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The Recent Upheaval in Chile.

By R. Ghioldi.

The political life in Chile during the last year or so has been marked by a considerable degree of unrest and uncertainty. Already long before the overthrow of Ibanez, conspiracies, attempts at a coup d'état and military revolts followed one after the other; his last Cabinet was unable to do away with the general unrest and the coming into office of Monteros was accompanied by fighting, ended in a revolt and had to give place to the present "socialist" junta.

What characterises all these facts is that the various coup d'états, conspiracies and pronunciamientos occur in the midst of a big spontaneous movement of the masses. Ibanez fell not as a result of a mere coup d'état, but under the blows of a broad mass movement. And even to-day the setting up of a junta does not mean that the movement has come to a standstill; quite the contrary: great demonstrations of the masses are taking place throughout the whole of Chile; they proclaim their demands, they wish to arm themselves, they demand bread.

And finally, another feature characterising the present situation in Chile is that this spontaneous mass movement is used every time by the various groups of the bourgeoisie, landowners, officers who are connected with the imperialist oppressors.

What is the basis of this exceedingly tense political situation?

It is the same as that which prevailed in the whole of the rest of Latin-America, except that in Chile it has reached a greater degree of intensity: the crisis of the national economy, which has reached tremendous dimensions as a result of the world crisis. Already before the world crisis, Chile suffered under the very serious crisis of its national economy; the world crisis in the last few years has caused this national crisis to assume the form of a catastrophe. Chilean economy is based on the production of saltpetre and copper. If these branches of production suffer injury, the whole financial and economic life of Chile suffers injury.

The foreign market for its products is shrinking more and more every day, partly as a result of the world crisis and partly also owing to the increased use of synthetic saltpetre. There are at present in Chile stocks of saltpetre to the value of 3,000 million Pesos. The United States, which is the most important market for saltpetre and copper, has greatly restricted its purchases. The price of copper was never so low as at present.

Saltpetre and copper constitute 80,5 per cent of the exports from Chile. In some years the export duties on saltpetre comprised 60 per cent of the State revenue. The industrial crisis of Chile, therefore, immediately led to a budget crisis, to a crisis of the national finances, which is all the more acute as the government has to raise the interest on a

foreign debt amounting to 420 million dollars. It is an exceedingly difficult task to balance the State budget, and a few months ago, in view of the impossibility of arriving at a compromise, Chile ceased paying interest on the foreign debts.

The position of the working class in Chile was very bad even at the time of its "prosperity". To-day the position is much worse. Including the agricultural labourers, there are 400,000 workers in Chile, and of this number 140,000 are unemployed and without any unemployment benefit.

The saltpetre crisis in the years 1925 to 1927 was to have been solved by an extraordinary rationalisation. This rationalisation was carried out by strengthening the position of the United States at the cost of Great Britain, which was formerly dominant. It led to the forming of the **Cosach** (Saltpetre Company of Chile), whose rationalisation measures rendered two-thirds of the saltpetre workers unemployed. Coal mining, agriculture etc. work mainly for the home market, which, however, is continually shrinking as a result of the crisis.

All bourgeois groups in Chile are afraid of the masses, who have undertaken great movements against Ibanez, Monteros etc. A few months ago there was a mutiny of the sailors in Chile, which was likewise a great mass movement.

The fight between the imperialists also has an effect on the home politics of Chile through the various bourgeois groups of Chile. Those Chilean elements who wish to solve the crisis by rendering the country less dependent upon the export of saltpetre and proclaim the necessity of a protectionist policy, have more connections with the **British capitalists**, who are naturally interested in the dissolution of the **Cosach**. Other tendencies seek a solution in a greater depreciation of the Chilean Peso, which would facilitate export.

The question is: can the Chilean bourgeois parties find a solution in the fight against the imperialists? No, their dependence upon the imperialists is too great to permit this.

The present junta is a distorted expression of the mass struggle. Behind their demagogy lies the policy of securing private property and rejecting the Soviet solution. The working masses of Chile have experienced many struggles. The organisational weakness of the Communist Party is great, but nobody denies its big influence over the masses. In spite of all its weaknesses it constitutes a tremendous danger to the ruling parties. The Junta claims to be "socialistic" in order to deceive the masses, to obtain their support and to attempt to make use of the rivalries among the imperialists. Up to the present the only thing they have done for the working population is to forbid the eviction of tenants unable to pay their rent. That is the sum total their "socialism".

Events in Chile possess international importance, the more so as they cannot be separated from the central question of war.

In spite of the militant spirit of the Chilean workers, their big mass demonstrations and the tremendous economic fights, the whole movement will, as has already often been the case, be made use of by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois who are allied with the imperialists, until such time as the Communist Party becomes stronger. Only under the leadership of a powerful Communist mass party will the mass movement sweep aside the present junta, bring to nothing the attempts of the groups of oppressors to arrive at a compromise at the cost of the masses, and launch independent fights of the proletariat. So long as the Communist Party has not the leadership of the mass struggle, the reactionary groups will be able to continue their demagogic game.

* * *

New York, June 13.

The head of the new government in Chile, **Davila** has resigned. His place has been taken by **Colonel Grove**, an aviation officer. It is reported that a Communist renegade, the Trotskyist **Hidalgo**, will enter the Cabinet.

The Government is under the increasing pressure of the revolutionary working masses, who are demanding the fulfilment of the promises of bread, work and lodgings and the dissolution of the **Cosach Saltpetre Trust**, and the arming of the proletariat.

Davila was thrown overboard because he is very unpopular among the masses. During the dictatorship of Ibanez he was Chilean Ambassador in Washington and took part in the formation of the **Cosach Saltpetre Trust** by the American **Guggenheim group**.

POLITICS

The First Acts of the Von Papen Government.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

After the Cabinet declaration there could no longer be the least doubt regarding the political line of the von Papen-Schleicher Cabinet, at least so far as home politics are concerned. In the meantime the further declarations of the most prominent members of the government have formulated the policy of the government even more sharply.

The new Reichs Minister for the Interior **Freiherr von Gayl**, in his programmatic speech before the Reichsrat, thought that he could lightly sweep aside the reproach regarding the reactionary attitude of the government; he declared that the question of the restoration of the monarchy did not arise at the present moment, but added:

"I should be a miserable creature if as Minister I attempted to deny my personal conviction, that I consider a monarchy the most suitable form of State for a people in the heart of Europe and that, historically regarded, I am ever grateful for the services of the former royal house."

Thus spake the "Constitutional" Minister of the German "Republic".

On the following day the Reichs-Chancellor von Papen delivered a programmatic speech to the German Agricultural Council, in which he protested against the "imputation" that the government is anti-social. One must adapt social policy to the economic possibilities existing in such impoverished country, he declared. How this is to be done is shown by the sentences which then followed:

"It is, however, a fundamental error to believe that the omnipotent impersonal State can take the place of the personal obligation of the employer. The responsibilities which have arisen out of the divine order of things must be restored, the mutual ties between the employers and the workers must be re-established."

Whilst in his government declaration the Chancellor attacked the "poor law State", he now indicates what he is aiming at: the personal responsibility of the employers is to take the place of the State social policy. Back to the beginnings of capitalism!

On the same day **Freiherr von Braun** the new Reichs-Minister for Food and Agriculture submitted to the Agricultural Council the main outlines of his agrarian policy. As was to be expected he announced the fulfilment of the demands which the big agrarians had formulated: increased customs duties, development of the policy of import quotas, increased subventions to agrarian capital.

After all these programmatic declarations of the von Papen Cabinet the contents of the new Emergency Decrees no longer come as a surprise. They provide for a reduction of unemployment benefit by 25 per cent., and in the small agricultural districts even by 50 per cent.; the cutting down of the pensions to invalids from 36 to 29 marks a month (average); reduction of pensions to war victims; a fresh wage reduction in the shape of an "unemployment levy"; reduction of salaries of officials by means of a new tax; increase of the turnover tax; reintroduction of the salt tax which was repealed years ago.

These are such monstrous attacks on the working masses that they will rouse a storm of indignation in the whole Reich. They will give a fresh impetus to the anti-fascist action, for the **Hitler party** bears the responsibility for these emergency orders; it is the bulwark of the Papen Cabinet; it has pledged itself to tolerate this government. The burning indignation not only of the workers whose wages are cut, not only of the unemployed, invalids and war victims whose miserable benefit and pensions are reduced, but also of the employees, clerks, officials and small traders will be directed against the **Hitler party**. Hitherto all small shop-keepers whose business turnover did not exceed 5000 marks a year were exempted from the turnover tax; now they will be liable to this tax.

But no less great is the responsibility of the **social democratic party** and the **trade union leaders**. The broadest masses of the workers, including the workers organised in the social democratic party and free trade unions are coming into action. They are very hard hit by the new emergency orders and are

demanding defensive measures. But the social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy want to palm them off with phrases at a time when a fierce struggle is necessary. Why are the free trade unions and social democratic leaders still endeavouring to hold the working masses back from the fight? The social democratic bureaucracy tolerate the von Papen government just as they tolerated the Brüning government. They still remain the main social support of the bourgeoisie. They are the worst obstacle to the anti-fascist defensive struggle of the working class.

All reports of meetings of social democratic party members and functionaries held recently show that there is a tremendous ferment among the rank and file of the social democratic party. In many cases the social democratic leaders are no longer succeeding in preventing the setting up of the anti-fascist united front of social democratic and Communist workers. The splendid anti-fascist Congress in **Darmstadt**, addressed by Comrade Thälmann who was applauded by thousands who came from all parts of Hesse, shows that the united front is advancing. Increasing number of reports are coming in every day from all parts of the Reich that anti-fascist united front organs have been set up in the factories, at Labour Exchanges etc. This is a sign of a fresh development the importance of which cannot be overestimated.

The discussions in the last few days between the von Papen government and the governments of the South German States have aroused considerable attention both in Germany and abroad. The Prime Ministers of **Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden** interviewed President Hindenburg on Sunday in order to submit to him their "serious objections" to the policy of the Reichs government, especially to the plan to set up a Reichs Commissar in Prussia as demanded by the national socialists. That which can happen in Prussia could also threaten Bavaria and Württemberg. By setting up Reichs Commissars there could be brought about a centralisation of the State power, which is in sharp contradiction to the particularist traditions and tendencies of the federated States. The Prime Ministers of the South German States are all leading men of the Centre Party. The Centre, however, is conducting a fight against the von Papen government.

Behind the opposition of the Centre and of the South German governments there is hidden the fierce fight of a definite fraction of the German bourgeoisie which has hitherto stood behind Brüning and considers his policy correct. Brüning wished to prevent the possibility of a united defensive action of the suffering masses who are very severely hit by the policy of Emergency Decrees. For this reason he proceeded by stages in his policy of oppressing the masses, resorting to various manoeuvres and availing himself largely of the support of the social democracy.

But another stronger group of the German capitalist class cannot wait any longer. Heavy industry and agrarian capital are in such a plight that they only hope to maintain themselves by the most direct and brutal attack on the working masses and by open bloody fascism. Therefore the heavy industrialists and big agrarians played a leading role in the overthrow of Brüning. They cry for Hitler and an open dictatorship of fascism. They have command over the von Papen Cabinet, in which a junker conducts the agrarian policy, a man from Krupp the "labour policy" and a man from the I.G. Farben the economic policy.

But that other group which still stand behind Brüning, because they are not yet threatened socially and economically to the extent the Rhinish Westphalian heavy industry is, will not allow themselves to be excluded from power indefinitely. This applies above all to the numerous middle capitalists in the South German manufacturing industry, who are therefore behind the action of the South German Prime Ministers. This group of the German bourgeoisie, pushed out of the Reichs government, is now crying out that the heavy industrialists and junkers with all their bankrupt followers want to plunder the State treasury alone. In their present fight they of course do not wish to defeat Hitler, but only to force him to a coalition with the Centre.

Thus we have here a faction fight between two groups of the German bourgeoisie. In the case of one group the Hitler party represents their political interests, in the case of the other group the Centre. The sharpness of the disputes between these two groups must not obscure the fact that they both pursue the same aim, namely to save German capitalism. But at the same time it shows how difficult the position of the German capitalist class has become.

This position of the German bourgeoisie and the difficult

situation of the von Papen government provide favourable opportunities for the revolutionary working class and its leader, the Communist Party, to carry forward the united front movement.

The Government Crisis in Rumania.

By Dinu Pribezie (Bucharest).

The crisis which the Rumanian bourgeoisie is passing through at present is causing the greatest uneasiness not only to the political parties of Rumania but also to imperialist France. This uneasiness is called forth, among other things, by the report drawn up by Professor Charles **Rist**, who controls Rumanian finances on behalf of the Parisian Bourse.

Professor Rist states in his report that Rumania has received 12,000 million Lei out of the so-called stabilisation loan which was placed on the Paris market and was intended to cover the deficits in the Rumanian State Budget up to 1929. In spite of this the Rumanian budget in 1932 already shows a fresh deficit of 10,000 million Lei. In this report, which was not intended for the public, the representative of capitalist France accuses the Rumanian bourgeoisie of direct fraud.

The data published in Rist's report show how far the finances of Rumania are already shaken. Thus the customs revenue has declined from 9,234 million Lei in 1927 to 2,516 million Lei in 1931. The revenue from the alcohol tax declined in the same period from 1918 to 445 million Lei, and the income from the turnover tax from 2,198 to 1,378 million Lei.

Rumania's foreign trade is likewise feeling the effects of the general crisis, in spite of the fact that the Rumanian bourgeoisie are carrying on wholesale dumping with corn and petroleum. The constant decline of Rumanian foreign trade can be seen from the following figures:

	Imports	Exports
	(in Million Lei)	
1927	33,428	37,043
1928	32,145	26,919
1929	29,397	28,947
1930	22,541	28,526
1931	15,858	22,984

The **Yorga** government did not resign only on account of the difficulties which have arisen in connection with the appraisal of its financial situation by expert opinion abroad. Even at home the financial situation is regarded as desperate. Thus at a national conference of the Rumanian teachers, which took place immediately before the resignation of the government, it was stated that the 40,000 teachers of Rumania are threatened with death from starvation as they have not received any pay for six months. In addition, it has become known that at the Ministerial Council which was held under the chairmanship of King Carol and which preceded Yorga's resignation, the king recorded with the greatest consternation that the army had not received its pay. The Finance Minister is said to have declared that he is unable to raise the sum of 4000 Million Lei necessary to meet this liability.

The problem engaging the attention of the Rumanian bourgeoisie at present is the setting up of a government capable of regaining the confidence of French high finance, and in this way obtaining a new loan. After Yorga's resignation the task of forming a concentration government was entrusted to **Titulescu**, the Rumanian Ambassador in London. This attempt failed because the National Zaranists and the Liberals demanded new elections, as the result of the last elections did not reflect the relation of forces in the country. The National Zaranist **Vaida-Voivod** has now been given the task of forming a temporary government for the purpose of carrying out the elections.

The government resulting from the elections is to carry out the programme on which the Rumanian bourgeoisie has agreed in order to balance the budget. This programme provides for a 50 per cent. reduction of the wages and salaries of all workers, officials and employees of the State and of the municipalities, the repeal of the law for converting the agrarian debts etc.—in short, the programme represents a new offensive against the toiling masses in town and country.

The ruling classes in Rumanian are, however, at the same time disquieted on account of the growing resistance of the broad masses to this programme. The continual arrests of revolutionary workers prove that the **Communist Party of Rumania**, in spite of its prohibition, is successfully leading the masses into the fight against the new offensive of the capitalists.

GERMANY

National Conference of the Functionaries of the C.P. of Germany.

Berlin, 9th June 1932.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany announces that on the 8th June a national conference of the district secretaries of the Party all over Germany and the editors of the communist newspapers took place in Berlin to consider the situation created by the resignation of the Brüning Cabinet and the formation of the von Papen Cabinet.

The conference was addressed by **Comrade Thälmann** who analysed the situation in Germany and the future prospects. He declared that the appointment of the von Papen Cabinet was a sign that the German bourgeoisie was making a final desperate attempt to maintain itself with fascist means. The big influence enjoyed in the new Cabinet by the agrarians would mean an intensification of the contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie. An expression of this conflict was the present pseudo-oppositional attitude of the Centre (Catholic) Party which is not only a big election manoeuvre in order to cloak the preparation for an open coalition between the Centre and the Nazis but also the expression of the discontent of certain sections of the bourgeoisie with the exaggerated demands of the big agrarians, amounting to many hundred million Marks which have to be squeezed out of the pockets of the poor.

The policy of the Social Democratic Party continued to hold back big sections of the proletariat from the revolutionary struggle. The Social Democratic Party was still the main social prop of the bourgeoisie. Exactly like the Brüning government, the von Papen Cabinet can only exist with the help of the social democracy and the reformist trade union federation (A.D.G.B.).

Only the **Communist Party** is a real opponent of the von Papen government. The policy of the Social Democratic Party had not changed, only its forms and methods. The overthrow of the Brüning government and the more and more open use of the fascist mass party as the prop of capitalist exploitation, did not under any circumstances mean that the revolutionary strategy of the Communist Party must be altered. On the contrary, **the intensification of the fascist terror in the governing methods of the bourgeoisie compelled the revolutionary party of the proletariat to launch its main blow with even greater energy against the social democracy** in order to win the masses away from the social fascist leaders and draw them into the anti-fascist front. An all-round application of the revolutionary united front policy was the most important weapon in the struggle to win the decisive masses of the working class for the struggle for political power.

With the assistance of the fascist terror organisations on the one hand, and utilising the reformist influence on the workers on the other, the von Papen government aims at carrying out a tremendously intensified policy of starvation and violence against the working masses. In order to break the resistance of the workers the government is planning the suppression of the proletarian class organisations.

The launching of broad mass struggles under the leadership of the Communist Party, the closer contact of the Party, of the Young Communist League and of the revolutionary organisations with the masses is the best fight for the defence of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League, the only means in order to frustrate the measures of the bourgeoisie directed against the revolutionary labour movement and to render them ineffective if possible.

In the interests of the development of the anti-fascist mass struggle it is necessary to oppose firmly the tendencies to individual terrorism which were making themselves felt as a result of the terrorist provocations of the class enemy.

The coming Reichstag elections would be a part of the general anti-fascist struggle. It was no exaggeration to say that much depended on the result of these elections. Comrade Thälmann then presented the plan for the anti-fascist week from the 10th to the 17th July. He stressed the necessity of exposing persistently the dishonesty of the pseudo-opposition to von Papen on the part of the Centre (Catholic) Party and of the Social Democratic Party.

Comrade Thälmann emphasised that our whole anti-fascist campaign must be closely linked up with the fight against the imperialist war. The war mongers among the Hitler party who incite against the Soviet Union, the pro-French-Polish orientation of the Papen government impose upon us the duty to mobilise the masses and to enhance the anti-imperialist struggle culminating in the powerful carrying out of **August 1st** as a fighting day against the imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

In conclusion Comrade Thälmann pointed out that the recent appeal of the Central Committee had contained the slogan of a workers and peasants government. The Communist Party did not indulge in pseudo-revolutionary overestimations of the existing situation and this was therefore not a slogan of immediate action, but a way of keeping the final aim of the class struggle before the eyes of the workers. The slogan of the workers and peasants government was nothing but a more understandable form of expression for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proceedings demonstrated the absolute unity of the party on the basis of the decisions of the Central Committee.

The Felsenck Trial.

By J. Miller (Berlin).

Since April 21st last there has been taking place before the Berlin Jury Court of Moabit the trial of the accused in the Felsenck case. The course of this trial furnishes a model example of how political trials are conducted in bourgeois courts.

We give a brief account of the events which form the subject of this trial. In the night of 18th to 19th January last, the fascist storm detachments of the Northern suburbs of Berlin held a special muster in Frohnau, a suburb of Berlin. There were present in all about 150 to 200 fascist storm troops. At half past ten the fascist troops left the hall and marched in closed ranks in the direction of Reimickendorf. They were escorted by about 12 police. Although according to the emergency orders all parades and processions are prohibited, the police took no action against the fascists.

The alleged destination of the marching column was Reimickendorf. They however made a detour of four kilometres and marched to a colony of allotment holders in Felsenck, where workers, mostly unemployed and belonging to the Communist and the social democratic party, are living in rough huts, mostly run up by themselves.

The colony was then surrounded by the national socialists, who opened the attack by a bombardment of stones against the miserable huts of the proletarians. With cries of: "Hail Hitler, down with Moscow!", the national socialists stormed forwards and soon the sound of revolver shots was heard in addition to the crashing of stones. The main attack was directed against hut No. 20, in which a worker named **Klemke** lived, who had joined the Communist Party a few days previously. When Klemke came out of his hut in a half dressed condition, he was shot down, pierced by several bullets. Awakened out of their sleep by the noise, the inhabitants of the colony came out of their huts and defended themselves. In the meantime, the police who had accompanied the fascists, telephoned the police station and a police patrol wagon appeared on the scene. The national socialists then took to their heels. During the mêlée a national socialist storm leader, named Schwarz, an old white guardist, was stabbed to death.

The whole of the bourgeois press, with the exception of the national socialist and German nationalist, confirmed that the national socialist murder-bandits had carried out a deliberate and organised attack on the workers' colony in Felsenck. During the same night the local police sent a report to the police headquarters in which the attack by the national socialists on the colony was represented as being an attack by the inhabitants of the colony upon the national socialists. After the ascertainment of the facts this report was corrected by the police headquarters themselves. At the same time, however, the social democratic police president Grzesinski, immediately had the whole colony searched for weapons by a huge body of police. Nothing of any importance was found however. 49 national socialists, and 12 workers living in the colony where then arrested. In the course of the further investigation the number of arrested colonists increased to 23, whilst the national socialists were released with the exception

of eight. Even the preliminary investigation of the matter was an open scandal. The Public Prosecutor, Dr. Stenig, exerted his utmost endeavours to represent the workers who had been attacked as the guilty party and to whitewash the national socialists. The result of the preliminary investigation ended in 18 inhabitants of the colony and only 6 national socialists being brought to trial. In the indictment, 15 of the colonists are accused of joint manslaughter of the national socialist Schwarz, and the nationalists are accused of joint manslaughter of the worker Klemke. In addition, three of the inhabitants of the colony are accused of serious breach of the peace.

The trial commences. The Court is packed. The accused workers are placed in the dock; the national socialists however are given seats usually occupied by the press. The storm troop leader Schulz, who led the whole action, is not among the accused.

The indefatigable activity of Dr. Litten, who has been briefed by the Red Aid to defend the workers, subjects the national socialists to a clever cross-examination, and by causing the national socialists to incriminate each other, brings important facts to light. The Public Prosecutor and the Court find themselves in an embarrassing situation. The national socialist press carries on a regular incitement to murder Dr. Litten. In the meantime Genz, one of the accused workers who is seriously ill, again collapses in the Court, whereupon his release is at last ordered. The bourgeois official defender Dr. Picard proves that the police report of the evidence has been falsified. This places the Court and the Public Prosecutor in an exceedingly disagreeable situation.

The highest point of the sensational trial is reached when the Defending lawyer Dr. Litten informs the Court on May 26, that the Red Aid has succeeded in ascertaining who is the probable murderer of Klemke—a thing which the Public Prosecutor, in spite of all his "efforts", was unable to do. In order to ensure the arrest of the man in question, the lawyer does not mention his name in open Court but conveys it to the Public Prosecutor during an interval which is ordered for this purpose. At the same time he demands of the Public Prosecutor that the man be arrested by one o'clock, as otherwise he will be warned. But the Public Prosecutor does not issue any order for arrest but simply informs the police, and the supposed murderer, named Grewen, disappears. After the supposed murderer has been given sufficient time to cover up his traces and to get rid of anything incriminating, he appears before the Court in answer to a summons. When he enters the witness box a fresh sensation occurs. The police officer Oldenstedt, who on the night of the murder telephoned to the police station, while making the telephone call, so he says, placed his revolver on the desk next the telephone. The revolver came into the hands of Grewen, and it has been ascertained almost beyond doubt that Klemke was murdered with this revolver. Oldenstedt had hitherto denied on oath that he had let his service revolver out of his hands. Under cross examination, however, he has to admit that he committed perjury.

This trial is a classical example of how public justice has developed in Prussia under the social democratic government. This justice has served to prepare the way for fascism, and the sentences it has pronounced on the national socialists have served directly to encourage them. The Felsenck trial will probably last several weeks longer, but it is already plainly apparent that the Public Prosecutor and the Court openly side with the national socialist murderers. Even the Left bourgeois press admonishes the judges to preserve at least the appearance of justice.

Mrs. Ada Wright Arrested and Deported from Belgium.

Brussels, 10th June 1932.

Upon her arrival in Brussels, Mrs. Ada Wright, the mother of two of the young Negroes condemned to die in Scottsboro for a crime which was probably never committed at all, but which in any case they did not commit, was arrested by the police and taken under escort to the frontier. This action was taken at the order of the Minister of the Interior despite the protest of the lawyers of the Belgian section of the International Red Aid, the communist deputy **Jacquemotte** and **Emile Vandervelde**. Mrs. Wright was to have spoken at a number of protest meetings organised by the I.R.A.

FASCISM IN GERMANY

The National Socialist German Workers Party.

By Hans Jaeger (Berlin).

III.

The Storm Detachments.

A most important part of the National Socialist German Workers Party were the since prohibited storm detachments. Are they really prohibited? We shall see. Following on the first hall disturbances described with such gusto by Hitler in "My Struggle" the fascist formations, which were originally intended as hall marshals and defenders, were given the name of storm detachments. The members of these detachments were for the most part unemployed workers, young clerks, students, etc. In the country districts they were the peasants sons, the landworkers, etc. The members of the storm detachments are for the most part young and their ages range from eighteen to thirty. For older fascists there is the so-called reserve.

The organisational structure of these storm detachments was an exact copy of the old German army organisation. The strength of a Group varies between ten and fifteen men. These Groups represent an army platoon, and they are linked up in Troops, representing the old military company although the strength of the Troops are not as great as company strength. From four to five Troops form a Storm, representing the old battalion. Four to five Storms form a Standard representing a pre-war regiment. All the Standards of a district form a District Storm, representing an army division. Several District Storms form an Army Corps under the command of a vice-Osafi. These men are mostly former leaders of the notorious white volunteer corps (Ehrhardt Brigade) von Killinger, von Fichte, von Ulrich and others. These men were concerned in the Kapp Putsch and in the so-called Organisation Consul which was responsible for the assassination of Erzberger and Rathenau. Later on a number of new names were introduced and the various divisions were called after leaders of the old German imperial army. The similarity to the old army was stressed more and more and the headquarters of the various divisions were placed in the old divisional garrison headquarters of the imperial army.

The original Osafi, or supreme storm detachment leader was Captain von Pfeffer, who had taken part in terrorist acts against the revolutionary working class in the Ruhr district. Following on the mutiny in 1931 his place was taken by Hitler, but in fact the real leader was the Chief of Staff Roehm. In addition to the normal storm detachments there are marine storms, cavalry storms, motor storms, music storms, commonly known as bands, first aid detachments, etc. Prior to the prohibition of the storm detachments Hitler declared their strength to be four hundred thousand.

It has already been indicated that the discipline of the members of the storm detachments was an apparent one only. Membership was open to anyone who cared to join and there was little possibility of punishing anyone for breaches of discipline unless the matter was serious enough to warrant the attentions of the Feme organisation whose existence was rumoured at the beginning of 1932. From 1929 onwards the storm detachments were the biggest trouble Hitler had with his organisation. In comparison with the party itself, the percentage of proletarian elements was much stronger in the storm detachments. It must also be pointed out that the organisational relationship between the fascist party and the storm detachments was not the same as the relationship between the Communist Party and the Red Front Fighters League. Not every member of the fascist party was a member of the storm detachments, but every member of the storm detachments was a member of the party. The storm detachments were to represent the elite of the fascist party.

But what was the real truth of the situation? Were the storm detachments a fighting organisation against finance capitalism? Against the Jewish bankers and department store owners? An army to be used for securing the national emancipation of Germany from the chains of the Young Plan? Not a bit of it, they were purely and simply a force intended for use in civil war. There was no political training of any kind in these detachments. The members of the storm detachments were incited in the most primitive and bloodthirsty

fashion exclusively against the reds, against the revolutionary workers. However, social democratic workers, members of the Reichsbanner and even members of the Christian working-class organisations were victims of the fascist terror which began to extend rapidly and which occasionally did not spare even the members of fascist breakaway groups and members of the friendly Stahlhelm organisation. Now and again the terror even struck at its own leaders. An unparalleled campaign of lies incited the members of the storm detachments against the communists. If a fascist lost his life in a collision with workers, in an attack on workers, if a fascist lost his life in some totally unpolitical accident, if a fascist swindled the insurance societies by representing himself as the victim of the communists, the fascist press immediately took up the case and presented it in great headlines as a new example of communist terror. In this way the wave of hatred was driven up to seething pitch. Reliable statistics, however, show that the communist losses have been much greater than the fascist losses and amount to several hundred dead. The best known cases of fascist terror are the terrorist acts of the notorious Storm 33 in Berlin-Charlottenburg, the raid on the working class allotment colony "Felsenack" in the north of Berlin, the double murder in the Hufeland Strasse on New Year's Day 1930, etc. Former members who turned their backs on the fascist party and published disclosures concerning the terror organisation were also subjected to violence as shown by the Schaefer case (Schaefer was the man who published the notorious Hessen Boxheim document), and the attack on Dr. Klotz in the Reichstag. The well-known working class revolutionary Max Hoelz was attacked and seriously injured in Bad Elster and the communist member of the Hamburg Town Council Henning was shot and killed in an omnibus. The number of murders committed by the fascists has almost reached a thousand and the numbers of the wounded are still higher.

As far as this terror was concerned the storm detachments were useful. They had been taught to regard the communists as the murderers of their comrades, as the supporters of finance capitalism, as the servants of the Jews, and occasionally as the Russian "foreign legion". However, in the long run the storm detachments grew awkward for Hitler and for the ruling class. After the mutiny in 1931 which was settled only with great difficulties, Hitler began to look around for ways and means of getting rid of the storm detachments. The members of the storm detachments still believed unclearly and primitively in the promised "socialism". Despite the militarism of the storm detachments, the spirit of the 1931 revolt was still alive. Some of them felt that Hitler would betray them, had betrayed them, and thought that they could achieve their aims without and against him. In the proletarian storm detachments in the north of Berlin the fascists do not speak of Hitler with much respect. For a time the fascist party did its best to lessen the discontent (following on the Reichstag election in 1930 nothing happened, there was no putch and no entry into the government, the Harzburg rapprochement with the German Nationalists only caused bad blood) by drawing the members of the storm detachments together in barracks, providing them with food and buying them so that the civil war army was always to hand.

However, Hitler's desire to enter the government was growing stronger and stronger whilst the reliability of his followers from the capitalist point of view was called in question. The capitalists pointed to the proletarian composition of the storm detachments and to their radical demands. The storm detachments were no longer thoroughly in hand. On repeated occasions they had carried out actions which did not further Hitler's efforts to enter the government. Neither the mass breaking of windows in the Leipziger Straße, nor the anti-Jewish pogrom on the Kurfuerstendam was received with enthusiasm by the bourgeoisie, which was prepared to stomach Hitler and the fascist party, but not, or not yet, the storm detachments, at least, not with the proletarian elements which had not been combed out sufficiently even after the Strasser and Stennes revolts.

What was the meaning of the prohibition of the fascist storm detachments in 1932? First of all, Hitler has got rid of the unruly and unreliable elements which after the failure of Hitler in the Presidential election again saw themselves robbed of their hopes, secondly, Hitler became "fitter to govern" (on the other hand the social democrats celebrated the prohibition as a "victory over fascism" and dissolved the

special detachments of the Reichsbanner), and thirdly, the bourgeoisie, which needs the fascist party more than ever in the growing crisis, has got rid of the undesirable elements.

Will the prohibition of the storm detachments be maintained? In the meantime a cleaning up is taking place. The unreliable elements are being got rid of. Many have already recognised the real nature of the fascist party. What remains is useful and is held together under various camouflage organisations, for instance, the Anti-Communist League in Essen, the nationalist sport organisations, etc. It will turn up later as a civil war army and the skeleton of the compulsory labour service scheme. The situation with the Special Detachments is similar. These Special Detachments were formed for the special defence of the fascist leaders. They are much more closely sifted and their social composition is different. In the Special Detachments the proletarian element is weak and the overwhelming majority are students and sons of the bourgeoisie. These Special Detachments occupied a privileged position. They were maintained completely and led directly from the fascist headquarters in Munich so that they could be put into action when the Stennes revolt took place. These detachments are mobile and can be sent from place to place. These Special Detachments were also prohibited, but there is much less reorganisation necessary with regard to them.

The process of clarification is not yet so far that the betrayed proletarian elements are deserting the fascist party or that they are prepared to go into the labour service corps. Many are still inclined to blame the anti-fascists and to refuse to believe that Hitler had anything to do with the dissolution of the storm detachments. To a certain extent the support accorded to the members of the storm detachments is being continued in the shape of collections amongst sympathisers and many members have been sent to the estates of the rich agrarians. A tremendous amount of work is still necessary in order to make it clear to the members of the exploited classes that they are supporting their exploiters against those who would emancipate them. In many cases exactly the opposite belief exists, namely that they are the emancipators and that Marxism — brought into discredit by being connected up with the Social Democratic Party — means support for capitalism.

AGAINST THE CAMPAIGN OF LIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

The Campaign of Lies Against the "Sovietskaya Neft" and Its Background.

The "Pravda" of June 9, publishes a collection of the mendacious bourgeois reports issued in connection with the loss of the French liner "Georges Philippart", and reveals the background of this campaign of lies. The "Pravda" writes:

Who was not roused to indignation by the shameful campaign of lies conducted by the French gutter-press in connection with the fire on the "Georges Philippart" and the rescue work of the "Sovietskaya Neft", which called forth the admiration of all decent-minded people. What has not been written by the miserable ink-slingers.

Just hear what a fairy tale the press hacks of the "Matin" invented regarding the disaster to the French liner. "Moscow agents" are said to have organised the fire by means of an infernal machine, whilst the "Sovietskaya Neft", informed beforehand of the time and place of the disaster, hastened to the scene of the conflagration in order to save the incendiaries. What a contemptible, miserable lie!

All the world knows to-day what exemplary heroism the crew of the Russian oil tanker "Sovietskaya Neft" displayed when rescuing the passengers from the burning vessel. "Le Matin", "Journal" and similar papers find nothing better to do than to heap calumny upon the rescuers of 483 passengers and seamen of the "Georges Philippart". These traducers on the "Matin" and similar papers have the effrontery to cite as circumstantial evidence the timely arrival of the "Sovietskaya Neft" on the scene of the disaster. Not content with that, they charge it against the Soviet seamen that they fed the people rescued by them, and gave them emergency clothing because

they were able to prepare everything necessary for this owing to their being informed in good time beforehand".

In addition to the "Sovietskaya Neft" two English steamers, the "Contractor" and the "Mansud", took part in the rescue action. These two steamers took on board 238 passengers from the "Georges Philippar" and then left the scene of the disaster. The "Sovietskaya Neft", on the other hand, stood by from 4 o'clock, in the morning until 6 in the evening, i. e. 16 hours. The French bourgeois press described the rescue work of the English steamers in full detail, but only mentioned that of the "Sovietskaya Neft" in order to spew out venomous lies.

In the incitement against the Soviet Union in connection with the "Georges Philippar" disaster the voice of the social fascists must of course not be lacking. Their organ, "Le Peuple" (Brussels), declares that the heroic work of the Soviet steamer cannot be harmonised with the programme of the Comintern. "Le Peuple" writes:

"If one looks more deeply into the matter, one discovers the lessons hidden behind it. One first arrives at the conclusion that human facts prove stronger than the proudest ideologies. The Bolshevik ideology would have demanded passivity and non-interference. What, rescue first class passengers? And in the second and third class there were such terrible people as social democrats, petty-bourgeois, anarchists etc. They were human lives which had no relations to the dogmas of the Third International. Here we have a direct violation of the sacred doctrines."

The contemptible bourgeois and social fascist press hacks have every reason to conceal from the broad masses the heroic rescue work of the "Sovietskaya Neft". Following the unforgettable heroic acts of the "Krassin" and the "Malygin", the "Sovietskaya Neft" has brought further proof of the high importance the Soviet seamen attach to the saving of human lives, whilst capitalist ships, guided by the interests of the shipowners, will not take the risk of staying at dangerous spots and waste time, which is so valuable to the shipowners, on rescue work which brings in no profit. Time is money.

The circumstances connected with the burning of the "Georges Philippar" calls to mind many things regarding capitalist shipping. 32 years ago a Dutch writer, Heyerman, wrote a drama "De Hope op Zegn" showing the connection existing between shipping disasters and insurance money. In the night of May 16, in the Red Sea, this connection was shown with all clearness in the drama of actual life.

The steamer "Georges Philippar" was launched at the end of 1929, that is, at a time when the world economic crisis had not yet seized France. When the crisis extended to France and caused the ocean giants to be laid up, the first attempt was made to cause the "Georges Philippar" to go up in flames. The attempt failed at that time. To-day, the fire on the "Georges Philippar", on its maiden voyage, has brought in to the Messagerie Maritime the round sum of 120 million gold Francs in the shape of insurance money i. e. the actual value of the ship in normal times.

The situation is altogether different for the unfortunate passengers and their relatives. They will only receive compensation if it is proved that the loss of the ship is attributable to the fault or the neglect of the officers or crew.

Here is certainly to be seen one of the reasons for the anti-Soviet campaign of lies. This version of the affair, which it should be remarked in passing, was first spread by the directors of the Messagerie Maritime, frees the reputable shipping company of all obligations towards the victims of this disaster. One can understand, therefore, why the venal journalists, bribed by the shipping company, so eagerly present this version. They receive a percentage. This time they will hardly succeed in pocketing this percentage. Their stupid invention has collapsed like a soap bubble at the first contact with reality.

The "Matin" and its friends promised their readers particularly sensational revelations after the arrival of the rescued passengers and seamen of the "Georges Philippar". What happened however? Not one of the seamen or passengers confirmed the abominable calumnies.

According to "Matin" itself the captain of the "Georges Philippar" categorically declared:

"At present everything is conjecture. One cannot say anything. Nobody can assert anything."

Asked directly regarding the possibility of an outrage he replied:

"An outrage is not out of the question, but candidly speaking, I know nothing more about it than you."

This answer is fatal to the liars in the office of the "Matin". The dirty campaign of lies had not succeeded in hiding the true role of the Soviet seamen during the disaster. Even the "Petit Parisien", known as a furious anti-Bolshevik paper, is compelled to write as follows:

"The Russians shared everything with the rescued passengers, I know nothing more about it than you." terror. For these unfortunates it was a real balm to be taken on board the Russian ship. The rescued passengers could not speak in sufficiently eulogistic terms of their rescuers."

Thus in spite of the web of lies, the truth regarding the heroic deeds of the Soviet seamen has conquered.

THE WAR

The Negotiations for a French Loan for the "Independent Manchurian State".

Paris, 10th June 1932.

Despite official denials, the bourgeois press in France admits quite frankly that negotiations are proceeding between France and Japan with a view to France granting a loan to "the government of Manchuria". "L'Agence Economique et Financiere" writes concerning the report that representatives of the French Asiatic Bank are travelling to Manchuria:

"Interested circles admit that these representatives are in the Far East, but declare that their aims are chiefly to protect French interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway".

The Tokio correspondent of "le Temps" referring to the official denial that negotiations are taking place, writes:

"In any case, it is known from a reliable source that a representative of the French Asiatic Bank will leave Tokio shortly for Manchuria in order to discuss the question of French interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway. Should the attitude of the Manchurian government be satisfactory, there is no doubt that any request for a loan to keep up the line would be met favourably and that negotiations could be opened up for still further loans."

The official organ of the French Communist Party, "L'Humanité" writes:

"French imperialism wants the Chinese Eastern Railway and its agents are already negotiating with the Manchurian bandits. Negotiations are taking place in Tokio for the granting of a loan of 300 millions."

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Tokio, 11th June 1932.

The Director of the French Asiatic Bank, Massenet, who is at present in Tokio, has given an interview to a representative of "The Japan Advertiser" in which he declared quite frankly that a group of French banks were prepared to grant the new Manchurian State a loan in return for a recognition of French rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway. Should the Manchurian government be prepared to recognise the rights of France, the French government, declared Massenet, would be prepared to grant a loan of from ten to fifteen million Francs to be applied to keeping the line in order, carrying out necessary repair work, etc. Not only that, but "under certain circumstances", the French government would be prepared to invest ten times as much capital in Manchuria. "The Japan Advertiser" points out that there is still another claimant for the Chinese Eastern Railway, the white guardist leader Watalin who claims to represent the interests of the "Russian Shareholders" in the line

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

The Mass Demonstrations on International Solidarity Day.

By Walter (Berlin).

The demonstrations on the fourth International Solidarity Day in all countries bore the character of powerful mass demonstrations for the red united front.

Compared with the last years demonstrations, this fourth international solidarity day had a much more outspokenly class character. In all the demonstrations there was clearly expressed the firm will of the masses to fight against imperialist war, against reaction, fascism and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

In hundreds of localities not only the members of the revolutionary Party and trade unions but large numbers of social democratic workers, non-party workers, intellectuals, free-thinkers, members of sport organisations etc. took part in the demonstrations.

In **Germany** there took place in Berlin 20 demonstrations participated by hundreds of thousands of workers. At one of these gatherings, in Carlshof, 30,000 workers were present and enthusiastically applauded the speeches of Comrades Rememele and Willi Münzenberg. In Leipzig, where 20,000 workers demonstrated, 150 members of the Socialist Youth and of the Socialist Workers Party Youth marched in the procession and carried a streamer for the red united front.

In **New York** all the revolutionary mass organisations such as the Trade Union Unity League, the National Unemployed Councils, International Workers Order, Young Pioneers of America, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, United Council of Working Class Women, Anti-Imperialist League, National Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born, Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League etc., took part in the procession.

In **London** five successful Solidarity Day demonstrations were held. 3,000 workers in East London marched with banners, among them being those of the National Union of Railwaymen, Municipal Workers, United Clothing Workers Union, Furnishing Trades Association. Several I.L.P. branches, Labour Women's Sections and Co-operative Guilds officially participated in the demonstration. A contingent of workers from Deptford were told by the police that they must not sing the "Internationale", but the workers ignored this order whereupon the police charged the workers and made six arrests. The indignant workers counter-charged with such energy that the police were finally dispersed.

In **Czechoslovakia** about a hundred meetings and demonstrations with a total attendance of 10,000 were held under the slogan of the revolutionary united front. In Erzgebirge the Solidarity Day was made the occasion for the distribution of food packets to the starving population.

The mass demonstrations this year were characterised by the strong participation of women, young workers and pioneers. For the first time masses of peasants joined the solidarity front in Germany, Holland and South of France.

In view of the threatening imperialist world war the demonstrations bore the character of a fraternisation of the various races and nations for the joint struggle against war. In **Paris** joint demonstrations of Spaniards, Italians, Hungarians, Poles and Indonesians were held; in Southern France, French and Spanish workers fraternised in joint meetings. In the United States strong groups of Negroes took part in the demonstrations. In addition, frontier meetings took place on the German-French, German-Belgian, German-Dutch, German-Swiss and German-Czech frontiers.

The outspoken class character of this year's demonstrations and the great response which the revolutionary slogans found among the masses have greatly alarmed the governments in the capitalist countries, which proceeded against the demonstrations by means of prohibitions, dispersal of meetings and demonstrations, arrest of speakers and secretaries etc.

At all demonstrations numerous new members were recruited for the Workers' International Relief, which proves that the idea of the united front is gaining ground.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Trial of the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria.

On 15th June there began the great trial of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Bulgaria and the Central Committee of the Young Communist League. Among the 12 accused comrades there is Comrade **Ratcho Zanev**, textile worker, organisation secretary of the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria. The trial was inaugurated by the murder of Comrade **Nikola Kofardchiev** (Sascho), Political secretary of the Party, who was shot down on October 30, last in the streets of Sofia by police officials, and of Comrades **Christo Kotschev**, tobacco worker, and **Zatsho Nenov**, a student, who were killed in the police prison of Sofia.

In the Summer of 1931 the fascist **Liaptchev-Zankoff** government, which for eight years had plundered and terrorised the masses of the people, had to resign. The economic crisis, the hopeless financial situation of the State, the growing discontent and radicalisation of the toilers resulted in an election defeat of the Liaptchev-Zankoff government. The bourgeoisie attempted a new manoeuvre: it handed over the government to the **people's bloc**, a coalition of two parties of the big bourgeoisie (democrats and liberals) and two parties of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie (Radicals and peasant league).

But the first days of the government of the People's Bloc showed that the new Cabinet is following in the footsteps of Liaptchev-Zankoff and conducting a policy of further plundering and bloody suppression of the workers and peasants.

This policy of the new government did not come as a surprise to the workers. The workers' press, already before the elections, pointed out whither the leaders of the peasants League were steering and what a policy the new government was likely to pursue. But this policy of the new government and the sharpening of the crisis disappointed broad masses of the peasantry. The broad masses of the peasants League were soon seized by a revolutionary mood and there was every indication that the main masses of the Peasants League would turn their backs on their fascist leaders and follow the path of a united front with the revolutionary working class. In a number of localities whole groups and organisations joined the Workers' Party.

The government of the People's Bloc, incapable of solving a single question of the economic crisis and fulfilling a single promise given to the masses before the elections, decided to crush the mass organisations of the Bulgarian proletariat in order by this means to rob the workers' and peasants of their leadership in the fight against the capitalist system.

This is the meaning of the trial of the Party and the Young Communist League in Bulgaria. But the blow is directed not only against the illegal C.P. of Bulgaria and the Y.C.L. but it is intended by this trial to prepare the suppression of the legal organisations of the Bulgarian proletariat (Independent Workers Party, Independent Trade Union Federation, etc.).

The trial of the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria and of the Y.C.L. is also closely linked up with the war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The imperialists are calculating that the Balkan countries will not only serve as a basis of operations, but will also actively participate in the war. And in fact the Bulgarian bourgeoisie are making all preparations for this war of intervention. Thus for instance the Bulgarian government, with the tacit approval of the imperialists, has re-established a regular army, which is prohibited by the peace treaty.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie, however, is aware of the mood of the people and realises that the workers and peasants are not only against a war of intervention but will defend the Soviet Union. The criminal warmongers believe that the masses, robbed of their leaders, will be easily induced to go to the front and fight against the Red Army.

In this sense the trial acquires international importance and deserves the greatest attention of the world proletariat. It is the duty of the toilers of all countries to raise the sharpest protest against the criminal intentions of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and to stay the arm of the war mongers and murderers of workers.

How the First World War was Prepared

Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

Documents from the Period Preceding the First
Imperialist World War.

Strengthening of the War Alliance between France and Russia.

Rumania Prepares for an Attack on Bulgaria. State Secretary Zimmermann to von Waldthausen, German Ambassador in Bucharest.

Berlin, 25th January 1913.

The German Ambassador in Constantinople reports:

The Rumanian military attaché told Herr von Strempele yesterday that a day or two ago he has received the following news from the best informed sources: Russia is backing Bulgaria with all its forces even beyond the wishes of Bulgaria, whilst the support which Austria is affording Rumania can only be compared with a broken reed, in spite of the fact that Rumania has remained faithful to Austria for twenty years. It is certain that Bucharest will shortly decide either for war on Bulgaria or for an approachment to Russia.

Zimmermann.

("The Great Politics of the European Cabinets" Vol. 34, 1. Page 248.)

Poincaré, President of the French Republic. A Guarantee of "Peace".

Paris, January 17 (Havas). At the second vote of the National Congress Poincaré was elected President by 483 votes against Pams, who received 296 votes. The socialist Vaillant received 69 votes.

The Press on Poincaré's Election.

"Petit Parisien." The meaning of the election can be expressed in the words: democratic progress, rational development and a policy of honour and peace. (18th January.)

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"Vossische Zeitung": In Germany one can unreservedly welcome the election of this prudent and moderate politician. (18th January.)

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"Times": Poincaré's success is a victory for the moderate and peaceful elements among the French Republicans. (18th January.)

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"Daily Mail": French public opinion thereby reckons that France will wage a war for its existence within the next seven years. In view of this it did not elect a new President. (January 18.)

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"Humanité" (Jaurès): We fought yesterday on another battlefield and are therefore not vanquished. There is no need to take revenge. We await M. Poincaré's actions without preconceived hostility, but with complete independence. (January 18.)

Lenin on Poincaré's Election.

The newly elected President of the French Republic is warmly welcomed. Just look at the "Novoye Vremja", the newspaper of the Black Hundreds and the pogrom people, and the Liberal, "Rjetch": what a touching unanimity in their welcome of President Poincaré, in the expressions of their own satisfaction . . . But the election of Poincaré is of greater interest than the eager "welcomers" think. The class-conscious workers, in analysing the meaning of this election, emphasise three main points:

Firstly, Poincaré's election means a further step forward in the sharpening of the class struggle in France . . . Secondly, Poincaré's remarkable career is the typical career of a bourgeois jobber . . . Thirdly, the demonstration of the French socialists at Poincaré's election is of importance. **Their vote for Vaillant was a demonstration in honour of the Commune.** Vaillant is its living monument. It is sufficient to see how the Paris workers welcome the appearance of the grey-headed Vaillant on the platform in order to realise this. ("Pravda" No. 11, 15 [28] January 1913.)

And Behind the Scenes.

The Russian Ambassador in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, January 16 (29), 1913.

Secret Telegram No. 40.

I have just had a long conversation with Poincaré. He declared that it is quite possible for him, in his capacity as President of the French Republic, to exercise influence on the foreign policy of France. He would not neglect to make use of this opportunity in order, in the course of his seven years of office, to secure the continuity of the policy based on a close alliance with Russia . . . According to Poincaré, it is of the greatest importance for the French government to have the possibility of preparing French public opinion beforehand for participation in a war which might break out on account of the Balkan question. This is the reason why the French government requests us not to undertake any one-sided actions which might call forth such a war, without previous understanding with France . . .

Isvolski.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy. Vol. 11 page 36.)

Poincaré Supervises the Bribery of the Press The Russian Ambassador in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, February 1 (14), 1913.

Dear Mr. Sergej Dimitrievitch!

In my letter to you of 10th (23rd) October last year, I informed you of the reasons which speak in favour of our exercising financial influence on the French press. In the course of my conversation with the former Prime Minister, Poincaré, the present President of the Republic, I became convinced that he shares my opinion on this point. In addition, Poincaré expressed the desire that it should not take place without his previous knowledge, and the payment of the sums should take place with the co-operation of the French government and through the mediation of M. Lenoir. . . .

As a matter of fact, it seemed to me that the moment could not be more propitious for influencing the French press. Since the commencement of the Balkan crisis, I have done everything to have our point of view supported by the most influential French newspapers. You will have to admit that I have achieved considerable success in this respect.

Isvolski.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy" Vol. 11 page 58.)

And is Rewarded With the Order of Andreas.

The Russian Foreign Minister to the Russian Ambassador in Paris.

Telegram No. 329.

St. Petersburg, 6th (19th) February 1913.

In confirmation of his friendly feelings towards France and his personal goodwill towards M. Poincaré, the Tsar has decided to confer on the President of the French Republic the Order of Andreas, the insignia of which with the appropriate address from His Majesty will be handed to you on Monday next February 11 by the Director of the Chancellery of the Foreign Ministry, Baron Schilling, who is specially sent for this purpose.

Sasanov.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy" Vol. 11, page 42.)

Poincaré "Profoundly Touched".

Paris, February 25. In handing over the insignia brought by Baron v. Schilling, the Russian Ambassador, Isvolski said that in conferring the order on M. Poincaré immediately on the latter's taking over the Presidency, the Tsar wished to give a fresh token of his attachment to France and his personal friendship and high esteem for Poincaré. This renewed expression of his feelings must be regarded as a fresh guarantee of the close relations uniting France and Russia. President Poincaré replied that he was profoundly touched by the token of friendship on the part of the Tsar, this new indication of the unalterable feelings of the Tsar for France, of which the Tsar's autograph address was an eloquent testimony. Poincaré added that he would keep firmly to the policy which had long connected France with Russia and that he would take special care to maintain the alliance between the two countries and to render it still closer.

("Die Post" February 26, 1913.)

German Armaments—a Blessing for France.

The Russian Ambassador in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, February 14 (27), 1913.

... As you are aware, Germany's new armament plans have caused a great upsurge of national feeling and produced the general conviction that France must reply by exerting all its efforts to increase its military strength... Dealing with the political questions of the day, Poincaré confirmed to me that which I had already heard from H. Jonnart regarding Germany's armaments and the necessary counter-measures of France. According to Poincaré, the events of the last 18 months have brought a sudden turn in French public opinion and an upsurge of patriotic feeling such as has not been witnessed for a long time. In this connection the Agadir incident has proved to be of the greatest service to France. The present increase of the German army will possibly prove an equal blessing to France, for it will furnish clear proof that the theories of the friends of peace are untenable and that a still firmer organisation of the French army is necessary.

Isvolski.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy" Vol. 11, page 44/45.)

Uneasiness in Germany.

M. Delcassé has been appointed French Ambassador in Petersburg in place of the former French Ambassador Louis. There is no reason for assuming that M. Delcassé could have changed his notorious anti-German sentiment, and the post of Ambassador in Petersburg offers a more suitable field for his activity than the post of Naval Minister hitherto occupied by him. The telegrams which were exchanged between Petersburg and Paris on the occasion of Poincaré's election as President, proclaim by the cordiality of their tone that under Poincaré's regime France will do everything on its part in order to bind these two States together for weal or woe in their foreign policy."

("Die Post" 21st February, 1913.)

From the Archives of Secret Diplomacy.

The German Ambassador in Paris to Reichs-Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg.

Paris, February 17, 1913.

The increases in the army announced in Germany form at present the main topic of discussion in the press here. In all articles devoted to this topic there is expressed very great uneasiness and at the same time considerable annoyance and mistrust towards England which, without regard to the spirit of the entente cordial, by an understanding with Germany regarding limitation on naval armaments, places the latter in a position "to employ on the Vosges frontier what it saves in the North Sea".

The whole of the press, with the exception of the organs of the extreme Left, urgently calls on the government, in view of the new increases in the German army, which already possesses a great superiority, to resort to far-reaching counter-measures. The French people must be made to realise that it must hold itself ready for any sacrifice and be prepared to exert its strength to the utmost. This exertion of strength, it is declared, consists before all in the introduction of the three years service law.

("The Great Politics of the European Cabinets." Vol. 39, page 152.)

Austria-Hungary Threatens to Intervene in the Balkan War.

Secret Agreement between Austria and Rumania.

Telegram from Bucharest, February 5, 1913.

Secret Treaty instrument concluded at 5 o'clock this afternoon after the exchange of credentials. Signatures read: T. Majorescu, Prince Charles Emil Fürstenberg.

K. E. Fürstenberg.

("Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy." Vol. 5, page 638.)

"The Vienna Cabinet Permits no Extortion."

Telegram from Bucharest, February 12, 1913.

This morning I requested Mr. Majorescu to let me have the ratification of the Treaty. Thereupon a serious dispute arose. I stated that I had to record with the greatest regret that His Majesty the king, influenced by unscrupulous and adventurist politicians, has made the prolongation of the Treaty dependent on the acceptance of Rumanian revindications by the Dual Monarchy. I informed him the Vienna Cabinet could pursue another than a Rumanophile policy, which would better serve its interest...

K. E. Fürstenberg.

("Austro-Hungarian Foreign Policy." Vol. 5, page 709.)

The Threat is Effective.

Telegram from Bucharest, February 12, 1913.

Secret ratification carried out today.

Signed, K. E. Fürstenberg.

The Fight over the Spoils.

Count Berchthold to Bethmann Hollweg.

Vienna, February 5, 1913.

Your excellency will perhaps be interested to receive further details regarding the cause and object of the sending of Prince Hohenlohe to St. Petersburg with a letter written personally by His Majesty our All Gracious Master...

The personal irritation, which has been signalled to us from various sides, of His Majesty Tsar Nicolos on account of our alleged intransigent attitude to all questions relating to the process of dividing up the Balkans, has made it appear desirable, by means, so to speak, of a direct statement from monarch

to monarch, to appease this feeling and avert a serious disturbance of court relations . . .

Berchthold.

("The Great Politics of the European Cabinets" Vol. 34, I. page. 316.)

"Scutari, a Vital Question for Montenegro."

Centinje, March 4. The king declared to the war correspondents: Montenegro's decision to take Scutari by force of arms is not altered by the decision of the big Powers that Scutari shall be given to Albania. Montenegro will continue its operations until Scutari has been conquered . . . Scutari is a vital question for Montenegro. The patience of Montenegro is exhausted. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", March 6, 1913.)

Austria-Hungary Cannot Calmly Look on if Montenegro Takes Scutari.

Report of von Kageneck, Military Attaché in Vienna.

Vienna, March 11, 1913.

Secret. General von Conrad, immediately after the first news of the dispatch of new Serbian forces (30,000 men) to Durazzo and Scutari, submitted to Count Berchthold the following plan: "The Austrian naval squadron shall proceed immediately to the Straits of Otranto in order to compel the Serbian troop ships to turn back . . ."

The Count today again emphasised his standpoint that Austria-Hungary could not calmly look on if Montenegro should capture Scutari and Serbia permanently occupying Albanian territory. He is however convinced now that Russia would declare war as soon as Austria proceeded against Serbia with force of arms.

Signed **Count Kageneck.**

("The Great Politics of the European Cabinets" Vol. 34, II. 481/82.)

Russia Demands an Increase of the French Army.

Count von Pourtalès, German Ambassador in Petersburg, to Bethmann Hollweg.

St. Petersburg, March 1, 1913.

Today's "Novoje Vremja", in a leading article, reminds France of its military obligations under the Franco-Russian alliance.

The Russian army, it is stated, owing to the vast extent of the country, could be mobilised only very slowly. France, therefore, would have to meet the first onslaught of the enemy, who would commence war quite suddenly.

The introduction of three years' military service law in France would increase the peace strength of its army, and in any event increase the numerical strength as well as the readiness for war of the first line of defence . . .

"As friends of the French people we want the living defence, the army, strengthened on the most endangered side; as allies we are justified in putting forward this wish as a direct demand."

F. Pourtalès.

Introduction of Three Years' Military Service in France.

Paris, March 4: (Havas.) The Supreme War Council under the chairmanship of Poincaré, after a conference lasting for three hours, unanimously declared that it is absolutely necessary in the interest of the country to increase the effective strength of the troops. It pronounced unanimously for three years service without any exemptions whatever.

The French Socialists and the Three Years' Service.

Paris, March 7: Writing in "Humanité", Jaurès states: It was a spontaneous outcry which arose yesterday from the mouths of the socialists when the military reaction, embodied in Étienne, ventured to demand of the French Republican Democracy that it should take part in a frivolous and injurious undertaking which would swallow huge sums of money and only impose fresh burdens on the people.

The representatives of the working class will not allow themselves to be swept away by reactionary militarism and chauvinism. They will oppose with unvanquishable energy the abominable plan of the reactionaries and at the same time suggest practical means in order to protect the independence and inviolability of the country against any attack, against any threat. ("Vorwärts", March 7.)

Workers' Demonstrations in France.

Paris, March 7. Demonstrations commenced yesterday in the provinces. At a meeting in St. Denis at which the socialist municipal councillor took the chair, 4000 persons were present. The demonstration was addressed by the deputies Rouger, Raffin and Dugens. The facts given by Comrade Pohl regarding German anti-militarism called forth loud applause for the action of social democracy. ("Vorwärts", March 7.)

A Socialist Disarmament Proposal.

Paris, March 7 (W. T. B.) The socialist fraction will bring in a draft resolution calling upon the government to propose to the States of Europe a progressive and simultaneous reduction of armaments.

Secret Agreement between Germany and Sweden.

The Russian Ambassador in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, 28th February (13th March) 1913.

Our naval attaché has heard from the French General Staff that about a week ago an agreement was concluded between Sweden and Germany, according to which in the event of a war between Germany and Russia, Sweden undertakes to lay mines in the Baltic Sea.

Isvolski.

("The Diplomatic Correspondence of Isvolski" 1911-1914, vol. 3, page 87.)

Delcassé's Mission in Russia.

The Russian Ambassador in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, 28th February (13th March) 1913.

As you are already aware, M. Delcassé is particularly competent not only on questions of foreign policy, but also in everything concerning military and especially naval affairs. According to the information of our military attaché, he has been entrusted with the special task of convincing our military authorities of the necessity of increasing the number of our strategic roads and railways, in order thereby to accelerate the concentration of our army on the Western frontier. M. Delcassé is so well versed in this matter and so well acquainted with the views of the French General Staff, that he can discuss these questions with our military authorities quite independently. He is also at the same time empowered to offer Russia all moneys which may be necessary for this purpose in the form of railway loans.

Isvolski.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy", Vol. 11, page 51.)

Personal Letter from the Tsar to President Poincaré.

Tsarskoe-Selo, March 17. (30), 1913.

Dear friend!

H. Delcassé's former activity as Foreign Minister and in recent times as Minister for the Marine offers sufficient proof of his feelings for Russia in order to secure him all sympathy here. From the first moment he will find the ground here prepared beforehand in order for him to employ his talents in close collaboration with my government. As regards the question of strategic railways, this is the subject of serious examination by my General Staff.

Nicholas.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy", Vol. 11, page 54/55.)

Austria's Counter-Moves in Russia.

Petersburg, 13th March. The correspondence which took place recently between Kaiser Franz Josef and Tsar Nicholas has again proved that the events in the Balkan Peninsula have had no adverse effect on the friendly feelings between the two

sovereigns, and that the maintenance of peace continues to be the aim of their endeavours. (Communique of the Russian and Austrian governments. "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", 13th March.)

Von Pourtalès, German Ambassador in Petersburg, to the German Foreign Office.

St. Petersburg, 25th March 1913.

I found Sasanov, who was unable to receive me yesterday, in a very excited mood to-day on account of the Austrian ultimatum to Montenegro. He expressed himself in the sharpest terms against Austria's policy. He designated the isolated action of Austria against Scutari as a demonstration against Russia, especially against Tsar Nicholas and against him...

Sasanov, whom I have never seen in such an excited mood, at the conclusion of our conversation urgently requested that we exercise a moderating influence on Austria-Hungary.

Portalès.

("The Great Politics of the European Cabinets." Vol. 34. II. page 554/55.)

Von Jagov, Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, to Pourtalès.

Berlin, March 25, 1913.

I must refuse in the present case to exert influence in Vienna.

Jagov.

("The Great Politics of the European Cabinets" Vol. 34, II. page 555.)

Fall of Adrianople.

Sofia, 27th March. The general attack on Adrianople, commenced in the evening of the 23rd, has led to success. Adrianople fell on March 26. The headquarters have been transferred from Dimotica to Constantinople.

("Agence Bulgare.")

Austria Heading for War.

Report of Count von Kageneck No. 24.

Vienna, March 28th, 1913.

I just learned from the office of the General Staff that the order for the adoption of military measures against Montenegro can be expected shortly.

The Minister for War and the chief of the General Staff discussed the military action in detail this evening with Count Berchthold. I hear that the coast of Montenegro is to be blockaded by the warships already lying off Castel Nuovo (Bay of Cattaro) and the land frontier of the kingdom in the North, including the Austro-Hungarian frontier, is to be cordoned off by the troops of the XVI. and XV. corps...

It is realised in the General Staff that the stubborn attitude of Montenegro is caused simply and solely by the dilatory attitude of Russia. Opinions appear to be equally undecided as to whether Russia would remain passive if the necessity of military measures against Montenegro arose. The overwhelming majority, however, are of the opinion that Russia will not and cannot leave its protégés in the Balkans in the lurch.

Signed **Count Kageneck.**

("The Great Politics of the European Cabinets." Vol. 34, II. page 569.)

A Pacifist Manoeuvre.

London, 26, March. Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in introducing the naval estimates, delivered a speech in which he suggested a year's holiday in naval construction.

(Reuter.)

The "Vorwärts" Enthusiastic.

The speech of the English Naval Minister is of great importance because it comes before the whole world as a new concrete proposal for the limitation of naval armaments.

("Vorwärts", March 28, 1913.)

Against the Armament Mania.

From the Manifesto of the French and German Social Democracy.

The governments in Germany and France are again preparing bills by which the enormous military burdens are to be increased still further...

The French and the German social democracy raise with one voice a unanimous protest against the unceasing armaments which exhaust the nations, compel them to neglect the most important cultural tasks, increase mutual distrust and instead of securing peace, call forth conflicts which lead to a world catastrophe with mass misery and mass slaughter as a result...

In order to secure peace, the independence of the peoples and the progress of democracy in all spheres in both States, the social democracy demands that all disputes between the nations shall be settled by arbitration; it regards decisions by means of force as barbarous and a shame to humanity.

It further demands the abolition of standing armies, which constitute a constant threat to the nations, and in their place the introduction of a national militia on a democratic basis and serving only for national defence.

If, however, in spite of their determined resistance fresh military burdens are imposed on the peoples, then the social democracy of both countries will fight with the utmost energy in order to shift the financial burden on to the shoulders of the rich and well-to-do...

In both countries there is echoed the same call against war, the same condemnation of armed peace. Under the flag of the International, which presupposes the freedom and independence of each nation, the German and French socialists will with increasing force continue the fight against insatiable militarism, against war which devastates the countries, for mutual understanding, for permanent international peace.

Berlin-Paris, March 1, 1913.

For the German social democracy:

The Party Executive: **Bebel, Braun, Brühl, Ebert, Gerisch, Haase, Molkenbuhr, Müller, Pfannkuch, Scheidemann, Wengels, Zietz.**

For the French Social Democracy:

The Party Executive: **Braemer, Cachin, Camelinat, Corgeron, L. Dubreuilh, Ducos de la Haille, Gerard, Grandvallet, Graziani, Héliers, Longuet, Maillot, Mayeras, Pedron, Poisson, Poncet, F. de Pressensé, Reisz, P. Renaudel, Restiaux, Roland, Roldes, Uhry.**

Lenin on the Historical Meaning of the Balkan War.

The Balkan war is drawing to a close. The capture of Adrianople means a decisive victory for the Bulgarians, and the main question has now finally been shifted from the scene of war to the scene of the intrigues and squabbles of the so-called great Powers.

The Balkan war is one of the links in the chain of world events which demonstrate the collapse of mediaevalism in Asia and in Eastern Europe. The creation of united national States in the Balkans, the shaking off of the yoke of the local feudal lords, the final emancipation of the Balkan peasants of the various nationalities from the yoke of the landowners—that was the historical task confronting the Balkan peoples.

The Balkan peoples could have solved this task ten times more easily than now and with a hundredth of the sacrifices by the creation of a federal Balkan Republic...

What is the historical reason why the vital questions in the Balkan have been decided by a war conducted by the bourgeois and dynastic interests? The main reason is the weakness of the proletariat in the Balkans and, further, the reactionary influence, and the pressure of the powerful European bourgeoisie...

Regarding the Balkan events, Russian chauvinism is no less repulsive than European chauvinism, but the chauvinism of the Cadets, veiled by liberal phrases, is even more repulsive, more harmful than the brutal chauvinism of the newspapers of the Black Hundreds...

The nationalists, the Octobrists, the Cadets, are simply various shadings of repulsive bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism which is irreconcilably hostile to freedom!

("Pravda" No. 74 (278), 11th April, (29th March) 1913.

FROM SOVIET CHINA

Decisive Victory of the Red Army Over the Kuomintang.

By T. H.

Shanghai, middle of May.

Since the great victory of the Red Army at Changchow in South Fukien in the fourth campaign of the imperialists and the Kuomintang against the Chinese Soviet Republic, the Chinese newspapers have been unable to publish only one-sided reports of great victories of the Kuomintang troops and annihilating defeats of the Communists, but on the contrary are compelled to publish reports of defeats of the Kuomintang troops and victories of the Red Army.

"Shun Pao" and "China Times", both published in Shanghai, reported on May 10, that the Canton army had retired from the Kiangsi and Fukien front. The Amoy Chamber of Commerce place their hopes on the Kwangsi troops hastening to their aid and promise to pay them half a million for the cost of transport. The Red Army, in the meantime, has not only crossed the Eastern frontier of Kwantung from Changchow, but has also proceeded from South Kiangsi to North Kwantung and penetrated South East Hunan. The local papers report the capture of the towns of Yanfa, Namyung and Pingshek in North Kwantung and Shucheng and Kweitung in South-East Hunan. This has called forth a panic in Canton and Changsha.

The victories of the Red Army in the provinces of Anhwei and Hupeh have a particularly depressing effect in Shanghai and Nanking. The newspapers report that the Red Army, after capturing Liuanchow in West Anhwei, captured the following towns: Chengyangkwan, Showchow, Hwokiensin, Yingshanh, Fengtai and Shucheng. In North-East Anhwei it has taken possession of Chuyi and Tienchang. In Hupeh the towns of Kwangshui, Hwangansien and Suihsien fell into their hands. On May 13, the "Shun Pao" of Shanghai reported that a great panic broke out in Wuhan when the Red Army of Wangta from Honan formed a junction with the Red Army of Holung in Suihsien.

Special importance is attached in political and military circles to the capture of Chengyangkwan by the Red Army. This town is only 60 miles distant from Pengpu, a strategic bulwark of Nanking and junction of the Pukow-Tientsin railway line. As is reported from a reliable source, the Red Army at its victories in Western Anhwei (Chengyangkwan etc.) defeated five Kuomintang divisions and captured huge quantities of arms and munitions, including over 200 machine guns and two aeroplanes.

As a result of the recent victories of the Red Army in Anhwei not only parts of the railway line between Hankow and Peking but also a part of the railway line between Pukow and Tientsin is hemmed in on both sides by the Red Army and can be cut off at any time.

As a result of the uninterrupted victories of the Red Army the fourth campaign of the Kuomintang against the central region (Kiangsi and Fukien) and against the O-Yu-Huan region (frontier district Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei) of the Chinese Soviet Republic has been completely defeated. According to the reports in the Yangtse area it is complained that

"one can no longer distinguish the starving population who are victims of the catastrophe from the red bandits. For millions and millions of the victims of the disaster there exists no prospect of any improvement of their situation. ("China Times" May 16.)

One of the commanders of the Canton army on the Kiangsi front telegraphed to the Canton military authorities during his retreat on May 26:

"What makes the extermination of the red bandits so difficult is that the majority of the population of Kiangsi are for Communism and hostile to the Koumintang."

A prominent Chinese Kuomintang paper "Sin Kuo Min Pao", an organ of the Chinese merchants and planters in the

South Seas published in its issue of May 4 a leading article in which it is stated:

"The continual wars of the generals, the frequent catastrophes and the foreign policy of the Nanking government breed Communism in China. The newspapers report that the majority of the population are for Communism and against the Kuomintang. If according to telegraphic reports from Chanchow the Communists have not carried out massacres or incendiarism, this only renders our fight against them the more difficult."

Imperialist newspapers such as the "Shanghai Times", "North China Daily News" etc. now write: "We must ourselves take up the fight against the Communists." For this reason they are feverishly strengthening their land, and sea forces in the Yangtse area and in Amoy and Hongkong. In Amoy there are 17 British, 7 American and 4 Japanese warships, as well as one French warship in Hongkong. They are supplying war material and aeroplanes expressly for the fight against the Communists. Instigated by the imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek is undertaking a further attempt to defeat the invincible Red Army, and is sending the 5th and 19th army from the Shanghai front to Hupeh and Fukien.

The handful of social democrats are now openly offering their services to the imperialists and the Kuomintang. "Sin Kuo Min Press", published in Singapore, reports from Canton the arrival of a representative of the Nanking War Minister, Chang Tung Chen, leader of the Chinese social democracy, who is entrusted with the task of continuing the fight against the "red bands". This hero, who in the capacity of a Kuomintang Commissar in the fight against the Communists in West Fukien has just suffered an annihilating defeat, is attempting a fresh counter-revolutionary attack.

Obituary

Karl Moor

In the night of 13th June there took place in a Berlin sanatorium the death of Karl Moor, at the age of 80 years.

Karl Moor, a revolutionary fighter in the I. International, a friend of Bebel, Liebknecht and Lenin, came from a wealthy bourgeois family, with whom however he severed connections in his early youth in order to devote himself to international socialism.

Already as a young student Karl Moor became acquainted with the philosopher Feuerbach and attended the meetings of the young social democratic party. Through the example of the Paris Commune he was finally won for Socialism and he joined the I. International.

Karl Moor voluntarily chose the lot of the propertyless political emigrant. He moved to Switzerland and took up the fight for the founding of an independent workers' party. Thus he became the founder of the Swiss social democracy, the leader of the revolutionary Swiss workers.

Since 1907 Karl Moor was a friend of Lenin and stood at the Left wing of the II. International, which after its betrayal of the working class he left in order to join the Communist movement.

He took part in the October revolution in Leningrad and in the years following rendered valuable service through his extensive international connections as participator in all international Congresses and as member of the Swiss Council of the Bolshevik Revolution.

When Karl Moor was in Moscow, Lenin always gave a ready ear to his advice and provided him with a place of honour in the Lenin Home of the old revolutionaries in Moscow.

In 1927 Karl Moor had to leave the Soviet Union in order to seek a cure for his serious illness in a Berlin sanatorium.

With the death of Karl Moor the revolutionary labour movement loses one of its best fighters.

In the International

It is Time to Go over from Adopting Resolutions to Carrying them out.

By O. Piatnitzky.

There has not yet been any Change in the Matter of Carrying out the Resolution on the Transfer of the Centre of Gravity of Party and Trade Union Work to the Factories.

The recent elections in France and Germany, the strikes in England, America and a number of other countries, in which the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the trade union oppositions participated in one form or another show that the Communist Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition have not yet succeeded in winning a large portion of the organised and unorganised masses of workers away from the influence of the social democratic parties and reformist trade union bureaucrats as well as that of the leading trade union apparatus. And this occurs at a time when the social democratic parties and reformist trade union bureaucracy have daily betrayed the interests of these masses through their tactics and their actions in all political and economic questions affecting the great masses of workers.

During the present industrial and agrarian crisis which has drawn in the entire capitalist world, the situation of the workers, those working part time as well as those working full time, and the situation of the unemployed, of the office workers, of the lower officials, of the poor peasants and even a considerable portion of the middle peasants, has undergone a marked deterioration. Under these circumstances the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition could have and should have utilised to much greater advantage the discontent of the great masses of workers in order to unmask those who are really responsible for the defeat of strikes, for wage cuts and the reduction of unemployment relief, for the increase of taxes, for impoverishment of the poor and even middle elements of the peasantry and for the shifting of the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working masses. The Communist Parties, the Red Trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition could have and should have pointed out that only the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement defend the interests of the workers in their programme, in their slogans and actions, and in their whole work. If the revolutionary organisations had succeeded in making the masses understand this, it would have never been possible for the socialist parties and the reformist trade union bureaucrats to continue to manoeuvre both in the political field and in the economic field with their theory of "lesser evil", nor could it have come about that these elements, instead of losing votes in the elections, in a number of cases actually showed an increase in votes (France) and that instead of being made harmless during strikes these elements are still for the most part able to throttle strikes and even to organise blacklegging.

What are the roots of these weaknesses in the work of the Communist Party? During election campaigns and during strikes the meetings called by the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the trade union opposition are attended by great masses of workers. This creates the illusion among active comrades in the Party and the trade union opposition that it has already been possible to defeat the social democrats, to bring the influence of the national socialists to a standstill, etc. As a matter of fact these meetings are attended chiefly by elements who have gone with us and are going with us, but the great masses, all the elements of the working population who do not yet read the revolutionary press and who do not yet go to meetings of the revolutionary organisations and Communist Parties are still almost untouched by revolutionary agitation and by the revolutionary press. This means that in addition to the press and the calling of meetings, in addition to the holding of demonstrations, still other forms or work are necessary, which reach

not only working elements who already follow us, but also broad elements of workers and employees, who do not come to our meetings, who do not read our press and who do not yet respond to our calls for demonstrations.

How can this be attained? Only by work in the factories, among the unemployed, wherever they may be found, in the trade unions and in the mass organisations of the workers and peasants in general. In spite of the fact that there are dozens of resolutions, beginning with Comintern Congresses all the way down to sub-district organisations of the Party, and in spite of the fact that many columns of the Party press are devoted to the necessity of strengthening and organising this work, no real change can be observed. And yet until such a change is carried out in this field, Party and trade union work are bound to be to a great extent superficial, without reaching the basic elements of the working elements who still follow the social democrats, the national fascists and the Centre (Catholic Party).

A great number of examples from the history of the Parties of the Comintern show that when Parties and revolutionary trade unions without any organisations in the factories are driven underground, they immediately lose contact not only with the masses but in many cases even with their own members. There is absolutely no guarantee that the Communist Parties in the most important capitalist countries will not be driven underground. A law has been introduced into Congress in the U.S.A. which would make the Communist Party illegal. In the British House of Commons the government has been asked what it intended to do in order to render the Communist Party harmless. In Germany the question of dissolving the Communist Party has been on the agenda for some time. In Czechoslovakia the Party is already semi-legal. In France as soon as it is possible to utilise a successful act of provocation to convince the petty bourgeoisie and a portion of the workers that the Communist Party has participated in some terroristic act, the Communist Party will be suppressed.

Under such conditions every minute of legal or semi-legal existence of these Parties must be utilised to get them firmly rooted in the factories and persistent work must be carried on among the workers on the basis of defence of their daily interests and the linking up of this struggle with the ultimate aims of the Communist Party. If this is done, it will not be possible in any way for the bourgeoisie to deal sharp blows at the Communist Party, nor will the bourgeoisie succeed in isolating the Party from the masses. This means, however, that at last the resolutions on transferring the centre of gravity of Party and trade union work to the factories must be carried out not in words but in deeds, and not by reports showing that we have so and so many Party nuclei and trade union groups, with the subsequent revelation that in some cases these nuclei do not even exist, or else that they function very poorly.

The imperialist war has already begun in the Far East. This war may become a war between other imperialist states. The arming for military intervention against the Soviet Union is in full swing. There is no one among the Communists or in the revolutionary trade union movement so naive as to think that if the flames of the war in the Far East spread over to Europe or America, the bourgeoisie will allow the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the trade union opposition to continue their legal existence and that it will not attempt to isolate their functionaries and physically anni-

hilate their best leaders. This means that at the very moment when it is more necessary than ever to have the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union opposition extend their work, penetrate the munition factories and the army (many workers are being drawn into the army) and to explain to the masses of workers why this war is being carried on and what this war means — at this very moment the bourgeoisie, by doing away with the Central Committees and District Committees of Communist Parties and the leading bodies of the revolutionary trade unions, is in a position to isolate the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organisations from the masses of workers for a definite period. If there are nuclei in the factories, which do not work openly even when the Party is on a legal basis, the bourgeoisie and the police will not succeed, in spite of all their attempts, in isolating the Party from the masses on the eve and at the outbreak of a war, especially in the big factories. This is so superior to the present form of organisation that this reason alone makes it necessary for the Party and trade union work to be immediately organised on a factory basis not in words but in deeds.

But this is not all. If the Red trade unions, the trade union opposition and the Communist Parties were to shift the centre of gravity of their work to the factories, it would mean a change in the whole character of the work of the Party and the trade unions. This change can come about of course only if real work is carried out in the factories and if work is actually carried on among the masses, and not, as is the case now, when Party nuclei and trade union groups exist in the factories to be sure, but carry on absolutely no work or else very poor work among the workers in the factories, occupying themselves chiefly with questions which do not affect the factories. Any serious work in the factories would change this situation. The Party nuclei and trade union groups must without fail study the feelings among the masses, find out how they live, what questions interest them most and what gives rise to discontent among them, and on what basis they can be organised for a movement of protest. Only in this way is it possible for Party nuclei and revolutionary trade union opposition to penetrate into the circle of questions which interest the masses. This would serve as an incentive for them to formulate their demands and to rally around them active non-party workers to cooperate in putting through these demands. This would serve as an incentive for them thoroughly to study the internal situation of the factories, to study collective agreements, legislation and practice relating to sickness, invalid and unemployment relief. In short, it would serve as an incentive for tireless daily work, work which has so far been carried on mainly by the reformists and social democrats and which still gives them influence over the masses, because so far they have had almost a complete monopoly of this work in the factories. The revolutionary and Party organisations must not only show that they can do this better than the social democrats but they must link up this drudging detail work with the whole policy and the whole tactics of the Communist Party, showing the way out of the intolerable situation in which the proletariat in all countries is being placed during the world economic crisis.

The factory newspapers can and must help in this work. In many cases they have achieved brilliant success, but lately they have been completely neglected. They have no concrete character, but are issued in stereotyped form for all factories, without taking into account the fact that every factory has its special characteristics. They neglect the work of drawing the workers' correspondents of the factory into active collaboration. If the factory newspapers were to receive the proper attention they could become a tremendously valuable factor in the work which must be carried on in the factories. Through this tiresome daily work and through squeezing out and isolating the reformists from this work, it would be easier for the Party nuclei, individual communists, supporters of the R.I.L.U. and trade union groups to unmask the reformists and social democrats, to expose their treacherous acts outside the factory in Parliament, in bargaining with the employers and in the negotiations with the government and to push them out of their positions in the mass organisations and wrest the masses away from their influence. They must do this by linking up daily detailed work with the slogans and whole policy of the Communist Party, **by unmasking the reformists on the basis of actual facts, without mud slinging** but by irrefutable proof, and by pointing out in advance the manoeuvres to which the

reformists will resort in this or that struggle—only by these methods will the Communist Parties succeed in placing themselves at the head of the proletariat and liberating it from the influence of the reformists and social democrats. Only in this way is it possible to win over the majority of the working class.

This of course means also that the revolutionary press must be written in popular language which is generally understood by the masses, that the press must be focussed on the masses and must supply Party members and members of the revolutionary opposition with arguments against the reformist trade union leaders, against the social democrats and the bourgeoisie. This involves a change in the character of the work of these nuclei and trade union groups in the factories. The Party leadership and the leadership of the revolutionary trade union movement must animate the work of these organisations in the factories. All questions of interest at the given moment to the Party and the Red trade Unions must be raised in the factories, all mass campaigns must be carried on by the organisations in the factories and special care must be taken to have the organisations in the factories receive regular instructions and to have a checking up of the carrying out of all resolutions adopted. In short, everything must be done which has been neglected up to now.

If the work were organised in the manner called for at a given moment, as can and must be done in Communist, Bolshevik organisations, our Parties could be growing in the factories continually, because the best elements among the non-Party workers and other revolutionary workers belonging to traitor parties would join the Communist Party. Moreover, our Party organisations could be made more militant not by phraseology of one kind or another but by real work and by contact with the masses. If the work is really organised in this way we will not find members recruited by the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions dropping out again, and the fluctuation which now exists in all revolutionary organisations will become insignificant or will cease entirely. If the Party organisation in the factories functioned properly, if they worked effectively, it would not be difficult to establish the correct mutual relations between the nuclei in the factories and the revolutionary trade union groups on the one hand and the members of the nuclei and of the revolutionary trade union groups on the other hand. It would be possible to avoid the situation which has often existed up to now, namely, isolation of the revolutionary trade union groups in the factory and of the nuclei from each other, without any contact between them and no leadership from the nuclei. And it is not infrequently the case also, that the revolutionary trade union groups, as well as the members of these groups and members of the Communist nuclei in the factory councils make opportunist mistakes and some times even vote like the reformists for the dismissal of workers and declare themselves in agreement with the reduction of wages.

If the Party nuclei and revolutionary trade union groups in the factories are to work as revolutionary and Communist organisations should work, it is necessary first of all to have the sub-district committees of the Party and the trade unions and the local organisations of the Party and the Red Trade Unions which are in direct contact with the nuclei and trade union groups in the factories help them, guide them, strengthen their work and support them in every way, by supplying them with functionaries and with literature and handbills and by offering technical assistance for the publication of their papers. If the sub-district committees and the local Party and trade union organisations which are linked up with the nuclei and trade union groups in the factories took an interest in this work it would not be difficult to establish contacts even if the revolutionary workers who are members of the revolutionary trade union movement or the Communist Party were dismissed from these factories. These contacts could be established through unemployed workers who formerly worked in the enterprise in question, by drawing in workers in the enterprise who sympathize with the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement and by discovering members of other revolutionary organisations, such as the I.L.D. the W.I.R. Anti Fascist organisations, Red Front Fighters, revolutionary Free Thinkers, and Revolutionary Sport organisations. These workers must establish contacts in the enterprises and form Party nuclei and trade union groups from within, and when this is not possible they must work from outside to get such organisations started in the factory.

If the sub-district and local committees having direct contact with the organisations in the factories were to take up this work and consider it as one of their chief tasks, they would understand the necessity for concentrating on the most important branches of production and on the big enterprises. This is especially true because the leading branches of production and biggest enterprises in actual fact are closely connected with the other branches of production and other enterprises. The sub-district committees and local organisations, with which the organisations in the factories are in direct contact, must devote twice as much attention to the organisations which exist in the leading branches of production and in the big factories. They must concern themselves particularly with these organisations, must hold conferences with them, obtain reports from them and issue directives showing them how they are to carry on work on this or that question, and how they are to approach the social democratic workers, the christian workers and those who follow the fascists.

Special attention must be devoted to the shop newspapers. It is not enough merely to send out instructors to these organisations. Speakers must be placed at their disposal to speak at meetings at the factory gates, prepared in advance by Party members inside the factories. If pains were taken and this work were organised as it should be, success would be bound to follow. It would be possible to renounce former methods of work because the new methods would bring such results that the members of the Party and of the revolutionary trade union organisations would be convinced of the necessity for transferring the centre of gravity of their work to the factories and devote the proper attention to this work.

Of course the work in the factories is not the only work which must be carried on by the Party organisations and the revolutionary trade union movement. But it is work of the utmost importance. In addition to this work, work must be carried on among the unemployed. In all capitalist countries the unemployed make up almost 50% of the proletariat. The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement cannot possibly stand aside. They must go to the unemployed and organise their struggle, because the Communist Party is the Party of the proletariat, which cannot possibly renounce the task of organising these masses for daily struggle on behalf of their interests and of linking up these struggles with the ultimate aims, with the whole policy and tactics of the Party. If such masses of workers, who have been out of work for several years already, remain unorganised, if they are not welded together, they are bound to disintegrate and become pauperised. This disintegration can be stopped only by organising the unemployed and by leading their struggles against evictions, for government insurance, for a lump sum relief payment, against the reduction of relief now received, for the organisation of meals for children, etc. Success can be achieved wherever our Parties, the Red Trade Unions, and the trade union opposition have done something for the unemployed. The masses of unemployed must be organised and some improvement of their situation must be brought about, if only temporary. Then it will be possible to thwart the attempts of the reformists, social democrats and fascists to penetrate these organisations. In countries where no work is being carried on among the unemployed, the reformists and social democrats are making attempts to disrupt the organisations of the unemployed which exist, as in England, or to penetrate into the ranks of the unemployed, as in Germany. In addition to work in the factories, the work among the unemployed is one of the chief tasks of the Party.

The third task consists in strengthening the work in the reformist and other mass trade unions, especially with regard to the question of unemployment. Approximately 40% of the members of the reformist and other trade unions are unemployed (in the Red Trade Unions and trade union opposition, the percentage is still higher). Nevertheless the reformist trade unions vote for the reduction of unemployment relief and support these reductions (Germany, Austria), and oppose the introduction of government unemployment relief (France, America).

If the trade union opposition (the Communists in the trade union opposition) form themselves into a special organisation in every reformist trade union, if they carry on energetic preliminary work among the unemployed members of the reformist trade unions and work out concrete proposals for defence of the interests of the unemployed by the trade unions (which will naturally be rejected by the reformists, while the members of the reformist trade unions are genuinely interest-

ed in the improvement of the situation of the unemployed)—if all this is done, will it not be possible to gain influence over the members of the reformist trade unions, and will it not be possible to work with these members to discredit the reformist leaders and to drive these leaders out of the lower organisations? Of course it is possible.

After this work is once started in the reformist trade unions action can at once be taken in support of any strikes which may have broken out spontaneously or under revolutionary leadership and for the prevention of the betrayal of such strikes by the bureaucracy. Good work in the reformist trade unions would make it possible to mobilise the members of these unions in a struggle against the reduction of wages, against the reduction of relief, for the introduction of government insurance for the unemployed, and against the shifting of all the burdens of the crisis to the shoulders of the working class the poor and middle peasantry. Then our Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement would not lag behind the advance of the revolutionary movement of the working and peasant masses, but would become leaders of these masses and capture the majority of the working class.

Experience in Work in the Enterprises in England.

By Tom.

As in many other countries, the work carried out by the British Party so far in bringing about the turn in the enterprises has been unsatisfactory.

Early in 1932 the Party adopted a number of resolutions connected with and based on the coming economic struggles, which were to guarantee the carrying out of the work in the enterprises.

According to the resolution of the C.C. the entire Party was to concentrate during the next 6 months on persistent work in the most important selected enterprises in four most important districts namely: London, Scotland, Manchester (Lancashire) and South Wales.

A number of existing factory nuclei are not included in the special spheres of concentration, but this in no way means that the Party is not to carry on any work in these nuclei.

Concentration is merely for the purpose of having the best forces of the Party, from the C.C. down, attempt to build up strong Party organisations with a far-reaching mass influence in 50-60 enterprises, by preparing and conducting the daily struggles of the workers in these enterprises.

First of all, a discussion was held in the district and local committees on the selection of these enterprises. This selection and discussion confronted the committees and the lower organisations with the question of immediately carrying out the Party resolutions in the most important enterprises in an absolutely concrete manner.

Then **responsible Party workers** (beginning from the C.C.) were appointed and assigned to these enterprises. These comrades are to assist the members in the enterprises, see to it that the nearby street nuclei of the local organisation shall offer the maximum assistance to the nucleus or to the work of the comrades in the enterprise and to establish direct contact between the district committee and the factory nucleus. This work of these comrades is to be considered their most important Party work and chief duty. For enterprises in which the Party had no previous contact, small brigades were elected (also under the direction of a responsible comrade) made up of comrades who in one way or another are connected with this industry or in a position to establish connections.

The most acute questions, grievances and conflicts have been taken up and the interest of the majority of workers in the enterprise or department has been aroused. On this basis demands have been formulated, for which the nucleus or Party comrades have attempted to mobilise the majority of the workers. The material obtained in dealing with these questions has been utilised for the factory newspaper and in some cases for the „Daily Worker“.

In one case (in London) it was discovered that in one enterprise there were Party members employed who did not even know each other, because they did not carry on any Party work in the enterprise (the Party work was carried on only in

the evenings after work and in the street nucleus or local organisation) and these comrades were organised in different local groups. There were also cases in which this work enabled our comrades to find out that in the trade union branches where we had influential members, there are workers who were employed in these enterprises.

On the basis of this preliminary work the district committee, in the presence of comrades responsible for the work in the respective enterprise and in some cases (but not yet in every case — and this is a defect) in the presence of the nucleus representatives, discussed the situation in some of these nuclei and laid down concrete tasks for the nucleus or brigade, and for the respective local organisation. In accordance with the programme of work of the committees of these 4 districts such discussions are to take place each month, or once every 6 weeks. Reports at hand show that this work is being carried out, even though in some cases it has been greatly delayed.

In most nuclei or brigades a discussion of the C.C. resolution has been carried out under the direction of the comrade attached to the nucleus or brigade. This discussion has been linked up with the concrete tasks in the enterprise and has been taken up in the respective trade union branches, although the discussion in the trade union branches has, as a rule, been unsatisfactory.

In London and Scotland the first numbers of the district bulletins for exchange of district experience and guidance to the lower committees have been published. In Manchester and South Wales preparations are being made to issue such bulletins.

In Scotland, Manchester and South Wales groups have been organised for the nucleus leaders of the selected enterprises. Such groups have also been prepared in London. The chief topic taken up in these groups is the C.C. resolution and the questions of applying it in the work in the enterprises. In London and in a number of enterprises in Manchester and Scotland special elementary discussion groups have been organised for non-Party and sympathising workers.

I give here a few examples showing the first results of the work:

In one nucleus it was decided that every nucleus member (the majority being new Party members) should for the next week, until the next nucleus meeting, discuss the coming wage-cut with 5—10 of the workers working around him, and ask their opinions. The immediate aim of these discussions was to check up on the views of the workers and to popularise the coming general meeting of the workers employed in the enterprise, which had been called by the Minority Movement group.

160—170 workers appeared at the M.M. meeting (usually only 30 appeared). After the first 10 to 14 days the nucleus was already able to report a number of new contacts, so that the comrades have even reported the possibility of establishing two nuclei in two affiliated enterprises. And the spirit among the nucleus members after these first successes was very enthusiastic.

In Great Harwood (a small textile town) a large committee of unemployed has been formed, which organises big demonstrations. Several hundred workers participated in the meetings of this council. When the strike-breakers from Great Harwood went to Blackburn, this committee succeeded, in spite of the mobilisation of all police forces and the brutality, in bringing the entire working population (more than 10 000 on to the street).

The comrades in a textile mill in Lancashire began the work at once and obtained a great number of reports, which were daily checked-up and tabulated. Speeches and discussions were organised not far from the place where the workers eat. Thus our comrades made contacts with a number of workers. Copies of the „Daily Worker“ were sold.

In an important enterprise in Manchester a group of the Friends of the Soviet Union was formed, with the task of winning over the workers for the election of a delegate for the November celebration.

A group of Friends of the Soviet Union was formed among the railway workers in Wigan (Springs branch), which has rallied 50 workers.

In a chemical plant the street nucleus succeeded in gaining 70-80 signatures among the workers for a local petition of our unemployed organisation. Afterwards the shock brigade visited all these workers and we still have permanent contact with many of them.

In a railway shop (1,200 workers) in London there is a fairly strong Party nucleus, which, apart from propaganda and agitational work, has not worked badly in the trade union and also in the departmental committee, which is a body made up of representatives of the workers and employers for the regulation of all questions of conflict. This nucleus however has carried on very little activity in the shop itself. In the discussion on the C.C. resolution it was decided to begin work in these shops. In the main shop a window pane was broken and the workers there were freezing. The employers refused to buy a new pane since it was often broken through by the football games of the children outside the shop. But when all the workers had agreed upon the demand which was to be formulated by the nucleus, the employers were forced to receive a delegation elected by the workers and to repair the window. Already as a result of this small action the influence of the Communists has increased.

In a clothing manufacturing shop with 300 workers, the 2 Party members employed there started their work by mobilising the workers for demands against maltreatment. They acquired influence in one department where the workers had never been organised in trade unions. After a few weeks each department elected a representative for a shop committee, which has now taken up the struggle for all such grievances. The influence of this committee grew from day to day, so that after a certain length of time the majority of the workers attended the meetings called by the committee, at which official representatives of the C.P. and the „Daily Worker“ spoke. Subscriptions were taken for the „Daily Worker“ in the enterprise.

When the employer saw this he wanted to fire the 2 Communists. Under pretext of rationalisation, all workers were dismissed, and it was explained to them that they would be again hired within a few days on an **individual** basis. The meeting of the workers, which was immediately called, resolved unanimously that no worker should report individually for work. The employer was forced to retreat and to reinstate our comrades. Now the comrades are attempting to transform the committee of the workers into an R.T.U.O. group which includes a large majority of the workers, and to establish a strong industrial nucleus.

In a small railway shop (2500 workers) the nucleus issued demands on the payment of wages: (detailed statement on piece work rates, for the management paid differently for piece work each time; establishment of workers' control for estimating piece work etc.).

An intensive agitation was carried on for these demands through the shop newspaper, in trade union meetings, by chalking and by individual invitation of the nucleus and M.M. members.

When a delegation of workers could obtain nothing from the management, the nucleus in one of the departments immediately organised a meeting, at which all the workers participated, and proposed that all workers should stop work at once and go collectively to the manager. This proposal was accepted and several hundred workers left work and marched through five or six other departments and went right to the manager, who was forced to promise that the administration in London would give an answer to the demands of the workers within a definite period. This march through the enterprise caused a suspension of work in other departments. The workers in these departments discussed the matter among themselves and the demands are now known throughout the enterprise and everyone knows that it is the Communists who are leading the struggle. The subsequent number of the newspaper of the enterprise had to be published twice over owing to the demand.

At the beginning of lightermen's strike in London, (5,000 workers) our Party had no contacts whatsoever among the strikers. A large part of the strikers were even hostile to us. Owing to the activity of a few leading comrades, who devoted themselves entirely to this work, it was possible to achieve great success within a few weeks. After a few weeks great numbers of copies of the „Daily Worker“ were sold among the strikers and we succeeded in holding large mass meetings of strikers. In the 5th week of the strike our slogan to continue the strike received more votes than were cast for the proposal to strike on the eve of the strike. Now 50-60 lightermen have joined the Party.

* * *

All these examples are no new discovery from the point of view of international experience but they are nevertheless

very important. So far, with regard to the C.P. of England, criticism has been limited mainly to a repetition of phrases about the necessity of work in the enterprises and often with impotent philosophising about the causes for the poor state of work in the enterprises, and consequently no progress has been made, in spite of all the resolutions passed. So far work in the enterprises has been limited chiefly to the sale of publications, (factory newspapers or the "Daily Worker"), and often even this has been lacking. In most cases, only when matters reach large strike struggles and mass movements has the Party developed its activity, often very late, sent people into the strike regions, etc. After the strike work has again been suspended.

The workers have often had only a vague knowledge that the Communists are against the Labour Party, against the reformists, against imperialist war and for the Soviet Union, and that they sell the "Daily Worker", and sometimes the workers have even had the idea that Communists are "fanatics", that they "read many scientific books", can discuss "high subjects" and are very self-sacrificing, because they get up every day to sell their paper at 5 or 6 in the morning and hold meetings until late at night. But whenever a start has been made in carrying out real Party and mass work in the enterprises the result has been evident at once—a small result perhaps but potentially significant.

The initial experience shows that this method of concentrating the best forces on a definite number of selected enterprises is completely correct and that it has led to:

Concentration of the committees and respective organisations on work in the most important enterprises:

The bringing of responsible workers (cadres) close to the questions, problems and difficulties of work in the enterprises:

Disclosure and overcoming of a number of tendencies: obstacles and views which for years have been hampering the development of work in the enterprises:

Better and more concrete preparation and participation and (in some cases) leadership in economic struggles;

A start in bringing the C.I., the C.C. and the District Committee resolutions into the nuclei;

And finally, better understanding on the part of every individual comrade in the enterprises of the tasks which confront him.

The sum and substance of all this is, that the work that has been started will not be forgotten and that the comrades will carry it on with increasing energy. Under this condition and only under this condition will the influence and the organisation of the Party in the enterprises really grow.

The Party in the Strike in Vienne.

By Marin.

8,000 working men and women in the textile mills of Vienne, France, were on strike for 8 weeks, from February 29th, to April 22nd. Already before the strike one third of the workers were completely unemployed, while part time work (two to four days a week) was becoming more and more widespread.

On March 1st, a new wage cut came into force. For several months discontent had been growing among the textile workers in Vienne, and now, when the C.G.T.U. turned to them with an appeal, they all joined the struggle, unemployed as well as employed workers. This struggle, which lasted 52 days and revealed a very high level of militancy among the textile workers, was a shining example of working class heroism and broke down the opportunist theory according to which struggles in times of crisis are impossible. The Vienne strike showed also a better understanding of the united front. At the same time it emphasized the fact that the struggle against the anarcho syndicalist traditions among large numbers of our cadres and against indifference with regard to questions of organisation, preparation of struggles and consolidation of the results achieved is a more urgent necessity than ever before.

In spite of the fact that this struggle ended successfully and that the revolutionary proletarian organisations took an active part in it, it must nevertheless be pointed out very

emphatically that the Party organisation in Vienne itself intervened only after inexcusable delay.

In this proletarian town with old revolutionary traditions our Party has but one local organisation, with 7 members, including only two members employed in textile mills, and these only very small enterprises. This nucleus was isolated from the masses of workers. The district and sub-district committees neglected to concentrate the work of the few communists on the enterprises. Not only was nothing done by the district and sub-district committees to focus the work of the local Party organisation on the preparation of the strike, but it was a long time before they even noticed that the strike was going on. It is also a fact that on the eve of the movement the secretary of the sub-district committee did not have even an inkling of what was to take place on the following day.

In spite of the fact that the attack of the employers was known in advance and even announced, our organisation in Vienne did not take the necessary organisational measures for directing the resistance of the workers. The struggle started without any previous formation of committees of action and without the previous establishment of a strike fund, in other words, without the least organisational basis for the struggle.

Only after the wage cuts had been in force a number of days did our functionaries speak at the gates of the mills. On February 28th, i. e. two days before the wage cuts came into effect, a meeting was called at which there was an attendance of 1200 and a second meeting was held on February 29th, with an attendance of 1500, at which the measures were decided upon for the strike which was to start on the following day. Thus the Party organisation in Vienne, which should have been the first to recognize and point out the militancy among the workers and to consolidate this militancy and direct the launching of the struggle, was actually the last, because it waited for action from the central organisation. This shows an isolation from the masses which is inexcusable for a Party organisation and which must be overcome as the very next task.

The commencement of the strike itself furnished some good examples of tactics. The slogans of struggle were: "On the morning of March 1st delegations must be sent to the owners of the various enterprises. Meanwhile passive resistance in the mills. If the employers still insisted on the wage cut the workers must leave the mills immediately. **The mills on strike must bring about a suspension of work in the other mills. Concentration point: Le Etablissements Reunis, the most important mill.**"

Although the Party organisation played an absolutely insignificant role in the preparation of the strike, not only was this error not corrected in the course of the strike and no effort made to ensure the leading role of the Party (certain functionaries even pride themselves on this), but certain comrades in the district committee of the trade unions (Claveri) gave signs of direct resistance to participation in the strike by the Party as such.

In the opinion of these comrades the strong anarcho-syndicalist traditions among the Vienne workers made it advisable "to be very careful about speaking of the Communist Party". Instead of combatting the anarcho-syndicalist traditions, which undoubtedly existed, and instead of utilising the valuable lessons of the struggle to free the strikers from the influence of the anarchists, these functionaries, under the plea of "caution" brought matters to such a point that during the first two weeks of the struggle the workers saw no sign of the Party at all (on the 15th day of the struggle the workers had not yet heard a word from the Communist Party). It was declared that intervention by the Party organisation was likely to discredit the idea of unity and that the reformists would say that the strike was being utilised for political ends. Matters went so far that during the first month the Party did not issue a single hand-bill or strike bulletin, nor did it give any sign of life whatsoever. The result was that the strike was not in any way linked up with the mobilisation of the workers against the imperialist war which had started in China and against intervention in the Soviet Union.

During the first two weeks of the strike 1500 strikers joined the C.G.T.U., but nothing was done to start any recruiting for the Party. It was only after action had been taken by the higher Party committee that 25 members were recruited for the

Party, without any help from the comrades in the trade union who participated in the leadership of the strike. Even this first result, which was achieved in spite of the great errors of the Vienna Party organisation and the erroneous tendencies of the comrades in the trade union, refuted the opportunist view that the Party should not come before the workers in the strike.

Questions Relating to Factory Nuclei in the Communist Party of Poland.

By Bewer.

Of all the Communist Parties in capitalist countries it is the Communist Party of Poland which has taken up most seriously the question of transferring the centre of gravity of Party work to the enterprises. As a result of the improved work in the enterprises, the C.P.P. succeeded in 1931 in heading successful strike struggles. According to data of the C.C. of the C.P.P. for the first three months of 1931 25% of all strikes were spontaneous and 45% ended unsuccessfully, while in the last three months of 1931 only 9% of all strikes broke out spontaneously and only 5% ended in defeat.

All other strikes in Poland during the entire year were prepared and led by the Communist Party.

A necessary condition for this successful strike struggle was the correct political line of the Party, but this correct political line could have vanished into thin air, if the local Party organisation, and above all Party members working in the enterprises had not shown great revolutionary initiative in the matter of mobilising the masses, in spite of the difficult conditions of police terror. Strikes like the strikes of the Lodz textile workers, the Dombrova and Upper Silesian miners and finally, like the strike of the Warsaw street-car workers will be written down not only in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Polish proletariat but also in the history of the international liberation struggle of the proletariat as a splendid example of capable Bolshevik leadership of the revolutionary struggles of the masses. The proletariat in all capitalist and colonial countries must learn from the Lodz textile workers, the Dombrova and Upper Silesian miners and the Warsaw street-car workers how to carry on careful preparatory work for the organisation of strikes, utilising for this purpose all forms of individual agitation in the enterprises and in the homes of the workers, organising small illegal meetings and factory conferences of active revolutionists, large meetings and mass action, breaking through the boundaries imposed by police terror, and they must also learn how to pick out and elect delegates from departments and enterprises, how to organise strike committees, etc.

These achievements of the C.P.P. in the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, the timely launching of strikes, their correct leadership, and the selection of the proper moment for their termination, are of great international significance. The C.P. of Poland holds a responsible place in the international liberation struggle of the proletariat. The sharpening of the economic crisis has already led to the maturing of the elements of revolutionary crisis. On the other hand, the role of the ruling classes of Poland in the preparation of a new attack on the Soviet Union is such that the question of preparation and transformation of a counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet war into a civil war against the Pilsudski government and for a workers' and peasants' Poland is already a vital practical question for the C.P.P. in its present daily Party work. Therefore the international proletariat has every reason to welcome enthusiastically the achievements of the C.P. of Poland in the revolutionary mobilisation of the workers in the factories.

All these achievements, however, do not mean that we can say that the work of the C.P.P. in the enterprises has reached as high a level as possible at the present time for a Communist Party. The Org. Resolution of the February (1932) Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.P. declares that in 1931: "The general growth in the number of nuclei applies primarily to peasant nuclei. If the absolute growth of factory nuclei in heavy industry is 38%, the growth of peasant nuclei is 135%. The nuclei in heavy industry constitute 16% of the total number of nuclei, while the nuclei in small scale industry, handicraft and among the unemployed constitute 52% and the peasant nuclei 27%. And further: "A serious defect in the nuclei of enterprises in heavy industry is their numerical weakness, which shows the ossification of a large number of

factory nuclei and their weak recruiting activity." "Notwithstanding the repeated decisions and directives of the C.C., Jewish and Polish nuclei continue to exist side by side. The national division in organisation is a remnant of Polish and Jewish nationalism in our ranks." The leading article on the organisational question in "Novo Przegląd" in commenting on the February resolution, supplements this characterisation of the state of nucleus work by the statement that "cases exist in which separate trade union departments prepare and carry on campaigns without the participation of the nuclei". This characterisation of the situation in the nuclei of the C.C.P. shows that the achievements of the C.P.P. in its work in the enterprises have not yet any solid organisational base in the form of strong factory nuclei. The C.P.P. must concentrate its forces in the near future on real work to strengthen the factory nuclei in the most important enterprises of the leading branches of industry. Consistent criticism of Party work is necessary from the standpoint of consolidating the work of the Party in the enterprises, particularly the work of the factory nuclei.

The C.C. of the C.P.P. has correctly focussed the attention of the Party at the present time on the task of consolidating the factory nuclei. All facts show that the C.C. of the C.P.P. has put this question in a serious manner. Nevertheless, a careful study of the Org. Resolution of the February Plenum of the C.C. and the article in "Novo Prz." commenting on it leads to the conclusion that the C.C. of the C.P.P. must work out still more carefully and concretely a number of questions regarding the improvement of the factory nuclei. The Org. Resolution of the C.C. correctly objects to the tendency to limit at any cost the membership of factory nuclei to a small number of comrades. This tendency prevailed not long ago in the practice of the factory nuclei of the C.P.P. This view was based on conspirative considerations. Consequently, instead of factory nuclei there actually exist narrow groups, sometimes several of them in one enterprise.

Under conditions of illegality it is of course difficult to hold a large nucleus meeting, but this is no argument for restricting the membership of the Party organisation and of the factory nuclei. If a general meeting of the nucleus cannot be called, at least it is possible to hold delegates meetings or conferences of representatives of nucleus members; a number of questions can be taken up in the Party press and decisions may be announced through the press or individually, etc. In this way, if police conditions make it necessary to have the lowest party unit in the enterprise very small, for example, 3 to 5 persons, then these three or five should be organised not on the basis of personal contact but on the basis of the structure of the enterprise, so that every such group should be part of the factory nucleus and should carry on active work in a definite section of the enterprise (shop, department, shift, etc.). The February Org. Resolution of the C.C. touched only in passing the question of department nuclei, not connecting it with the reorganisation of the nuclei and the change in their method of work. The Org. Resolution of the C.P. and the article in "Novo Prz." commenting on it, do not touch upon another question which is of great importance to factory nuclei, namely the question of a division of labour in the nuclei. Let us bring up here one model method of division of labour in factory nuclei which, with the necessary corrections for each individual case, can be used as a basis for dividing the most important functions of the factory nucleus:

a) Contact with the Party committee, with the nucleus bureau of the Y.C.L. and with department nuclei and units, and preparatory work for nucleus and bureau meetings—this is usually the duty of the nucleus secretary.

b) Leadership of trade union work in the enterprise, contact with the Communist fraction in the trade union and in the organisation of the unemployed.

c) Distribution of Party literature in the enterprise, legal, illegal and semi-illegal.

d) Direction of the factory newspapers (technical preparation, editing and distribution).

e) Treasurer—he is the dues collector, he organises the financial undertakings of the factory nucleus, if there are any.

If the nucleus is a large one, it elects a bureau, among the members of which the various functions are distributed. If the nucleus is small it elects a secretary and the other functions are divided among the members. But even in cases where there is a bureau all nucleus members must be drawn into daily party work and must be assigned special tasks.

Sympathetic workers must be brought in, with due care of course, to assist and participate in the work of the nucleus.

There are very few factory newspapers in the C.P.P., and this was a point which was overlooked in the Org. Resolution. While factory newspapers are in general a valuable form of contact between the nucleus and the masses, this is all the more true under conditions of illegality and the impossibility of calling big meetings of workers. Factory newspapers and other Party literature can be read by every worker and thus the entire factory staff can be made to understand why the factory nucleus and the Communist Party are calling on them and for what aim.

A most important question in the consolidation of Party work in the enterprises is the question of the structure and methods of work of Party committees. The Org. Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P.P. states that the district committees are frequently established without following the principles of Party democracy, and as a main directive the resolution calls for the strengthening of the work of the departments of the district committees. It seems to us that this is not yet all that should be said.

The C.C. of the C.P.P. perfectly correctly takes a stand against the widely prevailing view in the Party that for the sake of greater conspiracy, the Party Committees must be formed by appointment from above. Appointment from above is indeed more conspirative, but on the other hand such committees have poor contact with the Party masses, are easily isolated from them, fall into sectarian errors, and are not capable of leading the nuclei properly. In the C.P.P., as experience has shown, illegal district and regional Party conferences can be successfully carried out, and therefore it is necessary to continue to call such conferences. The C.C. is entirely correct in insisting on this and on having the most important Party questions discussed and decided at Party conferences, at which reports should also be heard from the Party committees and at which the Party committees should be re-elected, as provided in the Party statutes.

But in this connection it must be particularly emphasised: that in forming Party committees it is necessary to insure the inclusion of the best representatives of the strong nuclei and Communist fractions in the most important trade union organisations, and if such comrades are not chosen in the election, they must be included by the method of cooption. If they are absent as a result of arrest or for other reasons it is again necessary to replace them by the method of cooption, not waiting for the regular Party conference. Party committees formed in this way will be more capable of obtaining support from the factory nuclei and the factory nuclei will be able to maintain systematic contact with the Party committee, and this improvement of the contact in itself will facilitate the carrying out of the tasks set forth by the February Plenum of the C.C. for the political education and training of the factory nuclei. These are a few additions to the Org. Resolution of the Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.P.

The organisational experience of the C.P.P. is of great international significance and must be carefully studied by other sections of the C.I. The C.C. of the C.P.P., by regular articles in the Party press, must facilitate this study for the other Parties.

Factory Newspapers in the Mass Work of the C.P. of Poland.

By A. r.

The C.P. of Poland can point to some successful experience in the matter of factory newspapers. It should be mentioned that this form of contact with the broad masses, of activating and increasing the influence of the Party organisation in the factory has not long been used in the C.P.P. Of course, the agit-prop work of the factory nuclei, the publication of leaflets by the nuclei during various actions and campaigns organised by the Party has always been used on a fairly wide scale. But leaflets and manifestoes by the nucleus, however, most frequently appeared during the general activity of the Party and served in a way as an addition to the general Party literature published by the Party for the given campaign.

In spite of a number of difficulties connected particularly with underground work, the C.P.P. raised before all the Party organisations the question of developing factory news-

papers and in this direction radically reorganised the work of the agit-props. The main efforts of the agit-prop departments had to be directed towards assisting the Party organisations to organise this work. The report on this work in Upper Silesia is very interesting. In a short period of two or three months, the Party nuclei succeeded in setting up 5 editorial boards in the biggest mines and factories, publishing 9 factory newspapers which were received with great enthusiasm by the broad masses in the factories and which became exceedingly popular. Under the leadership of the district committee, a district editorial board was set up which got into direct contact with the editorial boards in the factories. The factory editorial boards contained 28 comrades of whom 13 were Party members and 15 were non-party, and they recruited 12 worker correspondents in the factories of whom 1 was a Party member and 11 non-party. Two papers were published with the participation of the non-party unemployed.

In the Dombrov Basin in 5 mines editorial boards were formed with 11 members (6 Party members and 5 non-party). In Warsaw they were formed in several big metal works—Lillepont, Norblin, in the tram workshops and the electric works. In Warsaw suburbs an editorial board was formed at the artificial silk factory "Hodakov".

In some factories, e.g., at the Lillepont factory, papers began to come out regularly even at the beginning of 1931 ("Red Lilponovetz" etc.). The newspapers were printed on duplicators to the number of 200-300 copies (5-8 pages) and distributed illegally among the workers in the factories. The appearance of the newspapers caused a great sensation, gave rise to considerable liveliness and roused the interest of the whole factory. Those who had not received a paper tried to get one and the circle of correspondents widened. Naturally the police were also interested in the newspaper. When the first paper appeared at the metal works of Krolgud in Upper Silesia, within two hours the director of the works called in the police to discover who was selling the papers.

As an illustration of the contents of these papers written by the workers themselves, we will give a few examples:

I. "Red Lilponovetz" No. 6, Warsaw, July 1931. 1. A short article on August 1st. 2. On intervention against the Soviet Union. 3. Against wage-cuts, an exposure of the social-fascists in the factory. 4. Down with dismissals. 5. Against wage-cuts in the moulding shop. 6. The reformist metal workers' union. 7. Picture—a caricature of a social fascist delegate in the factory. 8. Whom will Mr. Feller defend? (the social fascist delegate). 9. Rationalising engineers, (with illustration). Supplement "Young Lilponovetz" No. 2 (the position of youth in the factory, rationalisation, war). Slogans.

II. "The Red Mine", Kanrov Dembinski, Upper Silesia (No. 1 July 1931). Articles in Russian and German. On the first page the Hammer and Sickle.

1. August 1st. 2. The Economic Crisis. 3. The P.P.S. and the Scheidemanites—the war of 1914. 4. The attack of capital (contrasted to the Soviet Union). 5. Short poem on the unemployed. 6. The unemployed. 7. What there is money for and what we can't afford (military budget etc.). 8. The Truth about the Soviet Union. 9. News from all the World.

III. "Red Hodakov" (Artificial silk factory in Warsaw Suburbs). 1. The First of May. 2. Rationalisation in the weaving shops. 3. The Management is robbing us. 4. The situation in the shops where women work. 5. The R.T.U.O. 6. About the setting up of new machines which adapt the factory to produce poison gas. 7. Intervention. 8. Capitalist rationalisation. 9. Socialist factories in the Soviet Union. 10. Youth. 11. Poem on Capitalist rationalisation. 12. All reservists should join the Red Reservists League. 13. Self Defence. 14. The Manager violates women workers. 15. Unemployment. 16. Slogans.

It is interesting to note that this last paper was so popular that in a short time 22 non-party workers correspondents were recruited in the factory.

Experience shows that these papers played a great role in strengthening the position of the Party nuclei in the factories, increasing their popularity in the factory and helping to mobilise the factory masses in political campaigns led by the Communist Party, and above all in preparing and developing strikes, in the struggle against social fascist factory committees, at the election of factory committees, raised the political level of the nuclei and formed a source for bringing active workers into the Party. The work has a

number of weaknesses and shortcomings. Sometimes the paper is printed so carelessly that it cannot be read. Another shortcoming is the fact that articles are sometimes too long, not concrete enough and not brightly written. The workers then say "The articles are dull and not interesting to read". Newspapers with short concrete articles on the political situation, the tasks of the workers, on the situation in the factories, poems on burning questions in the factory, exposure of the social fascists, written brightly and with humour, are most popular.

The C.P.P. is considering this experience and is trying to make the factory newspapers into a good weapon in the hands of the nuclei for improving political and organisational work in close contact with the masses in the factories.

How a New Factory Nucleus is Organised.

The "Rote Fahne" No. 87, central organ of the C.P.G., gives the following information:

"In the Centre Sub-District*) there is a chemical factory which employs about 250 workers the majority of whom are women. Up to now the Party did not have any organisational basis in this factory. Through the **distribution of leaflets** for the presidential elections a contact was established with a worker who informed us that the chairman of the factory council was sympathetic.

"When the leader of the Factory Commission of the Centre looked up the chairman of the factory council it appeared that he was not only sympathetic, yes, not only a reader of the "Rote Fahne" but that he is already a **member of the Party** for two years. The only reason why he did not come forward was because he was always of the opinion "that there was nothing to be done in his factory".

"But there was something to do! A list of the sympathetic men and women workers was drawn up; 23 of them were invited to a meeting at which the leader of the Factory Commission reported. On the basis of the very animated speeches, a factory meeting was prepared which took place last week and in which 60 women and men workers took part. A woman comrade spoke about the Soviet Union and received a great deal of approval. A stand was also taken up regarding the election struggle and a further factory meeting was decided upon.

"Now a nucleus is about to be formed. All the preparations for it have already been made. It is anticipated that three new members will immediately be added to the two comrades who are now in the factory. Besides that there is a probability that three other workers will join the Communist Party within the very near future."

This example, which is not an isolated one, deserves to be popularised. There are many similar possibilities of making new contacts and building nuclei of the Communist Party. This example shows that revolutionary sympathetic workers are helpful in this connection. The method which has been applied here can also be applied in other factories, and it is especially important to carry through such work in large enterprises. But this example is also instructive from another viewpoint. Very often there are individual comrades in factories in which there are no nuclei, who do not sufficiently perceive the revolutionary spirit of the workers and they therefore neglect the favourable opportunity to strengthen the influence and the positions of the Party. There are many comrades who remain in the street nuclei even when a nucleus has already been organised in their factory because they do not understand the extraordinary importance, for the Communist Party, of strengthening the work in the factories. Added to that there is the fact that the organisational development of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat is most difficult precisely in the factories, because all the means of the class enemy are directed, in the first place, towards removing the revolutionary workers from the factories. Therefore it is all the more important that each individual member who is working in a factory should entirely devote himself to the political and mass work in the factory and not be used anywhere else, so that all the forces of the Communist Party that are available in the enterprises should be used entirely for the big task—to strengthen the Party among the various sections of the working class, that is in the factories.

The Work of a Factory Nucleus and its Result.

By J. Gomez (Mexico).

About 300 workers are employed in the "San-Bruno" textile factory, in the town of Jalapa, Mexico. This factory is the largest enterprise in the town. Prior to the establishment of the Mexican Unitarian Confederation of Labour, the workers were organised in the reformist trade union, affiliated to the local reformist trades council, and to the reformist trade union centre. Ever since 1927 the town committee of the Party has been paying special attention to the work in this factory. Support and help was given by the Party groups of the nearest factories to three Party members employed in the "San-Bruno" factory; individual comrades from the town committee were also attached to them. In the struggle against the reformist leaders of the trade union and of the local federation, a small group of Party members soon established its authority among the "San-Bruno" workers.

In 1928, the trade union of the "San-Bruno" textile workers decided to disaffiliate from the trade union centre, and joined the Unitarian Confederation in the beginning of 1929.

However, in spite of favourable conditions for the organisation of a Party nucleus, the C.P. town committee kept putting off its organisation. This kind of underestimation of prompt organisation of Party nuclei still prevails in a number of other town and provincial Party committees in Mexico.

However, in the beginning of 1929, the Party group in the "San-Bruno" factory was already fairly large and, at the instance of the central committee of the C.P. the Jalapa town committee formed a Party nucleus in the factory. Since its formation the Party nucleus has done a good deal of work; it has firmly established its influence among the workers, has secured leadership in the trade union, has added considerably to its ranks (about 20 per cent. of the total number of the factory workers belong to it now), has considerably strengthened the Y.C.L. nucleus, and from being a small Party group, has become the largest Party organisation in the town.

The unity of the workers led by the Party nucleus, their indomitable revolutionary spirit, their will to fight, compel the employer to accede to the workers' demands. A school for the workers' children has been opened at the expense of the employer, thanks to the energy of the revolutionary trade union.

During the three years work of the nucleus, and through its agitation and propaganda, the political level of the "San-Bruno" workers has been considerably raised. On the international revolutionary days (August 1st, November 7th, January 21st etc.) the workers down tools for one, one and a half or two hours. The "San-Bruno" workers take an active part in all demonstrations and meetings organised by the Party town committee or by other local revolutionary organisations (Unitarian Federation, I.L.D. etc.). The same can also be said about their participation in the movement of the Jalapa unemployed.

The following incident gives an idea of the political activity of these workers: in May 1931, the general workers' meeting decided to expel the reformist leaders from the trade union and to demand their removal from the factory because of their non-appearance at the May Day demonstration. The employer was compelled to carry out this demand owing to the persistence of the revolutionary trade union and its decisive influence among the workers.

After a little while, the reformists decided to get again into the factory, having made sure of the support of the authorities and of the employer. The workers refused to let them enter the factory; they shut the gates and, remaining inside declared a protest strike. The factory was besieged by troops. For two days no one was allowed to either enter or leave the factory. In fact, the strike became a hunger strike, directed against the reformists, the authorities and the employer. In two days time the strike was won by the workers: the nucleus and the local C.P. committee mobilised the wives of the workers (organised in the "Rosa Luxemburg" Women's Labour Organisation in the factory) and women workers in other factories, and these women carried out a big agitational campaign among the soldiers who were besieging the factory. There was fraternisation between besiegers and besieged. The Governor had to order the with-

*) Berlin.

drawal of the troops and give up the idea of forcibly "installing" the expelled reformists in the factory.

But struggle against reformist influence must not make the nucleus forget the rank and file members of the reformist trade union employed in the factory. There must be comradesly relations between the Communists and these workers; efforts must be made to win them over to the side of the revolutionary trade union and Communist Party. For this purpose, the "San-Bruno" nucleus might reorganise itself, forming Party groups in the departments headed by a Party organiser. Wherever the formation of Party groups is impossible, Party organisers should be at least appointed, care being taken that all the departmental units should work under the leadership of the factory nucleus bureau. This will render it possible to react better to all questions that concern the workers of the given department, and to bring them more effectively under the influence of the Party. This will bring the Party organisation still nearer to the factory workers, and will give an opportunity to extend and deepen the political influence of the C.P. among the workers.

The "San-Bruno" nucleus is still working without paying heed to the most important rules of conspiracy. The workers must be constantly aware of the work and activity of the nucleus, but there is no necessity for every one to know the composition of the nucleus, and who the leaders are, for in capitalist enterprises the nucleus is always and everywhere, under any conditions whatsoever, an underground organisation. It is of course unavoidable to keep quite secret the adherence of some of the Communists to the C.P. The reorganisation of the nucleus on a Party group basis will also have a considerable bearing on conspirative work, for instance, it will give an opportunity—in case of need—to organise small meetings of Communists—groups of 7, 8 or 10 people.

Despite favourable conditions, the nucleus does not yet publish a factory newspaper of its own. It is up to the nucleus to make a beginning as soon as possible with the publication of a small newspaper (printed or typewritten), and to establish around it a strong body of worker correspondents, not only from Party ranks, but also from the midst of non-Party workers.

Though the nucleus must lead all the work in the factory, it must not take possession of all the leading posts, it must, on the contrary, promote in every possible way to the leading trade union organs, non-Party activists, supporting them in their work, and preparing out of them the cadres for the Party.

Finally, in the midst of its work in the factory, its agitation and propaganda, so as to get all the factory workers under its political influence, the nucleus must also carefully study the composition of the workers with a view to approaching differently the different strata. It is of particular importance to pay considerable attention to special work with those who are closely connected with the countryside. Indian workers especially must be approached with great circumspection.

ORGANISATIONAL QUESTIONS

Recruiting and Fluctuation in the C.P. of France.

By Bever.

Prior to the liquidation of the Barbe-Celor group the organisational work in the C.P. of France was certainly not up to the mark, and the Party, instead of growing numerically, lost members despite favourable objective conditions. The present leadership of the C.P.F. pays considerable attention to organisational questions but, unfortunately, the unfavourable legacy of the past is still making itself felt, which considerably impedes the constructive work of the Party, especially, the work connected with the recruitment of new members and with struggle against fluctuation. Recruiting and struggle against fluctuation on correct lines demands that the Party should have accurate statistics regarding its membership, statistics registering the changes in the numerical and social composi-

tion of the Party organisations, and clearly showing from what circles the new members are drawn, how the losses are to be accounted for, etc. The Party had no satisfactory statistics regarding the leadership of the Barbé group. The new leadership, while liquidating the shortcomings of past Party work, turned its attention also to the improvement of the statistics of the Party. But in this connection we warn our French comrades that they must analyse and verify available statistical data more carefully, otherwise they will get into a holy muddle. The fact is that the C.C. C.P.F. showed that the Party had between 37 and 39,000 members in 1930. In various documents of the C.C. referring to 1930 and 1931 it is systematically emphasised that the Party is losing members. In the leading article of "Cahiers du Bolchévisme", March 1932, it is stated that the Party has 30,000 members. The organisational report of the C.C. C.P.F. for the VII. Congress of the Party, which came out only a few days later than the March number of "Cahiers du Bolchévisme", gives the following figures regarding the numerical strength of the C.P.F.: 1931 30,743 members, 1932 34,580, i. e. it turns out that the Party, far from losing members in 1931 as stated by the C.C. in the autumn of 1931, increased its membership by 3,837. Moreover, the organisational report declares that these figures are not accurate, as they do not account for the growing influx of new members, noticeable especially since December 1931.

The inference from this explanation should be that the growth of the C.P.F. throughout 1931 was actually more considerable than the difference between 34,580 and 30,743 = 3,837. However, the same organisational report gives tables of the growth of the C.P.F. in 1931 according to the various districts, and these tables show that the Party made 691 new members in 1931.

The enemies of the C.P.F. and of the Communist International will certainly try to make capital out of these figures. If this is a consolation to them, that is their business, but no mercy must be shown to anyone who will try to make from the bad statistics of the C.P.F. the deduction that the C.P.F. is weakening, etc. Everything goes to show that after the liquidation of the Barbé-Celor group, the C.P.F. is gaining in strength, that its influence on the masses is growing. One is even justified in saying that this growth is more considerable than shown by the statistical data of the C.C. C.P.F., considering that these figures indicate as a rule only those Party members who pay their membership dues. But we reiterate, the C.C. C.P.F. must certainly reorganise its Party statistics.

For instance, "Humanité" of 15. III publishes a summary of the influx of new members into the Party, into the Y.C.L. and the unitarian trade unions since January 1st, 1932. According to the summary, 4,414 new members joined the C.P.F. in 2½ months, 1,301 joined the Y.C.L., and 13,782 the unitarian trade unions. The Paris district leads the way: 2,200 new Party members; 350 new members in the Y.C.L., and 5,000 in the unitarian trade unions. Other large industrial centres come next to the Paris district: the North—300 Party members, 2,000 trade union members and 248 Y.C.L. members; Alsace-Lorraine 264 Party members, 577 trade union members and 84 Y.C.L. members; the Lyons district 200 Party members, 1,780 trade union members, 206 Y.C.L. members; the Marseilles district 164 Party members, 500 trade union members, 25 Y.C.L. members; the North-Eastern district 82 Party members, 1,000 trade union members, 26 Y.C.L. members. The Eastern district where the Party, the Y.C.L. and the unitarian trade unions were hitherto very weak, has given this time 46 new members to the Party, 169 to the unitarian trade unions, and 20 to the Y.C.L. None of these figures are very impressive, but to a certain extent they are indicative of the possibilities which the Party has with regard to the numerical consolidation of its ranks.

These numerical data regarding the results of the recruiting campaign are given in "Humanité" of March 15, 1932. And in the organisational report of the C.C., it is said:

"The Party hardly does anything for the recruitment of new members, nevertheless it has recruited in the last months over 1,700 new members".

What does over 1,700 mean? This is not a figure. To all these legitimate questions the organisational report of the C.C. which, as an organisational report, must be a model of accuracy and clearness, does not give any clear, exhaustive answer or explanations.

It is also incomprehensible what relation to these figures has the above-mentioned table showing the movement of

members in the individual districts, according to which the C.P.F. made only 691 new members in 1931. In the note to the table it is pointed out that the Paris district which recruited in January-February 1932 over 1,000 new members, shows in the table only an increase of 150. From this the note infers that the remaining new members evidently did not pay their membership dues owing to the unsatisfactory functioning of the Party mechanism. But have they not perhaps left the Party? No answer is given to this question in the note, which is but natural, for although the organisational report does not give any statistics regarding fluctuation, one can imagine that fluctuation is very considerable in the C.P.F., as in the chapter on recruiting the organisational report says that, for instance, the central-Eastern district recruited 50 new members and lost 75, and the Eastern district lost even 70, having recruited only 30 new members.

It is welcome news that the Organisational Department of the C.C. started a recruiting campaign in the Party press already in December 1931. But one cannot help saying that this very necessary campaign should be carried on according to the directives of the Communist International and decisions of Party congresses and conferences. There is a particularly bad state of affairs in the provincial Party press. The whole campaign there consists in publishing the number of new members (very small figures as a rule), and appeals not to lag behind, to hurry up, to out-distance, etc., without the least attempt at treating recruiting as a political issue, connecting it with the present and the coming struggles, with the necessity for the Party to penetrate into the most important factories and establish there strong factory nuclei and factory groups of the unitarian trade unions. "Le Prolétaire Normand" of February 12, having announced that 8 new members were made in Petit-Quilly and 4 in Cotteville, addresses to all the other local organisations the call "now or never".

The campaign is conducted somewhat better in "Humanité". The Organisational Department of the C.C. publishes instructive articles, gives various examples of recruiting, but one can and must expect more also from "Humanité". For instance, "Humanité" referred several times to the meeting in Bulliere where 50 applications for admission to the Party were handed in, as an example of recruiting for the Party worthy to be followed. This is not correct. To recruit, as it was done at the meeting in Bulliere (appeal to the audience from the platform, in addition to which a number of comrades made personal appeals to members of the audience, persuading them to send in an application for admission to the Party) is all right, but for a Bolshevik Party this is not a method of recruiting worthy to be followed. For a Bolshevik Party exemplary recruiting work is carried on in the factories (and above all in large and decisive enterprises) by means of persistent individual canvassing among advanced workers, drawing them simultaneously into the practical routine work of the Party and of the mass organisations connected with it. Such work is not carried on in the C.P.F., neither does the C.C. Organisational Department insist on it, and yet this is the crux of the matter.

Very useful is the article in "Humanité" of January 1st, 1932, on the courses of the factory nuclei. Unfortunately, this article was not followed up, there was no exchange of experience, no information about the realisation of valuable proposals made by the comrades in the nuclei of the Citroen and Renault works.

Evening courses—conferences for the workers in the factory nuclei—is one of the most important means of strengthening the factory organisations of the Party, that help to give an impetus to recruiting work and to the struggle against fluctuation.

After the liquidation of the Barbé-Celor group, the C.P.F.'s organisational work improved considerably. However, in its organisational work the C.P.F. still lags considerably behind the other Communist Parties in this respect, small Parties, such as those of Norway, Austria and Holland are ahead of the C.P.F. The C.P.F. has extremely favourable objective conditions for its organisational consolidation. The C.P.F. occupies an extremely responsible sector of the international liberation struggle of the proletariat, especially, with regard to the defence of the U.S.S.R. and China. The international proletariat is entitled to demand peremptorily of the C.P.F. better organisational work, more rapid growth through the influx of workers from important factories, and maximum attention to the struggle against fluctuation.

Correct Registration of Party Members.

If we ask any of the leading workers of a Party what is the number of members in the Party he represents, we always hear at least two figures—the number of registered members is so and so and the number paying membership dues is so and so. As a rule the difference between these two figures is always pretty large. For example, in the C.P. of Germany the number of registered members at the beginning of 1932 was about 320,000, while the number paying dues was about 260,000. The number of registered members in the C.P. of Great Britain was 8-9,000 while the number paying membership dues was 2,500. In the C.P. U.S.A. the corresponding figures are 11,000 and 7,500. The first figure is most frequently obtained from the number of Party cards issued and not on the basis of a registration of the actual number of members. The second figure is obtained on the basis of the number of dues stamps sold. In practice we have a registration of Party cards and dues stamps but not a registration of members of the Party. Nobody knows the actual number of members of the Party. Very frequently calculations are made only on the basis of membership dues.

Such a system of registration contains all the relics of social democratic traditions in our Parties. Such a system of registration was unknown in the practice of the Russian Bolsheviks. There cannot be two categories of members in the Party, one having membership cards and the other paying dues. Under such a system we shall inevitably get a third division of Party members—actively working and actively not working.

The fourth paragraph of the statutes of the Comintern states that any person can be a member of the Communist Party and the Comintern if he accepts the programme and rules of the C.P. of the corresponding country and the Comintern, if he is a member of a basic lower Party organisation and actively works in it, obeying all the decisions of the Party and the Comintern and regularly paying membership dues.

If we take up the matter of registering the number of members in our Party on this standard, all this double book-keeping will disappear. Possession of a Party ticket and the payment of membership dues is only one of the signs of a Party member and not the only one. The existence of only one of these is insufficient to make a person a real Party member.

In illegal Communist Parties, the members have no cards at all, but this does not prevent them from being Party members. A member of the Party must work in one of the Party organisations. This is the chief thing to show actual membership of the Party. As the primary and basic Party organisation is the Party nucleus or the local Party organisation, every Party member must above all work in one of the lower organisations of the Party, in a Party nucleus. Consequently, he must be on the register of the nucleus.

It would, of course, be a great mistake, bordering on a crime, to represent things as if any particular Party member who had not yet been drawn into active Party work should not be reckoned when counting up the composition of the Party organisation. Of course they should be reckoned. Every lower Party organisation must strive that the number of persons paying membership dues and participating in the work should gradually coincide with the number of actual members present in the organisation, but this should be brought about not by leaving them out of the reports but by attracting all members into participation in Party life. Until this is attained, the registration of members must not, however, be based on the sale of stamps. It must unquestionably be based on the real registration of the number of members actually present. The payment of dues and activity must be taken into account as a supplement to the registration of members.

In countries where the C.P.'s are legal, the recruiting of new members for the Party takes place chiefly at meetings. Sometimes several hundred applications are made at one meeting. Often the applications do not even show the address of the person who wishes to join the Party. But even if everything necessary is shown, not all those who make an application become real members of the Party organisation. For this purpose, after the application form has been filled up, a great amount of organisational work needs to be done by the Party organisation and this is not always performed. However, very frequently Party organisations make up statistics of membership on the basis of just such applications.

In reality, this is only a registration of the gravitation towards the Party and not a registration of membership.

In order to avoid confusion in the registration of Party members, we should establish the rule that the number of members will be reckoned by the higher Party organs on the basis of the registration carried out in the nuclei.

Every Party must work out a suitable form for the nuclei to report on the variation of their membership. These reports must be extremely simple and must be made about once in three months. The nucleus must make its report to the district committee or the provincial committee. The latter will combine the figures from the nuclei and send them to a higher organ. In addition to this, the C.C. of the Party must decide on a group of nuclei in big factories or nuclei which are of interest for some other reason, which must send reports to the C.C. as well as to their district committees, for the special study of the question of the growth of the Party.

The report card to be presented quarterly by factory nuclei (in legal C.P.'s) should contain approximately the following questions: number and composition of workers (women, youth), number and composition of members of the nucleus, how many of them are working in industry, how many attached, how many applications to join the Party have been received, how many accepted, how many refused, how many have left the Party or been expelled, how many have gone to other nuclei. A similar card with suitable alterations will suit for street nuclei.

Once a year (best of all at the end of the year), the nuclei, where possible, will draw up a fuller report showing in greater detail the social composition of their members, how many have come from other Parties, Party status, age, membership of trade unions.

Every Party nucleus must include in the report form the questions which are of special interest for the respective Party, without, however, making the report too complicated.

The correct organisation of the registration of members does not make it unnecessary to deal with the question of membership dues. The proper organisation of the collection of membership dues is extremely important. The question of membership dues is not only a financial question but also a question of discipline among Party members. In the regulations of the C.P.S.U., there is a point that a member of the Party failing to pay membership dues for three months is considered as mechanically excluded from the Party. But this does not mean that the nucleus mechanically removes his name from the list of members. Before such a decision is made, the Party member is called to a meeting of the nucleus or the bureau where the cause of non-payment is discovered, and if the reasons are good a decision is made to accept the dues and keep the comrade in the Party. In individual cases, delay of payment is allowed. If a member does not wish to pay membership dues and carry on Party work, the nucleus decides to consider the given person as mechanically excluded from the Party.

It seems to us that if in other Parties the registration of members were done in the nuclei, if the nuclei were interested in all cases of non-activity of Party members, nonpayment of dues, etc. and took steps to remove the causes of this, if the nuclei in general were interested to a greater extent in their numbers, fluctuations would be greatly reduced if not completely abolished.

But for this we need a further condition. It is necessary to create an attentive attitude on the part of the nuclei and all active Party members to every case of a member leaving the Party, especially if this has a mass character. In the C.P.S.U. every case of a member leaving the Party is a big event in the life of a nucleus, although such cases are not numerous. The comrades are called to the nucleus, the causes of their leaving are found, and if the reasons turn out to be the bad work of the nucleus, measures are taken to remedy matters. If a comrade leaves from his own laxness, he receives suitable explanations. If he leaves for anti-Party reasons, a suitable explanatory campaign is carried on to expose him.

Only in this way can we fight against fluctuations in our ranks. A mechanical approach to the matter of registering the Party members, especially the registration of membership cards and stamps instead of living people, will always help to cause fluctuations. We must put an end to this evil. One of the ways of doing this is the proper organisation of registration of members.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Revolutionary Consciousness and Organisation.

Moscow, 10th of June 1932.

To-day's issue of "Pravda", in its leading article entitled "Revolutionary Consciousness and Organisation", writes as follows regarding the issue of the new loan for the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan.

The initiative for the issue of the loan for the fourth year proceeds from the working masses of our country. The workers in the Moscow automobile factory "Stalin", in Magnitogorsk, Dnieprostroy and the ball-bearing factory have addressed themselves to all toilers in the Soviet Union and called upon them to support their initiative regarding the issue of a new loan. This proposal emanating from the workers in the advanced undertakings met with a lively response in all parts of our great country. The proposal to issue a new loan was responded to in thousands of letters, resolutions and replies from factories, enterprises, collective farms, scientific institutions, as well as from individual working men and women, scholars, experts, foreign workers and specialists, collective peasants and individual peasants.

We need vast sums in order to complete the first Five-Year Plan in four years and to secure the foundation of the second Five-Year Plan. Nobody will give these to us. We do not receive any loans from the foreign Powers. We must raise these means ourselves. We must collect them ourselves, for we are building Socialism at our own cost, at the cost of the proletariat and the peasants.

Internal loans are a source from which means can be obtained for socialist construction. The working people of our country grant loans to the proletarian State for this socialist construction, for the systematic improvement of the social position of the toiling population. The loan for the third decisive year of the Five-Year Plan, which was to have brought in 1,600 million roubles, was over-subscribed and brought in 2,000 million roubles. What country can point to anything like this? The capitalist countries are decaying, bankruptcies are increasing, old loans depreciate in value and new loans are difficult to raise. In the capitalist countries there prevails a crisis of confidence. In the Soviet Union the loans are over-subscribed.

In our country, the confidence of the working class, of the collective peasants and individual peasants and also of the specialists, in the Communist Party and the policy of the Soviet government is increasing. In the capitalist countries loans serve for armaments, for the production of poison gases, for plundering and oppressing the colonies. With us loans are employed for the transformation of the country, for its industrialisation, for collectivisation, for industrialising the backward regions, the former Tsarist colonies; they are used for the purpose of building blast furnaces in Magnitogorsk and Kusnetzk, power works, factories and workshops which produce goods amounting to many millions of roubles for the Russian people; they serve to support the collective farms, to strengthen them organisationally and economically; they serve the Soviet farms by enabling them to mechanise their labour processes, to lay out vegetable plantations, to provide the working population with bread, vegetables, fruit, meat, butter, milk etc. Our loans are destined for the construction of new workers' dwellings, settlements, towns, new clubs, theatres, cinemas, convalescent homes, health resorts, creches, reading rooms, schools, universities, polytechnics.

Nine-tenths of the Soviet budget is devoted to economic and cultural construction. About 30 per cent. of the capital investments are supplied by means of loans. The subscribing to loans becomes a new political demonstration for Socialism. The working people of our country demonstrate to the whole world, to the international proletariat, their unity under the banner of the Soviet government, their fidelity to the teachings of Lenin, their support of the policy of the C.P.S.U.

Participation in the loan is a matter of class-conscientiousness, of honour and of class consciousness of every toiler.