

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 13 No. 16

7th April 1933

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Sabotagers of Unity

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

After three weeks' silence, the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International has at last decided to reply to the appeal of the Communist International for the establishment of the fighting unity of the proletariat. The reply took the form of a "Resolution on the Problem of the Unity of the Labour Movement," adopted at the meetings of the Executive of the L.S.I. on March 18 and 19 in Zurich, and by its Bureau on March 26 in Paris. At the same time, the Executive of the L.S.I. published an appeal: "Fight fascism! Up with International Solidarity!" and an "Answer to Goering."

In the first place it must be stated that neither the "United Front Resolution" of the Executive of the L.S.I. nor their manifesto contains a single word about organising concrete fighting actions of the proletariat against fascism on an international or even a national scale. Goering and German fascism are "cursed" in this document, but one can seek in vain for any concrete directions to the social democracy of Germany or the social democratic workers for initiating any action.

Instead of this, the Executive Committee of the Third International is reproached with having approached the Second International, and even then not the leaders, too late—only at the beginning of March—with regard to setting up the united front of the proletariat. The Executive of the Zurich International thereby wishes to imply that only negotiations between the highest leaders could have guaranteed the setting up of the united front of the working class, and then only if the Executive of the Third International had not been "too late" in coming forward with their offer.

As a matter of fact, the Communist Parties in all countries

approached the social democratic and reformist leaders with concrete offers of a united front. The C.P. of Germany made such a united front offer before the seizure of power by Hitler, Papen and Hugenberg, and repeated this offer afterwards. The reply of the social democratic parties was, however, a refusal. Several social democratic parties have not replied at all to the united front offer of the Communists.

The Executive of the Second International, in its resolution, now gives the highest sanction to the social democratic saboteurs of unity in the individual countries by "urgently recommending" the social democratic parties "not to enter into any separate negotiations. That is an open proclamation of sabotage of unity, which is also expressed in the statement that the Executive of the L.S.I., at its Conference to be held in June (!) 1933, will "investigate the circumstances that have led to the success of fascism in Germany," and "examine the whole strategy and tactics of the international labour movement." The German working class is bleeding from a thousand wounds under the blows of fascism. Fascism is advancing in all capitalist countries. But the leaders of the Second International advise against the common struggle against fascism.

And after all this, the Executive of the L.S.I. describes the united front appeal of the Communist International as a manoeuvre. It will not achieve any success among the workers with this assertion, for the facts in all countries prove that it was only the Communist Parties that did everything in order to set up the united front of the working class in fiercest struggle against the bourgeoisie and against fascism.

No delegates from the German social democratic party were present at the meetings of the Executive of the L.S.I. The reason given by the leaders of the German social democracy for their absence was "the seriousness of the situation." But the fight against fascism was down for debate at the meetings of the Executive. If the German and the international social democracy had been eager for a real fight against the fascist dictatorship, then the social party of Germany would certainly have found ways and means to send delegates and to warn the workers of the capitalist countries against repeating the social democratic method of "combatting" fascism.

If the German socialist party refrained from sending representatives to the meetings of the Executive of the L.S.I., then there must be deeper causes for this.

The situation is explained by the resignation of *Wels*, the Chairman of the German social democratic party, from the bureau of the Second International and the approval of this step by the central committee of the German social democratic party, the reason given being that the recent Paris decisions were adopted without the previous approval of the German social democratic party.

This step, by which the German S.P. leaders line up in the fascist front "against the atrocity stories circulated abroad" and oppose the exceedingly tame and mild appeal of the Second International, as well as the reports on the approaching break between the S.P. of Germany and the Second International and between the A.D.G.B. and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, prove that the social democratic and trade union leaders of Germany are determined to go over with flying colours from the "democratic" camp into the fascist camp; that they are attempting to create a mass basis for fascism in the factories. Göring ordered the social democratic leaders to sever their international connections, and *Wels* and his consorts have promptly obeyed this order.

Whilst the German social democracy thus renounces all the "principles" of the Second International and is consistently passing through its last stage of development from social fascism to fascism in order to save German capitalism from the proletarian revolution by means of "German socialism," the social democratic parties of the other countries are attempting to make capital out of the shameful treachery of the S.P. of Germany for their own bourgeoisie. *Vandervelde*, *Blum*, *Renaudel* and *Jouhaux*, who are not a whit better than their German colleagues, are now emitting howls of indignation.

For months past the social democratic parties of the other countries have criticised the S.P. of Germany from the "Left," and reproached it with having capitulated on July 20, and on account of its laxity in "fighting" against fascism. One of these critics has now become silent. The Austrian Dollfuss government is showing Hitlerite traits, and Otto Bauer's Austro-Marxism has proved to be just as unwilling to fight as the "Marxism" of *Wels* and *Leipart*. This was also the reason why the social democratic party of Austria, too, was not represented by any delegation at the meetings of the L.S.I. in Zürich and Paris.

The French, Belgian, and Scandinavian social democrats are exerting their utmost efforts in order to appease the indignation of the international working class on account of the treachery of the S.P.G. leaders by means of "Left" criticisms. At the time of the Zürich meeting of the L.S.I., *Vandervelde* wrote in the Paris weekly "*Marianne*":

"Unanimity prevails in German public opinion on most questions of international policy. Nationalism is not the monopoly of the dictatorship parties. . . . There exists in the German trade union circles a particularly disquieting tendency, which is attempting to tolerate the worst of all governments in the hope of being tolerated by it—in short, a tendency which is willing to be fascised."

Even *Jouhaux* has declared that he emphatically condemns the attitude of the A.D.G.B., as the latter has been unable to save even its honour, and that this attitude is shaking the Amsterdam International to its foundations.

"*Volksrecht*," the organ of the social democracy of Switzerland, even declares that the German social democracy is bankrupt and that a new workers' party must be founded in Germany capable of representing the interests of the German workers.

Here there is indirectly recommended the resurrection of the defunct 2½ International which, as is known, in the revolutionary period following the war, played the role of catching the workers who were tending to the Left and preventing them from joining the Communist International, after which it led them back again into the camp of social democracy.

The purpose of these "Left" manoeuvres, of this "storm of indignation," is clear. Just as the Second International in 1931 repudiated the saboteurs of the Grohmann group when they were brought before the proletarian Court in Moscow, although they had "worked" in accordance with the instructions of the Second International, just as the Second International in 1932 tried to make out that it had nothing to do with the Japanese social democracy when this apt pupil of the French, German and English social democracy discovered a "socialist justification" for the Japanese robber war in China, so now the Second International tries to repudiate the German social democracy, whose treachery threatens to expose the whole role of the Labour and Socialist International in the eyes of the working class, and which has become an unbearable burden to it. It is intended by such manoeuvres to create the impression that the social democratic parties of France, England, Belgium, etc., are better than Deterdings' Mensheviks or the Mikado or the Hitler social democrats.

The nearer the war for the redistribution of the world approaches, the more dangerous the situation of the national bourgeoisies becomes owing to the economic crisis and the revolutionisation of the masses, the more rapidly the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals disintegrate, as the social democracy of every country has only one aim: to save its own bourgeoisie in the imperialist and in the class war. The new "Left" manoeuvres of the French, English, Belgian and other social democracies are intended to serve as a means to maintain the rule of their bourgeoisies and to cause the working class of these countries to travel the same path as the proletariat of Germany has to traverse owing to the treachery of the German social democratic party. It is the task of the Communist Parties to frustrate this shameful plan by mobilising the proletariat in a broad united front of struggle against their own bourgeoisie, against hunger, fascism and war.

A New Stage in the Fight for the Release of Tom Mooney

The struggle waged for years by the American working class for the release of *Tom Mooney* and *Warren K. Billings*, who have been pining in prison since 1916 as a result of a frame-up, has achieved its first victory: The court has decided to grant a new trial.

The campaign of the revolutionary working class has taken the form of big united front conferences throughout the country.

Reports of the first conference, held in *San Francisco*, California, where the frame-up was perpetrated, indicate that on the basis of the demand "*FREE TOM MOONEY*," workers of the most widely divergent views will be brought together and welded into a solid fighting army capable of battering down the steel doors of *San Quentin* and *Folsom Prisons*.

In *New York City*, delegates representing 354 organisations met and planned for the coming battle, which will reach its highest point when the *National Free Tom Mooney Congress* convenes in *Chicago*.

If the Court, in face of the tremendous pressure of the working population, has agreed to allow *Mooney* a new trial, this is only because the bourgeoisie want to have some semblance of a pretext for keeping him in prison. This is the logic of the ruling class.

In the meantime, efforts are being made to curtail the privileges of *Mooney*, and cut off his contact with the outer world. Visitors to him are turned away by prison guards, while his mail is rigorously censored, with much of it withheld from him. In a statement issued by the prison Warden, it was declared that "the type of propaganda spread by *Mooney* is of such a nature that it could easily incite persons to acts of desperation such as that committed by *Zangara* in his attempt on the life of the President. . . ." Workers everywhere must be rallied to smash this attempt to add new outrages to this seventeen-year frame-up.

Politics

Intensified Fight for the Redistribution of the World

By M. Louis (Paris)

The process of the regrouping of the imperialist Powers has been accelerated by the seizure of power by Hitler and Hugenberg and the victory of extreme nationalism in Germany. The Grand Fascist Council in Italy has adopted a resolution welcoming the victory of Hitler as a sign of the international extension of fascism, and co-operation between Italian and German fascism has become an actual fact in international politics. As Italy received only a small share of the booty after the first imperialist world war, it for a long time concealed its imperialist claims behind the mask of opposing the unjust distribution of the world under the Versailles Treaty, and strove for a redistribution of the world by urging the necessity of a revision of the Versailles Treaty. This phrase, however, meant nothing else but the struggle of Italian finance capital for colonial expansion in North Africa, the fight for spheres of interest in the Danubian countries, in the Balkans, in Dalmatia and in the Near East. The conflict between France and Italy on the question of naval armaments is only one expression of these antagonisms. There is not the slightest doubt that Italian fascism has succeeded in drawing Hungary into its system of military alliances. Thus there is already to be seen the definite outlines of an imperialist bloc participated in by Italy, Germany and Hungary, into which other states which are also interested in the question of the redistribution of the world are to be drawn. French imperialism, on the other hand, is doing everything to strengthen and extend its system of military alliances.

The reorganisation of the Little Entente was a step in this direction. Since the victory of the fascist movement in Germany French imperialism has been endeavouring to establish closer relations with England. The so-called "gentlemen's agreement" concluded in Locarno represents an important step towards the restoration of the Anglo-French Entente on a new foundation. The co-operation between England and France on the debt question, and the attempt to set up the united front of the European debtor states under the leadership of England against the United States also serves this purpose.

It would be a mistake, however, to regard the tremendous intensification of the imperialist antagonisms on the Continent as an isolated phenomenon. These antagonisms, with all their seriousness and tremendous intensification, have been determined by the **whole world situation**, which, of course, is in turn affected by these antagonisms.

The victory of the Nazis in Germany forced French imperialism to make attempts to strengthen its own position by a number of imperialist manoeuvres against German imperialism. It is certain that these considerations played a not unimportant part in inducing France, and also Poland under the influence of the former, to enter into a non-aggression Pact with the Soviet Union. It was out of regard for the same considerations that French imperialism approved a decision in the Committee of Nineteen, according to which Manchukuo is not to be recognised. This gesture also served to leave the door open to the United States, as was also the proposal to pay the debts falling due to the United States.

England is about to enter into decisive negotiations with the United States on the question of war debts. But of course these negotiations turn not only on this question but on the whole complex of questions of international politics, on the problem of the **redistribution of the world** between the two leading states, England and the U.S.A.

These facts and realities of the international situation have created a situation in which even the most trifling incident can lead to a military conflict, a world conflagration. It is all the same whether this conflict breaks out between Italy and Yugoslavia on the Adriatic question or between Germany and Poland on the Danzig and the corridor question, or on any other question—a spark can explode the powder barrel of imperialist antagonisms.

These facts and realities of international politics show that the "Disarmament Conference" in Geneva is on its last legs, that the imperialist antagonisms over the question of armaments can at any moment result in the break-up of the conference.

Owing to these facts and realities the League of Nations is experiencing a very profound and serious crisis. The League of Nations is and remains an instrument of war and intervention, an instrument of imperialist policy in the hands of French and English imperialism; in the last resort, however, it could represent only the common interests of the imperialists against the Soviet Union, against the weak states and against the colonies. The imperialist antagonisms have already assumed such acute forms that they threaten to destroy the League of Nations itself. Japan has withdrawn from the League, and it is quite clear that Germany, under Hitler, will not remain in the League for long. Regard must also be had to the fact that the United States is doing everything to separate England from France and these two Powers from Japan.

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The War in the Far East has brought the imperialist antagonisms between the United States and Japan into the forefront of events. As, however, the antagonisms between France and its vassals on the one side and Italy on the other have likewise become exceedingly acute, there has arisen in Europe an **immediate danger of War**. It is precisely owing to this circumstance, however, that attempts are being made in the camp of the imperialist Powers to postpone the outbreak of these antagonisms at the cost of the Soviet Union.

The two fundamental tendencies determining the present international situation are: acceleration of the formation of blocs in the camps of the imperialists, the final diplomatic, political and military preparations for a new imperialist war on the one side, and, on the other side, attempts to stifle these imperialist antagonisms temporarily by means of a war against the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

British imperialism is endeavouring to make use in its own interests of the aggravation of the antagonisms between the United States and Japan in the Far East. British imperialism is trying to make use of the tense situation in Europe, of the aggravation of the antagonisms between France and its vassals on the one side and Italy and Germany on the other, in order to play the role of arbitrator on the European Continent. At the same time, however, the British "National Government" is endeavouring to bring about the formation of a bloc of the West European Powers against the Soviet Union.

The above explains the reason of MacDonald's journey from London to Paris and from Paris to Geneva, his coming forward at Geneva with a so-called disarmament plan, providing for the disarming of all states with the exception of England, his journey from Geneva to Rome, his negotiations with Mussolini, his famous plan of a Four-Power Pact.

The plan of the Four-Power Pact originates from **Mussolini**. The essence of the plan consists in the four Western Powers forming a sort of court of arbitration for all disputes arising in Europe. If in spite of the present sharpening of the imperialist antagonisms such an agreement between the four Western Powers—i.e., England, France, Italy and Germany—should come about, it can be assumed that **such a grouping of the Powers in Europe would be directed against the Soviet Union**.

Recent events, however, have shown that it is impossible for the time being to create the conditions for such an agreement. French imperialism would perhaps not be opposed in principle to joining in such a Pact, but only on the basis of the Versailles Treaty. Italian and German imperialism, however, are striving for a revision of the Versailles Treaty, for a redistribution of the world.

As French imperialism has little interest in these expansionist aspirations of Germany and Italy, it replied to the League proposal of Mussolini and MacDonald by pointing to the League Covenant; and it is perfectly clear that the states of the Little Entente, when making their declarations that they are against any settlement of European questions by such a league of four Powers, were

influenced by French diplomacy. The negotiations which are now proceeding between Poland and the states of the Little Entente can also be regarded as a certain answer on the part of France to the proposal of MacDonald and Mussolini. MacDonald's disarmament proposal at Geneva is just as little calculated to bridge over the profound antagonisms in Europe as the MacDonald-Mussolini plan of a collaboration of the four big Powers on the Continent of Europe.

In his speech in the House of Commons, MacDonald declared that the revision of the Versailles Treaty must serve as a basis of the Four-Power Pact. France and its vassals, however, are against such a revision. The confines in which English imperialism wishes to carry out this revision cannot satisfy Italy and Germany. A revision of Versailles which would weaken France's hegemony without leading to the hegemony of the German-Italian bloc would best suit the plans of the English imperialists, the more so as such a revision would serve as a basis for an anti-Soviet bloc. That the "National Government," precisely at the present moment, is using the arrest of the employees of the firm of Metropolitan Vickers as an occasion to convert this affair into a big political conflict, shows the aim of MacDonald's European tour.

The MacDonald-Mussolini plan is supposed to aim at bringing about an understanding of the leading Western imperialist Powers on the basis of the revision of the Versailles Treaty. This raises the question: Will it be possible to effect such a peaceful revision of the Versailles system?

Lenin long ago gave an answer to this question: the inequality in the development of the various imperialist Powers in the post-war period, the unequal development of the crisis in the various imperialist countries in the period of the world economic crisis, have fundamentally altered the relation of forces between the different imperialist Powers, and so far as the relations of forces between the various imperialist countries have fundamentally changed, the old frontiers, the old agreements, the old treaties, the old divisions of the world cannot be maintained.

The question of the new distribution of the world therefore stands on the order of the day. When, therefore, the statesmen of the various imperialist countries talk of "revision" of "agreements," of "understandings" in this respect, they only do so in order to conceal the fact that these problems can only be decided by the sword.

Only through the fight of the broadest masses in every form against all imperialist governments, only through the determined fight of the proletarian masses against fascism, will it be possible to frustrate the plans of the bourgeoisie either to settle their antagonisms at the cost of the Soviet Union or to kindle the flames of a new world conflagration.

Sharpening of the Situation in Austria

The crisis which is devouring Austria has become exceedingly acute of late. How strained the situation in Austria is can be plainly judged from the fact of the exclusion of the Austrian National Council, the dictatorial policy of the Dollfuss government, which has abolished a number of democratic rights, the increasing class struggles, which are visibly expressed in daily demonstrations and in the strike of the Vienna printers.

The economic basis of the crisis has been strikingly revealed by a government measure which was suddenly adopted in order to avert a threatening collapse. An emergency order which was suddenly introduced to support the banks, undoubtedly aimed at preventing an exceedingly dangerous development. The sum of 180 million shillings, which is a very considerable item in view of the parlous state of the budget, has been set aside for this purpose. Here there is shown the class character of the State: for, whilst nothing is done for the workers and employees or the impoverished middle class, the big financial capitalists receive every aid.

This measure represents only one of many which have been passed. We mention only a few of them: "salvaging" of the State railways at the cost of the employees and pensioners, reduction of the cost of social insurance, cutting down of unemployment insurance, increase of custom duties, etc. The emergency orders of this kind are undoubtedly connected with the Lausanne loan, and fulfil all the demands submitted by the imperialist Powers, headed by France.

The economic policy of the cabinet has increased the social tension. The rebellion of the working masses has become so

strong that even the Austrian social democracy, which is so fond of compromise, found it impossible to give its assent in Parliament to the government measures, such as the victimisation of the striking railway workers. The Dollfuss Government made use of the opportunity in order to declare that Parliament had rendered itself impossible, and to adopt a dictatorial course which even the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" is forced to designate as clerical fascism.

The government believes it can thereby kill two birds with one stone. It is true, its actions are directed in the first place against the working class, and in particular against its class organs, nevertheless they are intended at the same time to take the wind out of the Nazis' sails, as the events in Germany have given a big impetus to the Nazi movement in Austria.

The Chancellor Dollfuss candidly declared in a broadcast speech:—

"If we realise those points in the programme of the Nazis which are in agreement with our programme, if we combat that which, under Marxist influence, has resulted in the last few years in impossible situations, this is the best way in order to take the wind out of the sails of the national socialists. . . .

The Chancellor has himself thereby admitted the increased fascist character of the government policy. The Dollfuss government, which is under christian-socialist leadership and subject to the growing pressure of the Heimwehr, is engaged in a sort of competition with Nazi fascism, the cost of which has to be borne by the workers and employees and their class organisations. It thereby brings grist to the mill of the national socialists.

In the meantime, the government is compelled, step by step, to increase its measures in order to meet the growing fighting spirit of the workers. Hence it is about to force through a reform of the Constitution depriving the Austrian National Council of its most important legislative functions and transferring them to the Federal Council, which will be remodelled into an "Estates Chamber," which will of course be an undisguised class institution. Hence it is proceeding to dissolve the Republican Defence Force in order to leave a free field to the Heimwehr and also to the Nazis. Hence it is proceeding, as a reply to the recent strikes, to prepare a law against strikes.

The working class has not been long in going over to the counter-offensive. In spite of the resistance of the social democratic leaders, demonstrations of various kinds are on the order of the day, although meetings are prohibited. Unemployed demonstrations have taken place recently in Upper Styria, Lower Austria and Vienna, and were ruthlessly dispersed by the police. There is also an undeniable revolutionisation of the workers in the factories, as was recently demonstrated by the strike of the compositors against the censorship over the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" and "Das Kleine Blatt" (two social-democratic papers), although it ended in only a partial success.

Under these conditions the main task of the workers and employees of Austria is to set up the united front against reaction and fascism. Two weeks ago, the C.C. of the Communist Party of Austria addressed an Open Letter to the Socialist Party of Austria in order to bring about a united front on all the burning questions of the day. The Central Committee of the S.P. of Austria has up to the present evaded replying to the Open Letter. In the meantime, however, the desire for the united front for the fight against the class enemy is increasing among the working class. The lesson of Germany has not failed to have an effect.

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Vienna, April 2.

The Austrian socialists have shamefully capitulated before the Heimwehr government. The order to dissolve the "Schutzbund" has been accepted without the least resistance. The "Arbeiter Zeitung" publishes to-day a leading article: "The form fell—but the force remains"; in reality the form fell, because there was no force behind it.

Burgomaster Seitz, as a "counter-stroke," dissolved the Heimwehr in Vienna, but this order was never carried out. In fact, 24 hours later Dollfuss cancelled it.

Meantime, big demonstrations of the workers took place in Vienna and in the provinces, the workers protesting against the Heimwehr terror and against the passivity of the socialist leadership.

Germany

The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Germany

(LETTER FROM BERLIN)

In order to demonstrate to the world that the reports about the fascist persecution of the Jews in Germany are only fairy tales, fascism has commenced and organised throughout Germany new, worse, because more systematic, persecutions. Like a blow there commenced on April 1 the boycott of Jewish businesses, Jewish doctors, lawyers, university tutors. The newspaper concerns, including the Ullstein publishing house, the banks and Stock Exchanges, were, however, exempted from the boycott. The big financial capitalists, from whom the national socialists receive their orders, cannot permit actions against big capital, whether Jewish or non-Jewish.

Partly under pressure from abroad and partly in order to create an alibi, the boycott was confined for the time being to one day, the 1st of April. But the masses of the fascist followers, whose worst passions have been aroused by unscrupulous gangs of criminals in the fascist newspaper offices, did not wait until the 1st of April, but in most of the German towns took action before. The boycott was carried out in the following manner. Brown Shirts were posted outside every shop the owner of which was known to be a Jew or suspected of being a Jew, and warned intending customers not to enter the shop and called upon them to buy only of Germans and not of Jews. Similar measures were employed against Jewish lawyers and doctors.

This boycott, if it is carried out long enough, will mean the complete economic ruin of those against whom it is directed, and in particular the deprivation of numerous Jewish intellectuals of their existence. The national socialist party has ordered that this boycott campaign is to be carried out "without violence." But this is only in order to throw dust in the eyes of the public abroad and to provide Hitler with an alibi. In actual fact, numerous cases of barbarous ill-treatment of Jewish shopkeepers, doctors, lawyers, students, etc., have occurred and are occurring every day. This also occurred on April 1, the day of the alleged "commencement" of the boycott, in spite of the assurances of the national socialist party leaders that no force is employed.

What the status of the Jews under the fascist regime is can be seen every day from the reports appearing in the government press. If, for instance, a criminal who is brought before the Court objects to a Jewish judge or Public Prosecutor on the ground that he, the criminal, is a registered member of the Hitler party and therefore considers every Jew to be "prejudiced," it has become the rule that the Court replaces the Jewish judge or Public Prosecutor by another person, according to the desire of the criminal.

What are the underlying causes of this fascist persecution of the Jews in Germany? Here one must sharply distinguish between the motives of the followers of the national socialists and those of the leaders of the Hitler party. One can only say one thing which applies to both of them: The whole talk about the "Teutonic regeneration" of Germany and its "purging of Jewish elements" is not taken seriously by anybody, apart from a small strata of crazy schoolmasters and pure race fanatics. The national socialist followers who zealously carry out this anti-Jewish persecution are actuated not by any ideal motives, but by quite sordid material interests.

Since 1928 the consuming power of the German working masses has declined by about 50 per cent., i.e., by something like 22,000 million Reichsmarks. As a result, the trade turnover has declined correspondingly, and hundreds of thousands of small business people have already been ruined and hundreds of thousands of others are threatened with ruin. From the standpoint of the national socialist shopkeeper, the destruction of Jewish businesses is simply a part of his competitive struggle for customers. This competitive struggle is directed particularly against the big stores, which are to a great extent in Jewish hands. This imparts an anti-capitalist feature to this competitive struggle: the defensive action of the petty-bourgeois, backward, commercial undertakings which are being ruined, against the more modern, efficient, capitalist economic forms of trade. It is characteristic that the co-operative societies are persecuted with

the same hatred as the big capitalist stores. The national socialist fight against the big stores and co-operatives, if it achieves any permanent success, will render some hundreds of thousands of workers and employees unemployed. This fight is nothing else but the expression of the reactionary passions of an economically collapsing petty bourgeoisie.

In Germany there are thousands of doctors who are next door to starvation because the great mass of the people are so impoverished, that they call in the aid of a doctor only in the most urgent and serious cases. There are thousands of lawyers who are unable to earn a living, thousands of writers who are starving. In a word, there exists a huge army of intellectual "proletarians." At the same time, however, the universities, at which there are at present over 130,000 students, are turning out an equally huge reserve army of intellectual proletarians. For the great mass of these students the chances of securing a material existence are exceedingly remote. The number of unemployed academicians is increasing from year to year. For this proletarianised "intelligentsia" the destruction of Jewish competition is simply a bread-and-butter question. If a few thousand Jewish lawyers, judges and Public Prosecutors are got rid of, then their places will be free for others! If a few thousand Jewish students are driven from the universities, then competition will be correspondingly reduced. These are the real motives of the fascist crusade against the Jews: purely material interests, the scramble for jobs! This also explains why this persecution of the Jews is carried out by the national socialist supporters with the same passion as the persecution of the Jews in the Middle Ages, which grew up from the same motives.

As the example of the Soviet Union proves, Communism alone is able finally to overcome anti-semitism and all racial antagonisms, because it can provide bread and work for all toilers. Fascism, which is unable to do this, is bound therefore to bring about a recurrence of the most brutal, despicable and base mediæval forms of competitive struggle, of racial fanaticism and anti-semitism. The fascist leaders make use of this excitement of the reactionary instinct of their followers in the interests of their criminal policy. The anti-semitic movement in "civilised" Germany differs from the pogroms which were a characteristic feature of Tsarist Russia only in so far as primitive handicrafts differ from developed big industry. The anti-semitic boycott movement in Germany is to a certain extent carried out on a higher industrial level.

The persecution of the Jews in Germany serves the fascist leaders as a *means of diversion* in order to hide the fact that fascism maintains and secures capitalism. What brazen demagoguery the fascist leaders resort to in this connection is shown by the appeal issued by the association of national socialist women. In this appeal it is stated that the German Jews are responsible for the two million Germans killed in the world war, for the Versailles Treaty, for the huge unemployment, for the whole of the misery suffered by the people of Germany. Now they want to make use of a few Jewish capitalists as a scapegoat in order to rescue capitalism.

The Nazi leaders make use of the persecution of the Jews in order to engage the attention of their supporters among the working population, who are becoming more and more discontented because even under Hitler there is no amelioration of their lot. And finally, the Nazi leaders believe that in these anti-semitic persecutions they have found a means by which they can stir up the masses and then divert them to increased persecution of the Communists.

It is probable that Hitler is not at all sorry that public opinion at home and abroad is so occupied with the Jewish persecutions, as he is thus able to continue his terrorist campaign against the Communists and the class-conscious proletariat without disturbance. The house-searches, wholesale arrests, kidnappings, ill-treatment and torture, the shootings "while attempting to escape," are being continued without interruption.

Whilst the bourgeois press abroad reports every detail regarding the persecution of the Jews, it maintains silence regarding the persecution of the Communists or even gloats over it.

But among the German working class there are already increasing signs of resistance, of counter-action against the fascist terror; the forces of the anti-fascist united front are growing. The German proletariat, and only the German proletariat, will, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, destroy the fascist hell and do away with the mediæval Jewish pogroms together with fascism and capitalism.

Declaration of Reichstag Fraction of the C.P.G. Regarding the Fire in the Reichstag and the Opening of the Reichstag

On the day of the opening of the Reichstag, elected as a result of terror and fraud, and from which the representatives of the working class are kept away by force, we declare:

1. The Communist Party of Germany and the Reichstag fraction of the Communist Party of Germany have nothing whatever to do with the setting fire to the Reichstag, which is now being taken as a pretext for the complete subjugation and bloody oppression of the revolutionary labour movement. The statements of a criminal "agent provocateur," and some "documents" which are alleged to have been "found" in the Party house, although not one of them worthy of any credence and containing any evidence, has so far been published, have been sufficient for the Hitler-Goering-Hugenberg government to introduce absolutely illegal and arbitrary measures against all organisations and representatives of the workers.

2. The arrested incendiary, known as "Marinus van der Lubbe," had no connection whatever with the Communist Party. A man bearing this name was excluded from the Communist Party of Holland several years ago for being a police spy. At the Reich Home Office can be found an official report of the former Schieck government in Saxony, now deposed by the national socialist commissary, in which report it is stated, that this alleged "communist" van der Lubbe appeared as a national socialist agitator in various Saxon towns, and that he lodged with national socialist functionaries and received support from them. A man who commits such an outrage, with a passport in his pocket, who allows himself to be caught by the police, and who is at once ready to make any statement desired by the government against the communist and social democratic parties, can only be a paid agent provocateur.

3. The Reichstag was set on fire by the provocator van der Lubbe, in co-operation with about ten chosen men of the Horst Wessel storm detachment. The incendiaries entered and left the Reichstag building through a subterranean passage, which leads from the house of the president of the Reichstag, **Goering**, to the Reichstag.

4. Minister Goering maintains that from "documents" which were confiscated as a result of police raids, he was aware of the intentions of the Communists to set fire to various public buildings and to commit other outrages in the night from the 27th to the 28th February. Was he then, as minister of police and president of the Reichstag not in a position to prevent the fire in one of the most important public buildings, although a dozen men must have been occupied for hours in this incendiaryism? On the contrary, only a man who is at once chief of the police and at the same time responsible for the control of the Reichstag, could take all necessary measures to ensure that the incendiaries were not disturbed in their "work" either by the Reichstag officials or by the police. For this very reason the national socialist inspector of the Reichstag building granted leave of absence to an unusually large number of Reichstag officials on this critical night, he himself inspecting the rooms of the Reichstag and ordering large parts of the building to be locked up.

5. Two journalists who happened to witness the setting fire to the Reichstag and who reported the matter by telephone from

the Reichstag building to the "Vorwaerts" offices, were immediately arrested and have never been seen since. The immediate and permanent suppression of the Communist and socialist press has been effected quite obviously for the purpose of preventing the public from getting to know the truth about the Reichstag fire. The foreign press, however, writes quite openly about the national socialist incendiaryism.

6. This act of incendiaryism, which was carried out under the personal supervision of the Home Secretary and president of the Reichstag, took place with the consent of the Chancellor, Hitler. Hitler appeared on the spot soon after the fire broke out, and before anything about the incendiary was known he said: "This is a God-given signal. If this is the work of the Communists, then we must crush this murderous pest with an iron fist." The fact that everything was prepared beforehand, the fact that the orders for arrests were already written out and that already a few hours later Communist functionaries were arrested by national socialist storm troops, are sufficient proof that this was a well-prepared action by the national socialist party to crush by all means the revolutionary workers and their organisations.

7. The coalition partners of the national socialist party know everything about the act of incendiaryism of their ministerial colleagues; their responsible statesmen, Hindenburg, Papen, Hugenberg and others, are therefore also guilty of the crime of the national socialist ministers.

8. Only a system which is utterly rotten and foul to its roots, and destined to perish, can use such adventurous, desperate and criminal means against its enemies. The Hitler-Hugenberg government has established this boundless regime of terror, because it knows that it cannot do anything positive to mitigate the insufferable misery of the masses, because it knows that under its rule the system of mass misery, of sweating the workers and of national humiliation will continue in a more acute form. Therefore it silences all criticism, annihilates every organisation of resistance, so that it may not be swept away by the revolutionary storm as soon as its own adherents awake.

When this government of fools celebrates the burning of the Reichstag building and the total exclusion of the Reichstag by torchlight processions then this is a symbol of the policy of this government. The order of the government to arrest every Communist deputy will be an incentive to the working class to fight all the harder outside parliament for bread, work and liberty.

9. The fascist regime of terror cannot hinder the Communist deputies from voicing the interests and opinions of their five million electors. It cannot and will not prevent the Communist deputies from helping the millions of workers who elected them, it cannot prevent them from organising the class struggle—not inside parliament, but in the factories, at the labour exchanges, in the offices and on the farms—everywhere where workers are suffering under capitalist suppression—against the ruling regime of misery, of force and lies, for the interests of the working masses, for the workers' and peasants' republic, for socialism.

10. The Communist Reichstag fraction declares that it is ready at any time to prove before any regular court, which grants them the normal possibilities of defence, that Minister Goering and Chancellor Hitler are guilty of the act of incendiaryism in the Reichstag. It appeals to all workers fearlessly to spread the truth and to do everything to hasten the unavoidable crash of this fascist regime built on lies and terror.

The Presidium of the Communist Reichstag Fraction.
Berlin, 21st March, 1933.

Socialist Press Going Over to Hitler

Berlin, March 30.

The publishing department of the socialist "**Frankfurter Volksstimme**" informs its readers that this paper will no longer be published, even after the term of suppression has ended. In its place a new newspaper is to be published beginning from April 1, independent of all party ties. This newspaper, the "German Echo," will adapt itself to the new situation and will further and support everything that serves the interests of the German people.

The Wave of Fascist Terror

In the Dungeons of the Berlin Police Headquarters

By Egon Erwin Kisch.

The Prussian Minister of the Interior Göring recently made a categorical statement to foreign press correspondents denying that a fascist terror was raging in Germany. He admitted only that large numbers of Communist Party officials had been taken into "protective custody." Reports of the tortures of the prisoners, however, belonged to the realm of fairy stories. The following personal experiences of Egon Erwin Kisch, a writer, in the prison of the Berlin Police Headquarters (Kisch was arrested at the beginning of March and later expelled to Czechoslovakia) stamp Göring's statement as a lie. They show to what horrible physical and moral tortures the imprisoned revolutionary workers in Germany are subjected.

ED.

I had hardly had time to fold my coat on the plank-bed, in order thereby to reserve a place in the crowded cell, before I was surrounded by all its inmates; fifty to sixty imprisoned workers began talking at me, showing me their ghastly wounds and relating their terrible experiences.

They rushed at me, thrusting one another aside; their stories were such a jumble that I could only grasp the details and could obtain from them no connected story. Again and again a fresh prisoner would hold forth, telling me his experiences and showing me his wounds.

For five or six days they had been sitting there together, suffering unceasingly the most unimaginable tortures, and now a comrade had come in who had not been with them; they wished to unburden their hearts to him, to tell him their grievances, to give him proofs of the bestiality of their tormentors. And that was why there was this throng around me, that was why I was assailed by this flood of facts and sights which left me quite faint and dizzy.

They had all been surprised in their houses by Storm Troops on the Sunday of the elections, or the day after, and had been ill-treated in front of their terrified families; their furniture had been smashed to bits and their books torn to pieces. Without being allowed to dress completely—many of them were without shoes—they had been dragged away to the Nazi barracks, first to the so-called "Friesenkaserne" (barracks), and later to a factory in the Friedrichstrasse converted into a barracks for the Storm Troops.

"We'll soon knock the Communism out of you!"

For five days and five nights the Storm Troops had been doing their best to drive Communism out of them in every possible way.

One of the chief ways in which the spirit of the non-commissioned officer, now awakened from the dead, expressed itself was as follows: the workers had been compelled to exercise in the courtyard, to throw themselves in the mud and jump up again at the word of command, again and again; each time their strength failed they were spurred on with sticks and whips; made to fall down and jump up again until they lay there so completely unconscious that no blow from stick or whip could bring them to their senses.

They were obliged to line up every day and, their arms raised in the fascist salute, to shout hour after hour in chorus: "Three cheers for our victorious Chancellor Hitler!" Anyone who did not stretch his arm tautly enough, anyone who did not shout lustily enough, was subjected to kicks and blows. The text of another slogan was: "What were we yesterday? Communists. What shall we be to-morrow? National socialists. Hurrah!"

They were also made to recite the Lord's Prayer in unison. In the barrack-rooms other ceremonies took place. The prisoners were made to drink castor-oil, then let down their trousers and bend over a table; they were then beaten with sticks until the skin broke and the raw flesh swelled out. (Almost all my fellow-prisoners at the police headquarters had these wounds. I saw them with my own eyes.) When, during this castigation, the purgatives took effect, their tormentors shrieked with laughter.

Other prisoners were forced, after taking castor-oil, to stand up naked with their faces to the wall, and to keep on bending their knees until these movements, to the great delight of their gaolers, were accompanied by the effects of the castor-oil.

One of the prisoners was placed facing his son; they were both given sticks, and were compelled, by being beaten with sticks and covered with a revolver, to beat each other. "Harder, harder!" the order was given, and "Quicker, quicker!" Both of them were with me in my cell, father and son, both with their heads and faces terribly injured, the father's right eye bloodshot and protruding, and his jaw swollen, perhaps smashed.

The prisoners were continually given warning that they would be shot, and that five men had been shot that day in the cellar. At night their tormentors amused themselves by shooting into their sleeping-quarters. One or other of the victims would repeatedly shout out "Shoot me then, you cowards!" whereupon he would be beaten with still greater fury.

All these tortures were accompanied by contemptuous remarks; such phrases were particularly popular: "We aren't giving you much fun, are we? On the other hand we are giving your wives all the more fun. In nine months' time your wives will have fine little Hitler-kids!"

These remarks were the more disturbing and tormenting, in that not one of the prisoners was in even the slightest communication with his relatives or knew whether his wife had not also been dragged off.

A game of question and answer, which was designated "Cross-examination," was carried out as follows: "What are you?" "I'm a pig of a Communist." Anyone who did not answer thus received a series of blinding blows on the head or on the mouth; but if he gave this answer his tormentors corrected him with a blow: "—swine of a Communist." And next time he had to say "I am a swine of a Communist."

In reply to a question as to how they had come by their wounds, the wounded had to reply: "I fell against a stove when I was drunk."

Their beards were cut off, their heads shaven, generally on one side only, or singed off or torn out in handfuls; and in some cases the prisoners' hair was cut into the form of a Swastika.

This continual beating was too much for a major of the Storm Troops, so that at last he stamped his foot and shouted to his fellow-Nazis in front of the prisoners, "That's enough now!"

Count Helldorf, however, Commandant of Berlin, who personally superintended the barracks and had the prisoners led out before him, gave orders for fresh beatings. He was particularly interested in routing out Jews. He made the prisoners show their genitals and asked:

"Your father's religion?"

"Evangelical."

"Your mother's?"

"Catholic."

"Hm, you're a typical, Jewish half-caste. Your mother went with Jews."

The Jews amongst the prisoners had to suffer most, for they were the most cruelly beaten; every day they were taken to "execution," placed against a wall, and revolver shots were fired over their heads to frighten them.

All this time there was in the barracks a young boy of fourteen, who had been imprisoned because it was desired to obtain from him the address of his mother who was in hiding.

From other prisoners the Nazis wanted to discover the addresses of officials or of houses in which secret presses, explosives or arms were to be found. Of all the prisoners only one divulged the names and addresses of comrades. He also was in my cell. No one spoke to him.

On the day before I was brought back from Spandau to the Police Headquarters, everyone was brought hither from the Nazi barracks. They were obliged to go on foot; many of them were unshod, and they had to hold their hands above their heads and to march thus through the streets. At the corner of the Friedrichstrasse and the Unter den Linden one of the prisoners threw himself under a passing bus, and was picked up with his legs cut off. At the Police Headquarters the most severely wounded were bandaged and the prisoners were locked up in groups in different cells.

The light in our cell was not extinguished, as fresh prisoners were constantly being brought in. As there were already more than seventy there they had to lie on the floor, there not being

enough plank beds. Amongst others there were also some social democratic shop-stewards from a tramway repairing depôt, who had been arrested in the midst of their work by some Storm Troops led by an officer. There was also in our cell a uniformed national socialist who had opened his collecting tin and used the money for himself; he had been arrested and placed with the political prisoners.

Until late into the night the injured surrounded me and overwhelmed me with their stories; my nerves were racked to the utmost and I jumped up and paced to and fro. "Leave him in peace!" someone shouted, and came up to me. "You must understand us. We have had terrible experiences. In my case, for instance, they . . ." and he thereupon began to relate a fresh story.

They had, it is true, lived through in four or five days what I had to pass through in the space of a few hours; but they had had to experience it in person, while I only had to listen to it.

Not one of these workers who had been so inhumanly mishandled, not one—with a single exception—had betrayed anything; not one of them spoke without hate and contempt of this kind of enemy; not one had lost his faith in the cause for which he had been made to suffer so terribly.

At midday on the 11th of March I was called from the cell and informed that I was to be expelled over the frontier. Only for a minute did I return, to fetch my coat. "Red Front," I said in farewell, and "Red Front," sixty voices answered me. A civilian policeman escorted me to the Anhalter Station; he had the money which had been paid for me, as well as my watch, my fountain-pen and my knife in his pocket. He travelled with me to Bodenbach, where he delivered me over to the officials of the Czech frontier police in return for a receipt, and handed over to me my things and the remainder of my money. Then I travelled to Prague.

National Socialist Terror in the Factories

Berlin, April 3.

The Nazis are continuing their acts of terror in all enterprises. Every day dozens of cases are reported, where Nazis are arresting shop stewards, transporting them to their barracks. They are beaten with truncheons and then forced to sign a declaration that they will not continue their functions and cease all political activity.

On Thursday, March 30, a large group of Nazis raided the **Ossram Works** in Berlin East, Warsawstreet. Three Communists leaving the building were at once arrested. They are still in custody. The Nazis declared that they are going to fetch the other shop stewards in a few days.

On the same day the Nazis raided the factory **Siemens Plania** in Lichtenberg and searched for Marxist literature. The Communist and socialist shop stewards were forbidden to stand as candidates for the new elections which are to take place next week.

Last week one of the chauffeurs of the big **Wittler Bakery** was attacked by Nazis and dragged to their barracks. From there he was taken in a taxi to the notorious murder den in the Friedrichstrasse 234 where he was beaten until he was unconscious. He was then forced to lick the boots of some Nazi workers of the Wittler works. When asked whether he was well treated, he had to answer "yes."

On the 24th March a joint meeting of the representatives of the reformist and revolutionary metal workers' unions in the famous German hydraulic brake works—**Knorr Bremse in Berlin-Lichtenberg**—was raided at the instance of the national socialists by two lorry-loads of so-called auxiliary police. The factory buildings were surrounded and all the reformist and revolutionary members of the workers' council were arrested and taken away, including a member of the German Nationalist Clerical Workers' Union. The arrested men were taken to the former buildings of the military command in the General Pape Strasse. In the evening the arrested men were examined and the chairman of the reformist Metal Workers' Union, Ulrich, was called. The authorities demanded that Ulrich should give an undertaking that his union would refrain from taking part in the next factory council election and that it would conduct no propaganda of any kind. The arrested men were told that they better sign such a declaration immediately, as they would sign in a few days, anyhow. And the official pointed towards the cellar from which the groans and cries of manhandled workers could be heard. Under threats the arrested men then signed the document placed before them, and according to which they relinquish

all their rights under the Factory Council Law and agree not to come forward at the next election and to make no propaganda of any kind. The present composition of the workers' council at the Knorr Bremse Works is 6 reformists, 3 members of the revolutionary trade union opposition, and 2 national socialists.

At the beginning of last week, national socialist storm troops appeared before the headquarters of the **Berlin Municipal Electricity Works (Bewag) on the Schiffbauerdamm**. They surrounded the building and permitted no one to leave. A storm troop then proceeded to the room of the workers' and employees' councils where a joint session of these two bodies was in progress. The new elections took place a few weeks ago and not a single national socialist candidate was elected on to the workers' council. The national socialists declared all the members of both councils (13 in all) arrested and carried them off to a national socialist barracks, believed to be the notorious house 234, Friedrich Strasse. Despite all the efforts of the directorial board of the Bewag it was not possible to secure an intervention on the part of the police. The next day, however, the representatives of the Bewag succeeded in direct negotiations with the national socialists in securing the release of all 13 arrested men. The released men declare that they were compelled to march round and round in military formation singing "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" whilst national socialists threatened them with drawn revolvers. This was kept up so long that two members of the workers' council, who were severely wounded during the war, collapsed. During the many hours the arrested men were kept in the barracks the groans and shrieks of tortured and maltreated prisoners hardly ceased. The released men declare that over 100 workers and a number of intellectuals, including, they believe, a Dr. Friedlaender, are being held in these barracks. Many of the imprisoned men can no longer stand and some of them bear hardly any resemblance to human beings, being no more than lumps of bleeding flesh owing to the continual maltreatment and beatings. Before being released the 13 men were compelled to sign a statement to the effect that they had been well treated and that the conditions in the barracks were unexceptionable.

On the 22nd March the police in **Muenchen-Gladbach** arrested a metal worker named Arbats. His wife refused to be separated from him and was therefore taken along also. At first the two were taken to prison, but in the evening they were to be removed to the county prison. At first the journey went through lighted streets, but later the escort turned into a dark and lonely street. Arbats and his wife refused to accompany the escort. The police then drew their revolvers and shot them both dead. The report appeared in the press under the laconic heading: "Shot whilst attempting to escape."

The above reports are absolutely reliable and represent a few amongst many hundreds where exact information is unobtainable owing to the complete suppression of the oppositional newspapers, etc.

The Murder Regime in Germany

Berlin, April 2.

Hardly a week has passed since Minister Goering declared that all was quiet in Germany and that all reports about atrocities were mere fairy tales. And yet even the German newspapers are publishing reports of ill treatment and murders every day. We will to-day publish only a few cases, showing that Goering's declaration was a lie:—

In **Spandau** a young worker, who joined the C.P. in 1931, was arrested by the Nazis on March 11. He was terribly beaten with revolver butts and then dragged to the Nazi barracks. There he was again beaten with iron bars until his skull was broken. Then he was taken to the **Karolinenhöhe** estate, where he was found dead next morning with 12 bullets in his body.

In **Falkensee** three socialist functionaries were beaten with batons and kicked about until they were unconscious. After six hours they were found and transported to hospital.

Three **Spandau** workers were attacked by Nazis, dragged to the Nazi barracks in the Wilhelmstrasse and beaten with iron bars. They are now in hospital. Another worker who lay ill in bed was beaten with iron rods.

In **Hakenfelde** the home of a woman worker was wrecked by Nazis because she could not give them the address of a Communist functionary. After this terrible ill-treatment the woman tried to commit suicide. She is now in hospital. In one family (in the same town) the man had to flee, his wife tried to commit suicide, and

their three children (aged between 2 and 10 years) are in the house by themselves, and have to go begging.

In **Berlin** a worker, aged 57 years, was taken to the Nazi home in the Pankstrasse. There he was beaten with batons and threatened with shooting. He is in hospital now. All his back is bloodshot, his eyes are swollen and on his head he has a wound of about 5 inches.

Another worker was taken to the Hedemannstrasse. When he was released the doctor found that his back, his arms and his legs were bloodshot, he has numerous wounds and it seems that the bones of his hands are broken.

In **Lichtenberg**, near Zittau (the Czechoslovakian frontier), Nazis and police raided the village. They searched every house and stole all the money. Seven persons were arrested and taken away. Nothing has been heard of the victims since.

In **Chemnitz** a large number of Jews received from 50-75 strokes with a leather whip. When the prison was full, part of the arrested were released and then forced to wash off all symbols of proletarian parties from the house fronts. Photos of this procedure have been published in the Nazi press.

The well-known teacher **Epping**, in **Chemnitz**, was arrested at school while teaching. When he was led away the children cheered him. This was the signal for the Nazis to belabour him and the school children with steel rods.

The **Chemnitz** manufacturer, **Flieg**, was arrested as hostage because his son, who is known through his political activity had fled. He was told that he would be released only when his son returned.

The writer **Fritz Sternberg**, the author of several scientific works, was attacked in the flat of Max Seydewitz and terribly beaten in the presence of Seydewitz and his four children.

Heinz Pol, another well-known writer, was arrested in his house and then dragged to the Nazi barrack at Motzstrasse 47. He was whipped and beaten with batons. His last manuscript was torn up.

A **Latvian** merchant was detained by the Nazis in their barrack in the Jüdenstrasse, undressed and beaten until he was unconscious. Afterwards he had to sign a declaration that he had not been ill-treated. Then the Nazis forced him to sit with his naked backside on a chair from which the seat had been removed. They then put a burning candle under the chair until his backside was all burnt. The merchant is now being treated in hospital.

Berlin, March 31.

The Berlin police president Levetzow sent in a secret report to the Nazi Home Secretary Frick, in which he states that between February 27 (the day the Reichstag burnt) and March 25, 247 murders were committed in the police district of Berlin. Of these 247 persons killed, 17 were Nazis, 14 Jews and the rest of 216 were Communist and socialist workers, small business men and intellectuals.

Berlin, April 2.

It is quite obvious that for some years the Nazis had prepared lists of all those to be arrested at once when Nazi rule was established. These proscription lists were prepared years ago under the regime of Braun, Severing and their socialist police presidents who never took any steps against the Nazi pest. It happened several times that Nazi gangs went to houses of comrades who had died years ago. In their fury they arrested the widows and even the children of these dead comrades. A singular case is that of Comrade Ernst Meyer, who died three years ago. The Nazis simply arrested the 15-year-old son of Ernst Meyer and took him to a Nazi barrack. Nothing has been heard about this boy ever since.

An Incredible Crime is Being Planned

By Willy Trostel (Zurich)

A monstrous crime is being prepared by the Hitler government in connection with the fire in the Reichstag. In his big speech delivered on March 23, Hitler promised to inflict an exemplary punishment on the incendiaries. Shortly afterwards the Public Prosecutor declared that Van der Lubbe had taken part in the bomb outrage in the Sofia Cathedral in April, 1925, and made hints about some Bulgarians who had been arrested in Berlin. On March 31, a decree was issued according to which those guilty

of serious political crimes would be executed by hanging. And now events are following rapidly one after the other.

On April 2, the Public Prosecutor gave the names of the arrested Bulgarians. Their names are **Dimitrov, Tanev and Popoff**, and they were arrested on March 9 in Berlin, where they had not registered with the police. On April 3, it was announced that the Public Prosecutor had issued warrants for the arrest of Van der Lubbe, the three Bulgarians and the "former member of the Reichstag, **Torgler**"; and it was added that "against other suspected persons there were only warrants for preventive arrest for the time being." As Hitler declared immediately after the outbreak of the Reichstag fire that it was the work of the Communist Party, there is no doubt who is meant by these "further suspected persons": they are the leading functionaries of the C.P.G. who are under "preventive arrest," in particular the leader of the Party, Comrade **Thaelmann**.

It is quite clear what Hitler and his consorts are aiming at. Comrades Thaelmann and Torgler, Comrades Dimitrov and Tanev are to be accused by fascist justice of incendiarism, condemned and delivered over to the gallows.

This monstrous crime is to be brought into connection with the bomb outrage in the Sofia Cathedral, which was the work of provocateurs.

After the Cathedral outrage the Zankov government published a so-called "Secret Document" of the Comintern, purporting to fix the commencement of the Bolshevik revolution in the Balkans for April 15, 1926. This "document" was exposed by the "Berlin Tageblatt" as a forgery perpetrated by a certain **Drushelovsky**, a Russian white guardist living in Berlin, where, with his friend **Gumansky** he had set up a forgery workshop. These people had connections with the Tsarist State Counsellor **Orlov**, who, as was proved in the Chervonenz forgery trial in Berlin in 1930, maintained relations with the police agents Siewert and Bell and with fascist circles in Munich, with **Alfred Rosenberg**, who is now the chief editor of the "Volkischen Beobachter," the leading Nazi newspaper, and head of the newly set up Foreign Department of the National Socialist Labour Party!

We must therefore reckon with unprecedented forgeries and provocations.

If the court functioned at all normally, then we should not have the least to fear from such a trial; on the contrary, it would be bound to end in a great defeat for fascism. Hitler declared in his speech on March 23 that the judges, in arriving at their decisions, must be guided not by the merits of each individual case, but by the "interests of the nation as a whole"—by the interests of the nation as he understands them—and the judges of the Reich Court, in a decision, enthusiastically endorsed Hitler's standpoint. In the above-mentioned speech, Hitler also declared that the danger of Communism was to be demonstrated to the world by public executions. By public executions, not by public trial! This sentence seems to us to be decisive, and not the reports of the papers that the trial is to be held in public. The worst thing, however, is that Alfred Rosenberg and his friends have full state power in their hands in Germany. We must therefore expect the very worst from this quarter.

The lives of our best comrades are at stake. But that is not all. Fascism intends to strike through them at the whole Communist, in fact the whole revolutionary movement.

"We have rendered the whole civilised world an invaluable service in that we have ruthlessly opposed the Communist terror and thereby given the world an example of how it must be combated."

Who spoke these words? The Bulgarian Hitler, Zankov, after the explosion in the cathedral, or the German Zankov, Hitler, after the fire in the Reichstag? They have both said words to the same effect. Both of them want to serve international capital. Both of them ruthlessly combat the international proletariat.

Therefore, the fight for Thaelmann and Dimitrov, for Tanev and Torgler is a fight for the cause of the whole international proletariat.

The danger threatening our comrades is exceedingly great, but there exists every possibility that a campaign in connection with this matter will be crowned with complete success.

Therefore, the highest alarm! We must launch an unprecedentedly powerful campaign.

The devilish plan of Hitler, Göhring and Rosenberg must be brought to nought.

Capitulation of the German Social Democracy

Letter from Friedrich Adler to Otto Wels

Brussels, April 1, 1933.

The "People," the central organ of the Belgian social-democracy, publishes, together with the latest decisions of the L.S.I. and a "denial" that the social-democratic party of Germany intends to leave the II. International, a letter from **Friedrich Adler** to **Otto Wels**, from which we publish the following extract:—

Zurich, March 28, 1933.

"Dear Comrade Wels,—

"Our conversation to-day appears to me so important that I deem it advisable to record some of its most important points in writing. You telephoned to me on Monday, March 20, from Berlin, from the office of the central committee of your party, in order to raise objection to the fact that No. 5 of the 'International Information' contains some reports on the position of the political prisoners which are not in accordance with the facts, in particular the two notices referring to the murder of the deputy Böchel and the tortures practised in the Spandau prisons. I immediately thereupon adopted the necessary measures in order to prevent the publication of the French and English editions. . . . We fully share your opinion that from the point of view of the working class the dissemination of false reports on events in Germany can only be harmful to us. . . . But as against some false or exaggerated reports which have penetrated abroad, there is the terrible number of cases, confirmed beyond all doubt, of cruel ill-treatment of political opponents or politically indifferent persons by the present ruling party. . . . Much as we are determined to oppose the circulation of false news, which would be only in the interests of our opponents, we are likewise determined to concentrate all our forces and intensively as possible on spreading the truth about Germany. No **intimidation** (our emphasis—Ed.) and no threat can prevent us from fulfilling this moral task. . . . The L.S.I. is determined to resist energetically all attempts at gagging, even outside the German frontiers. . . . The Bureau was of the opinion that of course any exaggerated description of the state of affairs in Germany must be avoided, but nevertheless it was absolutely necessary to express with perfect clearness the truth about Germany, and that in particular it is quite out of the question that it can allow its tactics to be hampered by the threats of the government of any country. . . . At our conversation to-day you very energetically repeated your objections. In particular, **you renewed your protest against the publication of the resolution on the problem of the united front. . . . Even your declaration that you might be compelled to draw very serious consequences from this** could not induce me—in agreement with the directions which I have received from the Bureau of the L.S.I.—to hold up the dispatch of the International Information (our emphasis—Ed.). We all hope that we shall tackle this serious problem with which we are faced in the spirit of international solidarity.

"With socialist greetings,

"The Secretary of the L.S.I.

"(Signed) Fr. Adler."

This letter, just as the reports from Copenhagen and Prague, plainly shows that the leaders of the social-democratic party of Germany have completely submitted to the demand of the national socialist party that they shall take steps in order to induce the social-democratic press abroad to keep silent on the events in Germany. This is to enable the German social-democracy to incorporate itself into the fascist State and to be admitted as official legal opposition of German fascism. The social-democratic party has not yet officially separated itself from the Second International. But here it is only a question of a formality. The German social-democracy wishes to make use for the last time of international solidarity in order to bring the foreign social-democratic press to silence. The "internationalism" of the German social-democracy goes so far that it demands of the other social-democratic parties their co-operation in incorporating the social-democratic party of Germany in the fascist State.

International Solidarity with the German Toilers

At a joint session of the Central Committees of the C.P. of Italy and Yugoslavia which was held recently it was decided to send fighting greetings to the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany. In this message of greeting it is stated:—

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Italy and of the C.P. of Yugoslavia, at a joint conference which, on the basis of the decisions of the Essen Conference of the Communist Parties, was devoted to elaborating concrete measures for the fight against the imperialist war-incitement of the bourgeoisies of both countries, as well as for the emancipation of the oppressed nationalities in Italy and in Yugoslavia, resolved to send brotherly greeting to the leader of the German proletariat, the Communist Party of Germany, and to wish it every success in its heroic struggle against the government of open civil war, the government of Hitler, Papen, Hugenberg.

Only the united, determined, revolutionary fight of all Communist, social-democratic, christian and non-party workers under the tried and tested leadership of the C.P. of Germany can defeat this government of exploitation, of civil war and imperialist war, and emancipate Germany from the chains of Versailles and social enslavement.

The Communist Parties of Yugoslavia and Italy, which are suppressed by bloody fascist dictatorships, and have made great sacrifices in their fight against Italian fascism and the military fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, determinedly side with the proletariat of Germany and pledge themselves to support its fight by strengthening the fight against fascism in their own countries.

The C.C.'s of the C.P. of Italy and of Yugoslavia.

Paris, April 3, 1933.

The protest campaign conducted by the revolutionary organisations against the fascist terror in Germany is increasing throughout the country. Protest resolutions were adopted by: the staff of the trading firm of Bonvalet-Vrigny in Montrouge, the R.M.O. works of the Citroen factory, the dock workers in Havre, workers' meetings in Montivillers and Villebonna, the navvies in Havre, etc. Further protest resolutions have been adopted by the members of revolutionary trade union at Citroen works, in Levallois-Perret, by workers' meetings in Trouville-Beauville, by the wood workers of the Paris district, by the garment workers of Paris, by the railway-postal workers of the P.L.M. railway, by the revolutionary railway workers in Bellegarde (Ain), by the Executive Committee of the Red printers' trade unions, by the Trades Council in Ivry, etc.

Protest of the Italian Red Aid to the German Embassy in Paris

On March 20, the Red Aid of Italy sent a declaration of protest to the German Embassy in Paris, in which it is stated, *inter alia*:—

The savage terror which your government has let loose against the toilers of Germany has called forth the most powerful protest of the workers of the whole world.

The Red Aid of Italy and thousands of their followers join in the powerful protest of all other toilers.

The working class of Italy, from its own bitter experience, knows fascism, its provocations, its crimes and unheard-of brutality. It knows the regime of arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, tortures, and "legal" murders in the dungeons of the police and fascist militia, of attacks upon the premises of the proletarian organisations and their demolition, the suppression of all the rights of the working class—in short, the regime which drives the masses into misery and starvation by preventing them from defending their most elementary rights.

The Red Aid of Italy wants to know what has happened to Ernst Thälmann and other leaders of the German proletariat.

The Red Aid expresses its solidarity with the victims of the fascist terror and all proletarians of Germany, and pledges itself to support them with all the means at its disposal.

In submitting to you our protest against the crimes of your government, we express the hope that all the toilers of Germany, supported by the solidarity of the workers of the whole world, will exert their greatest efforts in defence of their class interests and for the overthrow of the shameful regime which the bourgeoisie of Germany has established.

Fight Against Fascism

European Fighting Congress Against Fascism

Workers of Europe! Anti-Fascists!

All over the Continent and in England the call for a European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress has been enthusiastically welcomed.

This was the deep and inspiring impression felt by the workers' representatives of all the important European countries who assembled in Copenhagen for the Congress Organising Bureau meeting.

In Germany the Red workers' front is growing every day, which offers the proletarian world the heroic example of iron mass resistance against the Hitler dictatorship. In the factories a powerful and often successful resistance against the terroristic acts of the Nazis is flaring up. . . .

A flood of illegal factory papers and leaflets, issued by anti-fascists, is circulating in the factories and the workers' quarters. Marxism lives in spite of the fascist hangmen, and its slogans arouse an enthusiastic echo among the masses.

The fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski is writhing in the iron clutches of gigantic mass strikes.

At first 50,000, then 100,000, and now 120,000 textile workers are out on strike. Daily the strike wave embraces new factories and new classes of workers. The whole of Lodz is adhering to the general strike. . . .

In Italy the masses of workers and peasants, condemned by Mussolini to starve in silence, are rousing. Unemployed, without a penny relief to keep them from starvation, the land workers and proletarians, together with the peasants, are demonstrating before the offices of the fascist party and its syndicates in the provinces of Ferrari, Bari, etc. . . .

In England, Austria, in all Scandinavia—all round Germany, all over Europe, everywhere where the workers dwell, only one voice is heard: Down with Hitler!

Glory, honour and militant solidarity for the fighting undefeated German working class.

At this moment, when millions of workers are raising their fists with burning hatred against Hitler and his Brown-Shirt murderers, the enlarged organising bureau of the European Anti-Fascist Congress confirms the fact that the German social-democratic leaders are not only capitulating to the fascist dictatorship of capital, but are rushing to join up with Hitler.

The presidium of the German Trade Union Congress, in an official statement, declares its agreement with the introduction of Nazi State control over the trade unions.

Still more! **Wels**, the president of the social-democratic party, announces in the Reichstag the unconditional support of Hitler's policy by social-democracy, and demands the restoration of the social-democratic press, so that it can deny the news spread abroad of the Nazi terror in Germany.

It is clear that the leaders of social-democracy, who in their fifteen years' rule constantly fought the working class but delivered one position after another over to the Brown Shirts, are to-day incorporating themselves and their trade unions in the framework of the fascist dictatorship—the trade unions which were created by the workers in the course of their age-long struggle as an instrument of proletarian liberation from capitalist exploitation.

In many countries the leaders of the social-democratic parties have launched a campaign of incitement against the Anti-Fascist Congress and the united front organs set up by the workers. While the Communist Parties everywhere have supported our anti-fascist movement and approached the social-democratic parties with appropriate united front offers.

In spite of this contemptible attitude of the leaders, many sections of the social-democratic parties, such as the Lyons Socialist Party (France), the English I.L.P., and others, have resolved collectively to adhere to the Anti-Fascist Congress and to send delegates.

More and more social-democratic functionaries and members are declaring themselves for the Congress.

Workers of all countries! Swift and powerful action is imperative! It is necessary to redouble all previous efforts! For the Hitler dictatorship is planning new bloody provocations and barbaric reprisals against the German proletariat.

It is offering its services to the entire Western bourgeoisie as the gendarme of international finance-capital. It sends Nazi strike-breakers to Sweden to stab the striking seamen there in the back and arrests the crews of Swedish ships on strike at Hamburg.

It is sharpening by its chauvinistic and anti-Soviet excesses the danger of war and is weaving a chain of foreign diplomatic conflicts, trade wars and frontier collisions.

Because they cannot provide work and bread, because they are only deepening the crisis, the fascist rulers attempt to divert the masses by chauvinistic and anti-Soviet incitements.

In the face of the raging White Terror, in face of the growing danger of fascism erecting its rule of terror in other European countries (such as Austria, etc.), in face, above all, of the enthusiastic echo which the first initiative for the organising of the Anti-Fascist Congress aroused over all Europe.

The enlarged Organising Bureau has resolved to convoke the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress in Prague on April 16 and 17.

We, Social-Democratic, Communist, Christian, and non-party workers, welded together in the anti-fascist struggle, address ourselves at this hour to all workers and peasants, to all toiling members of the middle class and intellectuals.

Wherever workers are united in the factories, organisations and trade unions, take immediate steps in support of the Anti-Fascist Congress.

Call meetings and pass resolutions, elect and finance delegates!

Above all: Take action against Hitler! Against the fascist dictatorships!

We appeal to you to make the month of April a month of struggle against fascism, and with the impetus given by the weight of the European Congress to make all preparations for transforming May Day into a powerful fighting day against fascism and the capitalist offensive.

The European Congress this Easter of 1933 will be a Congress of Action. It will unite all living anti-fascist forces glowing with the will to struggle.

In the dust with the bloody rule of Hitler!

Down with the fascist dictatorship!

Long live the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress!

Long live the united struggle—until the victory of the international proletariat over fascism and capitalism!

Organising Bureau for the Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress.
Copenhagen, March 25, 1933.

United Front Appeal of the E.C. of the Young Communist International

To the Working Youth of all Countries!

The entire generation of workers now growing up is passing through indescribable torments and misery as a result of the capitalist offensive. Hunger, want, and unemployment are intensified from day to day. It is the young workers whose wages are reduced first. They are being thrown out of the workshops and the schools on to the streets, and they are being robbed of their unemployment benefit. Colonial methods of exploiting children are being introduced into the countries of "culture" in Europe and America. To the demands of the workers for work and bread the capitalists answer with fire and steel, in an attempt to plunge the workers into a state of still greater barbarism. Every kind of effort is being made to shatter the workers' youth organisations, and in the fight against revolutionary youth an

increasing use is being made of the court-martial and the death sentence. Many young workers in Germany, disillusioned by the policy of the social democrats, are being imposed upon by the mendacious promises of the fascists to offer youth a future once again, and are being won over for the struggle against their own class.

Every effort is being made by the capitalists to stir up the wave of chauvinism and nationalism and to distract the attention of youth from the primary cause of its misery—capitalism in its own country. Youth is being hounded into the labour camps by hunger and compulsion. Many young workers go to these camps because, deceived as they are by fascist and social democratic propaganda, they believe that is the only way in which they can escape the hell of unemployment, starvation, and homelessness. The fascist reaction lays hold of one country after another. This state of affairs has only been possible because reformism has held the working class back from the struggle for socialism and made every effort to enlist it for the preservation and defence of the capitalist state. Simultaneously, however, the will of the proletariat and the young workers to take part in the struggle against capital grows ever stronger. The setting up of an open fascist dictatorship in Germany places before the millions of masses of the workers and young workers the urgent task of organising immediately the united struggle against fascism and reaction. The Communist International, in its appeal to the workers of all countries, has once again undertaken the attempt to build up a united front in the struggle in combination with the social democratic workers, and with the help of the social democratic parties. The young workers of the whole world, as a part of the working class, will approve of and welcome this step of the Communist International.

The Young Communist International has been fighting for years, under the leadership of the Communist International, to set up the united front of the young workers against the attacks of fascism and against capital. What was it that prevented the realisation of the united front? It was the leaders of the social democratic youth organisations, who supported the policy of the leaders of the social democratic parties of "curing" capitalism, the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie under the mask of the theory of "the lesser evil." This disintegrated the fighting powers of the working class, prevented it, for example, from opposing in unity and with determination the fascist coup d'états on July 20, 1932, and January 30, 1933, and led in Germany to the setting up of the fascist Hitler-Hugenberg-Papen dictatorship.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Youth Organisation (S.A.J.) prevented the united front of the young workers in strikes and demonstrations, distracted their attention from the struggle, and forbade its members from discussing with the young Communists the organisation of strikes and a combined struggle against the fascists.

It is not only that they disrupted the united front in the struggle against the introduction of forced labour, but they directly supported the slavish methods of exploiting and fascisation of the young workers. This policy of the leaders of the S.A.J. (Social Democratic Youth Organisation) was and is the chief hindrance to the realisation of the united front of the Communist and social democratic young workers.

The numerous strikes and demonstrations in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland, in which young Communists struggled shoulder to shoulder with social democratic young workers against the will of their leaders, the demonstration in Neukölln, in which the young Communists united with the masses of the social democratic young workers on the occasion of the murdering of young workers by the fascists, the joint anti-fascist patrols in a number of German towns—bear witness to the honesty and readiness of the sections of the Young Communist International to set up a united front with the young social democratic workers.

And now, when the appeal of the Communists and the Young Communists for the setting up of a united front is being followed by a louder and louder echo amongst the rank and file of the young social democratic workers, both the sections of the Young Socialist International and the bureau itself are declaring their readiness for the establishment of the united front. But it is all talk about the united front. They make no proposals for the immediate and direct organisation of concrete action against fascism and capitalism.

Young Workers and Young Women Workers of all Countries!

In spite of this the Young Communist International declares its readiness before all the young workers, in the present moment of the offensive of fascism in Germany, which is letting loose all the reactionary forces in the world, to make one more attempt to establish the united front of young Communists with the masses of young workers who are members of social democratic, sport, trades union and cultural organisations, and of the Social Democratic Youth Organisation, to establish the united front with the assistance of these organisations.

For this reason the Young Communist International recommends all its sections to approach the central organs of these organisations with proposals for concrete lines of united action.

Taking its stand on the conditions of the Communist International, which corresponds to the will of the **working class**, the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International recommends the following as a basis for negotiations:

1. The Young Communists and the members of the social democratic youth organisations shall take immediate steps for the organisation and carrying through of the struggle against the attacks of fascism and reaction on the political, trade union, cultural, sport, co-operative and other organisations of the workers and young workers, against the press of the workers and revolutionary young workers, against the freedom to hold meetings and demonstrations, and the right to strike, and against the revolutionary youth organisations. They shall organise a common struggle against the armed attacks of fascist bands by means of mass protests, street demonstrations, and political mass strikes; they shall take an active part in the formation of committees of action in the workshops, the labour exchanges and workers' quarters, as well as in the organisation of self-defence units.

2. The Young Communists and the members of the social democratic youth organisations shall take immediate steps for the organisation of protests of the workers and the young workers by means of resolutions, demonstrations and strikes against wage cuts, against the worsening of working conditions and cuts in insurance benefits, against the abolition and reduction of unemployment benefits, for support and assistance to young unemployed workers, against dismissals from the workshops, against the closing of schools, against the exploitation, fascisation and militarisation of young workers in the labour camps, for the payment of young workers according to trade union wages, for the driving out of officers and fascist instructors from the camps, against any abolition of the electoral and other political rights of young workers.

3. On the acceptance and carrying through of these conditions the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International—following the example of the Communist International—considers it to be possible to propose to the Young Communist League organisations that they shall, during the time of common struggle against the offensive of capital and fascism, abstain from attacks on the social democratic youth organisations. Against all those who infringe the conditions for the negotiations for the carrying out of the united front, the most ruthless struggle must be waged, as though against strikebreakers who prevent the united front of the working class and working-class youth. All sections of the Young Communist International must, without waiting for the results of the negotiations for the combined struggle, obey the appeal of the Communist International and immediately mobilise the young workers for the organisation of the united front committees of Young Communists, social democrats, and other workers and young workers. All young working men and women must fulfil their duty to their class in the present moment of the events in Germany. On the grounds of their great practical experience in the creation of a united front of Young Communists and social democratic workers the Young Communist International is convinced that the entire youth of the working class—no matter how the leaders of social democracy and of the Social Democrat Youth Organisation may react towards the creation of a united front—will in co-operation with the Young Communists bring to realisation the appeal of the Communist International for the united front.

The Young Communist International declares to the entire youth of the working class that it stands and will stand in the

forefront of the struggle for the united front of the working class against the bourgeoisie.

Down with fascism and its terror!

Down with the chauvinist attacks and the militarisation of youth!

For the united front of working-class youth!

Proletarians of all countries, unite in the struggle against the offensives of capital and fascism!

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

United Front Developments in Great Britain

By J. Shields (London).

Following on the Manifesto issued by the Communist International calling for the united front of the working class on the basis of the class struggle against the offensive of capital and fascism, which recommended the Communist Parties to approach the Central Committees of the Social Democratic Parties belonging to the Labour and Socialist International with proposals regarding joint actions, the Communist Party of Great Britain sent a letter on March 10 to the central leaderships of the British Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Movement.

This letter invited these organisations to send representatives to a meeting on March 17 to discuss the question of arriving at a common agreement for the carrying out of a concrete programme of action against the capitalist offensive and fascism, in which connection specific proposals were outlined by the Communist Party in the letter itself.

Receipt of this letter was acknowledged by the various organisations concerned. Only the I.L.P., however, declared in its reply that it welcomed the proposal of the Communist Party and was ready to participate in the proposed meeting. The other organisations, Labour Party, T.U.C., and Co-operative Party, intimated that the letter would be submitted to their Executives for consideration.

On March 17 the meeting which had been arranged was held in London, with only Communist and I.L.P. representatives in attendance. At this meeting the I.L.P. stated that it was prepared to accept the proposals which the Communist Party had outlined with regard to the conducting of the united front struggle against Fascism and in support of the German and Austrian workers, as follows:—

(a) By a series of mass meetings and demonstrations to demand freedom of meeting, freedom of the workers' press, the return of the confiscated buildings and printing houses of the Communist, Socialist and Trade Union organisations of Germany and Austria; the right to strike; the release of all political prisoners; the immunity of the elected representatives of the workers, and the right to carry out their working-class duties in the Reichstag.

(b) The organisation of all forms of practical aid to enable the German and Austrian workers to carry on more effectively the fight against Hitler.

(c) The definite assurance that the full weight of the united organisations will be used to prevent black-legging in this country if strikes take place in Germany and Austria in defence of the conditions and liberties of the German working class.

(d) An active fight for the repudiation of the Versailles Treaty.

(e) Exchange of speakers between the working-class organisations of Britain and Germany to help in building up effective international action between the workers of both countries.

Both organisations agreed to proceed with the organisation of mass demonstrations in support of the German and Austrian workers, beginning April 2, and that the Labour Party and T.U.C. should be urged to co-operate in them.

The question of the taking up of the other proposals relating to the struggles in Britain against the capitalist offensive (wage cuts and the Means Test) and for the stopping of the transport of munitions to the Far East was raised, but it was ultimately decided that these should be considered at a future meeting.

Following upon the above-mentioned meeting, the leaders of

the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Party, have made it known that they absolutely refuse to participate in the united front action.

The National Joint Council of the Labour Party and the T.U.C. have issued a manifesto in reply to the united front proposals of the Communist Party, which deliberately ignores the issues raised and proceeds to make a general declaration about "Democracy versus Dictatorship."

"British Labour," says this manifesto, "stands firm for the democratic rights of the people." Put into other words, this simply means that the reformist labour leaders stand for the upholding of the capitalist state.

The manifesto attacks what it terms "Communist Dictatorship" and proceeds to state:

"Reaction on the 'Right' has bred reaction on the 'left.' Reaction of the 'left' is displaced by triumphant reaction of the 'Right.' . . . If the British working class, however, hesitate now between majority and minority rule and toy with the idea of dictatorship, fascist or Communist, they will go down to servitude such as they have never suffered."

The rank and file workers inside the Labour Party and Trade Unions have expressed widespread indignation at the refusal of the Labour chiefs to consider united front action. Local labour parties, Trades Councils, etc., have already, in many cases, passed resolutions denouncing the attitude of the Labour leaders and insisting on the united front of class struggle.

How strong is the feeling of the workers for unity was vividly shown by the tremendous mass response to the anti-fascist mass demonstrations organised by the joint efforts of the Communist Party and I.L.P. on April 2. Scores of thousands of workers participated in these demonstrations which were held in all the principal centres throughout the country, in solidarity support of the German and Austrian workers.

The leaders of the British Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress have shown themselves as saboteurs and the enemies of working-class unity. But the urge for mass united action, which is growing ever more powerfully amongst the masses, gives the guarantee that, as the Communist International stated in its Manifesto:

"The social democratic and non-party workers, regardless of what attitude the social democratic leaders adopt in setting up the united front, will overcome all obstacles and, together with the Communists, set up the united front, not in words, but in deeds."

London Demonstration Against Fascism

London, April, 3, 1933.

Forty thousand London workers demonstrated in Hyde Park, London, yesterday, under the banners of the united front committee formed of the Independent Labour Party and the Communist Party.

From all parts of London workers marched with banners flying and mighty shouts of "Down with Hitler Murder Gangs," "Down with Fascism," and "Long Live the Unity of the British and German Workers."

During the past week there has been constant activity throughout London in preparing for the demonstration and great mass meetings were held, particularly in the East End of London, where the Jewish population were displaying great anger and resentment against the treatment of Jews in Berlin and throughout Germany. On Sunday quite the largest contingent came from the East End. Students from the colleges had also rallied in fine style, over three hundred taking part in the demonstration and shouting militant slogans.

Prominent in the demonstration was an effigy of Hitler, and its appearance was the occasion for howls of execration from the workers who had assembled in large numbers in the park. Speakers from the I.L.P., C.P., No More War Movement, spoke from the six platforms, and the following resolution was carried at all platforms with tremendous enthusiasm:—

"This great demonstration of London workers, jointly organised by the Independent Labour Party and the Communist Party, sends its warm fraternal greetings to the German workers now fighting heroically against savage and brutal terror

waged against them by the Hitler fascist dictatorship and against the vicious pogroms on the Jewish people."

The resolution pledged full support and solidarity with the German workers in their fight and urged all organisations to drive for delegates to the **International Anti-Fascist Congress at Prague** at Easter, and then states:—

"We welcome the lead given by the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party in the development of the united front of London workers, and resolve to extend this united front to cover every locality and embracing all sections of the working class in the fight against fascism, war and the capitalist attack.

"We call upon the workers everywhere to repudiate and ignore the statement issued in the name of the Joint Council of the T.U.C. and Labour Party, which represents an effort to hold back the building of the united front in the localities and is a gross desertion of the principles of international working-class solidarity."

The World Economic Crisis

The Banking Crisis in the U.S.A.

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

As the general economic crisis intensifies in the fourth year of its almost steady downward course, greater sections are drawn into its vortex. The biggest groups of banks in the United States are at last being deeply involved and are making desperate efforts to maintain their plunder. The panic which began with the closing of all banks in the state of Michigan spread rapidly until it involved every state in the country and these state moratoria were followed by the federal closing of all financial institutions. With the fusing of the government and the financial oligarchy at the highest stage it has yet reached in this country, the great Wall Street combinations, headed by Rockefeller, Morgan and their associates, are using the financial crisis to consolidate their power to a degree never before attempted. Through their new and far cleverer agent in the White House, Roosevelt, they are using the bank panic to wipe out or take over thousands of independent banks, to organise a centralised banking system, institute branch banking (hitherto largely prohibited), and generally tighten their grip on the economic life of the country.

The U.S. is off the gold standard, the protestations of the bourgeoisie to the contrary notwithstanding; in how far and for how long remains to be seen.

The rapid intensification of the industrial crisis made inevitable the financial crisis of February-March, and the latter has reacted with terrific impact upon the industrial situation. The situation of the masses of workers and petty-bourgeois has worsened to an appalling degree, accompanied as it is by a nation-wide cutting of relief for the unemployed, increased rationalisation and wage-cutting, the plundering or potential inflating of what little savings and insurance they have left, rising prices, etc. The fascist organisation of labour armies is on the order of the day, based upon the banking crisis and the dictatorial war-time powers that Roosevelt has assumed.

The Michigan moratorium was preceded by the announcement at the beginning of the year by Congress that it had given up all attempts to balance the budget. The half-year ending December, 1932, showed a Federal deficit of 1,159 million dollars and for the past 2½ years it totalled 5,947 million dollars. The successful fight of the representatives in Congress of the petty-bourgeois and upper middle class economic interests to disclose the loans of the R.F.C. to the big banks, railroads and large industrial corporations showed that these loans were far greater than had been suspected (of the total R.F.C. loans during its eleven months' operations in 1932 of 1,649 million dollars, seven-eighths went to big banks, largely the big ones, to railroads, and to insurance and other financial corporations). These and similar events and the general worsening of the economic crisis and rapid growth in bank failures caused nation-wide runs on banks, with hoarding of gold and currency. Most of the hoarding was done by the banks and big corporations themselves.

During the ten days before Roosevelt's proclamation of March 4 closing all banks, 1,550 million dollars was withdrawn

from the banks, or more than the total for the fifteen years ending with 1931. In the two days before March 4, 818 million dollars was withdrawn from the Federal Reserve Banks. In the last week of February, 226 million dollars in gold was drawn out of the Federal Reserve, half domestically and half by foreign countries, largely Britain. The press admitted that most of the hoarders were "men of considerable means" ("New York Times," March 11). As a result of the raids on U.S. gold by London and Wall Street throughout January and February the gold ratio dropped to below 30 per cent. (Legally it is set at 40, and had been up to 60). When the big fellows on the "inside" had got their hands on most of the available gold and gold certificates Roosevelt had Congress pass a law threatening hoarders with 10,000 dollars fine and ten years' imprisonment. But even after the Federal Reserve Bank in New York City had closed to small hoarders on March 4, the U.S. Assay Office there continued open to convert gold certificates into bullion for those with over 5,000 dollars.

Roosevelt, with the aid of the press and Wall Street spokesmen, created a hysteria during which he rushed through Congress an emergency bank bill which its members had no copy of. Senator Robinson, democratic leader, said later, doubtlessly to clear himself before his petty-bourgeois constituents: "The measure was passed without anybody understanding it at all." Roosevelt had promised Congress that the smaller state banks would be protected if the bill were rushed through, but disregarded this and excluded them.

Under this bill new paper money is being issued up to a maximum of 11 billion dollars, of which over 2 billion dollars has already been issued. Total money in circulation at the end of 1929 was 8½ billion dollars and by March, 1933, over 10½ billion dollars. None of the new money is backed by gold, but simply by assets, most of which are "frozen" or else are downright worthless. Speaker Rainey of the House of Representatives admitted that it was "inflation, a controlled inflation." Senator Glass, Roosevelt's spokesman in the Senate, who was given the task of pushing the bill down the throats of Congress, said that under ordinary circumstances the bill would be a shock to his convictions, since under it banks which "had exhausted their eligible paper, may then bring their 'cats and dogs,' if you please, to the Federal Reserve Bank, and discount them." ("New York Times," March 10). The "New York World-Telegram" admitted in a headline "Frozen Assets Will Be Taken As Collateral" (March 9). And this was what Roosevelt called in his proclamation "additional currency, adequately (!) backed."

Government guarantees of bank deposits, as urged by smaller banks and business men, were rejected by Wall Street's representatives. The House had passed such a bill at its last session, but the Senate had killed it. Borah, last Mohican of the petty-bourgeoisie, was one of the half-dozen to vote against Roosevelt's bill, because it "would destroy state banks," which are largely small and rural banks, and because "only a few banks were sufficiently liquid to really get the benefit of the bill and that most of those were in New York City" (meaning Wall Street).

A few figures will serve to show the casualties of the battle between the great Wall Street financial oligarchy and the smaller independent banks. By the end of last year over 11,000 banks (deposits, over 5 billion dollars) of the 30,000 existent in 1921 had failed; 6,500 of these since the crisis began in 1929. About 2,300 crashed in 1931 and 1,453 more in 1932. This year there was doubtless a rapid increase. In the last quarter of 1931 over 1,000 crashed and only the organisation soon thereafter of the R.F.C. cut down the total last year. The deposits lost in these bankrupt banks totalled 2,400 million dollars. Total deposits in all banks in June, 1929, were 57.9 billion dollars, and three years later, 45.3 billion dollars, a 25 per cent. drop. So far in the present crash over 7 billion dollars more have been lost, and the "Daily Worker" estimates that this may increase to 20 million dollars before it is over. The monopolist character of the financial oligarchy in the U.S. enabled it to be the last to withstand the general crisis, and it was not until the fiscal year 1931-32, following Britain's going off the gold standard, that mass collapses of banks occurred in America. The fusion of the state and the big banks and industries is so far advanced that few of the latter failed. Concentration is such that while deposits in all 19,000 banks dropped 11.5 billion dollars in 1932, in the 42 banks with over 100 million dollars of deposits each, total deposits decreased only 115 million dollars. These 42 have

one-third of all deposits. If one takes the 15 largest New York banks, one finds that last year their dividends were 6½ per cent., while their stocks appreciated 12 per cent., a total gain of 18½ per cent. This while general business profits continued to drop precipitously. One estimate of the degree of concentration of control is for eight New York banks, whose directors hold 3,740 directorates in other banks and corporations. The Rockefeller-controlled Chase Bank has directors holding 855 places on boards of other companies.

The conspiratorial nature of Roosevelt's emergency bank law may be seen from a number of events. Roosevelt's proclamation closing all banks was written by Mills, Hoover's Secretary of the Treasury, three weeks before Roosevelt issued it. Hoover was unable to get the latter's consent to a joint issue and would not do so alone. Roosevelt deliberately held it until the big bankers here and in London were finished looting the country of gold and gold certificates. While it would be un-Marxian to say that the financial oligarchy precipitated the crisis, or that they could have prevented it, it can be shown that once it was inevitable, they manoeuvred it so that they could put across the greatest possible part of their programme as a result of it.

In addition to the fact that Hoover and Roosevelt conspired to prolong the period during which one state after another closed its banks, there is the even more significant fact that "several weeks ago" Roosevelt began to look for a legal basis for declaring his banking dictatorship, according to the Associated Press of March 6. He found and used the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act, passed against Germany in 1917. And during all this period of careful fascist preparation, the "big boys" were looting the banks of gold and of their best securities.

The basic explanation of Roosevelt's actions may be found in a speech made by **Thomas W. Lamont**, partner and spokesman for J. P. Morgan and Co., in New York on November 19, 1932. Lamont laid down the programme of Wall Street as follows: (1) "... to bring all the commercial banks of the country (it is significant that he omits the private or investment banks.—A.G.B.), small as well as large, under the single aegis of the Federal Reserve System"; (2) "... permitting branch banking on an extensive scale . . ."; (3) "Our banking units should on the average be far larger than they are to-day. The small, ill-capitalised institutions should be merged. . . ." The strong institutions in the leading financial centers should give the small and rural banks "the benefit of their ample reserves, their experience and ordinarily careful management."

It is important to note that the acting Controller of the Currency, F. G. Awalt, in his annual report issued on December 11, urged elimination of small and rural banks, one national banking system, branch banking, etc. The day after Lamont's speech, Eugene Meyer, head of the Federal Reserve Board, announced that the Board was agreed on a programme for branch banking, a unified banking system including all commercial banks, etc. Wall Street is after the system that prevails in England (only 18 banks with 8,000 branches) or in Canada (12 with 4,000). It would result in a few big Wall Street banks, with all others wiped out or simply branches, and the small and medium corporations completely at the mercy of the financial oligarchy. The present system of unit or independent banks, typical of American economic development, has been partly gotten around by the already widespread chain banks. These are nominally independent, but actually are part of one group with stock control by a holding company, or by more or less indirect control by other banks through interlocking directorates, credit control, etc. Though the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations were and are advocates of the Wall Street programme, strong forces were still marshalled in opposition. For over a year Congress discussed the Glass bill, a first step toward national branch banking, but in vain. In the Senate it made progress, but the House offered "an impassable barrier." ("Times," March 3.)

Now as to the bearing of this situation on the bank crisis. When the Michigan moratorium was declared, it was the beginning of similar action in every state. It was rumoured that a battle between Morgan's auto trust (General Motors) and Ford was the basis for the crash of the biggest Detroit banks. Whether that was a factor or whether it was simply the general economic crisis and the severe pressure upon the whole auto industry, we are unable to confirm at this time. The "Times" (March 3) states that "Mr. Glass thinks that the Michigan situation could have been handled if the banks had agreed to issue clearing house certificates and freeze a portion of their deposits." Since this was done anyway on March 4, it may be suspected that Wall Street and

Roosevelt were unwilling to take this action on February 14. While, we repeat, the banking crisis is not a conspiracy, hatched malevolently by Wall Street, but an outgrowth of the intensifying general crisis, still it is true that Wall Street and its executive committee in the government so manoeuvred, so extended or refused to extend aid as to gain for itself the maximum possible benefits. The country had been reduced to a state of paralysis and hysteria when Roosevelt, on the day of his accession, came forward as a saviour, forced Congress to give him dictatorial power, and through the arousal and maintenance of public support for banking reform (in the words of Lamont), began to put through finance capital's programme. The extent of this publicity campaign may be shown by the fact that the S.P., through its Right wing (Hillquit) and "Left" wing (Thomas) leaders, appeared before Roosevelt and after a discussion with him was reported by the press as approving the steps taken so far and urging a single national banking system.

In his proclamation to Congress on March 4 Roosevelt stressed the "reorganisation" of unsound (meaning smaller, non-Wall Street) banks mainly. Glass stated boldly that "Some will have to go to the sewer, where they should have gone long ago. Others will have to write off a considerable portion of their deposits." ("Times," March 7.) Similarly, Trotsky, interviewed by the Associated Press on March 17, refers to the U.S. banking system in terms of "human strength's greatest conquests" and sees its "grandiose centralisation": "I do not wish to intimate that a calm and regular development is assured the U.S. after surmounting the actual dollar crisis, the second bank crisis, and even the whole present industrial crisis," he says, without condescending to speak of the terrific extent and constant worsening of the general crisis throughout the world. The A.F.L., as usual, also endorsed Roosevelt's monstrous attack upon the savings, wages, and living conditions of the masses and urged the workers to use "self-imposed restraint and discipline" in the face of rising prices and probable inflation. ("Times," March 8.) Such was the initial success of the campaign to put across the kind of banking system the financial oligarchy desires. Except for the C.P. and its press and the organisations under its influence, no voice was raised against it.

The degree of success which Wall Street has met so far in smashing its smaller competitors is shown by the fact that under his dictatorial powers Roosevelt has kept closed over 5,000 banks (to March 19). Many of these will never open again, many with reduced assets. Many of those allegedly open are restricting withdrawals and other operations. All savings banks are restricting withdrawals. In addition insurance companies (in New York State, for example) are greatly restricting all loans on policies, and have eliminated all dividend payments to policy holders for the rest of the year. The president of the largest company, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, declares euphemistically that it is not because much of the 104 billion dollars of insurance is tied up in frozen and rotten securities (over a third is tied up in real estate, the best form of which to-day is in cemeteries); it is to "protect" the policy-holders!

The conclusions that may be drawn are in part as follows: The financial oligarchy is realising a great part of its programme by taking advantage of the financial crisis. The number of banks now open is about 13,500 (30,000 in 1921); the rest have been wiped out or taken over by the big Wall Street banks and the groups they dominate. Their programme for branch banking, which heretofore seemed impossible of achievement, is now extremely likely to be enacted. Roosevelt's dictatorial powers will be used to bring about a strong, unified system, with the Federal Reserve more powerful than ever. The powers Roosevelt extracted under cover of the general hysteria are being used in fascist fashion against labour, against the farmers, against the war veterans, and against small business generally, and will doubtlessly be used also for intensified war preparations. The standards of the masses of the proletariat, salariat, and farmers are being attacked directly by wage and salary cuts and reduced prices for raw materials, and indirectly by inflationary measures. The complete fusion of finance capital and the state has been made more glaringly evident than ever before. On the other hand, the conflict for hegemony between the Rockefeller and Morgan groups has sharpened and come out into the open so that even the capitalist press has had to discuss it.

The financial crisis is accelerating greatly the otherwise steadily worsening economic crisis (which is already the worst in entire capitalist history); it is speeding up tremendously the process of concentration of capital and the struggle between the financial oligarchy and the non-monopolistic section of American economy. This crisis should show the last doubter that the tem-

porary and relative stabilisation of capitalism has definitely ended and that the bourgeois world is again about to enter a period of wars and revolutionary crisis. Roosevelt's fascist powers should clarify issues in the class struggle as years of previous reaction and struggle have not done. It should show increasing masses of workers, those under the influence of the socialists and labour bureaucrats as well as new elements, that the revolutionary way out of the crisis is the only solution.

The Liquidation of the Cosach: A Blow at American Imperialism in Chile

By E. P. Greene (New York)

On January 3 the Cosach (Compañia Salitre de Chile) was dissolved by a decree issued by **Alessandri**, recently elected president of Chile. The Cosach was one of the strongest and most efficient imperialist enterprises operating in a colonial country, comparable with such vast undertakings as the United Fruit Co. and the South Manchurian Railway Co.

The Cosach was organised in April, 1931, with a capital of 375,000,000 dollars and assets of more than 750,000,000 dollars. It was a consolidation into a single trust of 36 nitrate companies in Chile. For many years before this there had been a sharp struggle going on between the American and the British nitrate companies, the British having the lion's share of the business. The **Guggenheims**, organisers of the Cosach, through rationalisation, superior technique and the necessary bribes to the corrupt Chilean government, were able to push the British companies (undisputed owners of the nitrate fields from 1889 to 1914) to the wall and to force them into the Guggenheim trust. Among the British companies forced in were the two largest, the Lautaro and the Anglo-Chilean Nitrate Co.

Ibanez, at that time president of Chile, who had been elected in 1926, through playing off American against British imperialism, was able to gain concessions for the bourgeois-landlord class of Chile. Through the export tax on nitrates, which at this time made up 61 per cent. of the government budget, the ruling class was able to maintain an army of 56,000 men and the largest navy in all South America. Ibanez faithfully served his American imperialist masters by unleashing a ruthless reign of terror against all workers' and peasants' organisations, particularly against the Communist Party of Chile and the revolutionary trade unions.

In March, 1932, a 50,000,000 dollars bond issue was floated for the Cosach; three-quarters of this sum was floated in the New York market and the remainder in the European market. This loan was "secured" by the export tax on nitrates. The Guggenheims themselves controlled more than 50 per cent. of the stock of the company and virtually became partners of the Chilean government. The board of directors of the Cosach consisted of four representatives of the Chilean government and eight representatives of the Guggenheims.

As long ago as May, 1932, the position of the Cosach was so unstable, due to the deepening of the world crisis, that a committee to protect the rights of the stockholders was formed. In the revolution of June, 1932, Davila, tool of American imperialism, came into power, but was unable to find a way out of the crisis. Last November Arturo Alessandri, who in his previous term as president had leaned towards British imperialism, was again elected president. Since then he has increasingly orientated his policy towards Great Britain. Alessandri gave as his reason for liquidating the trust the fact that "the Cosach has never existed by law." The Cosach, like the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. in Persia, had systematically cheated the government through false book-keeping.

It is interesting to note that "**La Prensa**," the leading newspaper of Buenos Aires, in an editorial accused the British diplomatic representative of Chile of "intervening in the liquidation of the Cosach in a manner which, though claimed to be extra-official, is none the less a form of diplomatic pressure." A very bitter exchange of letters took place between Alessandri and Medley G. Whelpley, president of the Cosach. Regarding Mr. Whelpley, the "**South Pacific Mail**," a British paper published in Valparaiso, has the following to say: "We must admit that capitalism is being very badly served by its leading exponents, Mr. Medley G. Whelpley for example." On January 6 in the Chilean senate Gustavo Ross, minister of finance, delivered a demagogic attack against the Cosach during which

he said: "The Chilean nitrate industry and with it the northern provinces and their inhabitants was handed over to the control of a foreign commercial and business undertaking. . . . The problems of Chile must be solved exclusively from the Chilean point of view."

It must be remembered that the liquidation of the Cosach is in no sense a confiscation of an imperialist enterprise. It is rather a reorganisation, but a reorganisation which will benefit British imperialism and the Chilean bourgeoisie at the expense of American imperialism. The two large British companies, the Lautaro and the Anglo-Chilean Nitrate Co., will withdraw from the Cosach and become again independent companies, with the financial help of the Central Bank of Chile. The British companies will use the Shanks process of recapture, the American will continue to use the Guggenheim process. According to the bourgeois press the Chilean government will abolish the export tax and replace it by a 50 per cent. share in the profits of the nitrate companies.

Who is to pay the cost of the liquidation of this vast trust which has made millions of dollars for the Guggenheims and for the Wall Street bankers? The workers and peasants of Chile. It is not enough that hundreds of workers in the nitrate fields, revolting against intolerable conditions, have been massacred by the orders of the Guggenheims. The workers must also pay the cost of the failure of their exploiters. The present budget of the country for the current year will amount to the staggering sum of 90,000,000 dollars (equivalent in U.S. money); there is a deficit of 28,000,000 dollars, which will necessitate new taxation, of which 4,800,000 dollars is to come from the nitrate industry. Chile has a population of less than 4,500,000.

The fiscal commission which has charge of the liquidation of the Cosach has brought to light the fabulous salaries received by the officials of the company. A great scandal has ensued as a result of this revelation. Below are the yearly salaries of some of the officials, as reported by the newspaper "**Diario Ilustrado**":—

Medley G. Whelpley, president	...	...	4,000,000 pesos
Jorge Vidal, vice-president	...	...	600,000 pesos
Enrique Valenzuela, legal adviser	...	...	240,000 pesos
Fernando Wilson, representative in France	...	...	1,100,000 pesos
(1 peso equals .12 cents at par.)			

These gentlemen were drawing these salaries at a time when more than 150,000 were unemployed in Chile.

Thus the bourgeois-landlord class of Chile, facing imminent bankruptcy, is being more and more forced into the wars now raging in South America, in an effort to find a capitalist way out of the world crisis. Already the imperialist Powers, Great Britain and the United States, are manoeuvring in Chile to take full advantage of this "solution" of the crisis by the bourgeois-landlord government of Chile.

China

The New Victory of the Chinese Red Army

Just at the time of the Japanese imperialistic advance in Jehol, the Chinese red worker and peasant army in the provinces of Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Szechwan, Shansi, and Kansu gained a great victory. The Red troops under the leadership of Comrades Chutze and Pengdewei advanced to within 6 miles of **Nanchang**, the capital of the province of Kiangsi. A new soviet government has also been set up in the town named **Tungnan** for the province Szechwan; and the same red troops have also captured the whole of central Szechwan. In the provinces Hupeh and Hunan, the soviet troops have captured the following towns:—Chofung, Sangtze, Dayung and Tseli. The generals from the above-mentioned provinces fled to Nanking and requested Chang-kai-shek to launch another campaign against the Soviet Republic. The War Minister of Nanking Government is therefore paying an extra two million silver dollars a month for the fight against red army, thus bringing the total expenditure for this purpose up to 15 million silver dollars a month.

In spite of the fact that there are 200,000 Kuomintang soldiers in the province of Kiangsi, the Soviet army have captured the strategic town of **Lintsuan** near Nanchang, from which they can capture Nanchang at any time! The threat to Nanchang is very

dangerous for the Nanking Government; the Chinese daily press, on the orders of the government, therefore gives no report about the victory of the red army. In the fight against the Kuomintang troops, the 1st soviet army operates as the chief force in the front, the 2nd and 3rd as the left and right wings, and the 5th army remains in the rear as the reserve. The workers and peasants of the captured regions sympathise with the Soviet Government, and in Nanchang illegal demonstrations for the Soviet have taken place. The occupation of Nanchang would greatly accelerate the victory of the Soviet power in one or several provinces.

In September last year, two red armies under the leadership of Comrades Hsuehianschen and Kuangchishun advanced on **Szechwan**. Thanks to the support and sympathy of the inhabitants, the red army captured a great part of the province. The Nanking Government sent about 40,000 soldiers with 40 aeroplanes against the "Reds," but a great number of the governmental soldiers went over to the Red army. Following this victory, a Soviet Government was set up in **Tungnan** in January last.

In December last, when Chang-kai-shek returned from Hankow to Nanking, all the newspapers wrote that he had gained a great victory and the red army had been practically annihilated. But the fact is, Chang-kai-shek failed and the "Reds" captured some more towns. The fresh victory of the Chinese Red Army occurs just at the time when the imperialist Powers are planning to dismember China and the Kuomintang Government is openly capitulating to them. On the other hand, the support accorded the Soviet movement by the Chinese workers and peasants and soldiers in the Red army is the guarantee that this movement will achieve a final victory, and only through this victory can China be freed from all imperialists.

The War in the Far East

After Jehol—North China and Mongolia

As was to be expected, the defence of **Jehol** by the generals of the Kuomintang has broken down. Jehol, whose territory is equal to about one-fourth of the whole of Manchuria, is entirely occupied by Japanese troops. Having taken possession of Jehol, the Japanese are marching southwards and occupying all the important approaches to the great wall of China, which extends from fifty to seventy kilometres along the southern frontier of Jehol.

The Japanese army is making a circle around the Peiping-Tientsin area, and is directly threatening from the north Peiping, the former Chinese capital.

The loss of the province of Jehol is heightening the conflicts within the Kuomintang, feeding the discontent of the masses and enlarging the revolutionary movement.

The considerable internal difficulties of the U.S.A., Japan's greatest rival in the Pacific, together with the breakdown of the entire American banking system, and the conflagration that fascism has lit in Europe, create for Japan a favourable international situation, which facilitates her further aggressive advance into Asia. Japanese imperialism is taking advantage of the serious difficulties of the Powers and is pushing forward with iron persistence towards new conquests, towards the final carrying into effect of her great imperial programme.

The Japanese army has reached the frontiers of Northern China and Mongolia. In ten days it has conquered a territory of 300,000 square kilometres, and now only one hundred kilometres separates it from the extremely important strategic junction point of the trade routes between **Kalgan** and **Shachar**. It is safe to assume that this important point on the roads to Northern China, Mongolia and Sintsian will in the shortest possible time be occupied by the Japanese.

While Japan has gained for herself, under the flag of Manchukuo, a fresh colony of vast extent, she is planning at the same time the occupation of **Mongolia**, without which she has never considered the existence of such a colony to be possible. In proof of this it is sufficient to refer to the famous memorandum of **Tanaka** and to certain passages from the pamphlet written by **Araki**, the present Japanese Foreign Minister.

Baron **Tanaka** wrote with regard to Mongolia:—

"Looked at historically Manchuria and Mongolia are in no way Chinese Territories. As soon as the appropriate moment arrives, Japan must without fail show the whole world the real state of affairs in the territory of Mongolia. As soon as this moment arrives, Japan must . . . push forward into Inner and Outer Mongolia in order to extend the frontiers of her kingdom and to create a new metropolis on the continent of Asia."

No less precise is the line of Japanese military policy with regard to Mongolia as set forth in the pronouncements of **Araki**. He writes:—

"Before one considers the question of Eastern Asia, one must be clear as to the part played by Mongolia. The existence of Japan is closely bound up with Manchuria and Mongolia. Mongolia must belong to the East."

The Japanese press, in its impatience, has been announcing that Shachar is ready to declare its independence of the Nanking government and its wish to unite with Manchukuo. This means, in plain English, that Japan desires to occupy the Mongolian province of Shachar. This again signifies, above all, that **Kalgan** and **Dolonnor**, the most important points not only of Shachar but also of Mongolia and China, are to be occupied.

The interior of Jehol, however, does not appear to be entirely secured behind the Japanese. Fights with the troops of partisans are taking place. One great difficulty is the thaw, and the present impassable state of the roads, along which the transport of munitions and delivery of foodstuffs can scarcely be assured.

Presumably, therefore, the Japanese will postpone their main operations for the taking of the Peiping-Tientsin district or of Shachar. Their preparations point to the fact that Shachar will be the first to suffer.

With regard to its defence, one should not be led astray by the advance of **Chang-Kai-Chek's** troops into the Peiping district into thinking that any kind of serious resistance is being prepared. Chang-Kai-Chek's preparations are directed far more against the generals of the North, who are hostile to him, **Yen-si-shan**, **Han-fu-tziu**, and **Feng-Yu-Hsiang**, who, with a total of from 130 to 140 thousand men, wish to subjugate the Peiping-Tientsin district.

Behind the scenes negotiations are in progress with regard to the suspension of military operations along the Great Wall of China. These negotiations are directed towards the end of gaining time, until the U.S.A. and other powers organise to put pressure on Japan.

There is no doubt that Japan is setting out to conquer the whole of Inner Mongolia. Japanese imperialism regards this as its next task. On the other hand, the march into Northern China is a matter that has been determined upon.

The Textile Workers' Strike in Poland

Warsaw, April 1.

The textile workers of Lodz were in open revolt when they were informed that their reformist leaders had agreed to a 15 per cent. cut in their wages. A meeting of all factory delegates was called by the strike committee. **Szczerkowski**, a member of the S.P. of Poland and at the same time leader of the reformist trade unions, spoke about the agreement with the employers. He asked the workers to resume work at once and to accept a wage cut of 15 per cent. More than 1,300 delegates took part in this meeting, which came to a stormy end. Owing to the severe censorship the resolutions of this meeting are not yet known, but the bourgeois press reports that only seven delegates voted for the agreement, whereas all the others decided to continue the strike.

At the same time mass demonstrations took place at Lodz. Ten thousand workers marched to the offices of the reactionary newspaper "**Kurier Lodski**" and smashed all windows. The police attacked the demonstrators, killing one woman and seriously wounding five workers. The workers put up a stout resistance. Barricades were erected and trams were upset, whilst the workers defended themselves with stones against the police attacks. The town has quite a war-like appearance. Heavily armed police detachments are patrolling the streets.

In the International

The Achievements, Shortcomings and Tasks of the Communist Parties

By O. Pianitzky

I.

The successes which the Communist Parties achieved in the period between the two last Plenums of the E.C.C.I. were due in no small measure to the correct estimation of the political situation by the VIth Congress of the Comintern and the Xth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

The VIth Congress of the Comintern took place before the world economic crisis, at a time of economic prosperity in the most important capitalist countries. It recorded that the stabilisation of capitalism was only temporary, partial and shaky; without denying the advance of technique in the most important capitalist countries, it further recorded that the capitalist stabilisation was being effected to a great extent by means of increased exploitation of the workers. The analysis given by the VIth Congress has proved to be absolutely correct.

The Xth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which took place a year after this Congress, predicted the growth and strengthening of the revolutionary upsurge of the workers' and peasants' movement.

Later events have proved the correctness of the decisions of the Xth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. In the 3½ years of the world economic crisis, strikes have occupied a prominent place in the revolutionary upsurge of the workers' and peasants' movement in all capitalist countries.

The successes achieved by the Communist Parties between the last two Plenums of the E.C.C.I. consist in the following:—

1. More than before, the majority of the Sections of the Comintern, in spite of and against the will of the reformist trade union leaders and social democratic parties, conducted economic struggles by means of the Red trade unions and the R.T.U.O., which here and there developed into big political strikes.

In the last eighteen months the strike struggles have been under the leadership of (a) the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the Red Trade Union Opposition; (b) the revolutionary workers who took over the leadership of strike struggles; and (c) reformist and other anti-revolutionary trade unions, who acted under the pressure of the rank and file. In the strike struggles which were under the leadership of the revolutionary workers (Belgium), and in those the leadership of which the reformists took over under the pressure of the rank and file (Great Britain and the United States), the Communists, the members of the Red trade unions and of the R.T.U.O. played a not unimportant role.

2. As many Communist Parties formulated the demands of the unemployed and organised their fight in good time, the unemployed here and there obtained relief from the municipalities (Poland, Czechoslovakia, U.S.A., France, Germany). Millions of unemployed who had been evicted from their homes, unemployed, who along with their families were starving and freezing, refused to act as blacklegs in strikes, but, on the contrary, took part in the strike struggles of the factory workers (went on the picket line, distributed literature, carried on house agitation, etc.).

3. It was only in the last few years that the Communist Parties of Germany, France, America, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Holland, Hungary, Spain, Greece and China commenced a systematic work among the peasantry. The C.P. of Poland formerly worked mainly among the peasants of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia through the medium of the Communist Parties of these national districts of Poland. Of late the C.P. of Poland has been conducting successful work among the peasants of Poland proper. The C.P. of China has commenced work among the peasants also in Kuomintang China. The C.P. of Bulgaria recently achieved extraordinary successes

in the country districts. At the last parliamentary and municipal elections the Communist Party increased its vote in the rural districts of Germany, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

4. Thanks to the good work of individual Party members and Communist Fractions, the Communist Parties in a number of countries are acquiring a leading role in the super-party mass organisations of the workers (Red Aid, Workers' International Relief, Sport organisations, Freethinkers, Ex-servicemen, Tenants', and anti-fascist organisations (Germany) and solidarity movements (Great Britain).

5. All these successes were bound to increase the number of votes received by the Communists at the factory council, parliamentary and municipal elections, and promote the growth of the membership of the Communist Parties themselves.

According to the figures of the Organisation Department of the E.C.C.I., the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries increased their membership by about 350,300 in the period between the XIth and XIIth E.C.C.I. Plenums (at the time of the XIth Plenum their membership amounted to 550,000, and in June, 1932, to 913,300).

6. The successes of the individual Parties are as follows:—

The C.P. of **Japan** commenced a correct Leninist and energetic fight against war already before the campaign of the Japanese militarists against Shanghai and Manchuria. It is issuing a great deal of illegal, semi-illegal, and even legal literature. The best revolutionary elements of the Japanese people have gathered round the C.P. of Japan.

The C.P. of **China** is leading the fight of the Red Army against the Kuomintang militarists and playing a leading part in the organisation of the Soviet districts. The C.P. of China is taking an active part in the boycott movement against Japan. It is the only consistent fighter against the imperialists, against the foreign occupation, especially in Manchuria. The C.P. of China conducted a number of big strike struggles through the medium of the Red trade unions. In spite of the counter-revolutionary white terror, the Communist Party of China is giving out large quantities of leaflets on all important political and economic questions. It issues illegal newspapers and the theoretical organ "Bolshevik." The C.P. of China has in the course of eighteen months increased its membership from 192,300 to 280,000.

At the time of the proclamation of the Republic (April, 1931), the C.P. of **Spain** numbered only a few hundred members. Its influence in the trade unions was quite insignificant. In many towns the Party organisations and individual Communists employed incorrect tactics; when the masses poured into the streets in order to celebrate the proclamation of the Republic, the Communists cried: "Down with the Republic," together with the monarchists, and thus isolated themselves from the masses. With the aid of the Comintern the C.P. of Spain corrected its errors. It became a strong factor of the revolution. The Communist Party of Spain organised and led actions of the workers and peasants (strikes, demonstrations, armed revolts, seizure of the land, the harvest and property of the big landowners). The Party now has 17,500 members. Trade union organisations with a total membership of about 200,000 are under the influence of the C.P. The Party Congress of the C.P. of Spain condemned sectarianism and completely endorsed the line laid down by the Open Letter of the Comintern.

The C.P. of **Poland** has been better able than any other Party in Europe to organise and lead all forms of the fight of the working and peasant masses of Poland. The C.P.s of Western White Russia and Western Ukraine are part of the C.P. of Poland. They lead the national revolutionary fight of the Ukrainian and White Russian masses against Polish imperialism. A few years ago, the C.P. of Poland was completely isolated from the urban petty bourgeoisie and the state, municipal and private employees and from the free professions.

* Extract from the brochure, to be published shortly, entitled: "The World Economic Crisis, the Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Sections of the Comintern."

All these strata were until recently convinced Polish chauvinists; now, however, the Communist Party of Poland enjoys great authority and influence in their ranks. The elections in the unions of the railway workers which are under the influence of the P.P.S. resulted in the C.P. of Poland obtaining the majority of the delegates.

The **Communist Party of Poland** has increased its membership in the period from the X to the XI E.C.C.I. Plenum by 10,000 (from 7,000 to 17,000), without counting the 10 to 12,000 members who are in prison.

The **C.P. of Czechoslovakia** has achieved big successes of late. After the Rights split off, after the Red Trade Unions were split off by their former leader Hais, after the expulsion of the "Left" Trotzkyists (Neurath and Co.), the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and the Red Trade Unions recruited thousands of new members. The C.P.Cz. commenced the fight against the offensive of the capitalists and big landowners, and in this is energetically supported by the social democratic workers, the Czech and German workers, and by the workers in the Czech national socialist parties of Benes and Klofac. The C.P. of Czechoslovakia, which after the various fractions split off, numbered 22,000, to-day has 75,000 members. The membership of the red trade unions, which had greatly declined as a result of the split, had increased already in 1931 to 60,224, and in February, 1933, to 75,000.

The **Communist Party of Italy**, working under conditions of fascist terror, has recently succeeded in penetrating the mass organisations of the fascists and organising work there.

For the first time for many years strikes and demonstrations of the workers and unemployed in the industrial centres of the country (Turin, Milan, etc.), have taken place under the leadership of the Communists. In the period between the XI. and XII. E.C.C.I. Plenums, the C.P. of Italy more than doubled its membership (from 3,000 to 8,000).

The **C.P. of the U.S.A.** succeeded in the last 18 months in organising and leading big strikes of the miners and textile workers. In a number of towns it organised big demonstrations of the unemployed. About a million workers took part in the demonstrations which were held on May 1 and August 1. Unfortunately, the C.P. of U.S.A. has not organisationally consolidated this ideological influence.

Up to recently the **Communist Party of Great Britain** appeared to be an incidental element in the strikes, which in most cases were led by the reformists under the pressure of the working masses. The Party appeared on the scene only when the strikes were already proceeding. The only more or less broad organisation of the unemployed, the N.U.W.M., which the Communists created already in 1921, represented up to the XIth E.C.C.I. Plenum a closed union of the unemployed, which mainly voiced the interests of its members but not those of the masses of unemployed, numbering millions.

The situation has now changed. In the recent strikes of the textile workers the C.P. of Great Britain took a big and active part. At the meeting which the C.P. convened in Burnley already before the strike, there were present about 5,000 people. The C.P. organised a night march of 15,000 weavers from Burnley to Nelson in order to exert pressure on the district leadership of the trade unions. The 15,000 workers demanded the declaration of a weavers' strike. During these strikes, which embraced some hundred thousand workers, the C.P. of Great Britain organised a broad solidarity movement. Following this, the C.P. of Great Britain took part in the strike of the Lancashire spinners. As regards the unemployed, one can say that also in this connection the C.P. is able to record an improvement and that the unemployed movement has now quite another character. Already before the carrying out of the reduction of all unemployment benefit by 10 per cent., all unemployed organisations took up the fight against this measure. The demonstrations organised by the C.P. of Great Britain before and after the elections were mass demonstrations, in which hundreds of thousands of workers and unemployed took part. These demonstrations, as well as those which have been held quite recently, the hunger marches and meetings, which were likewise led by the unemployed organisations under the slogan of: "Down with the Means Test," were of a very stormy character and repeatedly led to collisions with the police, the erection of barricades, etc. The whole British organisation of the unemployed collected more than a million signatures to a petition for the abolition of the Means Test.

The C.P. of Great Britain possesses all the prerequisites for becoming a mass party.

The **C.P. of France** succeeded in conducting a big and broad campaign against the Russian white guardists in connection with the murder of the President of the French Republic by the white guardist Gorguloff. The C.P. of France has conducted, and is conducting, a successful fight against war and the preparations for war by French imperialism. Broad circles of workers of all tendencies have been drawn into this fight. The C.P. of France and the C.G.T.U. have been able to penetrate deeply into the movement of the State and municipal workers and employees against the reduction of salaries. In many towns of France this movement developed into demonstration strikes of the postmen and sorters, the telegraphists, telephone operators, wireless employees, motor-bus drivers, teachers, and workers in the gas and electricity works.

After long and persistent work on the part of the Communist Parties, the working masses in all capitalist countries are beginning to compare and examine the words and deeds of the social-democratic parties on the basis of their own experience and are rapidly turning away from these parties and rallying round the Communist International. The Communist Parties are setting themselves the task of accelerating this process more and more and consolidate it organisationally.

II.

The Communist Parties have completely neglected work not only in the proletarian mass organisations, which are under the leadership and influence of the social-democrats, but also in the reformist trade unions, which still number millions of members. Therefore, the mass organisations, which could have been converted into real fighting organisations of the proletariat, mostly played the role of passive spectator of the treachery of their leaders.

The mass basis of the social-democratic parties in Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Austria, Holland, and France, is the reformist trade unions. But in the majority of these countries there are hardly any Communists in the reformist trade unions.

This assertion is, unfortunately, no exaggeration.

In Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Austria, Holland and other countries there exist revolutionary trade unions whose tasks consist in the following:—

- (a) To work in the reformist and other non-revolutionary mass trade unions.
- (b) To organise the unorganised together with the members of the reformist and other trade unions.
- (c) To organise and lead strikes.
- (d) To build up organisations of their own alongside of the non-revolutionary mass trade unions in order, at the necessary and suitable moment of a special act of treachery of the reformists, to be able to become the leading centre of the economic struggles of the proletariat.

The trade union opposition has least fulfilled the first of these tasks: work in the reformist unions. The Red Trade Union Opposition and the Communist Parties work either not at all or inadequately in the reformist and similar trade unions in countries like France (not at all), Czechoslovakia (badly), China (badly), Poland (badly), Japan (badly), Rumania (badly), India (almost not at all), etc., where there are red trade unions alongside of the reformist or other non-revolutionary mass trade unions.

What are the causes? They are to be sought in the down-right opportunist and sectarian underestimation of the importance of this work not only on the part of the ordinary party members, but also on the part of leading comrades of the Communist Parties.

All the "theories" of the sectarian attitude not only hold the revolutionary workers back from entering the reformist trade unions, but they promote the withdrawal of the revolutionary members from these organisations. Nay, more, not all Communists are members of the reformist trade unions. They thereby weaken the Communist work within these trade unions. It was not without reason that the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia instituted an inquiry regarding the participation of Communists in trade union work, which inquiry embraced 26,094 members of the Communist Party. Of these, 14,753, i.e., 56 per cent., were not members of the trade unions. To the under-estimation of work in the reformist trade unions there is added the circumstance that up till now there has remained in the Communist Party a certain social-democratic separation between economic struggles and political struggles; the Party engages in politics, and the trade unions in the economic struggles of the proletariat. Here and there the Communist

Parties still leave the economic struggles to the Trade Union Opposition, they themselves not only not competing with them in this work, but not dealing even with the most important questions of the trade union movement. This, too, conduces to an under-estimation of the work of the reformist trade unions. The task of all Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, apart from whether there are or are not Red trade unions existing alongside of reformist and other trade unions, consists in uniting and organising all oppositional and revolutionary elements within the reformist and other non-revolutionary mass unions (in fact not only in the trade unions but in all proletarian mass organisations), in order to carry on revolutionary work in these organisations.

In those countries in which, alongside of the reformist trade unions, there exist red trade unions, these latter are not yet adequate mass organisations; they have not learnt to work more energetically and better than the reformists. Therefore, apart from a few exceptions, they have been unable to weaken, still less overcome the local reformist unions.

The task of the Communist Parties consists in improving the work all round and bringing the red trade unions nearer to the factories (at present they have no basis of their own in the factories). For this purpose, the methods of the leadership which the Communists have to carry on in the over-party mass organisations must be altered and improved. It is necessary for the Communists to concern themselves with all questions of the class struggle, and not only exclusively with political questions; it is therefore necessary to put an end to the practice of leaving entirely to the Red trade unions and the R.T.U.O. the task of carrying out economic struggles.

The mass work in the Communist and revolutionary organisations is carried on badly and with little understanding.

In addition to an incorrect estimation of the situation, such as occurs now and again, in addition to false tactics which are employed now and then, which lead to the putting forward of incorrect slogans which hamper the approach to the broad masses, the press and the oral agitation of the Communist Parties and of the revolutionary organisations are unpopular, abstract, dry and tedious.

In addition to agitation in the press (newspapers), the Communist Parties and revolutionary organisations arrange big meetings which are sometimes attended by many thousands. The audience, however, consist mainly of those who sympathise with us, who read our press, through which they also get to know of the holding of the meeting in question. Far too little agitation is carried on in the factories, at the factory gates, in the street cars and on the underground railways, at the labour exchanges, among the proletarians waiting in queues at the relieving offices and casual wards (where the unemployed have to stand for hours in order to obtain a plate of soup or a lodging for the night), in the streets, in the courtyards and dwellings of the working men and women.

The members of the Communist Parties and of the revolutionary organisations make great sacrifices: they go to demonstrations, take part in strikes; they fight against the fascists and repel their attacks; they prepare and distribute prohibited literature, etc. All this often ends with arrests, dismissals from work places, wounds and even death. The trouble is that these comrades do not receive correct instructions. The press does not offer them any material for convincing agitation. The newspapers either write a complicated, learned language and not about things that interest the broad masses at the given moment, or they consider it beneath their dignity to reply to the base inventions of the renegades, the social-democrats and the fascist press. They thereby fail to give the Party members and the members of the revolutionary organisations any arguments for their agitation and talks on political themes with non-party workers and workers of other political beliefs.

The factory newspapers have up to now for the greater part been got out by the district party committees according to a scheme for a whole number of factories, without taking into account the peculiarities of each individual factory and without describing the life of each individual factory. The workers do not buy and read such factory newspapers; and vice-versa, the factory newspapers containing material dealing with the factory in question, sell like hot cakes. In various countries there are cases where, in order to

meet the desire of the workers, it was necessary to print five new editions of the same number of the factory newspaper. Such issues of the factory newspapers contained contributions from non-party workers, and sometimes contributions from reformist and other trade union members and from members of the social-democratic party. For these workers, too, read the good factory newspapers. But these facts, which are known to the C.C. and the party committee, do not lead to an increase in the publication of such papers in place of the standardised types of factory newspaper.

The press and the oral agitation of the Communist Parties and of the revolutionary organisations in general do not penetrate into the masses, but remain on the surface.

Broad masses of the people are opposed to war. The danger of new imperialist wars and of an attack on the Soviet Union is very great. The war in the Far East is in full swing. The Communist Parties and the revolutionary organisations have not succeeded in explaining in a popular manner the danger threatening the masses of the people. Therefore they have not succeeded up to now in preventing the transport of munitions and weapons to Japan.

The facts show that it is necessary to approach the workers in the same way as the Bolsheviks approached the Russian workers in the time of the Tsar: they explained to them who is exploiting them, how their lot could be bettered, what demands must be put forward, what connections existed between the employer for whom they were working and the government which supported him.

The Bolsheviks formulated the demands of the workers for hot water, for lavatories with flushing cisterns, for window panes in the factories, for the abolition of fines, for reduction of the working day and increased pay, up to the slogan "down with the autocracy" up to the demand for the freedom of combination and strikes; for as soon as the workers went on strike, the police and gendarmes were sent against them, just as is the case at the present time in the democratic countries of Europe and America.

The analysis of the good work performed by the factory nuclei and groups of the Red Trade Union Opposition proves once again the correctness of this assertion.

The Communist Parties must change their methods of agitation; the press must become more popular; they must place material at the disposal of the Party members and revolutionary workers which will help them in their agitation and to carry on discussions with their opponents. The members of the Party and of the revolutionary organisations, especially of the R.T.U.O. and of the Red trade unions, must, in addition to popular agitation, perform daily detail work in the factories and in the trade unions, at the Labour Exchanges—and then they will soon be on the way to winning the majority of the working class.

If the Party and trade union organisations function better, then there will be no such fluctuation in all Party, trade union and other revolutionary organisations in all countries as is actually the case at present. These organisations do not know how to consolidate the ideological influence they enjoy in the capitalist countries.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries undoubtedly achieved remarkable successes between the XIth and XIIth Plenums of the E.C.C.I. Their influence is growing. Huge masses of toilers have come into movement. Under these circumstances it must be recorded that in comparison with the events which have occurred, and in comparison with the existing revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants, the Communist Parties are still behind with their work and their achievements.

The end of the relative stabilisation intensifies all the antagonisms between the imperialists and also between the classes in each country. The revolutionary crisis is maturing in a number of countries (Poland, Germany, Japan).

The task of the Communist Parties consists in successfully carrying out the decisions of the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in accordance with the conditions in their country, extending and strengthening their influence, organising and leading the fight of the masses, and guiding them to the successful proletarian revolution. (To be continued.)

Single copies, 2d.; subscription rates, United Kingdom and British Empire, six shillings half a year, United States and other places abroad, two dollars half a year.