrades who have played into the hands of the enemy. The Congress demanded that decisive measures be adopted against those comrades who made use of the justified dissatisfaction in the rank and file of the Party in order to disintegrate the Party and to conduct a Trotzkyist policy.

The Congress thoroughly discussed the trade union, agrarian and organisational questions. The Party for the first time paid due attention to the question of the organisation of the masses.

In spite of the weaknesses and shortcomings which we have thoroughly to examine, the IV. Congress of the C.P. of Spain undoubtedly means a great step forward. The Party is now rapidly advancing along the path indicated by the Communist International. The carrying out of the Congress decisions, the continuation of the course, the commencement of which was characterised by the strike struggles in January, will determine the future of the Spanish revolution.

## **International Fight against War and Intervention**

# **The Soviet Union Prepared to Defend Itself.**

By **W. M. Molotov.**

Moscow, April 6, 1932.

At the Plenary Meeting of the Central Council of the Ossoaviachim, Comrade Molotov, who was greeted with enthusiastic applause, delivered a speech of greeting on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars, a telegraphic report of which we publish below.

The tasks of socialist construction occupied, and still occupy, the centre of attention of the working class of the Soviet Union. The commencement of work by the first Magnitogorsk blast furnace, the first successful production of pig iron by the new Kusnetzk furnace, are important evidence of consolidation of the positions of the Soviet Union. The completion of the largest coffer-dam in the world, Dnieprostroy, as well as the erection of the huge ball-bearing plant in Moscow, along with many other achievements of socialist construction, prove that the cause of Socialism in our country is advancing and growing stronger every day. We are successfully advancing to the completion of the first Five-Year Plan.

Next year we shall commence to carry out the second Five-Year Plan and finally to liquidate the capitalist elements and classes generally. This does not mean, however, that the Soviet Union, which is building Socialism, can disregard the outer capitalist environment and its international obligations. The imperialists are doing everything in order to remind us every day, and especially of late, of our tasks in regard to defending the Soviet Union from attacks from without. In the capitalist countries the economic crisis still continues undiminished. This crisis commenced about 3 years ago. Since then it has become continually deeper. Those capitalist countries which were drawn later into the vortex of the crisis are rapidly catching up those countries in which the economic crisis first set in. In connection therewith the antagonisms within the capitalist world are becoming increasingly intensified.

In the quest for a way out of the crisis the ruling groups of the capitalist countries are inclining more and more to foreign adventures and imperialist wars. We cannot overlook the fact that under the present circumstances, wars are commenced and waged without official declarations of war. The feverish activity of the war industry in the different countries, and in connection therewith the increasing desire for fat profits, whet the appetite and urge the ruling capitalist cliques in the direction of war adventures.

The capitalists have not and cannot have any plans of economic development. With all the development of monopolies and trusts, capitalism cannot overcome the anarchy, disorder and planlessness of its economy. This is very clearly proved by the present crisis. In one respect, however, the capitalist countries are working according to a plan and setting up new plans. The leaders of the bourgeois classes were always active in the preparation and drawing up of war-plans. We know very well that in the Cabinets of some capitalist governments plans for a new imperialist war are being worked out, including an attack on the Soviet Union. Very much will depend upon our vigilance, upon our preparedness to protect our country. We, who are firmly pursuing a policy of peace, must now display great vigilance and the greatest energy in preparing to defend the Soviet Union.

The fact that plans in preparation of new imperialist wars are being made more and more openly, arouse individual adventurers in the camp of the white guardists. In connection with the events in the Far East, the white guardists are now disputing over the plans for seizing the coast districts in the Far East from the Soviet Union and creating a white guardist "buffer State" out of this coastal district for the purpose of fighting against the Soviet Union with the support of the foreign imperialists. The white guardist adventurers are already split into two hostile camps. The one camp, which includes the Paris emigrant newspaper "Voroshdenie", has completely lost its head and is prepared for any adventure, to render any service to the capitalist States in order to be allowed to attack the Soviet Union. The other camp of these white guardists, who have already recognised the hopelessness

of the adventure in regard to separating the coast district of the Far East from the Soviet Union for the purpose of restoring the rule of the capitalists and landowners, are opposed to this plan.

But this camp is not disinclined to dream of an "actual" intervention "if the attitude of the Powers were to alter". The white guardist emigrants are ready for any adventure. All the greater, therefore, must be our vigilance, our readiness to defend the Soviet Union. We must also not forget that although the class enemy within our own frontiers has been beaten, it has not yet been completely overthrown, that it still attempts to offer resistance, that it still attempts to hinder us in our work of socialist construction. Here increased class vigilance of the workers as well as of the whole of the toiling masses in town and country is necessary.

The more the workers and working peasants of our country show their vigilance, their self-confidence and organisation in the work of socialist construction, as well as in the preparation to defend the Soviet Union, the more cautious will be the bourgeoisie and the adventurers in the camp of the white guardists of all shades. Our strength consists in the masses, numbering millions, by which the Soviet Power is supported. These millions of workers know where they are going, they know very well for what they are fighting. If we properly equip our ranks not only with class-consciousness but also organise them, then no power in the world will be able to disturb our peaceful socialist construction and prevent the growth of Socialism in the Soviet Union as well as the further improvement of the situation of the toilers of our country. The Ossoaviachim must fulfil its task of securing the defence of the Soviet Union.

## **For the Defence of the Chinese People and the Soviet Union.**

To the Workers, Peasants, Negroes, Indians, Exploited Farmers, Revolutionary Students, and Intellectuals and to All Oppressed of the Americas.

The Communist Parties of the Americas appeal to you to rally with all your might to the struggle against the imperialist robber war against China and for the defence of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.

Japanese imperialism has cut off Manchuria from China and is establishing there its plundering colonial rule under the guise of an "independent" state ruled by a puppet government. The Japanese imperialist murderers are proceeding to turn Manchuria into another Korea, the same as Yankee imperialism is doing in the Caribbean through its own puppet governments.

This so-called new Manchurian state has already become a base of war against the **Soviet Union**. Armed bands of Russian White Guards are being equipped and mobilised by Japanese imperialism for attacks upon the Soviet-Manchurian frontier.

These bands are already making incursions into Soviet territory (Blagovestchensk) followed by flying expeditions of Japanese airplanes.

Large numbers of Japanese troops are concentrated and massed along the Soviet frontier in Manchuria and Korea for war against the Socialist Fatherland.

All imperialist robbers, the League of Nations and Yankee imperialism, are taking part in the partition and further subjugation of China and in the preparations of war against the Soviet Union. World imperialism is seeking a capitalist way out of the crisis by a new war for the redivision of the world and especially by a war against the Soviet Union, while intensifying the attack upon the standards of living of the toiling masses in all imperialist and colonial countries.

Brothers! Sisters! Comrades! Do not be deceived by the pacifist manoeuvres of the imperialists and their "socialist" and anarchist supporters. The present "disarmament" conference in Geneva and the "peace negotiations" between

Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang traitors, under the hegemony of the League of Nations and Yankee imperialism, are designed to hide from the masses the war against the Chinese people and the war preparations against the Soviet Union. These pacifist gestures are also intended to hide from the masses the sharp struggle between the imperialist bandits themselves (Japanese, Yankee, English and French) for the largest share of the Chinese spoils in their common drive for the further enslavement of the Chinese people and for the beginning of war against the Soviet Union.

Do not be deceived by the pacifist poison of the "socialist" parties of the Second International, the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist leaders and the whole tribe of social-fascist supporters of imperialism. **Arthur Henderson**, leader of the Second International, is chairman of the Geneva "disarmament" Conference which has rejected the true disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union made by Comrade Litvinov. **Paul Boncour**, leader of the French "socialist" Party, represents French imperialism at the same Conference which is trying to cover up the partition of China and the war preparations against the Soviet Union. Remember also the **Pan-American Federation of Labor**, which, under the hegemony of the social-fascist leaders of the American Federation of Labor, is functioning as an instrument of Yankee imperialism for the further enslavement of the peoples of Latin America and for inciting war against the Soviet Union. Remember also the **Yankee Fellowship of Reconciliation** and its social fascist partners, **Norman Thomas** and **Muste**, which are aiming to reconcile the oppressed Latin American peoples to the rule of Yankee imperialism by means of pacifist phrases.

Finding its drive from Shanghai into the interior of Central China seriously retarded and, at least, temporarily checked mainly by the self-sacrificing struggle of the Chinese masses and the world wide protests of the revolutionary proletarian and the colonial movements, Japanese imperialism is now turning its attention more fully to the consolidation of its robber rule in Manchuria and to the utilisation of Manchuria as a base for immediate war against the Soviet Union.

Yankee imperialism, which is parading hypocritically as a "friend" of the Chinese people, is seeking to halt the further expansion of Japanese power in China in order to establish there its own domination, as it is doing in Latin America, by driving towards war against the Soviet Union and against the Chinese Revolution. The Yankee puppet governments in Latin America are making ready to support their imperialist master in the war, by placing their countries on a war footing and by the wildest white terror against the masses and their revolutionary organisations. The **Mexican** and **Cuban** governments have already openly declared their allegiance to Wall Street and the Hoover government.

French imperialism works hand in hand with the Japanese imperialist murderers against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union while feverishly building up the anti-Soviet intervention front in Europe.

British imperialism, the chief rival of Yankee imperialism in Latin America and the world over, is fighting to maintain its colonial possessions in China, is partly supporting Japanese imperialism against Yankee imperialism, and is driving towards war against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution. In doing so, British imperialism is undertaking to line up behind itself the landlords and capitalists in Latin America thus sharpening still further the rivalries between the British and Yankee imperialist bandits.

The Kuomintang traitors, the Canton and Chiang Kai-shek cliques, that have betrayed and abandoned the fighting Chinese masses in the face of the imperialist offensive, are hiding behind the League of Nations and Yankee imperialism while preparing and initiating new offensives against the Chinese revolution and against the Soviet government of China.

Only through the heroic struggles of the Chinese masses, inspired by the solidarity of the Soviet Union for the cause of Chinese freedom and national independence, strengthened by the leadership of the Communist Party of China and by the brave fight of the Japanese Communist Party against the imperialist war of its government and especially with the active support of the toiling masses all over the world, can the Japanese drive into Central China be further retarded. Only the self-sacrificing struggle of the workers, peasants, revolutionary students and intellectuals and all exploited in all

imperialist and colonial countries can halt the drive of world imperialism towards war against the Soviet Union.

Rise to the defence of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union! Youth and adults, men and women, mobilise your forces for the defence of the first Workers' and Peasants' government that has overthrown the rule of the landlords, capitalists and imperialists and that is building successfully a new Socialist Society. Organise for the defence of your Socialist Fatherland—the Soviet Union—the base of world socialism and the bulwark of the proletarian and colonial revolution of the world.

Workers, Negro toilers and exploited farmers of the United States and Canada! Join hands with the workers and peasants of Latin America, your closest allies for the overthrow of your own capitalist class! Build an iron ring of defence around the Soviet Union! Support resolutely and militantly the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of Latin America against Yankee and British imperialism! Demand the withdrawal of all Yankee and British armed forces from the Latin American countries! Demonstrate against the white terror of the puppet governments in Latin America—Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, Chile—which are preparing for the war against the Soviet Union under the hegemony of either Yankee or British imperialism. Demand the release of all political prisoners from the clutches of the white terror!

Workers, Peasants, Indians, Negroes and revolutionary Students of Latin America! Join hands with the workers, the Negro masses and the exploited farmers of the United States and Canada, your closest allies for the overthrow of Yankee and British imperialism and its native supporters. Rally to the defence of the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union which are the greatest guarantee for the victory of the liberation struggles of all colonial and oppressed peoples! Fight for the liberation of the Indian and Negro masses from national and social oppression! Demonstrate your solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers and exploited farmers and the oppressed Negro masses in the United States and Canada! Demonstrate your protests against the murderous lynching of Negroes, for the liberation of the Scottsboro boys and the Tampa prisoners, for the complete equality of the Negro masses, for the liberation of Tom Mooney in the United States and the Communist leaders in Canada!

Workers, peasants and fighters against imperialism in the West Indies! Join hands with the workers and all enemies of imperialism in the American countries for the struggle against Yankee and British imperialism and for the defence of the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union! Rally to the great united front of all oppressed on this hemisphere, under the leadership of the working class, to defend the beacon light of freedom for all oppressed—the Soviet Union—and to abolish the rule of the imperialists, landlords and capitalists.

Stop the imperialist robber war against China! Defend the Chinese people! Defend the Chinese Revolution! Hail Soviet China!

Hands off the Soviet Union! Defend the Soviet Union from the attacks of the imperialist war makers! Long live the Soviet Union—the base of world socialism! Hail the Second Five-Year Plan for the completion of Socialism!

Stop the shipment of munitions and all war materials to Japan!

Demand the immediate withdrawal of all Japanese forces from Manchuria! Demand the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops and warships from China and the expulsion of all White Guards!

Down with imperialist domination in Latin America! Hail the revolutionary struggle of the Latin American peoples for their national and social liberation from the yoke of the Yankee and British imperialist oppressors and their native supporters! Hail the revolutionary struggles of the workers in the United States and Canada!

Hail the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union! Build an iron ring of defence around the Soviet Union! Hail the victory of world socialism and the destruction of world imperialism! Signed by:

The C.P. of <b>Argentina</b>	The C.P. of <b>Honduras</b>
The C.P. of <b>Brazil</b>	The C.P. of <b>Mexico</b>
The C.P. of <b>Canada</b>	The C.P. of <b>Peru</b>
The C.P. of <b>Chile</b>	The C.P. of <b>El Salvador</b>
The C.P. of <b>Colombia</b>	The C.P. of <b>United States of America</b>
The C.P. of <b>Cuba</b>	The C.P. of <b>Uruguay</b>
The C.P. of <b>Equador</b>	The C.P. of <b>Venezuela</b>

## WAR AND SOCIAL FASCISM

### Instructions of the II. International to the Russian Mensheviks.

By H. Valetzki.

(Conclusion.)

Dan and Abramovitch, the two leaders of the Menshevik emigration, simultaneously responded to the "advice" given by Bauer and Adler: the first in the "Left" Austro-Marxist "Kampf", the second in Hilferding's paper "Gesellschaft". Both declare that Bauer and Adler are wrong in demanding from the Mensheviks a definite change of tactics, that the Mensheviks, as they are, can very well serve their International on the "Russian" sector of the counter-revolutionary front.

Abramovitch feigns indignation:

**"The logical conclusion from Bauer's view is that the Russian social democracy should completely capitulate to Bolshevism.** Nay more, it demands complete absorption in 100 per cent. Stalinism, without any Right or Left 'deviation'..."

Dan declares, on the contrary:

"In his fundamental views regarding the Russian revolution and the Bolshevik dictatorship Bauer occupies pretty much the same position as myself"

and he only reproaches Bauer with having, owing to a methodological mistake of a "mechanist" nature, arrived at incorrect practical conclusions, in that he proposes to prop up political democracy on the ready scaffolding of the State capitalist economy. Dan shares in Bauer's self-criticism by admitting that

"none of us even dreamed that not only the destruction of the old feudal Tsarist order (war Communism), not only the restoration of the old apparatus of production which was lying idle (N.E.P.) but also the development of new productive forces would take place under the cloak (!) of the Bolshevik dictatorship".

Abramovitch, on the other hand, declares that everything that is taking place in the Soviet Union represents a brilliant confirmation of all the prognoses of the Mensheviks: the achievements of the Five-Year Plan are simply fraud and deception.

Dan, responding to Bauer's proposals, points out that Bauer permits the propaganda of democratic ideas. For this propaganda, declares Dan, Bauer too would have to found an illegal organisation, distribute illegal leaflets, i. e., do exactly the same as the Russian social democracy are doing. Abramovitch, on the other hand, accuses Bauer of "recommending suicidal tactics" to the Russian social democrats.

Abramovitch, in rejecting Dan's methods of adapting himself to the requirements of Bauer's "Left" manoeuvres, openly confesses what is the character of the perspectives which prevent the Russian Mensheviks from renouncing an "active policy":

"In such a State (in the Soviet Union) every movement for intellectual and political freedom encounters overpowering resistance on the part of the dictatorship. A life and death struggle will ensue. **A new bloody revolution will be necessary.** What role will a party be able to play which, in the course of decades, has not carried on any political work?..."

"A policy of toleration of the Soviet power would be nothing new", exclaims Abramovitch:

"Our whole tactics towards the Bolsheviks in all the years since 1917/18 was, at bottom, nothing else but 'toleration'..."

As regards concentrating on the fight for the restoration of the independence of the trade unions as recommended by Adler, Abramovitch and also Dan describe this as a certain

"exaggeration" in the direction of the "economism" of the nineties of the last century, which had to be corrected by the old "Iskra".

\* \* \*

What strikes one in this whole "international discussion" is **what is lacking in it**, namely the connection with the question of war, with the **armed imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union.**

The discussion was commenced in December 1931 and has been continued in January, February and March 1932. Precisely during these months the war, not only the local war by Japan against China, but also the war on a real world scale, which was only started in China, has become a **fact.** The long prepared plans for armed intervention against the Soviet Union are in the first stage of realisation.

No mention is made of this either in Bauer's article or in the discussion, although the "request" to the Russian Mensheviks that they shall at present be more modest, more cautious arises from the requirements of the actual participation of the parties of the II. International in the war and intervention.

If, however, the Mensheviks maintain silence on this subject in the "international discussion" which is taking place under the eyes of the international proletariat, they give all the more free expression to their real attitude to intervention in their own emigration press. Let us take the last numbers of their "central organ", the "Socialist Messenger", which is published in Berlin. A letter from "Moscow", which appeared in number 3 (13th February 1932), contains information which bears an outspokenly **espionage character** regarding the "calling up of the 1932 class", the "trial mobilisations of the territorial troops", "pupils of the military colleges", the "work of the war industry", the "transport of munitions" etc. In another "letter" the reasons are given for the "conviction" that in the event of a war with Europe, in spite of the power of the Red Army, the Soviet Union will inevitably suffer a defeat. The same thing appears in a whole series of articles.

In No. 1/2 Shiffrin and the editorial board of the "Socialist Messenger" demand as a **condition** for abandoning intervention a definite orientation towards an agreement with France and the "abandonment of the dictatorship in the Soviet Union". A "resolution" of the Foreign Delegation of the Mensheviks is in the same spirit and accuses the Soviet government of being the "successor of Tsarist imperialism" and of having morally disarmed itself beforehand in the face of all the imperialists, including the Japanese. The notorious **Garry**, who in the Commission of the Vienna Congress of the II. International justified **economic** war against the Soviet Union by referring to "red imperialism", now justifies armed intervention by declaring that

"the Soviet Union, under the cloak of neutrality, is secretly preparing to take part in the war by supporting the Chinese with weapon and troops". (No. 21, 1931.)

It is true, this "line" of the Russian Mensheviks is quite in accord with the policy of the whole II. International and its different Sections in regard to intervention. The "material" supplied by the Mensheviks is made generous use of in the columns of the leading social fascist papers such as the "Vorwärts" and the "Populaire". Whilst, on the one hand, the Soviet Union is charged with acting in secret agreement with Japan against China, it is at the same time accused of actively supporting China against Japan, and these charges, which absolutely contradict each other, are marked by one common tendency: the tendency of provocation, of moral justification of intervention.

But the more unashamed these provocations are, the more necessary it becomes to accompany them with Left manoeuvres, to conceal them by an "objective", "benevolent", "sympathetic" attitude towards the economic construction in the Soviet Union, by the recognition, which costs nothing, of even "elements" of Socialism in this construction. The symbol of unity in their action is furnished by the composition of the Commission which was instructed to draw up the last resolution of the II. International on the question in the Far East: the commission consists of **Vandervelde, Bauer and Dan.**

The "international discussion" on the tactics of the Russian Mensheviks, the instructions given by Bauer to the Russian Mensheviks, once again confirm that the chief danger in the fight against war and intervention is the hypocritical "Left" manoeuvres of Bauer, and that it is our most vital task at present to expose these tricky manoeuvres.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### The Eagerness for Culture.

(At the Teachers' Congress in the U.S.S.R.)

By D. S a s l a v s k y (Moscow).

One of the speakers (a teacher) described how compulsory education (a seven years course) was introduced in their province. A beginning was made in the **Kolybelsk** district. The collectivised peasants there decided to introduce in their schools a fifth group, assigned to this group houses confiscated from the kulaks and asked the district to send new teachers. New teachers were sent. "But the example of the Kolybelsk district whetted the appetite of all the other districts for schools with a seven years' course", said the speaker in conclusion.

A healthy eagerness for culture was the keynote of the Congress. If the French saying "L'Appetit vient en mangeant" (Appetite comes with eating) is correct, then cultural appetite in the U.S.S.R. comes together with socialist industrialisation and collectivisation. Much has been done—and much remains to be done! Work goes on everywhere full steam ahead—and yet all this is not enough! Comrade **Shumsky**, chairman of the teachers' union, gave interesting figures in his report. It took the U.S.A. 60 years (from 1870 to 1930) to liquidate 20% of illiteracy among the population, and yet illiteracy was not fully liquidated, a certain percentage remained, and this percentage has grown lately. In the U.S.S.R. the liquidation of 20% of illiteracy took a little over 2 years. During the Soviet regime the number of people able to read and write has been increased by 43%. The illiterate people here are the living relics of capitalist Russia, the very Russia regarding whose "culture" the imperialist bourgeoisie is mourning together with the White Guards. The social fascists were wondering how socialism can be built up in a country of illiterates. But in this respect, too, the socialist revolution has, among other things, solved the question of illiteracy, and has solved it more thoroughly than any bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Eagerness for culture is a sign of social health. That is why capitalist society is suffering now from cultural indigestion and lack of appetite. Curious facts from the life of contemporary capitalist schools were made known at the Congress. In the **United States**, more than 100,000 children have been allowed not to attend school. They are of course the children of workers and farmers. The bourgeoisie which formerly insisted, in the interests of capitalism, on strict observance of the compulsory education law, finds this law now a nuisance.

In **France**, child "absenteeism" is growing—the term used by learned people to express the refusal of proletarian parents to send their children to school, because the children have no boots, not enough to eat and no eagerness for culture. In **Paris**, 30% of the children of school age are suffering from absenteeism, and in the French provinces 45-75%.

In **Germany**, the enlightened bourgeoisie gives young people the parental advice not to continue their education, which is perfectly useless. But the children do not stand in need of advice. They are losing the cultural appetite, and are acquiring a commercial appetite: Certified engineers offer second hand articles for sale at the rag-fair. Young medical men sell newspapers at the street corners.

"The school master, conquered at **Sadowa**" (Prussia's victory over Austria in 1866)—this was once a formula of the triumphant German bourgeoisie. The historical truth of this formula can be interpreted thus: the schools participate in war and in the class struggle, and all the talk about non-Party education is a hypocritical lie. Even now the bourgeoisie of all countries uses schools for the preparation of another imperialist war, of an armed attack on the U.S.S.R. The representative of the revolutionary French teachers spoke eloquently on this subject at the Congress. The bourgeoisie does its utmost to inculcate militant nationalism in the schools.

Soviet teachers bear in mind this formula of the German bourgeoisie. It isn't true that the German school master conquered at **Sadowa**. The conqueror was German capitalism, with the close collaboration and participation of the school master. Victory rests now with the Soviet school master,

because socialism is the victor. In the U.S.S.R., the eagerness for culture is growing, because socialist construction is growing at an unprecedented rate. The means by which the bourgeoisie conquered in the past—technique and culture—are dropping from its hands. Even if its armies are replete with modern technique—behind the technique are human beings.

The school master of the bourgeoisie will never conquer again, he is already beaten, and the teachers armies are dwindling in all the capitalist countries. Unemployed teachers are begging in the streets. In **Chicago**, over 10,000 teachers have been discharged, the schools are being closed: there is no money to pay the teachers. In **Austria**, the bankruptcy of the municipalities results first of all in the discharge of teachers and closing down of schools.

In the course of three years half a million new teachers have been added to the army of Soviet teachers. The U.S.S.R. teachers union has 1,300,000 members. This army is constantly growing, attending the Congress of this army is tantamount to taking a plunge into an atmosphere of boundless energy, infectious faith in the work on hand, of healthy cultural appetite and militant socialist enthusiasm.

## IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

### The Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party.

By R. Bishop (London).

The Independent Labour Party has just concluded its fortieth annual conference at Blackpool. Ever since the General Strike, when the I.L.P. had 1,075 branches, the membership has diminished until to-day there are no more than 500 branches. The membership which in 1926 was estimated to be 35,000, is now kept dark, but can be no more than 7,000 or 8,000 at the most.

The steady loss of members and influence over the past six years has been accentuated this last year by the steady increase in membership and influence of the **Communist Party**. These are the circumstances in which the Conference met and which led **Fenner Brockway** in the "New Leader" on the eve of the conference to say:—

"The Independent Labour Party has reached a crisis in its history, the outcome of which this conference will largely determine. The crisis has two aspects. The first is whether the I.L.P. shall remain affiliated to the Labour Party. The second is whether the I.L.P. shall substitute a revolutionary policy for a reformist policy in view of the economic collapse of capitalism.

"The first of these questions has attracted more attention, but in our view, the second is far more important. The fundamental decision should be on policy."

The crisis in the I.L.P. is due to the fact that the rapid development of the capitalist crisis has given the lie and finally discredited the "Living Wage" policy which the I.L.P. for years past had made the cornerstone of its pronouncements. This policy, if such it can be called, aimed at creating prosperity under capitalism.

The crisis had exposed the absurdity of I.L.P. posturing, and the workers were turning from the Party in disgust. Hence the search for a new and more attractive policy, which could be relied on to keep the active workers who had followed the I.L.P. in the past still doing so, and would check the tendency to desert into the ranks of the Communist Party.

In his opening speech Brockway was full of "revolutionary" fervour. His speech was issued to the delegates under the title, "The Coming Revolution". Sprinkled with revolutionary phrases throughout, Brockway's speech made not one single reference to the actualities of the class struggle taking place to-day. He opened by criticising the Labour Government. He abstained from any criticism of the I.L.P. which helped to create the "Labour Government", which supported it upon issue after issue, and which during the last General Election openly advocated a third "Labour Government". After a glance at the world position, Brockway drew the conclusion that "One might almost imagine that capitalism is deliberately cutting its own throat".

He went on to say that "in the present position the I.L.P. policy, hitherto reformist, must become revolutionary".

These brave words were cheered to the echo by the assembled delegates. Brockway then went on to condemn the workers for having "no will to control events". He talked of the "despair of the working class", he declared they had "lost all hope both in political and industrial movements", that they were "in a mood of fatalism, full of apathy and despair". Having uttered these libels upon the workers, Brockway proceeded to produce his "revolutionary proposals", which turned out to be Import Boards, Export Boards, etc.—all the old proposals, differing only in that once they had been openly dubbed reformist whereas now, what mockery, they have had affixed to them the label "revolutionary".

Mr. Brockway assured the delegates that one of the main tasks of the National Administrative Council of the Party must be to "evolve a pacifist technique of revolution". During his speech he referred to the question of affiliation to the Labour Party, which he dismissed as "a secondary issue of tactics".

The whole speech was blatantly aimed at using revolutionary phrases to keep the I.L.P. within the framework of the reformist Labour Party. The conference was asked to take the matter of continued affiliation to the Labour Party in three resolutions. The first for continued unconditional affiliation; the second for disaffiliation; the third for affiliation conditional upon agreement being reached on terms with the Labour Party.

The Executive recommended terms for continued conditional affiliation. These were that the Labour Party should be asked to alter the Standing Orders so that all M.P.s have to pledge loyalty "in general" to decisions of the Parliamentary Party as a whole, with the power in the hands of the Party to expel any M.P. at the end of a session whose support is not considered to have been "general". These terms were turned down, but the conference, after rejecting unconditional affiliation and disaffiliation, proceeded to vote for conditional affiliation, and to give the N.A.C. a free hand to negotiate with the Labour Party.

Actually the whole debate on affiliation or disaffiliation was farcical, but it served its purpose of distracting attention from the real meaning of the so-called revolutionary policy which was so enthusiastically adopted. If a revolutionary policy means anything at all it means developing the fight against capitalism until it can be brought to an end by revolutionary means. Yet in the annual report presented to the conference as a review of the year's work of the Party there was no mention of the class struggle, no mention of the war situation, no mention of the colonial question. The war danger, the most vital question before the working class of the whole world to-day received **not a single mention** direct or indirect, in Brockway's speech. When a delegate tried to speak on the war danger against the Soviet Union, he was ruled out of order and told that there was no place on the agenda in which it could be discussed.

No suggestions were made for exposing the treacherous reformist leadership of the trade unions and giving leadership to the workers in their mass struggles.

The resolution on conditional affiliation was a typical example of the trickery behind the revolutionary phrases. The Labour Party has made it clear that they will only accept the continued affiliation of the I.L.P. on terms of complete submission.

The concentration on the question of disaffiliation was deliberately staged. The Divisional Conference beforehand had shown that disaffiliation could not be carried. But whilst the small Left-Wing movement inside the Party was concentrating on this issue, they were prevented from organising opposition on the current issues of working class struggle.

The main problem how the rank and file members of the I.L.P. are going to fight against imperialism has not been answered by the Conference, which in fact has confused the issue more than before.

A group of about 70 "Left Wing" delegates has been formed and has issued a statement declaring their object to be "to press for disaffiliation and to plan a revolutionary policy". This group has decided to call itself the Disaffiliation Committee. Their very title shows that they are not concerned with fighting against the anti-working class policy of the I.L.P. but only with resurrecting the side-tracking discussion

on organisational connections with the Labour Party. Brockway has appealed to this committee to strengthen the I.L.P., not to disrupt. This appeal was responded to by **Dr. Cullen**, the chairman of the committee, declaring that they will do nothing to disrupt the I.L.P.

There is certainly a growing feeling in the I.L.P. that the Communist policy of working-class struggle is the only way forward. But, as yet, there are many among the best fighters who do not feel prepared to leave the I.L.P. and to join the Communist Party. To these the **Communist Party** has issued an appeal at the conclusion of the Conference:

"Rank- and file I.L.P.ers may not come rapidly to the conclusion that their place is inside the Communist Party, but they can rapidly decide to join in the fight against the war.

They can take part in a great united-front movement to stop the transport of munitions, and they can denounce and expose their own leaders whose policy is helping the war-mongers. That is the acid test of working-class sincerity." (Daily Worker 30. 3. 32.)

## On the Death of Filippo Turati.

Ry M. G. (Rome).

When Filippo Turati entered the labour movement, there were many young intellectuals who had left the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie and entered the ranks of those fighting for Internationalism and Socialism. Turati organised the Socialist League, which in the year 1891 united with the Workers' Party led by Giuseppe Croce and C. Lazzari. In 1892, after the socialists broke away from the anarchists, there was formed the Socialist Party of Italy.

It has been said that Turati introduced Marxism into Italy. As a matter of fact, he introduced a falsified Marxism into Italy: the Marxism of the German revisionists. Nevertheless, even this false Marxism served to give an impetus to the development of the Labour movement of Italy and to the independent political organisation of the proletariat, and to combat the anarchist and other theories which were very widespread in Italy at that time. Turati's reformism later necessarily became an ally of the young Italian imperialism. The weakness of Italian capitalism did not permit the creation of a big and strong labour aristocracy. Therefore in order not to lose influence over the masses, reformism was repeatedly compelled to make concessions to radicalism. In the year 1919 the reformists met together at the Party Congress in Bologna and adopted a centrist resolution moved by Constantino Lazzari for affiliation of the Socialist Party to the Third International and for the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of proletarian power.

In reality Turatism, although it constituted a minority in the Socialist Party of Italy, determined the policy of the party. It did this by means of the Parliamentary fraction, the Trade Union Federation, and "integralism", the constant task of which was to reconcile the Right and the Left for the sake of formal unity, and which later called itself Maximalism.

It stands to the credit of Turati and his group that 40 years ago they created for the proletariat its party. They wanted, however, to make of the party of the proletariat a left party of the bourgeois democracy. They did not perceive the path of development of the class struggle, the question of seizure of power, of the revolution. They thought that it was possible to achieve Socialism by securing reforms one after the other. For a certain time, particularly after the war, they stood for the defence of capitalist civilisation, which, they maintained, only needed to be improved and perfected in order to become a socialist civilisation. Thus the old reformism became Social fascism; the Italian social democracy became a social support of bourgeois Italy.

In the last years of his life Turati was obsessed with the idea of saving Italy from the Bolshevik revolution. He opposed fascism because this might increase the possibility of the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Turati is dead, but Turatism still survives. The Italian proletariat will not be able to gain its final victory if Turatism is not purged from its ranks. It is the task of the Communist Party of Italy to destroy the last remnants of its fatal influence and ideology in the working masses.