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Increased Inner-Political Tension in Germany

By F. Brand (Berlin)

During the past week there has been a definite increase of the political tension in Germany along the whole line and it is probably the prelude to new big actions on the part of the Nazis. The National Socialist offensive against the *Hugenberg* front has been resuscitated with great energy. In Dortmund and in Hagen-Westphalia the German Nationalist fighting organisations ("Kampfring") have been dissolved by National Socialist Police Presidents on the ground that they consisted to 75 per cent. of "Marxist elements," although the real reason is that the hopes of the Nazis for a liquidation of these organisations following on the secession of the "Kampfring" leaders Gisevius and Flume to Hitler have not been fulfilled. In the Ruhr district a leaflet issued by the "Stahlhelm Self-defence," the factory organisation of the Stahlhelm, has been confiscated by the police and a number of the meetings of the organisation have been prohibited. The only reason for this action is that the Nazis are not prepared to tolerate any organisation in the factories of the West German industrial districts other than their own. An energetic campaign is also being conducted against the "German Nationalist Workers' Front," which is an alliance of the German Nationalist labour organisations and is a counterpart to the "German Labour Front" of the Nazis. This campaign is now being conducted in the factories, but in all probability it will soon take place before a broader public. The "German Chris-

tians," Hitler's men, under the leadership of the Reichswehr chaplain Mueller, are conducting a sharp struggle against the German Nationalist leadership of the Evangelical Church and its newly appointed "Reich's Bishop" Bodelschwing, and this campaign has gone so far that meetings of the "Reich's Bishop" have been prohibited. The Nazi offensive has not even stopped at the actual party organisation of Hugenberg. In Silesia and in the Ruhr district speakers have been arrested at German Nationalist party meetings for having expressed opinions hostile to the Nazis.

It is very probable that the conflict with the Hugenberg Front played a big role at the national conference of the Nazi leaders which took place a few days ago in Berlin, and that this conference decided on some co-ordinated action against the German Nationalists throughout the country. The methods and the immediate aims of this action will in all probability be revealed during the next few days.

At the same time the attitude of the Nazis towards the Centre (Catholic) Party and its mass organisations is growing more aggressive. The opening of this new offensive was made at the conference of Catholic artisans in Munich when armed detachments of the Nazi Storm Troops fell upon the defenceless young Catholics and terribly mishandled many of them. Public opinion in Germany has heard little of these happenings because

the bourgeois press, under the thumb of the fascists, simply kept silent on these scandalous happenings. Most German newspapers published no more about the matter than the almost incredibly hypocritical report of the Nazi Police President of Munich, and the only indication their readers had that something was not quite in order was a short report to the effect that von Papen had officially complained to Hitler about the happenings in Munich. German public opinion hears of such happenings through the foreign newspapers so far as they are not prohibited, but any German newspaper which dared to print a report such as "The Times" published about the happenings in Munich, or even to quote from that report, would be prohibited for months. The Nazi press utilised the Austro-German conflict as an opportunity of attacking the Centre Party furiously with the accusation that it was working secretly together with its Austrian counterpart, the Christian Social Party, against Hitler and against Hitler Germany. What did it avail the Centre Party that it protested its complete innocence and denied all connections with Dollfuss and his party? What did it avail the Centre Party that it repeated its declaration to the effect that it stood completely behind the Hitler government, and pointed to Brüning as a proof of this? The Nazi press, which for a time treated the Centre Party fairly tolerantly, now raises the cry that the Centre Party must disappear from the scene, and the leader of the Prussian Diet, the Nazi deputy Kube, has demanded that the Centre Party members of the Diet should finally admit that their party cannot continue to exist for much longer. The inner-political conflicts in Germany have thus again been pushed into the foreground.

The Nazi leaders are following the discussions in the German social-democratic party closely. On the one hand they attack the emigrated party leaders sharply as "traitors" and on the other hand they are bullying and attacking the open fascist group in the S.D.P. around Loebe in order to jockey it forward and accelerate the disruption. Like the cowed mongrels that they are, both Ebert and Loebe immediately published the required declarations and promised the "official" decision for a split for the next few days. And in the meantime Goering has released the arrested A.D.G.B. (German Trade Union Federation) leaders Leipart and Grassmann in order that they shall go to the assistance of the Loebe group, whilst at the same time a number of social-democratic leaders have been arrested who were known to belong to the central committee group or even to a "left-wing" opposition.

But more important than all these inner-political conflicts with Hugenberg, with the Centre Party and with the wreckage of the S.D.P. is the new intensification of the campaign of persecution and oppression against the class-conscious workers and their leader, the Communist Party. Following on a series of bloodthirsty threats to the effect that should Marxism again attempt to raise its head in Germany it would be finally exterminated, the new offensive then set in with all severity. Mass arrests are being conducted all over the country every day, whilst at the same time the Nazi press is attempting to whip up the necessary public feeling with scare reports about "Communist arms dumps," "dynamite dumps," "dynamite outrages," etc. However, it must be pointed out that the Nazis are not succeeding in producing anything like the mass campaign of incitement which followed on the Reichstag fire. But since then the mass spirit in Germany has changed too much to their disadvantage. It is therefore not at all improbable that the Nazi leaders will arrange new "sensations" along the lines of the Reichstag outrage in order to whip up the anti-Communist campaign further.

In the meantime the State apparatus of the Nazis is at work. Every day there are new terrific sentences. Fascist terror justice is daily exceeding itself by passing ever more draconic sentences on revolutionary workers. A few weeks ago the punishment for distributing illegal Communist literature was about six months' imprisonment, but to-day not one of those workers found with a copy of the illegal "Rote Fahne" in his or her possession gets off with less than eighteen months' imprisonment. A series of terrific sentences up to fifteen years' hard labour have followed on the death sentences in Chemnitz and Altona, and every day new and still more terrible sentences are being pronounced. Fascist class justice is trying to sow fear and panic in the ranks of the revolutionary working class with this terror. But this, too, reveals how the situation has changed since March and April.

These terrific sentences are not having the desired effect; on the contrary, they are increasing the hatred of broader and broader sections of the people against the fascist murder system. We are able to observe daily that despite these fearful sentences the active support given by the workers to the struggle of the Communist Party against fascism is increasing. An infallible sign for this is the increasing circulation of the illegal "Rote Fahne" and of the other illegal mass literature of the Communist Party. Tens of thousands of workers who formerly took no active part in our struggle now eagerly take every shred of Communist material they can obtain and take a systematic part in the work of distributing our illegal literature.

A characteristic symptom of the situation in Germany can be seen by the lack of success which attended the fascist effort to reissue the old "Welt am Abend." For weeks working-class opinion was deliberately deceived so that masses of the workers really believed that the old "Welt am Abend" was about to reappear. The consequence was that in the first couple of days after the appearance of the new "Welt am Abend" its circulation reached a figure of 150,000. But that was the end of it. It was a flash in the pan. The swindle was exposed. The workers found out that they had been deceived and after that the greater part of the edition printed was left lying without purchasers. The "Taegliche Rundschau" openly admits the fiasco suffered by this Nazi swindle, but declares that the reason was that the new "Welt am Abend" was "too colourless" and advises the Nazis to give the paper a definitely anti-capitalist character such as the masses want. Such a newspaper, declares the "Taegliche Rundschau," is "a State political necessity." The group behind the "Taegliche Rundschau" and their Nazi allies will succeed neither one way nor the other. No deceitful "anti-capitalist" Nazi publication, no matter how cleverly it is cloaked, can succeed with the working masses against the "Rote Fahne." The fascist experiment with the "Welt am Abend" shows that the decisive masses of the working class have not been won by the fascists, but that they are now, as before, definitely hostile to fascism.

Politics

The Air Pageant in England

By Tom Bell (London)

The announcement by the United States Secretary for the Navy on June 15 of the American programme of naval construction, involving over three years the building of 32 new warships at a cost of £47,000,000, represents another link in the chain of imperialist war preparations.

Nor is it surprising that this declaration should be followed up by a big Japanese programme of similar dimensions. Everyone knows that the rivalry between Japan and the United States is most intense.

Moreover, it is significant that both these Powers justify these increases on the grounds that they are only replenishments within the limits of the London Naval Treaty, which, be it noted, have not yet been ratified by either France or Italy.

Already, important increases in the naval budget have been made by the British government, and we may expect a further expansion of British naval construction. In the meantime, intense military preparations are being pushed forward every day. These preparations take many forms, but they affect every section of the fighting forces, and particularly the auxiliary forces.

Some idea of these preparations can be gleaned from a number of important events now taking place in England. For several years now a great military pageant has been staged at the military station of Aldershot. It is known as the Aldershot Tattoo. The plan is to reproduce an episode in British military history and to render it attractive by stage-craft, music and display of technique, with a view to strengthening patriotic sentiment among the masses. This year it was "Gordon and the Sudan."

Special facilities are arranged with the railway companies to bring parties of people from all parts of the country to witness the spectacle. This year over 400,000 people patronised this

pageant, an increase of 20,000 over last year. Special films for the cinema are made and gramophone records produced, so that it is safe to say millions of people are brought under the influence of this colossal propagandist effort of the militarists.

Another of these annual pageants is the display by the *Royal Air Force* at the great aerodrome at *Hendon, London*. The event this year is the fourteenth of the series and promises to be the greatest yet. About 200 aircraft will take part in it. Among the "novelties" this year will be aerial target practice, one aeroplane towing at the end of a long cable a cylindrical sleeve used as a target practice for fighters.

Another "novelty" will be a demonstration for the first time of a fleet of silent bombers. Experiments have been going on for some time in one of the Air Ministry's special "flying laboratories" to produce a machine with engines that are silent and give no indication of their presence when about to bomb a city. It is claimed by the Air Ministry that, while complete silence has not yet been attained, their machine is nearest to anything flying.

Here, again, tens of thousands of people will be subject to air-craft propaganda. Full-dress rehearsals are given free to conducted parties of school children, boy scouts and girl guides.

There is hardly an important centre which is not organising some military spectacle or the other. For instance, at *Bristol*, which boasts of a large air port, a special pageant was held last week, attended by 30,000 people, to witness exhibitions of "stunt" flying and to watch an air race from *Brighton* to *Bristol*. In the evening on the great common, *Durdham Downs*, thousands were drawn into community singing of patriotic songs, while a special "religious" parade of military, naval and air forces was made to *Bristol Cathedral*.

To complete the sub-division of labour, a great naval spectacle is going on in the old naval town of *Greenwich*, near *Woolwich*. The theme represents the influence of sea power on British history over a period of 400 years, in which a burial procession takes place from the painted hall where *Nelson* lay in state to the barge alongside *Greenwich* steps from which he was borne on his last voyage up the *Thames*. There are 2,500 engaged in this spectacle, which is drawing thousands of spectators every night for a week.

Finally, a royal review of the territorial forces is to be held in *Hyde Park* on *June 24*; 940 officers and 14,290 other ranks will take part in the parade past the king, surrounded with his military entourage. The territorial army is entirely responsible for the anti-aircraft guns and searchlights which defend *London*. These special groups will receive marked attention.

At the same time, such pageants and spectacles offer an excellent opportunity for reaching tens of thousands of workers who are drawn together as spectators.

A persistent agitation is being conducted by the *Anti-War Council* and the *Communists* at each of these centres. By means of posters, leaflets and slogans, an effort is being made to reach large sections of workers who otherwise would be more difficult to get at. But there is no gainsaying the fact that once more the British bourgeoisie are showing that cunning and astuteness in their war preparations characteristic of the class.

The Financial Difficulties of the Belgian Government

By F. Coenen (Brussels)

The Belgian government is at present confronted with great financial difficulties. It is living from hand to mouth. There exists no doubt that in order to extricate itself from these difficulties it is making use of money in the possession of organisations over which it has control.

The situation will, however, soon become further complicated. In spite of all the book-keeping tricks, it is quite obvious that the requirements of the Treasury cannot be covered without recourse to extensive new loans and, in view of the situation on the international money market, involving important political obligations. Before the expiration of the financial year, 1,500 million francs must be raised by means of loans. It will be necessary to raise a colonial loan of 1,000 million and to consolidate 700 million French Treasury bonds.

The resistance of the masses to the measures directed against

them by means of the "Full Powers" acquired by the government is already making itself felt. The protests are numerous and come from all districts. But the active form of protest which could influence the government and events is being considered by the working population. It has come to street demonstrations. In *Liege* 5,000 proletarians followed the call of the Communist Party. In *Brussels*, as well as in *Liege*, the war cripples marched in processions through the streets. The social democracy, on its part, converted a national demonstration of its Young Guard into a demonstration against the government. This demonstration was attended by about 20,000 persons, who received *Vandervelde* with the cry of "revolution!" which he could not but hear, and to which he answered with the declaration that whilst his brain was frequently Right, his heart was always Left, and that he would rather see the young go to the Left than the old to the Right.

But this is no solution of the question put by the masses: what is to be done? General strike and the ballot vote on this strike are on the order of the day. Whilst the masses see in the general strike an actual means of class warfare, with the reformists and socialist bureaucrats, on the other hand, it is only a manoeuvre in order to avoid a fight. These are the reasons why the ballot vote must be organised, and if it should result in a majority for, the general strike must be organised in the event of the government attempting a "fresh coup de main." Thus argue the social-democratic leaders. This cunning radicalism in words is being fought by the Communist Party, which, it is true, regards the general strike as means of struggle and is carrying on propaganda for it, but at the same time points out that partial struggles are necessary, immediately and without delay, in order to reply to the present attacks of the government and of the employers which are taking place in all spheres.

The dissatisfaction of the workers is so great that even the christian democratic leaders of the trade unions have had to carry out a change of front. At meetings of the christian factory workers and unemployed the demand is being raised that the christian democratic Ministers shall resign if the emergency decrees are not withdrawn or amended.

As, however, the Chamber and the Senate meet for some days in *July*, the social-democratic and christian leaders are diverting the attention of the masses to the parliamentary struggle, promising that there will be a "scene in parliament." This is what the leaders of the christian democrats have decided, and the same decision was adopted on *June 7* by the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party. The latter, however, aim at creating new illusions by issuing the slogan of the dissolution of the Chamber and Senate and the holding of new elections, the result of which will be a parliament which will permit the formation of a government in which the social democrats, as *Vandervelde* expresses it, will not take part "but will be its pillars."

The question is, whether this demagogic game, aiming at creating new illusions, will induce the working masses to wait any longer for the action which they are demanding against the government and against its policy of "full powers."

Fascist Murders in Bulgaria.

Sofia.—A further series of murders of Bulgarian revolutionary and Communist workers is reported.

The well-known Macedonian revolutionary, *Dimiter Surlev*, was brutally murdered in *Sofia*. One of the most prominent fighters of the *Dobrudja* National Revolutionary movement and a member of the Central Committee of the League Against Imperialism, *Dr. Vichev* was also shot here.

A Communist named *Krolev* has also been murdered. All these acts have been carried out by agents of the government in co-operation with the fascist organisation, which is organised and led by *Mikhailov*.

The so-called "convention" of the Military League and the fascist organisation at its last session is reported to have drawn up a "black list" of persons who are to be removed and to have resolved to lose no time in carrying out this decision.

The funeral of the murdered Communist, *Krolev*, was the occasion of a great demonstration by *Sofia* workers. They carried his coffin to the police headquarters and placed it before the building, demanding that those who murdered *Krolev* should bury him.

A profound impression was created by this demonstration.

Germany

Hitler Encountering Increasing Difficulties

The "Velten Korrespondenz" ("a strictly confidential information sheet issued for an exclusive circle"), in its issue of June 3, contains information regarding negotiations Hitler has been conducting with leading German financial capitalists, which is calculated to arouse the greatest sensation among the general public. For here, before the narrow circle of his financial capitalist principals, Hitler gave quite another picture of the situation and the prospects of his dictatorship than that which he and the rest of the Nazi leaders are wont to present to the general public.

According to the "V.K.," Hitler expressed his opinion on the political situation. At first on the foreign political situation, which is desperate enough for the Hitler government:

"In particular he characterised the foreign-political situation in Germany, especially in view of the closing of the German-Austrian frontier, as very serious and hinted that he must be prepared to give way on a good many things in the interest of foreign policy."

Here it is openly stated that the Hitler government is about to make still further concessions to the foreign Powers, in which respect it has already shown itself to be more yielding than any of the governments preceding it. The honeyed words which Göring has in the meantime addressed to England and France, the declarations of the Nazi leaders on the Danzig question and the retreat of the Nazis in Austria, show that the national socialist leaders are already grovelling before the imperialist Powers.

But much more important are Hitler's statements regarding the political situation at home. The "V.K." writes:

"The difficulty for him lies much more in the conflicts in Germany itself. And under the circumstances there arises for him the question how he can make his actions plausible to his people. . . . The Chancellor sees that the real test for him is yet to come, namely, in the economic development which next autumn is bound to bring. Therefore, he is much less interested in the fight against 'Marxism' and the question of the trade unions . . . than in a successful combating of unemployment. In these economic-political questions he needs the willing co-operation and the expert advice of the employers, as well as their full support for the programme for providing work, which has been discussed in detail and decided on in the meantime."

These statements are exceedingly important and interesting. They indicate that Hitler fully realises the uncertainty of the foundation on which his dictatorship is based and the disastrous development of the capitalist economy of Germany, which he is incapable of checking.

Hitler thereby only confirms that which we knew already from innumerable reports we have ourselves received from all sections of the working population, namely, that fascism is already in the first social crisis, where the anti-capitalist interests of the working masses come into open conflict with Hitler's capitalist policy, and where it becomes increasingly difficult for Hitler to make his measures plausible to his followers.

The law issued a few days ago on agricultural indebtedness, which provides that the rate of interest on agricultural debts shall be 4½ per cent., whereas the Nazis promised to reduce the rate of interest to 2 per cent., has called forth the greatest disappointment among the peasants. They are asking, is that what Hitler calls "breaking the fetters of interest slavery"? And taxes have also not been reduced! And the arrears of taxes are to be collected with the aid of the bailiffs! In addition, the peasants are beginning to realise that the much-vaunted increase in the price of butter and milk only benefits the big agrarians, and on the other hand harms the small peasants..

Disappointment and Bitterness are Increasing.

Rebellion is most open among the urban middle classes. The same Nazi artisans and shopkeepers who only recently were the most eager propagandists and agitators of the national socialists, and who day after day sought to influence their customers in the interests of the national socialist party, are now openly grumbling

about the bad state of affairs, the high prices, the high rents, the whole policy of the Hitler government, and thus without knowing it, are becoming agitators against national socialism. The reason for this dissatisfaction is perfectly obvious: Hitler has not kept one of the promises he has made these sections of the middle class. He has not increased the purchasing power of the toiling masses but reduced it, and thereby worsened the position of the small shopkeepers. He is collecting the old taxes without any remission and has added new taxes; he has not reduced the burden of interest, but even demands that it shall be paid punctually; he has increased the price of food so much that the middle classes have to suffer doubly: as consumers and as dealers.

The workers are subjected to an incomparably greater terror than the middle classes. That is the reason why here the ferment, great as it is, is much more slow in finding expression in the form of open rebellion. It is reported from the A.E.G. works in the Treptow district of Berlin that a strong anti-fascist feeling exists there. According to statements of Nazi workers, the N.S.B.O. (National Socialist Factory Organisation) cell, which with a staff of 1,300 had as many as 320 members, has now dropped to 68. The workers who have left the N.S.B.O. cell declare that they thought the N.S.B.O. would do something for the workers, but they have been deceived. In Thyssen's Lime Works in Rüdersdorf, near Berlin, the workers demanded a wage increase of 2 pfennigs an hour and sent a delegation to the management, which pointed out that Thyssen is a member of the national socialist party and a close friend of Hitler. The workers' demands were rejected. Since then the workers have ceased to attend N.S.B.O. meetings. In the well-known firm of Stock, in Marienfelde, Berlin, the workers went on strike against the dismissal of the red factory council, and thereby enforced its reinstatement. In the Stettin tramway workshop, a worker named Jürgens was denounced by a member of the N.S.B.O. because he sympathised with the C.P. of Germany. The police carried out a house-search in Jürgens' lodging, without any result. Thereupon the workers compelled the management to dismiss the denouncer and, under the pressure of the workers, the scoundrel was expelled from the Nazi Storm Troops. We have a whole number of similar reports.

Feeling among the unemployed has also turned against the Nazis. The workers engaged on relief work in Berlin-Schmargendorf, for example, complain very much about the continued begging on the part of the Nazis, who come collecting now for this object and now for that object. The Nazis among them also grumble very much about the increase in the price of fat. Many Nazi workers who formerly proudly wore their swastika, have now given up wearing it. At the offices of the Public Assistance Committees it comes more and more frequently to stormy scenes at the payment out of relief. The women in particular grumble quite openly, above all because the goods vouchers for coal, shoes, etc., have been cancelled or reduced.

The women are a very important element in this ferment, for they are less under the pressure of the Nazi terror and often venture to express their opinions much more freely than the men. In the shops and in the markets there is frequent loud grumbling on account of the high prices.

If, on the basis of all the reports, which come to us in such great numbers, and of our own observations, we wished to give an estimate of the extent of this mass feeling, we could say: one of the most important symptoms of the ferment is that everywhere eager discussion is going on: in the streets, in the shops, at the labour exchanges, and also in the factories. A few weeks ago such a thing was quite out of the question. The Nazi supporters also take part in these discussions, either by openly expressing their discontent, or feebly attempting to defend Hitler's policy. But the cases in which disparaging remarks about Hitler's policy are immediately followed by terrorist measures—four weeks ago they were still very numerous—have become very rare to-day: discontent has spread to the Storm Troops. Up to now the ferment has not been strong enough in order to lead to big mass actions. In the workshops and factories in particular the workers have not yet over-

come the pressure of the threefold terror from the employers, from the Storm Troops and the police. But one thing seems certain: the retreat of the workers has in general ceased. The new advance is gradually (and very unequally) commencing.

The Nazi leaders are quite aware of this state of affairs among the masses as described by us on the basis of numerous reports. This is the reason why Hitler views the coming months with so much anxiety. The leaders of fascism are becoming uncertain and nervous.

Four months ago, Hitler made a triumphal progress through the country as the "saviour" who was supposed to have destroyed Marxism, Communism, and put an end to the class war. To-day we see him before the German capitalists begging for their advice and help in order to enable him to exorcise the spectre of Communism and the proletarian revolution. So quickly has this development taken place! The conflict which Hitler so much fears, and which he sees inevitably approaching, is the conflict with Communism, which is supposed to have been killed long ago, which nevertheless lives and, under conditions of illegality, is carrying on its underground fight and daily winning fresh adherents among the masses.

The Consumers' Co-operatives to be Destroyed

A few days after the capture of the reformist trade unions, Hitler fascism also occupied the offices of the consumers' co-operatives, which hitherto were managed by social-democratic leaders, took over their management and deprived the millions of workers organised in the co-operatives of any influence. Of course, the Nazi leaders at once issued the "pacifying" declaration that they had undertaken this action merely in order to free the property of the co-operatives from "Marxist mismanagement," and in order to secure the deposits of the members. But these phrases could not assure anybody, for nobody believed them.

The Nazis have always been the sworn enemies of the workers' co-operatives; this was part of their reactionary "policy for the middle classes." By means of incitement against the consumers' co-operatives they appealed to the most reactionary instincts of the small shopkeepers, who considered themselves harmed by the competition of the co-operatives. As soon as the consumers' co-operatives were occupied by the Nazis, all these reactionary middle-class people considered the time had come for the destruction of the co-operative movement, and immediately proceeded to close down the co-operative stores and to ruin the consumers' co-operatives.

The consumers' co-operative movement in Germany has been built up as a result of decades of work; millions of German workers have sacrificed their labour and money for this movement. But under the social-democratic leadership the co-operatives became more and more capitalistic; the bureaucrats ruled in them just as autocratically as in the trade unions and converted the co-operatives into an instrument of the social-democratic policy of class collaboration and coalition. Whilst the co-operative leaders more and more openly proceeded to finance the social-democratic party and its institutions, they at the same time ruthlessly expelled the class-conscious opposition which had united under the leadership of the Communists. The criminal policy of the social-democratic co-operative bureaucrats went even so far as to shatter flourishing co-operatives (for instance, in Central Germany) for the simple reason that the opposition had won the majority of the co-operators over to its side and had been entrusted by them with the leadership. This same social-fascist bureaucracy of course immediately and unreservedly submitted to the national socialist dictatorship and grovelled before the Nazi bureaucrats who marched into the consumers' co-operatives as "conquerors."

For the fascist leaders the question how they shall destroy the consumers' co-operatives is not quite simple. For hundreds of millions are invested in the co-operatives, and, in addition, many millions of small deposits of the workers are involved. A complete destruction such as is demanded by the representatives of the reactionary small shopkeepers would not only arouse tremendous resentment among the co-operative members, but also lead to a considerable aggravation of the economic crisis.

This is the reason why the Russian government of Herr

Göring has issued a decree prohibiting the middle-class actions against the consumers' co-operatives. This decree officially states that "consumers' co-operatives have been occupied by organs of the fighting league of the trading middle class, who hindered the managers of the co-operatives in the exercise of their duties and closed co-operative shops." Such actions are to be strictly forbidden. This, however, does not mean that the fascists wish to maintain the consumers' co-operatives; it only means that a uniform "settlement" is contemplated.

Dr. von Rentelen, Nazi leader of the middle-class people, spoke on this question at a members' meeting of the Fighting League for the Trading Middle Class, of which only the "Tägliche Rundschau," of May 31, ventured to publish a report:

"In regard to the further existence of the consumers' co-operatives, Dr. von Rentelen declared that the consumers' co-operatives in their present form are impossible; they must be converted into co-operative associations comprising those sections of the population which have the task in economy of distributing goods. It is not the consumer who is entitled to be the master of the undertaking, but those persons who are performing this activity in economy."

This means: the working class is to be robbed of the consumers' co-operatives in order to hand them over to the reactionary middle class. But what else are the latter to do with them but to let them go to ruin? This means in practice the destruction of the co-operative movement in Germany and a monstrous robbery of the millions of German workers who have built up these co-operatives and invested their savings in them. Hitler fascism is most clearly revealing its reactionary character in this question of the co-operatives. Hitler's "German Socialism" means that, for the sake of the most reactionary material interests of backward middle-class people, those institutions which, under Communist leadership, can be and will be elements of socialist construction are to be destroyed.

By this action against the consumers' co-operatives the fascists are calling forth the resentment of further sections of the German working class and increasing the inner antagonisms. The Communist Party of Germany immediately called upon the workers to defend the co-operatives; it reveals to the masses the intentions of the reactionary Nazi leaders and exposes the anti-working-class character of the Nazi policy. Whilst stigmatising the criminal policy of the social-fascist leaders, the Party is pointing to the example of the Soviet Union, where the co-operatives are playing a great role in socialist construction. Thus the C.P. of Germany is conducting this struggle against the fascist plans to destroy the co-operatives as part of the great anti-fascist struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Life in a German Labour Camp

Berlin, June 14.

The introduction of "compulsory labour service" by the Hitler government pursues various purposes at the same time. It is attempted to keep the young unemployed away from the street, to tear them out of their class surroundings, to keep them away from Communist influence and to concentrate them in camps, where they may be educated in a fascist sense to be obedient workers, willing cannon fodder in the coming war, and reliable soldiers of the fascist army in civil war. It is the task of those labour camps which already exist to train the necessary cadres which will be required in the next months, when about 400,000 young men will be called up for universal labour service.

In the labour camp at *Zossen*, of which we are in a position to give a description, there are about 250 men. About 15 per cent. of them are Nazis—Storm Troopers or at least "Party Comrades." Another 15 per cent. were formerly members of the Reichsbanner and have been taken over from a dissolved Reichsbanner camp. The remainder are men sympathising with the Nazi movement. Most of them are students. The leader of this camp is Major Richard *Fonck*, the military commander is Major *Buchterkirch*.

The men in the camp have to do certain work for the Reichswehr (the German army)—for instance, the building of a road for military exercises. The road is to be blown up as soon as it is built, just to try the force of some new explosive of the Ger-

man army. Further tasks are the draining of a moor, which is about two yards deep, and the laying out of a carp pond for Major Buchterkirch. The men have also to lay cables for the Reichswehr and to build military rifle ranges.

Duties commence at 5.30 a.m. with some physical drill. Then the men get their breakfast: so-called coffee, bread and jam. After the roll-call work begins and lasts until 12.30. There is only one short interval of 20 minutes. Lunch is supposed to be at two o'clock, but it is always later. There is a rest until four o'clock, but the men have no time to rest. They have to use this time to clean their things. From four to five they receive military drill. After that they get some coffee. From half-past five to seven, school. Then they get supper, and at ten o'clock the "lights out" is sounded.

The men have to work six or seven hours every day, driven on like slaves, because every section leader (the camp is divided into sections of 24 men each) tries to get everything out of his men, in order to get promoted. The section leaders get an extra pay of 15 marks a month, although they do no work. At first these section leaders were lodged with the men; now they have their own quarters and are no longer to be treated as equals by the men, but as superiors.

Every man gets 1.80 marks a week, out of which he has to pay for his equipment. He also gets his food, which is very bad. Meat is very scarce, although the regulations provide four ounces daily. The food is prepared very badly, so that the men frequently suffer from stomach trouble. The uniforms are dirty, which often causes skin diseases.

The relations between the men and their superiors are very bad. Iron discipline has been introduced. Non-coms. from the Reichswehr have been drafted in to supervise the drill. The men are always hungry, because their rations are not sufficient and they have to ask their relatives to send them parcels. On the other hand, the superiors are drunk every second or third day. They invite women to their debaucheries, among them young girls who have hardly left school. A promising commencement of the "moral rebirth of Germany."

Mutinies are breaking out frequently. Recently a Reichswehr sergeant brutally drilled the men, who threw their things away in disgust. Five of them were dismissed, but, as the whole group sided with them, they had to be reinstated.

Such are the conditions in the Zossen camp, which is one of the camps to which Communism has so far found no entrance. In many other camps the Communists have succeeded in getting into touch with the men and increasing their resistance against the brutalities of their superiors. In many cases they have succeeded in breaking up such camps from within.

Now, when 400,000 young men will be called up for compulsory labour service, the tasks of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League will be correspondingly increased.

Conditions in the Sonnenburg Torture Camp

Berlin, June, 14, 1933.

Further news has come from the Sonnenburg internment camp showing that the atrocious torturing of the anti-fascist prisoners still continues. Owing to reports of the barbarous treatment of these political prisoners which were published in the world press, the leaders of the Hitler Party were compelled to institute certain "changes" in Sonnenburg. The Berlin district leader of the Storm Troops, Ernst, personally selected 25 storm troopers, whom he sent to Sonnenburg to "guard" the arrested anti-fascists, relieving the other storm detachment which had been there before. When these 25 men reached Sonnenburg, they at once demanded an advance of five marks each from the prison director. The very same night they got hopelessly drunk, smashing the furniture in some public-houses and firing their pistols at the bottles on the counter. On their way to the camp they held what they called "shooting exercises" in the streets, terrorising the population. In the camp they beat up every prisoner whom they came across. We are informed that Dr. Litten, the lawyer who defended anti-fascist workers in countless trials, was especially brutally mishandled.

For a whole week these 25 brown beasts remained in Sonnenburg, during which time they were continually drunk. In the daytime they fired at every prisoner showing himself at the windows, and at night they dragged the prisoners out of their cells, beating

them unmercifully. In these few days they so infuriated the whole population of Sonnenburg that they did not dare to go into the town without their revolvers for fear of the population. After a week these 25 bandits were called back. Before leaving they fired numerous shots at the station building. Another storm detachment has now arrived, which will doubtlessly continue the ill-treatment of the prisoners.

We advise foreign journalists in Germany to demand the right to speak to the Sonnenburg prisoners themselves, instead of being shepherded by government officials, who tell them "how well the prisoners are treated." These journalists should be given a chance to see the ill-treated bodies of the prisoners; then they will know how "well the fascists treat their victims"! They should go to Sonnenburg and talk to the workers there. They would tell them what "Germany's Saviours" are like.

We appeal to the working class of the whole world to increase their fight against these fascist murder dens in Germany, to increase their campaign against the inhuman torture of honest anti-fascist militants. Remember: *There is not only one, but hundreds of Sonnenburgs in Germany!*

Anti-Fascist Manifesto of the American International Labour Defence

To the Workers of America, White and Black:

To the Farmers and Toilers on the Land:

Rally for the fight against fascism! Build an international army of defence in support of the German working class and the oppressed Jewish people in Germany!

The blood of the German working class and the Jewish people in Germany flows through the streets of the cities. The countryside is becoming a vast prison camp for those who survive in the path of the bloody fascist mowing machine.

The cry of the stricken German masses for bread, work and freedom is answered by forced labour camps, which find their parallel here in the forestation camps of the Roosevelt government, and mass starvation. Their struggle against this fascist programme increases the terror. Hitler, the tool of German finance capitalism, seeks to perpetuate capitalism's regime of blood and terror by fighting a ruthless war of extermination within the very ranks of the outraged masses. His greatest obstacle is that principle of international working-class solidarity by which the toiling masses of Germany are mobilised for the life and death struggle against fascism; his most feared enemy is that force which is a ceaseless expression and guide in this principle of working-class internationalism. To divide the workers in their international solidarity, by provoking race prejudice, a ruthless reign of terror against the Jews is instigated; to destroy working-class leadership the Communist Party becomes the main objective of the campaign of white terror.

Terror strikes at every stronghold of the workers. The trade union organisations of the workers are ruthlessly broken up. The leaders who fight are murderously done to death, "trying to escape" or "committing suicide" in the prison holds of fascism.

In the ranks of German social democracy, the socialist party leadership (Wels and Leipart) is attempting to lead the masses over to the fascist camp. The Jewish nationalist leaders are asking their people not to participate actively in the protest movement against Hitler's pogroms. But the rank and file are coming more clearly to see where the manoeuvres of these false leaders are carrying them.

We cannot be blind to the relation of this Roosevelt-Morgan government to the murderous regime led by Hitler.

On May 8 Mr. Roosevelt refused to see the representatives of a delegation of five thousand Negro and white workers, part of the historic Scottsboro' march to Washington, who sought to demand of him the release of the mine innocent Scottsboro' boys and Tom Mooney, and the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. Mr. Roosevelt, "servant" of the American people, was talking to Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, representative of the bloody Hitler.

The capitalist press of America seeks to give to the American people the impression that the American ruling class is not in sympathy with the campaign of terror being carried forward against the German workers. But the action of the ruling class class of America belies their nice words.

Roosevelt and Hitler's representatives are at one on the question of the oppression of the working people. The international solidarity of those who control the machinery of terror is always in evidence when the struggles of the workers are linked together for a united front against terror. The first step of the ruling class to strengthen and extend its programme of terror is division of the oppressed masses along the lines of race, nationality or colour.

Everywhere we turn, unemployment and misery raise their life-destroying arms. Starvation stalks the streets here as well as throughout the world of capitalism. The more acute and desperate the situation becomes, the more brutally does the ruling class move to smash every expression of resistance on our part. The cynical co-operation of terror on the part of the ruling class all over the world becomes more open and notorious. Legal lynchings, after the pattern of Scottsboro', become the order of the day. The constitutional rights of the Negro masses are flagrantly violated and the oppression meted out to them reveals the ultimate measure of oppression and persecution to be meted out to the entire working class.

Proof of Tom Mooney's innocence becomes the subject for a court jest. After a second "trial" he is hurried back to a life-term programme of prison slavery in the California jails. His case typifies the extent of the terror of the American rulers.

American farmers see martial law declared by the authorities of the States in which they live in order that the bosses might better smash the farmers' drive to secure living market prices for their produce.

The Japanese and Chinese land workers in California, the Mexican peons in the South-West, the Cuban workers in Tampa, Florida, have learned that the "new deal" policy of Roosevelt is played with the cards dealt by the republican executive committee of Wall Street which preceded it. The relations of this government to Wall Street are concretely shown by the "favours" of the house of Morgan to Secretary Woodin and other leading democratic and republican politicians.

This is but a bird's eye view of the picture of ruling-class terror at home. Abroad the ruling class supports the most bloody reactionary and bankrupt governments. Across the continents they work hand in hand. The Hitler regime is squeezing the life-blood out of the German workers, in part to pay the bankers of Wall Street the dollars due to them.

The International Labour Defence, in conjunction with the National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, calls upon all organisations, committees and groups who sincerely desire to fight against terror, to unite for a struggle against Hitler fascism and for aid to German emigrants, prisoners, etc. With such a development of struggle we can wrest the imprisoned workers of Germany from the jails of Hitler fascism, we can save the lives of tens of thousands of victims of white terror from the hands of their fascist hangmen all over the world.

Chinese Protest Against the Nazi Terror

The "China Press" reports that a delegation of the *Chinese League for Human Rights*, led by Madame Sun Yat Sen, Dr. Tsai Yuanpei and including Lu Sin, China's most famous writer, Yang Chien of the Sinica Academy, Dr. Lin Yu-Tang, writer and critic, Harold Isaacs, editor of the "China Forum," Lo Shun, and the famous American woman writer Agnes Smedley, interviewed the German Consul in Shanghai in order to raise the sharpest protest against the fascist terror in Germany. The Consul, Herr Behrend, received the written protest submitted by the delegation and promised to forward it to the German ambassador in Peiping. In the written protest it is stated, inter alia:

"The Chinese League for Human Rights, which is fighting against the terror in China, for the civil and human rights of the Chinese people and is allied with all international progressive forces, finds itself compelled to protest in the most energetic manner against the brutal terror and reaction which is raging at the present moment in Germany. We hear from various and reliable sources of all political shades, that since the setting up of the fascist rule in Germany, thirty thousand to forty thousand workers and thousands of leaders of the working class and intellectuals have been arrested. The prisoners are beaten and tortured in the prisons, the Nazi barracks and concentration camps.

Thousands are lying in the hospitals with broken limbs, their condition bearing witness to the barbarism now prevailing in Germany. Hundreds have been killed and their corpses are often found in the rivers, ponds and forests. Others have been shot, and it is asserted that they were "shot while attempting to escape" or that they committed suicide in prison. It is unnecessary to say that all these are cases of cold-blooded murder.

"The organisations of the working class are suppressed, their printing works, their property and funds are confiscated or stolen by the fascists. The rights of the German working class, won in years of struggle, have been trampled underfoot. There exists no freedom of speech, meeting or organisation. The masses have no rights enabling them to carry on any activity to improve their conditions of living.

"All progressive intellectual life in Germany is throttled. The most prominent intellectuals and thousands of others are persecuted and driven into exile. Celebrated writers such as Ludwig Renn, are said to have been killed. Others, like Leon Feuchtwanger and the Nobel Prize winner Thomas Mann, have been compelled to leave the country and their positions in Germany have been taken by mediocrities. The fate of thousands of other proletarian and progressive writers is even worse.

"Great artists like Max Liebermann and Käthe Kollwitz and great composers and conductors like Bruno Walter, are robbed of any opportunity of work; their works are destroyed and burned.

"The whole of the workers' press and even such liberal intellectual journals as the "Weltbühne" and others of an even more moderate type have been suppressed and their editors thrown into prison. The news going to the foreign press is rigorously censored before it is allowed to leave the country. Another sign of the human and cultural reversion to the Middle Ages and to the dark days of tsarist Russia is the persecution of the Jews and the systematically organised anti-semitic pogroms, which have been instigated by the German government and the fascist party.

"The last act of vandalism consists in the burning of books written by progressive and Jewish writers. Such things only happened in the darkest days of ignorance and barbarism of human society. This was the fate of the great thinkers and scientists in the distant past, who had to pay for their advanced ideas with death at the stake. These facts, and many others of a similar kind, are reported in responsible newspapers in Europe and America.

"In the name of human, social and cultural progress, and in the endeavour to maintain the social and cultural achievements of humanity, the Chinese League for Human Rights protests most energetically against these atrocities! We protest against this frightful terror against the German working class and against progressive thinkers, against a terror which is crippling the social, intellectual and cultural life of Germany."

Combat the Campaign of Lies Against the Soviet Union

Provocation against the Soviet Union

How Mr. Brockway Repeats the Shameful Provocatory Campaigns of the Social Democrats.

By Gore Graham (London).

For many weeks now social democracy, which everywhere prepares the way for fascism, has been carrying on a particularly vicious campaign of provocation against the Soviet Union. It has been attempting to turn the wave of repulsion against fascism which is sweeping over the world into antagonism against the Soviet Union.

The social-democratic leaders, the brothers and colleagues of the German Leiparts who are now licking Hitler's boots, have been attempting to cover up the betrayal of the German workers by campaigning against the alleged betrayal of the German workers by the Soviet Government and the Comintern!

Day after day in the press of the social-democratic parties in Holland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, etc., this vicious provocative campaign against the Soviet Union has been carried on.

Take as an example *Albarda*, the leader of the Dutch social-democratic party. He said in a recent speech:

"And what is the Red Army doing—the army which allegedly intended to defend the interests of the proletariat of all countries? The Russian Government, according to its own statements, maintains perfectly amicable relations with the German government, a government throwing Communist workers into prison."

Or, just to give another instance from scores available, take this statement from a leading article in the "Sozial Demokrat," the organ of the Czech social-democratic party (June 4):

"The Communists seek by the enormous campaign against social democracy to push into forgetfulness the betrayal of the millions of workers in Germany by the Soviet Union. . . . What is the 'fatherland of the workers' doing?" . . .

At the present time, when the danger of war against the Soviet Union is acuter than ever (Japanese advances in the East, the British boycott and provocation, the Four-Power Pact, etc.) and when the betrayal, the grossest, the most abominable and shameful betrayal of the German workers by the social democrats is recognised on every hand, is not this campaign against the Soviet Union just about as low and filthy as anything could possibly be?

The determined peace policy of the Soviet Government which has prevented war breaking out a score of times, which for instance was alone responsible for preventing war in the East two years ago, this peace policy is only just managing to win through and prevent war. In face of all the recent provocations, that of our own British ruling class particularly, the whole working class of the world is indebted beyond repayment to the calm, resolute policy of peace of our Russian comrades. They have refused to fall into the trap of a single provocation, thick and numerous as they have been.

When these scoundrels, the leaders of the Second International, who are busily breaking the strikes and struggles, splitting the front of the workers in every capitalist country, who in Germany have accepted Hitler and who in other countries have shown their chauvinism quite as clearly a million times already, when these scoundrels ask what the Red Army is doing to permit the brutalities of Hitler in Germany, when they interpret the peace policy of the Soviet Government into a policy of *friendship with capitalism*, are they not revealing themselves to every intelligent worker as curish provocateurs actually preparing the way for war on the Soviet Union?

Why, these very leaders of the Dutch social democrats opposed the boycott of a Hitler film at an Amsterdam theatre because it might injure German-Dutch trading relations, and now they have only adopted the senseless German boycott because it helps some of their own Dutch capitalists.

Imagine the impudence of these people daring to taunt the Red Army for betraying the German workers! Is there anyone who cannot fail to see all this as the dirtiest provocation worthy of White Guardists? *Yes—there is. And that is no less a person than Mr. Fenner Brockway!*

In the "New Leader" (June 17, 1933) he has an article on the "*Bankruptcy of the Two Internationals.*"

To begin with it says that the social-democratic party in Germany is down and out—and so is the Communist Party. Is it not strange that a "public man," a leader of a political party, can live in such obliviousness to the facts? Even the columns of the capitalist press are to-day containing news of the widespread activities of the now illegal German Communist Party.

But the chief thing about this article is the fact that it is Brockway, yes, no other person than Brockway, to whom has fallen the task of purveying in England these foul slanders of the Soviet Union, of carrying on this campaign, the pride of all campaigns of provocation against the workers' fatherland.

Brockway does not repeat the exclamations against the inactivity of the Red Army that appear in the same campaign abroad. He probably thinks that's a bit too crude for English consumption. After all the campaign has been carried on more by other sections of the Second International than by the Labour Party, although here, too, the dirty work has not been entirely neglected, e.g., we have only to remember the great Albert Hall

meeting "against fascism" which even Ellen Wilkinson described as being more of a meeting against the Soviet Union; or the utilisation of the anti-fascist feeling by Citrine and others for bitter attacks against the proletarian dictatorship.

Brockway writes:

"Communist policy contributed to the victory of Hitler. Then, when Hitler triumphed, the first Government which made a treaty with Hitler was the Soviet Government—the Berlin treaty completing a financial and economic agreement. Because of this economic co-operation between Russia and Germany, the Communist International has opposed an international working-class boycott of Germany, the one possible method of overthrowing Hitlerism during its early period of economic weakness."

His reference to Communist assistance to Hitler's rise to power can be answered elsewhere.

But what are the facts about this treaty? The Berlin treaty is no new treaty between "Hitler and Stalin." The treaty was concluded in 1929 and renewed in 1931. It is simply a confirmation of a state of affairs that has existed for 11 years. The whole thing is in the nature of a non-aggression pact. It is no alliance. The Soviet Government is willing to sign a non-aggression pact with any and every country. It has proposed one with Japan and been refused! Is Brockway, and are the social democrats, aware that this neutrality agreement which he lyingly attempts to present as a "Hitler-Stalin" friendship and alliance is a product of German governments that were strongly under the influence of the social-democratic members, and that the first ratification document in connection with it was signed by Ebert, the social-democratic president?

The Soviet Government will fight to maintain the peace of the world to the last ditch. The peace of the world apparently doesn't matter as much to Brockway as we were given to think it did. For he chides the Soviet Government for "acquiescence in Japanese imperialism in the East." He writes:

"Russia does not want war. That one understands. But international working-class opposition to imperialism must not be sacrificed even to the interests of Russia."

Lo, the pacifist! What is this but sheer war provocation? What difference is there between this and the cry of Albarda for an invasion (or at least pretended cry, for as we say he would be the first to oppose it) of Germany by the Red Army? For after all, "the interests of Russia," which in this instance means *peace*, must not be allowed to come before "opposition to imperialism"!!!

The Soviet Union will not surrender an inch of its soil. But it has nevertheless "acquiesced" in Japanese imperialism by having pursued a calm peace policy against all provocations.

Suppose it didn't do this, suppose it refused to "acquiesce," suppose it responded to the Japanese provocations, to the British provocations, to the German provocations, suppose it sent the Red Army into Germany (!) to defend the German workers, what would that do but let loose the whole capitalist furies of the world and set it up ablaze in the flames of war.

Does not every intelligent worker know that the whole capitalist world will spring at the throat of the first workers' republic as soon as it gets the chance? Of course.

This scoundrelly campaign, carried on now for some time in Europe by the scoundrellest social democrats and now at last properly introduced into England by Mr. Brockway, is nothing less than a slanderous campaign against the Communist International, against the Soviet Union, and against the heroic German Communist Party, so many of whose members are being murdered and tortured, but so many more of whose members are to-day carrying forward the struggle of the workers against Hitlerism in new circumstances, working heroically for the coming German October. *It is a scandalous joining of forces with all the other capitalist provocations against the Soviet Union and preparing for war.*

The mild pacifist, Mr. Brockway, whether he knows it or not, is now a cheap publicist of the hounds of war and fascism. Every branch of the I.L.P., every member of the I.L.P. should not rest a moment till they have repudiated this shameful article of their leader.

Fight Against Fascism

The European Anti-Fascist Congress

By A. Karolski.

"Marxism is dead! The Commune in the cellar!" the Nazi papers in Germany are shouting and yelling.

"Let them make a mess of things; there is no sense in doing anything now," reply the German social democrats. "We must avoid foreign political difficulties; we must take Germany as it is," argued the social-democratic ministers in Czechoslovakia and Denmark when, in the middle of April, it was forbidden to hold the European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress in the capitals of these "democratic" countries.

3,500 worker delegates from all States of Europe, elected by five million proletarians, gathered together at the **Anti-Fascist Congress** in Paris on the 4th, 5th and 6th June, and the thousands and thousands of delegates who were unable to attend the Congress, have given a plain and unmistakable answer. In spite of everything, in spite of the fascist terror, and in spite of the sabotage and calumnies of the heroes of the Second International, the anti-fascist front is being formed and is advancing.

The German Proletariat in the Front Line Trench.

That was the first great fact of this Congress: 120 German delegates; factory councillors, trade union functionaries from the Lower Rhine and the Ruhr district, Central Germany, Berlin, Hamburg, Thuringia, Danzig, and Silesia—social democrats, Communists and non-party—crossed the fascist frontiers and related at the Congress stirring facts about the heroic fight against the Hitler bandits, against the social-democratic traitors, and submitted evidence of the class struggle which cannot be suppressed, which is breaking out in all the factory hells, among the village poor and the urban petty bourgeoisie. The Congress learned that there is no big enterprise in Germany to-day in which no illegal anti-fascist newspapers are circulated; that the workers eagerly seize these papers and that the process of disintegration among the Nazis has already advanced so far that the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation) workers often refuse to denounce the distributors of illegal anti-fascist literature.

The Congress received with particular enthusiasm the reports on the devoted anti-fascist struggle of the young workers.

The reports of the German delegates on the cruelties and horrors in the Nazi torture chambers on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the iron steadfastness with which workers, who have been beaten until they are half-dead, refuse to betray the names and addresses which the Nazis wish to extort from them, caused the feelings of solidarity of the foreign with the German workers to become still deeper.

The central point of all speeches, decisions and measures was the **fight of the German proletariat** against fascism and social fascism in their own country.

Fighting Nationalism.

A huge wave of chauvinism is sweeping over Europe. The spectre of 1914 has risen again on the Continent. The bourgeoisie in the other countries have skilfully attempted to make use of the events in Germany in order to place the proletariat of their own country in the fetters of "national unity" against "German barbarism." Everywhere in all countries the social-democratic parties are on the side of their bourgeoisie. The Second International is falling to pieces. **The Paris Anti-Fascist Congress was a powerful demonstration of the international solidarity of the proletariat, of Marxism. The spirit of Marx, Lenin and Stalin dominated the deliberations of the Congress.**

The fraternisation between the German, Polish and French delegates against the Versailles Treaty, the fraternisation scene between the representative of the Jewish proletarians in Poland with the German workers' delegation against anti-semitism, for the equality of all peoples and races, the atmosphere of enthusiasm which the Paris proletariat had created for the foreign delegates at the Congress—these were stirring, unforgettable facts which demonstrated in the most striking manner the difference between 1933 and 1913. French imperialism and the "Left" French

government attempted at first, by permitting the Congress to be held in Paris and by a cunning quasi tolerance to make use of the Congress in order to intensify the anti-German incitement and to convert the Congress into an instrument for realising their dirty imperialist plans. Nevertheless, they did not succeed in distorting the character of the Congress. The first word at this Congress, just because it met in Paris, was a **concentrated attack on French imperialism and its executive organ, the "Left" government, and its social-fascist lackeys.** The delegates showed that they were not to be made use of for the plans of the imperialists and the admirers of bourgeois sham democracy.

The United Front of Action.

The great advance made in the formation of the proletarian united front was expressed at this Congress by the 2,000 non-party delegates, by the 500 social democrats, members of the Labour Party, anarchists and active functionaries and members of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, and in their comradely, smooth co-operation with the 1,200 Communists, who, it is true, constituted the minority of the delegates, but by their courageous, self-sacrificing struggle in all countries against fascism and the capitalist offensive, won the right of leadership, the hegemony at this Congress.

On the second day of the Congress, on June 5, the "Temps" wrote: "There are hundreds of social democrats at the Congress. Why does the 'Populaire' keep silence about this fact?" We can quite understand the uneasiness of the "Temps" and the cause of the silence of the "Populaire." **The social-democratic delegates at the Congress gave the answer when they expressed their indignation against the treachery of their parties, against the sabotage of the fighting united front, against the policy of "civil peace" and of the "lesser evil."**

When and at what other congress have social democrats used **such language** as they did at this Congress? When have social democrats submitted **such a declaration** as the social democrats did at this Congress? This fact is evidence of the ripening of mass rebellions of the social democratic workers in the ranks of the Second International. For the Communists it was a remarkable experience, not only at the Congress and also not only in the work of the committees, but especially in the drafting committees, when the social democrats said: "We are for a more definite political formulation of the drafts. We should not speak here of the mistakes of Vandervelde, Otto Bauer, Otto Wels, etc. It is not a question of persons, but of the whole policy of the parties of the Second International."

This attitude of the social-democratic delegates was the third great political event at this Congress. This was a great success although we still have much to learn, in our mass work, in working out tactics, in our language, in our speeches, in finding the correct way of approaching the social-democratic workers.

The Proletarian Character of the Congress

was expressed in the large number of factory workers (87 per cent.) and in the overwhelmingly large number of trade union organised workers who participated in the Congress.

We had already had quite good international congresses, **but at none of them was the leading role of the proletariat so sharply underlined as at this Congress, by its composition, by the putting of the problem, and by the speeches and decisions.** And this is as it should be. This is the need of the hour. Only the proletariat can, must and will be the leader and organiser in the day-to-day fight against fascism and the capitalist offensive, in drawing the majority of the working class into the decisive struggle through political mass strikes, general strikes up to the armed revolt against the bourgeoisie and the rule of fascism.

The Congress, which was an outspokenly workers' congress, was quite clear regarding the big role and importance of winning allies in the fight of the proletariat against the capitalist system and fascism. This was expressed in the splendidly carried out Peasants' conference, as well as in the participation of close on 500 intellectuals and students, who organised special consultations and discussions. The action of representatives of these strata showed that, in comparison with former congresses, great progress has been made and that the petty bourgeois pacifist illusions peculiar to these strata are being got rid of.

It would be a wonder, however, if in this great anti-fascist front, embracing millions, everything went off without any dis-

sonance. The proletariat is not separated from the petty bourgeoisie by a Chinese wall. And the petty bourgeoisie itself is subject to vacillations. Marx and Lenin taught us that the petty bourgeoisie, in so far as it attempts to perpetuate its conditions of existence as a class, is reactionary, in fact counter-revolutionary.

Only through the strength of the proletariat, only through its big fights and through its coming forward boldly, assured of victory, can the proletariat succeed in winning these strata for the cause of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The events in Germany, the retreat of the German proletariat, have not only thrown large strata of the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of the bourgeoisie in Germany, but also in the so-called "democratic" countries the bourgeoisie is trying to make use of the German events in order in the first place to create among the petty bourgeois strata in town and country a mass basis for a special variety of the fascist movement.

The action of the former radical socialist deputy, Bergery, was a typical symptom of this process. Behind the fog of left phrases there was clearly expressed in his speech the panicky mood of the petty bourgeoisie, the attempt to make itself independent of proletarian hegemony.

With talk about the "inadequate united front," it is intended to justify the fact of the opening of a special petty bourgeois shop, the "Front commun" (the "Common Front"), in the foundation meeting of which there took part some out and out fascists, and, in keeping with such company, some renegades who had been expelled from the Communist Party.

The Anti-Fascist Congress, contrary to other united front gatherings hitherto, established clarity also on this important question. The sharp and plain rebuff which the Congress gave Bergery, its refusal to permit any ambiguities in such a serious situation as the world proletariat is experiencing at the present time, the rejection of all his reproaches, the exposure of some dangerous tendencies in his utterances, were closely expressed in the speech of Comrade Myer, who in his polemic with Bergery raised the fundamental principles of the class struggle and of Marxist illumination of the problem of democracy, dictatorship and fascism.

The Congress absolutely rejected the opportunist idea that one can win the petty bourgeoisie by adapting oneself to petty bourgeois ideology. Opportunists who adapt themselves to the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie necessarily become followers of the bourgeoisie. **Only by the force, by the irreconcilability of the proletarian class struggle against finance capital and by practical aid in defending their interests, will the intimidated, split up, politically unschooled, badly organised masses of the petty bourgeoisie and small peasants be roused to the fight against capital, encouraged and welded together.**

The Anti-Fascist Deed Decides!

and not empty resolutions and demonstrations. Practical anti-fascist work, concrete aid for the German, Polish and Italian proletariat. One must defeat the enemy in one's own country **through the every-day class struggle in the workshop and factories, in the docks, mines and offices.** This was sharply stressed in many speeches of the delegates at the Congress. This was a new feature at this Congress in comparison with other gatherings. **It was an experience when one heard how deeply moved the German delegates were by the enormous extent of the solidarity actions which the workers in all countries of Europe had carried out in order to render practical aid to the German proletariat.** To-day the international solidarity movement has advanced so far that in the French ports the crews of German ships, together with French and Italian dock workers, compel the captain to lower the swastika flag. Militant international solidarity is already manifested in such actions; it is expressed in the immediate aid afforded the German workers by the proletariat in the adjoining countries in anti-fascist agitation; it is seen in the collections of money for the International Anti-Fascist Fighting Fund which the Congress decided to set up and which is to bring in the sum of 250,000 marks in the first months.

Fight Imperialist War! Protect the Soviet Union!

These were the questions to which nearly all speakers referred. The question of the fight against the threatening imperialist war was closely connected with the fight against fascism. Fascism has enormously increased the danger of war in all corners of Europe. But at the same time the Congress exposed the manoeuvres of the

so-called "democratic" bourgeois States and of the **Second International, which attempted to cast the entire blame for the threatening imperialist war on to the fascist States, in order to veil their own criminal war manoeuvres.** The Congress clearly and plainly opposed any attempt of the bourgeoisie of the so-called "democratic" States and of the whole of the Second International to perpetuate the Treaty of Versailles, as well as any attempt on the part of the Hitler bandits to provoke a fascist revision of the Versailles Treaty, which would be possible only through an imperialist war and would cause fresh enormous misery to the masses. **The proletarian revolution on both sides of the Rhine and the Vistula is the only guarantee for the solution of the nationality problem in Europe, which has been placed in fetters by capitalism.**

The Congress clearly recognised that the Soviet Union was, is, and remains the strongest citadel of peace. Comrade Cachin in his speech indicated the way in which we must fight against war, how we should protect the Soviet Union and fight against the warmongers in Berlin, Rome, London, Paris, the League of Nations and the Second International.

The Congress warmly greeted the representative of the Amsterdam anti-war movement, Comrade Barbusse, and thereby expressed the fighting alliance between the anti-fascist front and all proletarian organisations fighting against war.

Against the Splitters of the United Front.

The process of disintegration in the Second International and in the Amsterdam International is opening the eyes of hundreds of thousands, and in fact millions of proletarians. They want to put an end to the policy of tolerating capitalist government, and of class reconciliation. In these circumstances, some significant groups, without any prospect of big success such as was still possible in 1918, are trying to create a sort of intermediate organisation, somewhat on the lines of the old 2½ International, in order to disrupt the revolutionary united front of the revolutionary proletariat. At the same time they are beginning to organise attacks on the Communist Parties, especially on the Communist Party of Germany. Such tendencies did not meet with any support on the part of the social-democratic workers at the Congress, with the exception of two Trotzkyists. The leader of the Tranmael party in Norway, Angelica Balabanoff, the Independents in Holland, the "Bund" in Poland and some "Right" elements in the I.L.P. of England, who have partly found their way back to the Labour Party, are promulgating the idea of a new International. The Congress was compelled to state its attitude towards this noble company in order to warn the proletariat against the dangerous splitters and calumniators who want to check the revolutionisation process of the workers.

These dangerous, anti-proletarian splitting tendencies were exposed in a number of speeches at the Congress.

A few remarks on the question of Trotzkyism. There were a few people who, on the orders of Mr. Trotzky, took on the task of provoking "incidents" at the Congress. The 3,000 delegates, however, thwarted this little game. On the initiative of the Presidium, and in spite of the fact that hundreds of names were on the list of those who wished to speak, one of the two Trotzkyists present was given the opportunity of defending Mr. Trotzky's ideas before a proletarian public. It is not often that one has to listen to anything so ridiculous. But the delegates soon had enough of listening to such a speech, and demanded of the Presidium that a vote should be immediately taken on the motion that the Trotzkyists should not be heard any further. Intimidated by the powerful united front movement, the two supporters of Trotzky, on the final vote on the resolutions of the Congress, contrary to the express instructions of the Trotzkyist counter-revolutionary centre, which by a fortunate chance came into our hands, did not venture to vote against the resolutions.

The Congress is Over—The Fight Goes On!

That was the leit-motif of the closing session of the Congress. The first response to the Congress is already to be seen not merely in the form of resolutions and speeches, **but in the refusal of French and Rumanian dock workers to unload German ships flying the swastika flag; in their fraternisation with the German sailors; in the demonstrations of the unemployed in Dusseldorf and Hamburg; in the big collections of money for the anti-fascist front; in the publication of anti-fascist literature in all countries; in the preparations for a storm of protest against the intended judicial murder of Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev, and Popoff, against the sen-**

tence of death threatening the workers of Altona and Chemnitz; in the actual carrying out of the adopted decisions.

The anti-fascists of Europe achieved great things before and during the Congress. They have welded together five million proletarians in the Anti-Fascist Workers' Union of Europe, the central committee of which will lead the fight against fascism, against the wage-cutting offensive, war danger and nationalist incitement. But the social democratic parties are not dead yet. The social democracy of Germany is attempting by various manoeuvres to present itself as a martyr in order to retain its influence over millions of workers. **Five million anti-fascists, welded together in the fight, means only an advance guard of dozens of millions who are still to be won. If we rouse them to activity, draw them into the united front, wrest them from the social democratic leaders, not merely by agitation and propaganda, but by securing their participation in the daily fights against wage cuts, against the burden of taxes, against cultural reaction, against the robbery of the political rights of the masses, against fascism and against terror, then we shall lead the proletariat, and with it the exploited middle classes, via political strikes to the general strike and armed revolt.**

In these great class battles which we are approaching, a particularly great and responsible role is played by the working youth. The anti-fascist Youth Conference was only a prelude to the solution of the big problems confronting the young anti-fascists in the fight against fascism, militarisation, compulsory labour, deprivation of rights, and unemployment.

The same thing applies also to anti-fascist work among the women. The women delegates from Germany reported to the Congress on the heroic fights waged by the German working women against fascism; how they are often ahead of the men in self-sacrificing courage, initiative, in developing the anti-fascist fight. **Work among the women is the affair of all anti-fascists in Europe.**

The delegates who are returning to their respective countries must mercilessly and ruthlessly examine the shortcomings and weaknesses which have been revealed in their countries in the anti-fascist fight and in the fight against the capitalist offensive. In exercising the sharpest self-criticism the anti-fascists will settle accounts with all croakers, defeatists and weaklings, who are the most dangerous enemies of the anti-fascist front.

Big class battles are approaching. We must equip all the anti-fascists of Europe for the fight. **We must carry out the decisions of the Congress. This is a sublime task for all the anti-fascists of Europe. The Congress was only a stage in this fight. The greatest battles are still to be fought. We have brought together five million anti-fascists of Europe. This five million must become fifty million! To work, anti-fascists! Prove by deeds that the anti-fascist front has gone over to the attack!**

Declaration Made by the German, French and Polish Delegations at the European Anti-Fascist Congress

The French, German and Polish delegates present at the Paris Anti-Fascist Congress declare:—

The fight against fascism is an international class struggle. To this struggle Karl Liebknecht's words can be applied: "The chief enemy is our own country."

While fascist terror is openly raging against the workers in Germany and Poland, the French bourgeoisie is disguising its policy of oppression with the aid of democratic phraseology and so-called democratic manoeuvres. But each day this policy tends nearer to fascism.

In the interest of their imperialist purposes, and in order to reinforce the shameful Versailles system of oppression, the French bourgeoisie is organising jingo propaganda, and would have it believed that in Germany alone bloody terror is raging against the working class and that there alone fascist barbarity is reigning supreme.

Yet the French bourgeoisie is using the same methods of terror in its own colonies; and is giving direct support to the regime of fascist torturers in Poland, in Hungary and in the Balkans. It is because of the Versailles system that the toiling masses of Germany are doubly exploited, and that same system gave birth to the great wave of chauvinism which brought Hitler to power.

International capitalism and especially French capitalism supported the German bourgeoisie against the German working

class during the great revolutionary struggles and paved the way for the fascist regime in Germany.

That is why we appeal to all to fight against the hypocrite anti-fascist manoeuvres of the French imperialists and their satellites. Just as French imperialism pretends to be the democratic adversary of fascism, so German fascism acts the part of national champion of the oppressed German minorities.

But the bloody fascism oppressing Germany like a foreign occupation has neither the will nor the power to play that part. A fascist revision of the Versailles system could only be brought about by imperialist war and would only lead to a new national oppression.

The international proletariat will fight with as much energy against all imperialist wars, whether they are for the defence or for the revision of the Versailles system.

The revolutionary proletariat knows that all imperialist conferences and treaties, and that all pacts and oaths of peace can only serve to prepare imperialist war, and in particular intervention against the Soviets.

Only the armed working class, only a workers' government, only socialism can be the safeguard of peace.

Forward for the common struggle, for victory and the international proletarian revolution and for world socialism!

The Balkans

The Attempt on the life of Venizelos

The Greek parliament had scarcely adjourned after uninterrupted stormy sessions, when the political fight between the two big bourgeois blocs was continued with the same fury in the press. The extra-parliamentary fight was waged over the composition of the committee, consisting of deputies and senators, which has to determine the extent of the legislative powers already conferred by parliament on the Tsaldaris government. As the majority of the committee consists of members of the opposition, because the government has only a bare majority in the Chamber, while in the Senate there still exist the old Venizelos majority, Tsaldaris added a few new members to this committee, so that there now exists equality between the government and opposition forces, and the decision lies in the hands of a few "independent" senators.

But a new event, the attempt on the life of the leader of the Liberal Party and of the whole of the bourgeois opposition bloc, M. Venizelos, added fresh fuel to the flames. A wild night chase with furiously driven motor cars, use of army machine-guns, rifles and pistols! A mathematically calculated action. The man responsible for this attempt at assassination is no other than *Polychronopoulos*, chief of the "General Security," the notorious Greek Siguranza, which only a few weeks ago was separated from the Ministry of the Interior and was in direct contact with the Prime Minister. His confederates were two high police officers, who have since been arrested, and an amnesiated "king of the mountains," the robber *Karathanassis*. The assassination is said to have been prepared in the offices of the Siguranza. As the preliminary investigation was in the hands of the same culprits, until they were arrested, and is now being hindered by their confederates, it has not yet been ascertained who were the other instigators, who, according to the statements of the opposition press and also of part of the government press, "occupy very high positions." It appears certain, however, that the recently founded royalist organisation and the ex-prince *Nikolas* had a hand in the plot. It is only a few days ago that *Rallis*, the Minister of the Interior, during a memorial celebration, raised cheers for ex-king George II.

The political aspects of the attempted assassination appear to be considerable, especially when one takes into account the tremendous political tension existing in the last few months and weeks and the fact that the forces of the two bourgeois blocs are about equal. Tsaldaris had to abandon his journey to London, and the municipal elections, as well as the parliamentary elections for the district of Salonica, were postponed. The Venizelos opposition is making political capital out of the attempted assassination, especially as regards winning back its former positions in the army and regaining its influence among the refugees. Black clouds are gathering on the already very dark political horizon of capitalist Greece.

The World Economic Crisis

The Capitalist and the Socialist World at the World Economic Conference

According to official figures, the index of the quantity of industrial articles (calculated on the basis of 100 to represent the 1928 level) was as follows:

Country	Year 1932
Soviet Union	218.5
Capitalist world as a whole	67
United States of America	57
Great Britain	89
Germany	57
France	74

That is the result of four years' development as described in the report of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, published in the English language for the World Economic Conference. In the dry language of figures it is shown that the capitalist world is approaching its end, whilst the young socialist world, which was born only fifteen years ago, is entering the period in which it will beat capitalism in the international competition between the capitalist and the socialist system unless capitalism prefers to resort to war, which, however, will in no way save it from decline. Some wise-heads are attempting to belittle the importance of these figures by pointing out that the figures of the crisis cannot be compared with the figures of advance in the Soviet Union. The British bourgeois economists are seeking to depreciate the importance of the achievements of the Five-Year Plan by pointing out that the Soviet Union is passing through the period of the building up of its industry, an industry which it did not formerly possess.

Both arguments are really ingenious. That is just the point. Capitalism is no longer capable of experiencing a period of fresh, great and general construction, that it is experiencing all the plagues of the crisis. The falseness of the arguments which the apologists of capitalism bring forward lies in the fact that capitalism is unable to undertake any new big construction work, not because there is nothing more to build, but because it is unable to do this on a general scale. It suffices to take up any book dealing with the life of the working and peasant masses in the capitalist world to convince oneself that, in order to satisfy the requirements of these masses, to stay their hunger, to meet their barest requirements in the way of housing, to provide them with the most necessary articles of clothing, huge investments, the work of many years, the productive activity of millions of people would be required. Capitalism has at its disposal the material forces which are necessary for this. The technical sciences have provided capitalism with the means of carrying out tremendous new works of which humanity did not even dream twenty years ago.

Wherein lie the faults in the "distribution" of the productive forces of capitalism of which the bourgeois economists speak? What "formula" is lacking?

An exact answer to these questions is provided by the teachings of Marx and Lenin, which point to the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production in the capitalist world; to the contradiction between the social character of work and the private character of its appropriation. For the capitalist world this "formula" of Marxism-Leninism is a dead letter, a book with seven seals. But nothing better serves to illustrate the Marxist-Leninist analysis than the characterisation that such an authoritative representative of the American bourgeoisie as President Roosevelt gave of the period of American prosperity, and the results of the Five-Year Plan summed up by Stalin in his speech at the January Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. and which are now concretised in the book published by the State Planning Commission, entitled: "Results of the Carrying Out of the First Five-Year Plan for Developing the National Economy of the Soviet Union."

In his election speech, Roosevelt said:*

"The profits of the trusts in this period were enormous.

*The quotations from President Roosevelt's speech are retranslated from the German.

But only a small part of them were employed in order to reduce prices. **They had forgotten the consumers.** A very small part of these profits have been employed in increasing wages. **They had forgotten the worker.** The State had received very little in the form of taxes. What is the result of all this? Enormous profits, greater than ever known in history, were piled up. They were employed for two purposes: firstly, new factories, which nobody needed, were erected, which are now standing idle; secondly, the money was immediately invested by the trusts or indirectly by the banks in speculation. Then there came the crash. The profits invested in unnecessary factories ceased to bring in any return. Men were thrown out of work, purchasing power declined, the banks froze. Those who have money are afraid to invest it. Credit has shrunk, industry is at a standstill, trade has declined, unemployment has increased."

Regarding the question: What are the causes of this state of affairs, the President of the United States says:

"A little while ago the concentration of undertakings in the United States was subjected to a detailed examination. The investigation has shown that our economic life is in the hands of about 600 corporations, which control two-thirds of American industry. Ten millions of small undertakings control only one-third of American industry."

What conclusions does the President of the United States draw from this situation? He says:

"The control and management of (economic life) which in the last few years have got into the hands of groups which have special interests, interests which do not coincide with the interests of the nation, constitute a danger. In my opinion the course of our history in recent times has proved that although we must make use of the knowledge of these people and their special capacities, we must not allow our economic life to be controlled by a small group of people whose views on public interests are determined by the fact that they can make great profits by lending money and trading in securities." (From Roosevelt's book: "Looking Forward," N.J., 1933.)

For the time being, however, two-thirds of American industry are controlled by people whose world outlook is described by the President of the United States as "egoistic" and "opportunistic"; and the President of the United States only promises to fight against this "deviation" of the American bourgeoisie. In the same period the proletariat in Russia, together with the working peasantry, destroyed the power of the Tsar and the bourgeoisie, set up the Soviet Power, defended it in the fight against counter-revolution and intervention, and took the land and the factories from the groups whose interests, as the American President says, do not coincide with the interests of the nation as a whole and who, as the President says, had "egoistic" and "opportunist" world views. The proletariat of the Soviet Union has been able to proceed to build up socialist economy according to plan, for it has become the master of all the productive forces of the country. The results which the proletariat of the Soviet Union is able to show in this direction have been stated by Comrade Stalin in his speech on the results of the First Five-Year Plan, and are contained in the report of the Gosplan. Comrade Stalin said in his speech:

"What was the basic task of the Five-Year Plan?"

"It was the basic task of the Five-Year Plan to switch our country, with its backward and, at times, medieval technique, to the track of new modern technique.

"It was the basic task of the Five-Year Plan to transform the U.S.S.R. from an agrarian and weak country, subservient to the caprices of capitalist countries, into a powerful industrial land, fully independent of and not subservient to the caprices of world capitalism.

It was the basic task of the Five-Year Plan entirely to squeeze out the capitalist elements by converting the U.S.S.R. into an industrial country, to widen the front of socialist forms

of economy and to create an economic base for the elimination of classes in the U.S.S.R., for the building up of socialist society.

"It was the basic task of the Five-Year Plan to establish in our country an industry, which would be in a position to re-equip and reorganise industry as a whole, but also transport and agriculture on socialist foundations.

"It was the basic task of the Five-Year Plan to turn the small and dwarfish farms into large collective farms, to secure thereby an economic basis for socialism in the countryside and thus render the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. impossible.

"Finally, it was the task of the Five-Year Plan to create in the country all the technical and economic requisites necessary for raising the defensive power of the country to a maximum, such as would enable it determinedly to repel all and sundry attempts at military intervention or attack from without."

Has the Soviet Union fulfilled these tasks? Yes, it has fulfilled them. The best proof of this is the place the Soviet Union has taken in world economy after the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan. The following table of the Gosplan shows the achievements of Soviet economy and the place occupied by it in world production:

Branch of Production	1913	1928	1932	
			In the whole world	In Europe
Electric power	15	10	6	4
Hard coal industry	6	6	4	3
Pig iron	5	6	2	1
General machine construction	4	4	2	1
Oil industry	2	3	2	1
Agricultural machine construction	—	4	1	1
Tractors	—	4	1	1
Turf industry	—	—	1	1
Automobiles	—	12	6	4
Whole of industrial production	—	5	2	1

Who can dispute these figures? The bourgeois world does not even attempt to dispute them. It clings to the fact that the Soviet Union still has great difficulties; that it has not yet completely mastered the new technique; that in agriculture the collective farms have still to fight against inertia, organisational shortcomings; that the Soviet Union has to contend with difficulties in regard to food.

In hard struggle, in the hard school of life, relying solely on its own resources, the proletariat of the Soviet Union is building up its new socialist economy. Difficulties exist in order to be overcome. The words of Stalin, that there is no stronghold which is impregnable for the Bolsheviks, are being confirmed every day. In the past year the Stalingrad Giant, the tractor works, fought against enormous difficulties, and the whole country followed the diagram of this fight like the temperature chart of a beloved sick child. To-day the Stalingrad works are working smoothly. This will be the case with all the other works and factories.

"The results of the Five-Year Plan have smashed the well-known bourgeois 'dogma' to the effect that the working class is incapable of building anew, that it is capable only of destroying the old. The results of the Five-Year Plan have shown that the working class is as capable of building the new as it is of destroying the old."

These words of Stalin are being confirmed every day by life. Who can refute the argument that Stalin brought forward in his speech at the first Conference of the Collective Farm Shock-Brigaders, that the Soviet Union possesses all that is necessary for the victory of the collective farms: the land, the machines, the help of the State in men and finances. Hence, the hopes of the bourgeoisie that the peasantry of the Soviet Union will not secure the victory of the collective farms are doomed to disappointment.

The world is finally split into two parts: The capitalist and socialist world. The capitalist world is passing through a crisis whose curves can rise and sink, but the crisis itself is incurable. It is the crisis of senility. The World Economic conference will not cure capitalism; it will not indicate a way out. The London "Financial News" writes that profound pessimism prevails in the City in regard to the prospects of the Economic Conference; in banking circles the opinion is that chances of success are one in a hundred.

It is not our business to dispute this.

The socialist world is invincible. It can and will beat the capitalist world in the international competition. It will also inevitably defeat it on the battlefield should it be necessary to defend its life with weapons in hand. The capitalist world has done everything in order to kill the socialist world. But it has not succeeded.

If needs be, the Soviet Union can manage without the capitalist world. If the capitalist world realises this it will, at the Economic Conference, ponder the question whether it would not be more advantageous to recognise the uninterrupted growth of the socialist system on the sixth of the globe as indisputable; whether it would not be more advantageous to reap a certain advantage from normal trading relations with the Soviet Union.

Speech of Comrade Litvinov at the World Economic Conference

London, June 15, 1933.

This is the third time in the last six years that the Soviet government has responded to an invitation to take part in an international conference dealing with economic problems.

Although it derives from its world outlook a special conception of the laws of economic development under the capitalist system and the causes underlying the acute periodical crises inherent in this system—thanks to the specific nature of the economic system in my country—the world crisis has been unable to affect the steady development of its economic life.

Such symptoms as over-production, accumulation of stocks and goods for which no market can be found, unemployment, increase in foreign indebtedness, bankruptcy and wage cuts are conspicuous by their absence.

And yet the crisis is not without its unfavourable effect on the development of our foreign trade.

Although perfectly able, thanks to the success of the first Five-Year Plan, to develop its own economic life, independently of its imports and of foreign markets, my government has no desire to shut itself off from the rest of the world by economic barriers, or to withdraw into its own economic shell. In spite of the ever-increasing productivity of its own industries, it is not addicted to "autarchy," and has no objection to advantageous imports of foreign goods.

Our President in his opening speech has drawn a gloomy picture of the economic situation. He mentioned 30 millions as the extent of unemployment.

If he adds to this figure part-time employment, and the dependants of the unemployed, it will hardly be an exaggeration to say that at least 60 million persons are eking out a semi-starved existence in countries embraced by the economic crisis.

At the same time there has been a catastrophic drop in the earnings of those who are still in employment, and a corresponding drop in purchasing power of consumption, leading in its turn to an accumulation of stocks, in spite of the decline in production, and an unprecedented shrinkage in foreign trade returns.

I have already remarked that crisis phenomena are lacking in the Soviet Union which, with the crisis growing steadily in other countries, has successfully developed its own economy and industry at rates never before seen.

While in the rest of the world industrial output in 1932 fell by 33 per cent., as compared with 1928, it rose to 219 per cent. in the Soviet Union for the same period.

While in most countries the numbers of those employed have gone down catastrophically, in the U.S.S.R. the number of employed persons went up during the last four years from 11,600,000 to 22,800,000.

Had I time to quote figures for the separate countries, I should have no difficulty in showing that the world crisis is the sum total of the economic crisis in various countries, and is the result of the decline in the economic life in these countries and that, reacting on each other, each State has contributed to the phenomenon which we call world crisis.

The only exception is the Soviet State, in which, throughout the crisis years, not only has there been no manifestation which might be regarded as symptoms of a decline in economic life, but, on the contrary, the economic life has shown intensive development.

It cannot, therefore, in any way have contributed to the

world crisis or be held responsible for the shrinkage of international trade.

On the contrary, while the imports of other countries ever since the beginning of the crisis have been showing a steady tendency to decline, and by 1931 showed a reduction of over 40 per cent., imports to the Soviet Union, during the first years of the crisis, continued to show a steady increase, reaching in 1931 the highest point (about 560,000,000 gold dollars).

It was only the measures adopted in various countries undergoing the crisis, causing a reduction in Soviet exports, that in 1932 forced the Soviet government to revise its imports plan. Even so, there was in 1932 only a 20.2 per cent. reduction as compared with 1929, while the corresponding reduction in world trade amounted to 58.8 per cent.

It can therefore be safely said that the Soviet Union, while having had no part in the crisis, or the conditions bringing about world crisis, has itself been to a certain extent affected by this crisis in respect of its foreign trade.

This Conference has set itself the task of finding measures of putting an end to, or at least mitigating, the crisis. As far as may be judged from the agenda, drawn up by the experts for the Conference, attention is to be concentrated upon the questions regarding limitation of output, tariffs, methods of credit policy, and of raising prices.

Without wishing to go into a theoretical discussion on these points, the Soviet delegation ventures to express the doubts of the adequacy of such methods of fighting the crisis.

In the opinion of the Soviet delegation it would be better to concentrate upon the potential absorption of the stocks which are exercising pressure upon the markets, and upon attempts to enable the industries making the means of production to increase the use of their capacity.

I think the work of the Conference might be more effective if it could hear from the lips of the various delegates of the possibilities in this respect which are open to their countries. What are the prospects of a revival of economic life and extension of imports into those countries and to take corresponding action.

Following up these suggestions, the Soviet delegation is ready to give a reply to these questions as far as the State it represents is concerned.

The Soviet government as a rule draws up its import plan in strict accordance with its export possibilities and credit facilities, but the Soviet delegation could conceive of conditions such as lengthened credits, normal conditions for Soviet exports, and other favourable factors which might induce its government to extend this plan to a degree which would have no small influence in the alleviation of the crisis.

According to the calculations of the Soviet delegation, the Soviet government, given such conditions, might agree to place orders abroad in the near future to the sum of 1,000,000,000 dollars.

To be still more definite, the Soviet Union could in the near future absorb:

- 200,000,000 dollars worth of ferrous metals.
- 100,000,000 dollars worth of raw materials for the textile, leather and rubber industries.
- 400,000,000 dollars worth of machinery, including railway equipment to the value of 100,000,000 dollars.
- 35,000,000 dollars worth of agricultural goods, including live stock.
- 50,000,000 dollars worth of consumers' goods, such as tea, cocoa, coffee, herrings.
- 50,000,000 dollars worth of new ships, chiefly for industrial purposes, such as fishing, seal-hunting, dredging, and so on.

The significance of these figures will be more effective if it is realised that they amount to from 25 per cent. to 66 per cent. of existing world stocks in respect of such metals, as aluminium, nickel, copper, and lead; to 100 per cent. in the case of some of the consumers' goods mentioned; and to one-third of the annual world export of machinery, and 100 per cent. of last year's total shipbuilding output.

It only remains for me to add that the vast majority of countries here represented might be supposed to be interested in the exports of the commodities I have enumerated.

It should be clearly understood that the figures I have quoted

would be in excess to any plan already drawn up by the Soviet government, and do not apply to goods urgently required by it, and to be ordered under present conditions.

We merely wish to set this Conference along the path which in our opinion, is most likely to lead to effective results in the sense of alleviating the crisis and to show an example to other delegations.

By making such suggestions, we are far from inviting the Conference to lose sight of other aspects of the situation, such as artificial obstacles and barriers in the way of international relations.

We should be the last to deny that the application by States of methods of economic warfare in their economic relations is making worse an international economic situation which is bad enough as it is.

Herein must be included all methods of discrimination by tariffs, wages, covert or overt currency wars, the discriminatory prohibition of imports or exports, and all forms of official boycott.

I have already had occasion, as a delegate to the Commission of Inquiry for the European Union to recommend economic disarmament, and to propose the conclusion of a pact of economic non-aggression.

Unfortunately, this proposal was itself the victim of aggression, was taken prisoner and thrown into a dungeon—one of the League of Nations Commissions.

I would venture to remind the Conference of this proposal which, in my opinion, is now still more appropriate and necessary than when it was first advanced by me, seeing that measures of economic aggression have not only not been diminished since then, but have developed still more and more, and are assuming new forms every day.

I think, gentlemen, I have said enough for you to understand that the Soviet delegation, which is against all forms of economic aggression, cannot object to the proposal for an economic truce.

Although under the system of State monopoly of foreign trade existing in my country customs duties do not play so important a part as in other countries (since no amount of customs duties can have a direct influence on the total sum of Soviet imports) other countries can by no means be indifferent to the customs duties established for them in the Soviet Union.

Supposing, for instance, I take a Co-operative economic organisation with fixed limits established for capital investments, but with free play within these limits. When they order equipment and goods from abroad, they are bound to have an interest in seeing that the order should absorb the least possible proportion of their capital investments or circulating capital.

Having the choice of several countries, other things being equal, they naturally give preference to the country that is granted, in virtue of trade agreements, the lowest custom duties in the U.S.S.R. Thus the consent of the Soviet government to an economic truce is of no small importance in other countries.

The Soviet delegation also considers that an economic truce might be really effective and do something to clear the economic atmosphere, only if States refrain from applying existing economic warfare as well as from the introduction of new ones.

By speaking of a truce we acknowledge the existence of a state of war.

An armistice means the cessation of all fighting, and not merely abstention from beginning fresh battles.

The same should be true of economic warfare and the truce ought to mean the cessation of all hostilities.

The Soviet delegation, therefore, while supporting the resolution for an economic truce, would propose that it be supplemented by an undertaking for the simultaneous suspension in all countries of all legislative or administrative measures of economic warfare and will propose a resolution to that effect.

The Soviet delegation would like to hope that the Conference will not confine itself to the adoption of such temporary measures, but will go on to convert the truce into a prolonged peace.

One way of doing this might be to release from its dungeon the Soviet proposal for economic non-aggression, which, in the face of ever-increasing economic war during the last two years, might now be developed and extended.

I am sure, gentlemen, that you all realise that economic

peace is only possible against a background of peace in all phases of international life.

However excellent may be the resolutions passed by the Economic Conference, they will have no influence whatsoever in alleviating the economic crisis, so long as we continue to be in the present state of general political uneasiness and perturbation, with the uncertainty as to what the morrow will bring forth and the fear of the outbreak at any moment of that most terrible manifestation of economic conflicts—war.

This sentiment of general anxiety has not only not been allayed of late, but, if anything, has increased, in spite of international consultations and the conclusion of pacts.

Indeed, we are now cognisant of international consultations and pacts which have actually added to political mistrust:

Nothing but radical measures in the sphere of disarmament and the strengthening of security guaranteed by the signing of bilateral and general pacts of non-aggression could to some extent calm those fears and create the proper atmosphere for peaceful economic relations.

One factor, and that no inconsiderable one, in the creation of political uncertainty, is the attitude of the capitalist world to the State of 170,000,000 inhabitants, which has adopted a Soviet system, and is endeavouring to bring about Socialism; that is to say, the results of a theory which would make all international wars and economic crisis an impossibility.

Although the International Economic Conference of 1927 adopted a resolution admitting the principle of the peaceful co-existence, at the present historical stage, of two systems, the capitalist and the Socialist, this principle has up to the present not been put into practice by all States.

Even in the sphere of economics special barriers have still to be preserved, hampering the further development of economic co-operation between certain countries and the country of the Soviets.

Some countries in which these barriers have been removed are from time to time pushing them up again.

The Soviet government for its part has always adhered strictly and consistently to the principle of peaceful co-existence and abstained from all possible measures of aggression in all spheres of international life, in which, of course, counter-reprisals cannot be included.

The Soviet delegation have acted in the spirit of the peaceful policy of their government and the peoples represented by them at all international conferences in which they have taken part.

The Soviet government attends this Conference in the same spirit.

The "Pravda" on the World Economic Conference

Moscow, June 16.

"Pravda" writes on the deliberations of the World Economic Conference as follows:

The first result of the four days' deliberations by the conference is a foul compromise between the British bourgeoisie and American capital on the question of war debts.

The Soviet delegation occupies a particular position. It does not consider this conference a solution of the crisis. The crises which is raging in the capitalist world stops at the frontiers of the Soviet Union. Litvinov's speech was the only one which was not filled with complaints about the serious situation and the breakdown of economics. It voiced the deep confidence in the big future of the socialist country. Litvinov declared that the world crisis has not been able to influence the steady increase of economic life in the socialist country, because the socialist system does not admit any symptoms of the crisis. The capitalists dare not deny this fact, which is a striking illustration of the advantages of the economic system of the Soviets over the capitalist system. The Soviet Union is the only country which is consistently fighting all forms of economic aggression. Litvinov stressed the fact that the Soviet Union, in spite of the extraordinary increase of its own production, does not aim at "autarchy" and does not renounce foreign imports. The capitalists, who are introducing all forms of economic aggression against each other and against the Soviet Union, cannot deny this. The Soviet Union not only suggested an economic pact of non-aggression and the removal of all discriminating trade bar-

riers, but it also submitted a concrete proposal to extend the trade relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries. What capitalist country in the world is to-day in a position to place such magnificent orders of one thousand million dollars, which Litvinov declared to be the next import possibility of the Soviet Union? Only the Soviet Union, which has developed its productive resources enormously, can absorb these gigantic masses of goods, in excess of the plans drawn up by its government. Now the capitalists can convince themselves again that neither a financial boycott, nor an economic blockade, or the numerous plots of the kings of finance and oil can stop the magnificent growth of the forces of production in the Soviet Union.

In the country of the Soviets a gigantic socialist industry has grown up, whereas in the capitalist countries cemeteries for men and machines are growing, there are enormous stocks without markets and about 60 million people are doomed to starvation.

The chairman of the Soviet delegation submitted a concrete proposal to the conference. The die-hard press recognises the great impression made by the Soviet proposals on the delegates and tries to maintain a conspiracy of silence regarding Litvinov's speech. These are ridiculous endeavours. The representatives of the capitalist world will have to give a clear answer to Litvinov's unequivocal question: For or against economic war! The cruel economic war which is now being waged by the capitalists is only the prelude to another imperialist war. The die-hard prohibition of Soviet imports means a further step in the organisation of intervention. The representatives of the imperialist countries assembled at the World Conference—among them the die-hards—will have to give an answer to the proposals of the Soviet delegation before the whole world.

The War in the Far East

A Balance of the Events in China and the Future Prospects

By L. Magyar.

The so-called armistice which has been concluded between Japan and the Nanking government now that Japanese troops have practically occupied Peking, represents in a certain sense a turning point in the development of events in China. The predatory war which Japan has been conducting for 21 months now has by no means found its conclusion with the signing of this armistice.

As a result of this imperialist war Japan has torn a large area inhabited by from 45 to 50 millions of people out of the living body of China. Manchuria and Yehol are already completely in Japan's power. Japanese troops have already invaded Dolonnor and are pressing forward towards Kalgan. With this the relation of forces between the imperialist powers in China, the biggest semi-colonial country in the world, has fundamentally altered. Japan has seized one of the richest areas in China.

As has already been said, the conclusion of the armistice does not mean that the military operations have come to an end in China. The armistice, assuming that it is respected, refers to North China only. Yehol has been completely annexed and a part of Tsachar is already under Japanese domination whilst the Japanese advance on Kalgan is being continued. There is further no doubt that the Japanese troops will advance towards Suuyan. The Japanese War Minister Araki makes no secret of the fact that the subjugation of the Mongolian People's Republic is a part of the programme of Japanese imperialism.

Japanese imperialism aims at setting up a chain of puppet rulers in North China from Tientsin over Peking to Tauuyan, marionette governments of generals and politicians, including Kuomintang generals and politicians, who will be just as much in the hands of the Japanese imperialists as is the Pui government in Manchukuo. It is obvious that the immediate future will see the formation of a series of such governments in various provinces and political centres of North China. In this way Japanese imperialism intends to extend its domination of North China down to the Yangtze Valley through these creations.

The province of *Shantung* is a problem of its own. At the

moment its ruler is General Han Fu-tsu, an agent of Japanese imperialism which has considerable economic interests in the province, including mining, textile and silk interests which are controlled by Japanese capital. A section of the railways is in Japanese hands and Japan is greatly interested in the export trade of the province. Further, Shantung is of the greatest strategical importance for military operations. On three occasions Japanese imperialism has tried to occupy the province by armed force. All three of these attempts failed, but there is no doubt that Japan will exploit the present favourable situation in order to fulfil its old dream of annexing Shantung.

The process of the partitioning of China does not end here, however. *British imperialism also wants a share of the spoils.* In South China, in Canton, the so-called South-Eastern Political Council was formed long ago. This council has attempted to unite under its control a number of southern provinces, and in particular Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Fukien. An attempt has also been made to extend its influence to Huntcho and Yunan.

Following on the signing of the armistice in North China the South-Eastern Political Council attacked Nanking sharply and sent troops into the province of Honan under the pretext of fighting against Japanese imperialism. It is clear that if the South-Eastern Political Council seriously intended to proceed against Japanese imperialism it would have to send its troops by sea, for a transport across the areas involved territorially would take too long. It is therefore equally clear that these troops have not been sent against Japan, but against Nanking. The despatch of these troops means the beginning of a new General's war in China. The defection of Kwangtung, Fukien and Kwangsi from Nanking means that with the assistance of the South-Eastern Political Council British imperialism is attempting to obtain these three provinces, and that the war of the south-eastern bloc against Nanking is in fact an attempt to detach if possible the province of Honan and a part of the province of Shansi from Nanking. At the same time British imperialism has gained control of Tibet and is preparing to annex the province of Szechuang.

Under the direct leadership of British imperialism a so-called Mohammedan revolt is now taking place in the province of Sintzian with the aim of overthrowing the Chinese power and establishing an independent Mohammedan State. This Mohammedan State is to serve British imperialism with a new military basis for an attack on the Soviet Union. The annexation of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism and the domination of the province of Sintzian by British imperialism is intended to thrust a wedge, a sort of barbed wire entanglement between the Soviet Union and revolutionary China and at the same time to create a military basis for armed intervention on the eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union.

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These events draw a line in a certain sense under the six years of Kuomintang dominance in China. It transpires that the bourgeois landowner counter-revolution in China is not able to maintain even its own class dominance or even to maintain the territorial integrity of China. On the contrary, it was the Kuomintang politicians who paved the way for the imperialist annexations. It was the policy of the bourgeois landowning counter-revolutionaries incorporated in the Kuomintang which caused the present partitioning of China. Chang Hsui-liang laid down arms in face of the invading Japanese troops in Manchuria and instructed his troops to offer no resistance. Despite the treachery and the capitulation of the Kuomintang a guerilla war against the Japanese invaders developed in Manchuria. However, the leadership of this guerilla warfare fell into the hands of Chinese generals like Ma Chang-shen, Sun Pin-wei, Wang Ten-lin, etc. It was this bourgeois-landowning leadership of the guerilla war which determined its defeat. Instead of stirring up the masses of the people, organising a real mass insurrection, arming the people and drawing the workers and peasants into the struggle, the Chinese generals disarmed the workers and peasants and even shot down insurrectionary peasants. Even the most "left-wing" of these generals, Wang Ten-lin, began to proceed against the Communists in his army and to shoot down the peasants when they demanded the reduction of lease rents to no more than 20 per cent. of the harvest.

The workers and peasants have now taken the leadership of the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism in Manchuria into their own hands. The heroic defence of Shanghai by Chinese

soldiers and workers, together with the impoverished urban population, was broken down by Chiang Kai-shek himself, who opened the front to the advancing Japanese troops. The defence of Yehol and Peking was broken down by the Kuomintang generals, including Chiang Kai-shek himself, who deployed his troops so cleverly that they could take no part whatever in the fighting against the Japanese. The Kuomintang paved the way for the imperialist annexations and for the partition of China.

However, the Japanese military operations in China have a further significance. So long as the Japanese troops were operating in Manchuria, Yehol and Tsachar they received the complete support of British imperialism. The protests of the United States were made on paper only. French imperialism also supported the Japanese. As, however, the Japanese troops wanted to take Shanghai, Japanese imperialism met with energetic opposition both from British and United States imperialism which finally compelled the Japanese to evacuate Shanghai.

There is no doubt that British imperialism has done everything possible in order to compel Japan to refrain from extending its military occupation to the districts inside the Great Chinese Wall. It can be clearly seen that British imperialism has steadily opposed Japanese annexations in China proper whilst as steadily encouraging Japanese annexations in North and North-Western China. This, however, means that British imperialism is egging on Japan to armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

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The partitioning of China which has now begun also draws a line under the *home policy of the Kuomintang.* One of the results of Kuomintang policy is that it has handed over an area containing from 45 to 50 millions of people in North China to Japan, and three provinces in South-East China and Sinziang to British imperialism. At the same time the Kuomintang was unable to hold itself against the rising wave of anti-imperialist agrarian revolts in China. The bourgeois-landowning counter-revolution was unable to prevent the victory of the Soviet revolution in China.

The Kuomintang carried out five counter-revolutionary military crusades against the soviet areas, but the red workers' and peasants' armies defeated the troops of the Kuomintang. The *soviet districts of China* extend over a tremendous area with a population of many millions. Towards the imperialists the Kuomintang proved itself bankrupt, but at the same time it suffered a tremendous defeat in the struggle against the Soviet revolution.

The Kuomintang came forward with the slogan of the unification of China under the party dictatorship of the Kuomintang. This attempt ended in complete bankruptcy.

At the moment in China we are at the beginning of a new period of *generals' wars.* These wars have in fact already begun both in North and South China.

In the North *Feng Yu-hsiang* has already taken the field against Nanking. He has ordered a mobilisation and declared war under the slogan of the salvation of the fatherland. He is attacking Nanking allegedly because the latter has capitulated to Japanese imperialism. In reality the aim of his war against Nanking is to win for himself a new cosy corner now that the Japanese advance on Kalgan has forced him out of his old position. He hopes to find a new one at the cost of Nanking. Feng Yu-hsiang is an ally of Yen Tsi-chang, but the latter is a Japanese agent. Obviously both Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Tsi-chang are in alliance with the Governor of Shantung, General Han Fu-tsu. In the North several old generals and politicians who are known to be agents of Japanese imperialism are appearing simultaneously: Huan Tsi-chu, Huan Fu, Sun Chuan-fang, etc. A generals' war of tremendous dimensions is about to break out in North China.

At the same time a period of generals' wars is about to begin in South China. The Canton and Kwangsi groups are already proceeding against Nanking. The Commander of the Nineteenth army, Huan Ti-kai, who was forced out of Shanghai by Chiang Kai-shek and compelled to go to the province of Fukien, is also attacking Nanking in alliance with the Canton and Kwangsi groups.

Thus the northern groups seek the support of Japanese imperialism, whilst the southern groups seek the support of British imperialism and its agents. At the same time the northern and southern groups are in alliance against Nanking. Kuomintang China is thus entering into a new period of generals' wars.

The Nanking government itself is passing through a deep internal crisis. Recently it was a coalition of various Kuomintang groups. The old enemies, Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ting-wei, sat together in the same government. The south-eastern groups were also represented in this government.

The bankruptcy in face of the imperialist offensive, the defeat suffered at the hands of the advancing Soviet revolution, and the new period of generals' wars will undoubtedly lead to the collapse of the Nanking government. Even in the circles under the influence of the Nanking Kuomintang it is recognised that the party dictatorship of the Kuomintang has suffered bankruptcy.

And, in fact, old political groupings which had disappeared from the scene after the rise of the Kuomintang are now appearing again. The pro-Japanese Anfu group is again showing signs of life, and also the political grouping around the Chinese Bank and the Transport Bank. The old militarists like Wu Peifu, Sun Chuan-fang, Huan Tsi-choo, Huan Fu and others are appearing on the scene again. Individual Kuomintang politicians even propose the formation of a national coalition, or, in other words, that other bourgeois-landowning cliques should be included in the government. This proposal has found support and a number of sympathisers in the Central Committee of the Kuomintang.

Another proposal is put forward by the so-called *Chinese fascists*. This Chinese fascist party was organised by a number of Chinese emigrants in France, but at the moment Chiang Kai-shek is the organiser and inspirer of the fascist movement. These Chinese fascists come forward with a programme of struggle against Japanese imperialism and against Communism, whereby the struggle against Japanese imperialism is treated as a matter of historical perspective, whilst the struggle against the Soviet revolution is put forward as the struggle of the moment. They are of the opinion that in its present form the Kuomintang is bankrupt and they declare that only "a strong man," a dictator, can save China. As Chiang Kai-shek is the organiser and leader of this movement, it is clear that he is to be the "strong man."

Whatever result the internal differences, conflicts and collisions in the Kuomintang may have, whatever form the decay of the Kuomintang may take, it must be reckoned with that after its miserable capitulation in the face of foreign imperialism, after its deep fall in the eyes of the petty-bourgeois masses, the bourgeois-landowning block will concentrate all its forces on launching a blow against the Soviet revolution in China. Chiang Kai-shek is already engaged in organising the *sixth military drive* against the Red workers' and peasants' armies of the Chinese Soviet districts. He wants to prove once again that the Chinese counter-revolution is able to wage war at least against its own people. However, it has already been proved on five occasions that the Chinese counter-revolution cannot bring this war to a successful conclusion. One can be sure that this sixth crusade will share the fate of the preceding attempts and end in defeat.

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The 21 months' war in China has brought about a fundamental alteration in the relation of imperialist forces on the Pacific coast. Japanese imperialism tore up the Washington Agreement and its sword has carved out another division of the Eastern world. This has necessarily led to an extreme intensification of the imperialist contradictions between Japan and the United States.

All signs point to the fact that the *Roosevelt government* in the *United States* now intends to pursue a more active policy in the Pacific.

Japanese imperialism has already brought up the question of a revision of the Washington Agreement with regard to naval armaments in Geneva. The Washington Agreement fixed the proportion of naval strength between the U.S.A., Great Britain and Japan at 5.5:3, but Japan now demands an alteration of this scale to 10:10:9.

Japan carried out the first stage of its campaign with the open support of British imperialism. French imperialism also supported Japan. For a whole year the League of Nations cloaked Japan's robber drive into China. Even after its acceptance of the Lytton Report the League of Nations has naturally done nothing to hinder Japan's further annexations in any way.

The intensification of the imperialist antagonisms between Japan

and the United States and the war of Japanese imperialism in China formed the basis for the restoration of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. However, attempts in this direction have not yet led to any definite result because the tremendous dimensions of the Japanese annexations in China and the intense dumping being pursued by Japan in all the eastern and African markets have naturally led to a sharpening of the relations between Great Britain and Japan. The intensification of the crisis in China and the practical subjugation of South-Eastern China by British imperialism brings the collision of imperialist interests in the Pacific very close. At the same time the so-called armistice in North China strengthens the continued advance of Japanese imperialism against Inner Mongolia, the advance of Japanese troops to the frontiers of the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Japanese aggression against the Soviet Union. The re-equipment of the Japanese Army, the feverish preparations for a great war on the Asiatic Continent and the ceaseless provocations on the Chinese Eastern Railway are all signs of the rapid approach of an armed intervention against the Soviet Union in the Far East.

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The conduct of the war has not failed to have its effects on the internal and *economic situation of Japan* itself. The depreciation of the Yen and the tremendous fall in the price of silk, together with the drop in rice prices have caused an intensification of the already chronic agrarian crisis in Japan. The Japanese government was compelled to allot 500 million Yen to support the ruined landowners and rich peasants and to regulate the debt problem in agriculture. However, the main peasant masses, the masses of the poor and middle peasantry, have gained little as a result. The situation of the working class, of the urban middle classes and petty-bourgeoisie, and the situation of the peasantry are deteriorating at an unexampled rate. Japanese finance capital and the Japanese landowners are not only waging war against the Chinese people, they are also warring against the Japanese workers and peasants. Workers' strikes and peasant revolts are following each other rapidly.

"Dangerous ideas" are penetrating into the masses of workers at an increasing speed. Japanese Ministers have publicly admitted that *Communism* is not only penetrating into the ranks of the urban proletariat, but also into the masses of the peasantry, and still worse for them, into the barracks and onto the warships. Communist groups were discovered on three of Japan's biggest warships and even in officers' schools.

Police raid is following on police raid, mass arrests are following on mass arrests, but the Communist Party of Japan is unbroken. Its central organ appears regularly every three days despite all the efforts of the police and is distributed in tens of thousands of copies.

On the one hand the Communist movement is growing, and on the other hand the fascist movement is also growing. Under the pressure of an intense military and police terror a polarisation of class forces is taking place. The intensification of class contradictions in Japan has reached such an intense pitch that at any moment the country may find itself face to face with a revolutionary crisis.

66,000 Tractors in Three Years!

Moscow, June 18.

In the first three years of its existence the **Stalingrad Tractor Works** have turned out 66,000 tractors. At present the daily output of tractors is 144. In 1930 only 1,000 tractors were delivered, in 1931 the output had reached 18,500, and in 1932 it had reached 29,000. During the first five months of 1933 16,000 tractors were delivered. The rate of production has increased twelvefold. During this year the Works have also delivered spare parts to the value of several million roubles for Soviet farms and Machine Tractor Stations. Every month 120 mowing machines and threshing machines are produced. In the construction department a new lighting system for tractors has been invented, enabling the tractors to work day and night. The Stalingrad Works are now turning out a special type of caterpillar tractors of 60 h.p. with a speed of 45 kilometres per hour. These figures give the direct lie to the bourgeois and socialist press who, owing to the difficulties of the first months, had declared that the Stalingrad Works were a complete failure.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

By our Special Correspondent, L. F. BOROSS.

II. The First of May on the Collective Farm

The fight of the collective village for socialism and prosperity is being waged on three main fronts: against the machinations of the remnants of the class enemy, against the hostile forces of nature (for mastering modern technique and organisation), and, finally, against the possessing-class tradition in the minds of the peasants themselves. The situation of the fight on the first two fronts requires a detailed study; the victory on the last front, the tremendous changes in the mental outlook of the great masses of the collective peasants, strike one at the very first visit. The drawing of hundreds of thousands, or perhaps millions, of collective peasants into socialist forms of work (socialist competition; shock brigades) is one of the greatest victories the Bolsheviks have achieved in this year's spring sowing campaign. Even to-day there are still considerable elements of the old individual farming traditions among sections of the collective peasants. Nevertheless one can say without exaggeration that the collective peasant of to-day is quite a different type of man from the collective peasant of 1929.

In the first period of mass collectivisation (about 1929-1931) there were still large masses of vacillating peasants who joined the collective farms, then left them and joined them again. Collectivisation, it is true, called forth in them hopes of a better life, but at the same time fear of the unknown, of the unaccustomed.

To-day there is no longer anybody who would willingly leave the collective farm. The most important agricultural districts of the Soviet Union are completely collectivised. In the Besentshuk district I could nowhere find any individual peasants.

I met individual peasants in another district, in the neighbourhood of the village of *Isobilnoje*, South of Orenberg. They were ploughing their land together, so that I at first assumed that they formed a part of a collective farm.

"We are not in the collective farm," said one of them to me, "but we see how well the collective farms progress and we have decided to plough our land together."

The most difficult step in the fight against the old traditions in the minds of the collective peasants was the abandonment of their attachment to their "own bit of land." As soon, however, as the tractor, the living example, Communist enlightenment work and, not least, the fight which the collective peasants fought against their former exploiters and bloodsuckers, the kulaks, helped them over the difficulties of this step, as soon as they began to feel at home on the collective farm, as soon as they began to work with the tractors and combines themselves, as soon as they felt the brotherly helping hand of the industrial proletariat, as is only possible on the collective farms, a further path was opened for the development of their consciousness. In the first place, the tractors and machines (offered them in the form of the Machine and Tractor Stations by the urban proletariat) brought home to their minds more sharply than anything else that their interests extend not only beyond the boundaries of their individual farms, but also beyond the boundaries of the collective farms. The mass of the collective peasants began to feel and see that the interests of the collective farm are inseparably bound up with the interests of the proletarian State. The enthusiasm of the peasants in the years 1918-19 for the Soviet State when it divided the lands of the big landowners among them for their own use and benefit, is now experiencing a re-birth on a higher plane. A peasant, a member of the collective farm "Gigant No. 2" of the village of *Preobrashenskoye*, said to me:

"The kulaks agitated against the collective farms. They maintained that the Soviet Power gave us the land and then took it away from us again.

"The fellow would have very much liked to take us in with his yarns. And such people made many of us vacillate. We were not certain whether we should join the collective farm then or not. Now we see what absolutely ridiculous nonsense they tried to stuff into our heads. The collectivisation has not taken away the land from us, but has made it really ours. It is only now that we realise how valuable the land is to us. The common cultivation of the land is now leading us forwards; forwards, I tell you, forwards! Do the peasants in your country also read the speeches of Comrade Stalin? They surely know that he said that we collective peasants must all become prosperous. If the harvest turns out well this year, all of us on this collective farm will also be well off.

"The Soviet Power has always helped us. It has given us land; it has freed us from the landowners; it has helped us to liquidate the kulaks; and now we not only feel its help, we know that we ourselves are the Soviet Power."

"We ourselves are the Soviet Power." Two days later I saw an illustration of this. I was sitting in the Besentchuk village Soviet and observed through the window a peasant with an old hunting rifle on his shoulder, with two other peasants in front of him. Arrived at the village Soviet, he handed over his rifle to a member of the village Soviet who was passing, and said to him: "See that the beggars do not escape." He then entered and reported:

"We caught these two kulaks as they were stealing our wheat, the property of the collective farm. I deliver the kulaks over to you. Give me an acknowledgment," he said to the chairman of the village Soviet.

The peasant was the watchman of the kolchos storehouse. He felt himself to be part of the Soviet Power, and acted accordingly when he arrested the kulaks who attempted to steal the common property.

From this consciousness of being part of the Soviet Power it is only a step further to the consciousness of international class solidarity, which is promoted by the work of the Party nuclei, by the school, by the public reading of newspapers, and all other institutions.

I spent the first of May in the village of *Ossinski*, on the "Neubach" collective farm. Already in the field I noticed that, instead of the usual form of greeting, the peasants greeted each other with the words: "Good wishes for the First of May!" The reading hut was decorated by the peasants with big posters made of sheets of newspaper painted red, bearing the inscription: "Warmest greetings to the political prisoners of capital, to the victims of fascist terror!" On the wall there was a printed illustrated poem with the heading: "Red Front!" The wall newspaper contained a leading article, written in a peasant's crude handwriting, on the meaning of the First of May as a fighting day for mobilising all the revolutionary forces against world capital. The collective farm peasants listened attentively to the short speech delivered by one of their number, who had been sent to study at the Samara agricultural high school, on the international situation. They then bombarded the speaker and me for hours with questions on the situation of the peasants abroad, on the relations between Germany and France; they asked what the German proletariat was doing to combat the terror of the Hitler government; they asked questions about China and Japan. Some collective farm peasants asked whether it was an exaggeration on the part of the press when it reported that there was so much unemployment abroad. In response to the demands of the younger people present, I had to describe in detail the life of the unemployed in Germany. But here, and in the other villages in which I was, the question most frequently

asked was: "How is Comrade Thälmann getting on? Is his life in danger? What is being done to save him?"

There then followed the presentation of prizes to the best collective peasants, headed by the best shock-brigader on the farm, Comrade *Miroshnikov*. He expressed thanks for the prize, which consisted of money and cloth, and called upon the other collective peasants to redouble their efforts in order to promote the collective farm:

"The better we work, the less the imperialists will venture to attack us. The better off we become, the easier will it be for our class brothers abroad to follow our example."

This was the conclusion of a speech by the one-time muzhik *Miroshnikov*, who first learnt to read and write under the Soviet Power, who formerly was not interested in anything apart from his miserable piece of land and his cow, and is now the pride of the collective farm and a fighter for the world revolution of the toilers.

(To be continued.)

The Spring of Socialist Farming

By N. Buchwald

II. "MORGENROT."

At the district Soviet in *Evpatoria* I obtained a list of *Kolhozes* in the neighbourhood, which included good, bad and indifferent ones. Topping the list was the German collective farm "*Morgenrot*" ("Dawn"). The District Agricultural Director happened to be going that way, so he offered me a lift in his battered old dodge.

We travelled the distance of several miles along a dirty road which was really nothing more than a trail across the vast stretch of fields. The *steppe* (prairie) in this section has been fully subdued by man, but the name persists, and the local farmers speak of going out to the *steppe* when they mean their fields. The land is perfectly level, with hardly a landmark to indicate direction. We had the road all to ourselves, except for an occasional truck laden with gasoline for the tractors or with seeds for the sowing brigades working in the neighbourhood. In striking contrast to these fast and furious trucks was a hay-waggon drawn by a pair of oxen. Perched on top of the hay-load was a young girl of Mongolian appearance. She leaned her elbows on the hay, resting her head in her hands and gazing into the *steppe*, apparently just as unmindful of the oxen as the oxen were unmindful of her. This idyllic picture struck me as being out of step with the times, but the Agricultural Director of the *Evpatoria* District was rather in favour of oxen, preferring them to horses for heavy hauling along bad roads. Live draught-power, he explained, was indispensable on a large farm, even if the basic processes of cultivation are fully mechanised, and oxen can stand the parching heat better than horses.

The "*Morgenrot*" kolhoz is also the seat of the local rural Soviet. Both at the office of the kolhoz administration and at the Soviet we found only a clerk or two at work. The manager of "*Morgenrot*" and the chairman of the Soviet were both away. The secretary of the Party nucleus was also out. They were "out in the *steppe*," we were told, and would probably return for lunch in an hour or so. The Agricultural Director beamed with approval. When the leaders are out in the field instead of staying at the office, it is a sign of good work, good leadership—a good kolhoz. This was no ordinary time, he pointed out, it was spring sowing when every day counts and every hectare won in the race with the weather means a better crop. There are a thousand and one things to attend to during the spring sowing, and a good "hozyain" (boss, manager) should be out in the fields, inspect the brigades, see if the machines work right, check up on the quality of the work and on the area covered.

The hour of waiting for the "bosses" we spent in inspecting the dairy farm and the pig farm of the kolhoz. A chipper old man, the agricultural expert of the kolhoz, soon joined us and showed us through the place. The pigsty of "*Morgenrot*" was very clean and smelled of silo and disinfectants. With great pride the old agriculturist pointed out the pedigreed boars and the pure stock obtained through a couple of years of careful breeding. The cowbarn was just as clean and well-kept. Two monstrous bulls were kept chained in a separate shed. "What do you think of these boys?" the old man exclaimed lovingly, "they were born and raised here—purest blood!"

The old agriculturist was an Ukrainian. I learned later that he was a scientist of standing. Some of the leading experts of the Agricultural Institute at Leningrad were among his former pupils. He was the director of a local agricultural school and was at the same time advising the "*Morgenrot*" farmers in the matter of scientific farming. This old scientist had the enthusiasm and buoyancy of a *Komsomoletz* (young Communist). Under the old order he used to advise landowners and czarist officials on various agrarian matters. His advanced ideas were scoffed at and his suggestions for improvement viewed with distrust and suspicion—the distrust and suspicion of the ignorant. Under the Soviet regime he has every opportunity to apply his knowledge and to engage in experimentation. "*Morgenrot*" had given him a comfortable home and made him a full-fledged member of the kolhoz, but that is not all. The kolhoz set aside for him a score of acres of land for his experiments of "bionisation"—a process of treating seeds with certain concentrated chemicals which act at once as fungicides and stimulants. In the first year he doubled the yield of corn on the experimental area. This year something like two hundred hectares (about five hundred acres) will be "bionised." The neighbouring kolhozes heard of the good results of the experiment, and a veritable pilgrimage began to the modest little home of the old agriculturist. Now "bionisation" is quite the vogue in that section, and the extension of the process is checked only by the limited supply of needed chemical concentrates.

"*Morgenrot*" was well ahead of its schedule sowing, when I visited the kolhoz. By the 1st of April they had finished their "early" sowing of wheat (some five hundred hectares) and were beginning to plough for winter sowing. They were ready to start their sowing of corn, pollyseeds and other late crops. Men and women were busy in the vineyard and the extensive vegetable garden. Excellently equipped shops, including a smithy, a wood-working shop and a harness shop, were going full blast. "The Germans love to work," the old Ukrainian commented.

The kolhoz manager, the Soviet chairman and the secretary of the Party nucleus returned from the fields. With them came a strapping young man in high boots and higher spirits. He was the manager of the neighbouring Jewish kolhoz "*Icor*." He came on an important mission; to consult with the authorities of "*Morgenrot*" how "*Icor*" could beat them in the race for the better sowing in the spring campaign. Now, this may sound as a joke, but the authorities of "*Morgenrot*" really coached their rival how to defeat them in the race. This is the difference between contests in capitalist countries and socialist competition in the Soviet Union. It is a matter of honour for the competing individuals or organisations to help one another obtain best results, for the cumulative result of their efforts redounds to the benefit of socialist construction as a whole.

"Who do you think will win the race?" I asked the "*Icor*" manager, and he replied with candour:

"I don't think we stand a chance to beat '*Morgenrot*.' They are an excellent outfit, they know how to work, their horses are in splendid condition, their brigades click perfectly, their machinery is in fine shape."

"Yours is not a bad outfit, either," I complimented him on the basis of the information I had obtained at the District Soviet in *Evpatoria*. The young Jewish farm leader replied: "That does not satisfy us. We've got to do better than we are doing. That is why I have suggested to challenge '*Morgenrot*.' We'll have to work hard and work well to finish a good second."

After an excellent lunch of soup, meat, kasha, and milk, with plenty of tasty white bread, served us at the communal mess-hall (the same meal was carried to the workers out in the *steppe* in huge metal containers), we went into the "Lenin Corner" in the village club. The room was immaculate, the red cloth covering the large table was spotless, and the pictures of Lenin and Stalin were doubly impressive against a background of fine posters portraying the class struggle in Germany. Here I obtained much information on the history of "*Morgenrot*" and on the general condition of the kolhoz. What is now a Soviet collective used to be a landowner's estate. The landowner disappeared with the disappearance of czarism, but the kolhoz did not come into being before the recent campaign of collectivisation. A number of kulaks still exploited the labour of poor farm hands when the tide of collectivisation reached "*Morgenrot*." Several of those parasites were "dekulaked" and exiled, their fine homes and stock reverting to the newly formed kolhoz. Included in this con-

fiscated property was a flour mill. Its owner was an engineer who had himself installed the engine and other machinery. He was "dekulaked" and exiled; but apparently the urge of creative work triumphed in him over his class grudge, for this ex-kulak, I was told, now works as an engineer in the Urals, trusted by the Soviet authorities as an honest and capable specialist.

The present population of "Morgenrot," about three hundred in all, consist of former farm hands and poor and middle peasants. They live very well and the comparison with their conditions prior to the collectivisation is entirely in favour of the latter. Before 1929 the average income per peasant family was about 300 roubles, now it is 2,000 roubles. This does not include the substantial income derived by each kolhoznik from his own cow, hogs, hens and vegetable patch. The kolhoz as a whole is clear of debts, and the members of the kolhoz have good homes, good clothes, ample food and a chance to enjoy their leisure in a cultural way. "Morgenrot" has an excellent school, a fine nursery and kindergarten, a communal kitchen and mess-hall. They are planning a new club-house, a bath-house, and the installation of telephones. There are seven Party members in the community, six candidates and eight members of the Komsomol. They all work in the fields and by way of "nagruzka" (public work without pay) they head the various departments of the local Soviet.

The Manager of "Morgenrot" had one bitter complaint against the Soviet authorities in Evpatoria: they have "confiscated" practically every issue of the kolhoz "wall paper." The reason for the confiscation is that the "wall paper" brought out by the kolhozniks of "Morgenrot" is invariably one of the finest specimens of non-professional rural journalism. Copies of it may be found displayed not only at the Evpatoria Soviet, but also in the capital of Crimea. Since every issue is entirely hand-written and decorated, they cannot produce more than one copy at a time.

Early in the evening I returned to Evpatoria in a carriage driven by a pair of fine horses of the "Morgenrot" stables. The steppe stretched in every direction, and the twilight lent a sense of infinity to the countryside. From "Morgenrot" my thoughts surged back to the Congress of Collective Farmers in Moscow. And again I remembered the question asked by the Soviet leaders and delegates alike; if these kolhozes succeeded, why not the rest? Given good work and good Bolshevik management, every kolhoz can become a "Morgenrot." Given several years of experience and Bolshevik vigilance—and every Soviet kolhoz will become a "Morgenrot."

The Co-operative Movement

Eleventh International Co-operative Day

Appeal of the Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I.

To the Co-operative members all over the world! Men and women workers! Employees and housewives! Members of the Consumers' Societies!

Hunger and misery are invincibly stalking through the capitalist world. Notwithstanding the full warehouses and granaries, increasingly wide sections of the labouring masses are sinking deeper into want and ruin.

Every attempt of the capitalists and their governments to find a way out of the crisis takes place at the expense of the working class, means further unemployment and new wage cuts, means reduction of war, old age, invalids' and social pensions and further impoverishment and destitution.

The Consumers' Societies which are supposed to be a prop for the proletariat in the struggle with the bourgeoisie, are being transformed by the reformist leaders into a pillar of capitalist economy. They are bound up with the capitalist system in prosperity or in failure.

The crisis is also shaking the co-operatives. The sheet-anchor of the bureaucracy of the co-operatives is composed of wage reductions, dismissals and intensified exploitation in the co-operatives.

But that is not yet enough! In every action of the working class against wage reductions and further impoverishment and oppression by the bourgeoisie, the co-operative leaders, under the banner of political neutrality, render active aid to the capitalists in their attack against the workers.

In those countries where the increased attack of the bourgeoisie

against the working class also involves the consumers' co-operatives through new taxes and other burdens, the reformists in the co-operatives limit themselves to sham actions and try to continue the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie with every means at their disposal.

The establishment of the open fascist dictatorship in **Germany** was actively supported and promoted by the bureaucrats in the co-operatives. Co-operative and other establishments of the workers were delivered to fascism without resistance and were sacrificed to destruction. The pennies which the co-operative members saved in the course of many years while depriving themselves of necessities were handed over to fascism. The hypocritical theory of the co-operatives about the "peaceful growth into Socialism," which has been preached for decades has been converted into the very opposite. With the policy based upon this theory they have actually grown into fascism.

The International Co-operative Alliance has given open proof of its bankruptcy. A proposal of German social democracy sufficed to make the Alliance refrain from taking any stand whatever against the fascist occupation and destruction of the consumers' co-operatives in Germany.

Under the cloak of pacifist phrases and by referring to the League of Nations—which they characterise as the shield of peace and which in reality is an instrument of the big imperialist powers—the reformist co-operative leaders support the war policy of their own governments. They actively demand armed preparations for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union by their participation in the campaigns of incitement and slander.

Men and women workers, members of the co-operatives! Despite the enormous accumulation of foodstuffs and other articles of mass use, the prices for the most necessary food products and articles of mass use are constantly increasing. Hitler has increased the price of margarine—the most essential product for the poor—by one and a half times in the course of two months. Hitler has also raised the price of meat, bread, milk, and other articles of mass consumption.

In England, France and Czechoslovakia, the most important foodstuffs for the working class are also becoming dearer. In order to keep up the high prices, the cheap foreign products are continually having higher duties imposed upon them and curtailment and prohibition of imports are constantly being decreed.

The consumers' societies of the workers are being burdened with high taxes in order to help the small shopkeepers who are being hard pressed by the crisis. That means a further increase in prices for the toiling masses.

All this brings about a catastrophic decline in the sales of the consumers' societies; the co-operative members make their purchases in the cheapest food stores of the large retail undertakings. All the savings and the money for dividends are being lost in speculation, bankruptcies and the stoppage of payment can already be recorded in large numbers.

The Revolutionary Co-operative Opposition—the sole representative of the interests of the members—fights for cheap prices, against the extortion of duties and taxes, against any wage and relief reductions, for the support of strikes and the struggles of the unemployed, against fascism, war and the war danger, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The reformist co-operative leaders respond to the mobilisation of the co-operative members for these demands by the Revolutionary Co-operative Opposition with police measures, the stoppage of deliveries and credits, expulsion of individual members and entire co-operatives. In Germany and in Czechoslovakia, Revolutionary Consumers' Societies are being expelled by the reformists. The Soviet Co-operatives are about to be expelled from the Alliance.

Workers, Co-operative members, look to the **Soviet Union**. Thousands and tens of thousands of new enterprises are being built here. The primitive individual peasant farms are for the most part being merged into collective farms. In the course of three years over two hundred thousand collective farms have been established; they embrace sixty-five per cent. of all the peasants and are equipped with the most modern machinery. There is no unemployment here, the worker does not have to fear this spectre here. The standard of life and the cultural level of the workers and peasants is constantly growing. The **Soviet Co-operatives** take an important part in this construction, they are contributing to the building up of Socialism.

Co-operative Members! Men and Women Workers! The at-

tainment of Socialism is only possible through unswerving class struggle, through the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, through the path which the victorious Russian proletariat has trodden and continues to tread with all consistency.

Co-operative Members! Demonstrate at the International Co-operative Day! Join the common fighting front of the proletariat! Enrol in the revolutionary united front in the struggle for the following demands:—

Against the raising of prices, for the sale of native products at export prices.

Against Fascist Dictatorship and the break-up and destruction of the Co-operatives and other workers' organisations.

Against new tax-burdens on the workers' consumers' societies and for the cancellation of those taxes which are particularly burdensome to them.

Against wage-cuts and further dismissals, against the plundering of the toilers by tariffs and taxes.

For adequate relief to the unemployed and their inclusion into the process of production.

For revolutionary mass struggle, against armaments and imperialist war.

Fight against the expulsion of the Soviet Co-operatives from the Alliance!

Exert all your fighting power against provocations and for the defence of the Soviet Union—the Fatherland of the toilers of the whole world!

Long live the united fighting front of the proletariat!

Long live Socialism!

Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I.

Obituary

Death of Clara Zetkin, Veteran Fighter of the Communist International

Moscow, June 20.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International deeply regrets to announce the death of Clara Zetkin, member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Chairman of the International Women's Secretariat in the E.C.C.I., and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, an old fighter for the international proletarian revolution and for the triumph of Socialism.

Death took place on June 20 at 2.10 a.m. at Archangelsk, near Moscow.

Shortly before the completion of her 76th year, death has taken Clara Zetkin from our midst. From her early youth, Clara Zetkin devoted her life to the revolutionary fight for the emancipation of the working class. More than 50 years of her life were filled with undaunted revolutionary work, inseparably bound up with the history of the German and the international labour movement.

Born in a Saxon family of school teachers, Clara Zetkin came to Leipzig when twenty years old, to attend the Teachers' Training College. During her stay in Leipzig she came into contact with political refugees from Russian Poland. In her intercourse with them she received her first Marxist training. Here she became acquainted with the Polish refugee, Ossip Zetkin, and through him got into close connection with the intellectual fights of the Russian labour movement then beginning. After Ossip Zetkin was expelled as an "undesirable alien" from Germany, Clara Zetkin followed him first to Switzerland and then to Paris. In Paris she had a hard life. Her husband fell ill with an incurable disease. By giving lessons, by translations and writing articles, she had to earn a living for him and her two sons. Soon after the death of her husband in 1889, Clara Zetkin returned to Germany, after the anti-socialist law had been repealed. She was employed by the publishing house of the social-democratic party, the Dietz Publishing House in Stuttgart. In 1892 she took over the editorship of the "Gleichheit" (equality), the women's newspaper of the social-democratic party. She was a popular speaker, and in her position as the editor of the "Gleichheit" Clara Zetkin considered it her main task to educate the proletarian women in class-consciousness and to save them from the bourgeois women's movement. Clara Zetkin expounded the difference between the proletarian and the bourgeois women's movement with keenness and clearness in her newspaper. It was, thanks to her, that the proletarian women's movement, from its very beginning, acted as a part of the general labour movement, completely independent of the bourgeois suffragette movement. Clara Zetkin not only determined the aims and direction of the socialist

women's movement internationally, but she helped indefatigably to extend and deepen it and did invaluable educational work. She collected a large circle of collaborators round her paper, who were at the same time active agitators under her leadership among proletarian women.

Under her editorship the "Gleichheit" became an organ of class struggle, until in 1915 the pro-war central committee of the social-democratic party took it away from her.

Comrade Clara Zetkin did important and responsible work in the international women's movement. She was the organiser and leader of the women's conference, which, beginning in 1900, took place every two years in Germany before the social-democratic party congresses, representatives of all countries taking part in them. On her initiative the creation of an International Socialist Women's Secretariat was decided at the first International Socialist Women's Conference, which was held at the same time as the Stuttgart Congress in 1907. She was elected the first socialist women's secretary. Three years later, in the summer of 1910, the Second International Socialist Women's Conference was held in Copenhagen. On the initiative of Clara Zetkin, March 8 was then fixed as International Women's Day.

Although Clara Zetkin devoted all her unrestrained energy to this special task of working among the proletarian women, she also gained increasing influence in revolutionising the entire international labour movement. She always stood in the front line in the inner party fights of the German social democracy against reformism. In her fight against reformist policy and against social-imperialism, she stood shoulder to shoulder with Rosa Luxemburg, with whom she was bound by strong ties of friendship. Both led the fight against Bernstein's attempts to undermine the principles of Marxism in order to induce the working class to renounce the fight for socialism. While Kautsky left no stone unturned to break the point of this fight by maintaining that nothing concrete could be said about the problem of proletarian dictatorship, it was Clara Zetkin who took up this fight with inexorable keenness. When

David, the theoretical underling of Bernstein, rejected the slogan of proletarian dictatorship in a series of articles in the "Sozialistische Monatshefte." Clara published an article in the "Gleichheit," in which she exposed the point of view of the reformists as "slave morality."

When the world war broke out, Clara was the first among the West European socialists who tried to restore the severed connections with the comrades in other countries. For this purpose she convoked the Women's Conference in Berne in 1915. The publication and circulation of the Berne manifesto were the cause of her being interned for several months. Together with Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring she published the first number of the "Internationale" in July, 1915. The outbreak of the victorious revolution in Russia found Clara Zetkin at the side of the revolutionary Russian workers and their heroic Bolshevik Party. Clara Zetkin's way led logically via the Spartakus League to the Communist Party and the Communist International. Clara Zetkin could not attend the second congress of the Third International—she was elected a member of the Reichstag and had to speak there for the first time. In this speech Clara Zetkin declared her solidarity with the Soviet Union and enthusiastically hailed the victory of proletarian dictatorship. In September, 1920, Clara went to the Soviet Union for the first time. At that time the ninth Party Conference of the Bolsheviks took place in the Sverdlov Hall in the Kremlin. Comrade Lenin embraced her amidst the stormy applause of the delegates and praised her great services in the fight for the freedom of the proletariat.

At the third congress of the Communist International, Comrade Clara was elected member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee, which function she held up to her death.

Her revolutionary work in the ranks of the Communist International was so great and rich, that it cannot possibly be even outlined in a few words. She took an active part in all congresses and important conferences.

Her last public appearance in the international arena was in 1932, at the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress. A few days afterwards she opened the newly-elected Reichstag as the oldest member—in spite of the infamous slanders and the murder threats of the fascists. She closed her fighting speech against fascist dictatorship with a glowing confession for the fighting united front. "I hope to live long enough to open the first Soviet Congress in Soviet Germany"—that was her last wish.

In spite of her physical infirmity—she was nearly blind and more or less bedridden—Clara Zetkin still interested herself very much in the revolutionary movement up to the very last moment. Her last big work—which she had nearly completed—was the mobilising of the toiling masses for the fight against the danger of intervention and against the treachery of social democracy.

With her indefatigable will to live, which had repeatedly overcome all illnesses she wrote page after page in her own handwriting. Every sentence breathes her youthful spirit of battle, her wish to appeal to the toiling masses to fight against the threatening danger of intervention against the Soviet Union and against the treacherous policy of social democracy.

Clara Zetkin followed events in Germany with special attention from her sick bed. She was convinced of the final victory of the proletarian revolution over fascist murder dictatorship. Her special attention was devoted to the victims of fascist terror. As chairman of the International Red Aid, she published a stirring appeal for the International Solidarity Week to save these victims.

Clara Zetkin answered the shameful capitulation of the German social democracy with a defiant challenge, which occupied her up to the very last hours of her life. The last sentences, which she wrote with trembling hands, were as follows:—

"When Francis I. of France lost the battle of Pavia, he wrote: 'All is lost save honour.' Against this proud word the Second International must declare: 'Everything is lost, and first of all the honour of having fought for the emancipation of the proletariat, the toiling masses of the capitalist world.'

"The fate of the Second International is again fulfilling itself, as it has always done since the German social democracy betrayed revolutionary Marxism."

Clara Zetkin was unable to finish this article. With these words of condemnation of the treacherous social democracy on her lips, Clara Zetkin was torn from our ranks. Up to her last breath she was a great revolutionary and an example for us all.

To the Memory of Comrade Gussev

The Communist International has suffered the loss of **Comrade Serge Ivanovitch Gussev**. Death has torn from our ranks an old Bolshevik, a faithful warrior of the Leninist Guard, a fighter for the October Revolution, a fighter for the world proletarian revolution.

Comrade Gussev was a reserve member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of its Presidium. He brought with him to his work in the Comintern the richest revolutionary experience both in the struggle of the working class in Russia and on an international scale, experience which he had accumulated in his 30 years of work in the Bolshevik Party under the direct leadership of Lenin. His revolutionary work was most closely connected with the entire history of the Leninist Party in all its stages. In 1896 he joined the St. Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class at the moment when the social democratic groups were passing from propaganda to the mass workers' movement. In 1902, in Rostov, he was the leader of a mass strike, and his work is an example of how a mass economic strike can be converted into a revolutionary political strike. In 1903, when the split took place at the Second Congress of the Party, he stood without hesitation on the side of Lenin. From this moment to the end of his life he carried on an inflexible struggle as a true Leninist against Menshevism and all forms of opportunism. In 1905, in Odessa, he gave his wide experience of revolutionary mass work for the solution of the tasks of the 1905 Revolution. After the years of reaction, exile and emigration, Gussev was in the foremost ranks of the organisers of the October Revolution in the Petrograd revolutionary military committee, utilising his enormous experience in the organisation of the revolutionary mass movement and two revolutions for the cause of the victory of the October Revolution. During the Civil War, he rapidly mastered the intricacies of military science and became one of the organisers of the victory of the Red Army in defending the first Fatherland of the International proletariat. The Leninist Party assigned the most responsible leading posts to its tried warrior. And always, in everything he did, Comrade Gussev carried on an irreconcilable struggle for Leninism, against Trotskyism, both on military questions and on the questions of the general policy of the Party in connection with the introduction of N.E.P.

In 1923, Comrade Gussev was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and continued to work directly in the C.P.S.U. until 1925, when he came to work in the Comintern.

Such was the tremendous theoretical and practical experience in the construction of the Bolshevik Party together with Lenin and Stalin, experience of the struggle for the proletarian revolution, that Comrade Gussev brought to his work in the Comintern, so that he could share the great historic experience of Bolshevism, experience of international importance, with the young and growing Sections of the Comintern in capitalist countries.

Comrade Gussev played a big role in the work of the **Communist International**. He possessed all the necessary qualities for passing on the experience of the C.P.S.U. to the Sections of the Comintern. He knew the experience of work of the Party from the first circles to the leadership of a great proletarian state. He was thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of Leninism, as the result of his own thirty years of struggle with the Party, together with the working class. In 1905 he took a practical part in the struggle for consistently carrying through the bourgeois democratic revolution under the hegemony of the proletariat, fighting for its further growth into a proletarian revolution. He was one of the organisers of the victory of the proletarian revolution in 1917. He knew the theory and practice of the work of a nucleus, the organisation of strikes, demonstrations, the armed insurrection. He knew the leadership of the Party from the nucleus to the centre, the struggle against every shade of opportunism, against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence on the proletariat and its Party. He was exceptionally keen in his powers of Leninist analysis of principles, and in his work, Comrade Gussev shared all this with the comrades from the Communist Parties in other countries.

In carrying out the behests of Lenin, Comrade Gussev did not mechanically pass on the experience of the C.P.S.U. He carefully studied the special features of the circumstances and the traditions of the workers' movement of the given country, the circumstances of the given class conflict, etc., so as to establish which character-

istics were similar and which were peculiar, and on this basis to set out the tasks of the Party and the Party organisation.

As a true Bolshevik, a colleague of Lenin and Stalin, Bolshevik firmness of principle stood out with particular plainness in all the work of Comrade Gussev. He was possessed of exceptional vigilance and keenness of Bolshevik analysis when examining all questions. He fought inflexibly for the correct line, in struggle against deviations, against Menshevism, against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, against right and left opportunism. Comrade Gussev had the gift of bringing into special prominence the principles underlying a question, of giving a class analysis and carrying on the line of the revolutionary proletariat in every concrete question, disclosing and rejecting both in theory and in practice all that had been introduced by the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements, the social-democratic agents of the bourgeoisie among the working class.

With all his close adherence to principle, Comrade Gussev was not abstract. An analysis of principles served him so that he could brilliantly single out the basic and most important link in which the political and organisational sides of the question were combined, and point out a clear political plan of practical work. It was this which produced that clearness of thought, of approaching and setting out any question, which distinguished him as a colleague of the great leaders of the international proletariat. Comrade Gussev was particularly vigilant regarding the proletarian nature of our movement and leadership. With merciless keenness he disclosed every tendency to dilute our movement with ideas and practice alien to the proletariat, simultaneously following the unswerving aim of converting the movement into a mass movement, of winning the hegemony over the allies of the proletariat.

In his everyday work, Comrade Gussev gave special prominence to the question of forming a basis for the Party in the factories, of forming a mass Bolshevik press, proletarian Party cadres, the development of inner Party democracy and self-criticism. The comrades from the Communist Parties of other countries know how much he brought into the matter of improving the work and construction of the Sections of the Communist International.

As one of the leaders of the Communist International, Comrade Gussev was possessed of that modesty and absence of any striving towards outward effect which distinguishes the best representatives of the old Leninist Guard. He was a good comrade with exceptional simplicity of manner. He had a quality which few possess of listening patiently and attentively to the speeches and polemics of the other comrades. But later he astonished his opponents by his deeply thought-out reply, which was always true to Bolshevik principles. It was for this reason that the comrades liked so much to work with him, listening to him and taking note of his well thought-out, fully matured and theoretically and practically well-founded remarks and speeches. For those who knew him and worked with him, his death is a bitter personal loss, the loss of a beloved and experienced comrade who had the deepest personal respect of all.

The death of Comrade Gussev is a great loss for the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern, for the international proletariat as a whole. In spite of his sickness, Comrade Gussev was at his revolutionary post until the very last days. Communists and the revolutionary workers can learn a great deal from Comrade Gussev. First of all they should learn from Comrade Gussev his exceptional loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution, his courage and firmness in defence of the interests of the proletariat, his ability to form a big mass movement from small circles, his irreconcilability in defence of the Leninist principles of the proletarian Party, his Bolshevik modesty, simplicity and efficiency.

Comrade Gussev was the author of a number of literary works both on internal and international questions. The most prominent of them are: "**The United Economic Plan, the United Apparatus,**" published in 1920; "**The Lessons of the Civil War,**" two editions, 1921; "**Our Differences in Military Matters,**" published in 1925; "**On the Threshold of New Fights,**" published in 1929; and quite recently he wrote a book, "**The Second Party Congress.**" Besides books and pamphlets, Comrade Gussev also wrote many articles on urgent questions of the international revolutionary movement.

Comrade Gussev devoted his life to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The banner under which he fought is now carried by millions who are struggling against starvation, fascism, social treachery, against war and the menace of intervention, for the victory of the world proletarian revolution. The banner of

Leninism is carried on one sixth of the globe by millions of workers and collective farmers who are constructing the new socialist society. We will rally our ranks closer under this banner, gather around it new millions of proletarian fighters against capitalism, war and fascism.

The cause for which Comrade Gussev fought will be carried to the end, to the victory of world Communism.

Katayama, Zetkin, Heckert, Marty, Gallo, Wan-Min, Okano, Rust, Weinstone, Manuilsky, Keller, Piatnitsky, Belevsky Knorin, Kuusinen, Losovsky, Bela Kun, Kastaniak.

Kolarov, Stassova, Gopner, Chemodanov, Grossman, Gregor, Angaretis, Antikainen, Krumin, Postma, Tskhakaya, Iskrov, Mitskevich-Kapsukas, Dengel, Mehring, Mingulin, I. Minkov.

Organisational Questions

The Practice of Factory Work

Time and time again we have to deal with the question of work in the factories. In this sphere the work of the Communist Party, in spite of a series of good examples, is still unsatisfactory upon the whole, and we have to state that the leading organs of the C.P.s do not pay the necessary attention or show the proper insistence in carrying out the directives of the Comintern on the question of shifting the centre of Party work to the factories.

How can the weakness of the work of the C.P.s in the factories be explained? First of all, of course, by the difficulties. The ruling classes understand very well what danger arises for the whole capitalist regime from the successful work of the C.P. in the factories. Therefore, with the help of the police, spies and the reformist leaders, the factories, and especially the big factories, are guarded by the bourgeoisie like the apple of their eye. But the basic cause of the weak work of the Communist Party in the factories is the **unsatisfactory leadership of this work by the Sectional and District Committees and the unsatisfactory leadership of the work of the Sections and the District Committees in this matter by the C.C. of the Communist Party.**

The increased repression of the Communist Party enhances the importance of the factory nuclei for the further development of Party work. The German comrades are becoming convinced now as a result of their own experience that in some cases it is less dangerous to distribute Party literature in the factories than outside, that in the factories it has been possible in a number of cases to fight successfully against the arrest of Party functionaries, etc. The present article deals with some "old" but still very real questions of elementary rules of conspiracy in the work of a factory nucleus. In order to be more concrete in raising these questions there is the report of a member of a factory nucleus of the C.P. of France in a big French factory which is of great importance and is internationally known with regard to the organisation of espionage and provocation.

The first question is that of the contacts between the factory nucleus and the section committee. The comrade writes that there are 36 bodies claiming to have the right to direct the work of the factory nucleus—some people of the section or district Party committees, then of the T.U. council, then of the C.G.T.U., etc., and none of them have clearly defined limits of responsibility, and, in addition, the majority of these comrades are known to the police as Communists and leading workers of the unitary trade unions. They get into contact with the workers of the nucleus without observing the elementary rules of conspiracy, and as the result all the activists of the nucleus are discovered.

How should contacts be organised between the section committees and the factory nuclei?

One of the best forms of contact is when a leading worker of the factory committee is a member of the section committee and participates in its work.

Obviously we cannot have representatives of every nucleus in the section committee. Nevertheless, representatives of the biggest factory nuclei must certainly be in the district committee and the section committee. Besides this, the factory nuclei must be distributed among the members of the section committee and the instructors in such a manner that every factory nucleus will have a responsible representative of the section committee whose duty it will be to inform the nucleus of the work of the section committee and the directives of the higher Party organs which control and instruct the nucleus in carrying out Party decision

and, on the other hand, this comrade will inform the section committee of the work of the nucleus. This instructor must have constant contacts with the bureau of the nucleus and, in illegal conditions, with one of the members of the bureau, usually the secretary of the nucleus. He must become directly acquainted with all the basic work of the nucleus, assist it in particular on the question of strengthening the work of the nucleus in the departments and shops, with the aim of bringing in wider masses of workers. In big factories, shop groups of Party organisers should be formed and, where possible, shop nuclei. As for the mass organisations—T.U., I.R.A., etc.—which have groups in the factories, they must establish **independent contacts with them, especially in countries where the C.P. is illegal**, not permitting the leading committees of the mass organisations to have contacts with their factory organisation through the Party nucleus, as this would help to disclose the nucleus.

Of course, even in the most illegal conditions, the nucleus through its members and through Communist fractions must lead the work of all the factory mass organisations.

The second question is about meetings of the factory nuclei. The same comrade describes how he looked for a meeting of his nucleus. He was given the address at a certain cafe. He came to this cafe at the appointed day and hour and found about twenty workers, who explained to him that this was a meeting of another nucleus and that his nucleus met in this cafe on the previous day.

It is scandalous to convene the meeting in a cafe where the police can always openly carry on espionage. It is still more scandalous to confuse the dates and that comrades of another nucleus should know about this confusion, when they should not have known anything at all about it. And, in general, a meeting should not have been organised in a place where another nucleus meets. But matters became still worse. The comrade again applied to the section committee and received a different address, again in a cafe. He came to this cafe and again found a different meeting. He remained at the meeting, and no one asked him why he had come, etc. Further, the comrade participated in the discussion on the question of the work in big factories. During this discussion the member of the bureau of the section committee who was attached to this nucleus arrived, and when he saw a stranger there he wanted to remove him, deciding that he must be a spy. Luckily, another member of the section committee turned up, the one who had given the address to the comrade, and the misunderstanding was removed.

After this, the meeting of the nucleus where this comrade was to be present was organised in a garage, without using any caution, in full sight of everybody. In all this matter, not only the members of the nucleus but the members of the section committee showed their neglect of the rules of conspiracy in Party work. Factory nuclei must in every way avoid gathering in cafes and similar places where the meetings can be watched by the police. Meetings of the nuclei can take place in the houses of comrades, in the open air under the pretext of picnics, rambles, etc.

The place of meeting of factory nuclei should be changed every time so as to make police observation more difficult. For such meetings it is better to choose days when the workers are not at work, when they have some spare time to go out of the town. At big factories non-working days are in general the only ones possible when a general meeting of the nucleus can be called, because on the other days the workers are in different shifts. But the work of the nucleus cannot be limited only to Party meetings on rest days. The factory nucleus must react with the greatest speed, as far as possible immediately, both to all the events of factory life as well as to all general political events. The work of the nucleus runs the risk of losing its operative character of every-day leadership of the struggle of the workers if there are no other forms of work except general Party meetings called on Sundays or other rest days. Therefore, other forms

of work of the nucleus are necessary. First of all there are impromptu meetings of Communists, somewhere in unnoticed corners, in the intervals of the working day, and, furthermore, it is advisable to split up into very small groups, best of all in the shops. Such impromptu talks will be used for passing on directives and Party leadership, for making quick decisions to be carried out after the interval. To co-ordinate the activity of the Party members of the whole factory, short meetings can be held of representatives of the shop nuclei and individual Communists in the shops where there are no nuclei as yet.

The bureau of the nucleus must appoint responsible comrades to organise the Party meetings. Their task will be to prepare the place of meeting, to guard the meeting against any unexpected happening, etc.

The rules of the Party state that the nucleus is the lower organisation of the Party which exists among the masses of the working class. The factory nucleus must work according to all rules of conspiracy, **but at the same time it must work in such a way that the masses of workers will know that the nucleus exists, that it is keenly watching everything which is taking place in the factory and does not let slip a single happening which touches the interests of the workers—the wrongful dismissal of workers, wage-cuts, injuries to workers at work, rough treatment of workers by the management, etc., on every occasion giving instructions to the masses of workers how to react in defence of the comrade and in their own interests to defend themselves against the class enemy. The nucleus must promptly warn the workers of attacks which are being prepared by the employers, explaining what is to be done to avert this blow, particularly how to co-ordinate their struggle with the struggle of other sections of the proletariat. In the same way the nucleus must explain what is to be done and how, in order to help other sections of the proletariat and the toilers in the struggle, they must mobilise the workers to participate in the political struggle of the working-class.**

Without an illegal factory paper and leaflets coming out promptly and well distributed among the masses, the nucleus will not be able to keep good contacts with the masses. Serious resistance must be offered to those comrades who claim that Party literature cannot be distributed in the factories. In Germany the greatest success was achieved in distributing newspapers and leaflets in the factories, where the workers are not afraid to take them and read them. But there should be taken steps also to distribute Party literature outside the factory as well, when the workers are leaving work to go home, etc. Without limiting itself to the factory newspaper, the Party nucleus must energetically assist in distributing all Party literature.

But literature alone is not enough. Literature launches slogans, explains how to act, but, further, there must be action. The comrade of the C.P. of France to whom we have already referred informs us of the following fact. In the given case a leaflet called on the workers to fight against wage cuts. The masses of workers responded to the call, and at the appointed hour several hundred workers gathered together waiting for a speaker. But the speaker did not appear. By the way: about the preparation of factory meetings. What should be done? If the nucleus had decided to call a protest meeting against a wage cut, it should have: (1) taken all measures to inform all the shops of this meeting through leaflets, through the members of the nucleus and sympathisers, passing on the information verbally from one worker to another; (2) every member of the nucleus and every sympathiser should have received instructions to ensure by personal influence that the greatest possible number of workers who work together with them in one shop or on one shift would turn up at the meeting; (3) the appointed speaker should have turned up. If he does not turn up without good reason, Party penalties should be laid on him. In case he could not have come, the nucleus should have had a reserve in view;

(To be concluded.)

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