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CORRESPONDENCE

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The Latest Developments in Germany

"The history of all societies hitherto has been the history of class struggles." (Marx and Engels.)

"We have gathered together hundreds and thousands from all positions in life, all those who formerly encountered each other with hatred, given them *one* uniform, subjected them to *one* colour, placed them under *one* discipline. I want the worker, the employer, the employee, the official, the peasant, the landowner, the scholar to be all one, Germans!" (Hitler.)

"If you have an apple-tree in your garden and hang on it a slip on which you write: 'This is a fig-tree,' does the tree thereby become a fig-tree? No. And if you gather round it your whole household, in fact all inhabitants of the country, and get them solemnly and loudly to affirm: 'This is a fig-tree,' the tree remains what it was, and next year it will be seen that it bears not apples, but figs." (Lassalle.)

Whilst the international bourgeois press was still engaged in interpreting Hitler's Erfurt speech, in which he solemnly proclaimed the abolition of class antagonisms in Germany, news arrived which showed how the new national unity is being created: Arrest of Catholic priests in the Palatinate, the dissolution of Stahlhelm groups. This, however, was only a prelude which was soon to be followed by far more important events. On June 14, the astonished world heard that the German national fighting organisations and Youth Leagues had been forcibly dissolved by means of a suddenly carried out raid. At the same time it became known that the Stahlhelm was forced calmly to submit to a fresh amputation; that it was to be converted into a national socialist veterans' association. The partner of the national revolution thereby received deadly wounds. National socialism, however,

was not yet satisfied. On June 15, the long-awaited blow was dealt the social democracy, which faithfully danced as Hitler piped and never uttered a word of protest when the Communist deputies were deprived of their seats; the social-democratic seats in the Diet and in the Reichstag were annulled out of fear that they might form a crystallisation point for a *real* opposition. And finally, in order to crown the work, at the end of the week a commissioner for all the evangelical parish Churches of Prussia was appointed in order to do away with the existing confusion, i.e., to break by dictatorial measures the resistance to the Nazi parson Müller.

The Nazi press is jubilant. It describes these happenings as a transition to the "second stage" of the national socialist revolution, as a stage towards "totality"—a new word in the dictionary of the Nazis by which it is intended to convey that the whole State receives a uniform national socialist stamp, and that no positions whatever are to be in other hands than the Nazis. They point to Italy, where the State is synonymous with fascism, and whose example is now to be followed by Germany.

As a matter of fact the situation is quite the reverse. What does the example of Italy prove here? The development of Italian fascism shows that to the extent to which its mass basis disappeared, its drive for despotic rule became stronger. It is possible that when in the historical January days, Hitler, Göring and Frick gave their *word of honour* to Hindenburg, Papen, Seldte and Hugenberg that they would not set up a system of government according to the Italian example, in reality already at that time they had in mind the so-called totality. This is quite possible. But it only proves that already at that time the national socialist leaders were aware that the enthusiasm kindled by them would soon die down, and then there would be only one course open to

them: brute force, ruthless terror. The reference to Italy, in the best case, only shows that in Germany things are developing much more rapidly; that a development which in Italy required years is accomplished in Germany in as many months.

The national socialist movement is experiencing an uninterrupted ascent? What achievements can it point to? Which of its promises has it kept? The London "Times," which quite appreciates Hitler's fight against Bolshevism, but is also anxious about the fate of the English credits, and before all is concerned about the interests of British imperialism, in its issue of June 21, i.e., before the latest events, published a detailed report on the situation in Germany. Here are some passages:

"The wave of confidence which the new regime undoubtedly brought to part of the business world set the machines working overtime in some industries. As the "Frankfurter Zeitung" stated, the makers of flags and of brown shirts were overwhelmed with orders; the prospect of labour conscription and the State acknowledgment of the patriotic associations enlivened the factories where boots, uniforms, and leather equipment are made; there was a sharp rise in the shares of firms likely to benefit from the process of mechanisation and from the manufacture of such weapons as Germany was expected to be allowed to possess."

We see here how cautious the Berlin correspondent of the "Times" is: how skilfully he hints at the boom in the German armament industry! But all this costs money. He writes further:

"The budgetary situation is obscure: a cumulative deficit of about 2,000 million marks was foretold by the Finance Minister, but as the 1932-33 budget has been prolonged the actual results are not yet known. Expenditure for 1933-1934 is being made at the rate of 1932-1933, but it is not yet possible to see what is happening on the revenue side, though the trend is apparently unfavourable.

"The financial future is overshadowed by the mortgage put on the revenue of future years, in the form of discountable taxation remission vouchers, by Herr von Papen. . . . This burden on future budgets imposed in the assumption of a trade recovery which is not yet assured is increased by the vast problem of financing labour conscription, the government's main positive proposal, of which all that has as yet been heard is that 'financial difficulties should not form an obstacle to the execution of measures of State policy.' But for Dr. Schacht's unyielding opposition to inflation such statements might conjure up visions of the printing press."

In its leading article commenting on the report the "Times" writes:

"Profits are dwindling. External trade is diminishing. The financial future is even more obscure than in most countries."

So much for the economic situation. Regarding the feeling prevailing in the country, the Berlin correspondent of the "Times" writes:

"After the exclusion of Herr Max Reinhardt a patriotic play was produced at the Deutsche Theatre and withdrawn after losing much money in a few nights, to make way for the temporary reappearance of the preceding Reinhardt production. A war-time success was produced at the Schiller Theatre, which soon after went into liquidation. Two films about Fascist Italy and a third about a peasant rising were put on in leading cinema theatres and withdrawn after playing to poor houses. Meanwhile the cinema-going public flocked to see two non-political films, made before the political upheaval, in which a Jewish tenor and a Polish tenor (whose German concerts had been forbidden) played the leading parts. American synchronised talking films which had almost disappeared from the German cinema theatre began to reap a harvest for their Jewish producers in Hollywood."

The interesting observations of the "Times" correspondent serve in the first place to reveal the feeling prevailing among the petty bourgeoisie. There is also great discontent in certain circles of the bourgeoisie. Not that they have any fear of anti-capitalist measures on the part of Hitler, but Germany's foreign-political isolation and the uncertainty regarding the future has a very depressing effect on them. The most important thing, however, is that, in spite of all their efforts, the Nazis have not suc-

ceeded in establishing a firm foothold among the workers; in Germany with its big industry they are faced with a powerful working class. And thus they scent opposition everywhere: from the German nationalists, the Steelhelmets, even from the social democracy; they are afraid of everybody, they would like everywhere to have their own people. It is clear that not the advance of national socialism but the shrinking of its social basis impelled the Nazis to adopt their latest measures.

This, of course, does not mean that their apparatus of power has become weakened. No. It has probably become stronger for the time being. In the same way it does not mean that those circles of the bourgeoisie which have been hit by the latest violent measures have immediately become the deadly enemies of the Nazis and will now carry the whole bourgeoisie along with them, as the social democracy tries to make out and, because it places its whole hopes in the bourgeoisie, again scents the morning air.*

The national socialists are the party of the bourgeoisie, its most energetic, ruthless party, which stakes everything for it; it is true it is not a party that smells of roses, but neither does the bourgeoisie of rotting capitalism smell of roses. The bourgeoisie of the ruling class knows very well what it possesses in national socialism as the governing party. It is before all aware that this party is its last reserve. National socialism can only be fought if the bourgeois is fought.

National socialism wishes to exterminate Marxism; but is not the development in Germany the plainest confirmation of Marxism? Do we not see that national socialism is driven by circumstances continually to change its tactics, to rely more and more on undisguised force? National socialism wishes to abolish the class struggle. But where in all the world was there a victory of reaction followed by such a violent upsurge of the class struggle as in Germany, thanks, it is true, to the existence of the Communist Party with fourteen years of fighting experience. Once the class struggle has seized the broad masses numbering millions, and, provided the Communist Party has the leadership of this fight boldly and firmly in its hands, the one uniform, the one colour, even the one discipline will prove to be a thin outer covering.

Time is working rapidly and well for us, provided we work rapidly and well for ourselves.

Politics

The Fascisation of French Democracy

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

We are experiencing a peculiar development of French "democracy" behind the famous "trenches of freedom," to defend which the government and the socialist leaders wished to summon the working masses. The Radicals, thanks to the constant support of the Socialist Party, have been in power a year. They have proved themselves incapable of solving the big capitalist problems in the sense of their election speeches and have broken all their demagogic promises.

As they could seek only the bourgeois way out of the crisis, just like their predecessors, the situation has become more acute. The small peasants have been very severely hit by the drop in the prices of corn and other products. The number of cases of bankruptcy among the small traders and artisans has increased from a monthly average of 602 in 1931, to 751 in 1932 and to 804 in the first months of this year. The wages of the workers have been reduced 20 per cent. and even more. Out of over a million fully unemployed workers, less than 300,000 receive any relief. The budget deficit amounts to 4,000 millions and the State Treasury is so empty that there is talk of raising loans abroad in order to be able to meet the liabilities falling due this month.

The capitalists, who are terrified about their future, are planning to restrict still further the liberties remaining to the workers.

*The new central organ of the German social democracy, "Deutsche Freiheit" (German Liberty) in Saarbrücken, which has received the blessing of the Second International, is indulging in a noisy sham opposition against Hitler, but does not say a word about the social oppression of the workers.

and on the other hand the tremendous disappointment prevailing among the millions of small traders and shopkeepers, who in May, 1932, placed all their hopes in the Left parties, is creating favourable ground for the development of fascist ideology and organisations. The two tendencies supplement each other.

It is in the first place the seriousness of the financial situation that recently called forth fresh cries of alarm. There were not only numerous demonstrations for "national unity," but in the Chamber and in the Senate Left Parliamentarians like Caillaux and Forgeot demanded *full powers* for the government. Every day newspapers of various tendencies are demanding greater authority, a stronger State, etc.

Tardieu is touring the country addressing huge meetings in which he attacks the Left Cartel and calls for new elections which could result in a fresh majority which would considerably reduce the legislative powers of Parliament.

The advance in the direction of a strong State is already to be seen in the further *increase of the repressive measures* against the working population. In the course of a year the Radical Government in France have caused prison sentences aggregating 60 years and fines amounting to 1,500,000 francs to be imposed on working-class fighters, instead of the amnesty which was promised. As they know that French commerce is maintained thanks only to the exploitation of the colonies, they maintain a system of indescribable terror in the French colonies, characterised by the proclamation of a state of siege in Tunis and Syria, and the atrocious sentences in Saigon, including eight death sentences and prison sentences aggregating hundreds of years. In the recent strikes *class justice was more savage than ever*: in Capestang 41 agricultural workers have been prosecuted and sentenced. In addition, the unemployed are being compelled to perform forced labour, with the threat that in case of refusal their unemployment benefit will be stopped.

In the meantime the bankruptcy of the Left creates a favourable ground for fascist propaganda. The national association of taxpayers, which finds it easy to rally round it those who are oppressed by the taxes, is able to hold huge meetings calling for the abolition of Parliament and the doing away with expenditure on social services. The agrarian party is endeavouring to incite the rural population against the workers in the towns. A number of fascist newspapers and organisations are springing up everywhere; millions of leaflets are being distributed by a *social national party*, which is developing a cunning phraseology against the excesses and failures of capitalism; several deputies of the Paris district, who have been elected as independents, are endeavouring to create a *republican-reformist movement* aiming at surrounding the red girdle of Paris with a green girdle; during the strike at Citroen, the *syndicalist national front* distributed literature and attempted to hold meetings. Coty, the perfume manufacturer, claims to have more than 100,000 supporters for his *national solidarity party*, which aims at a far-reaching transformation of the State. These are only beginnings: a social basis is being sought for a fascist movement.

What is still more serious is the fact that for some time past hooligan gangs have been attempting to terrorise the working-class districts. They consist mainly of young patriots, members of the fiery cross, Hervé's national socialists, etc. They include in their ranks young bourgeois, but also declassed workers and some elements of the lumpen proletariat, and they endeavour to recruit members from among the unemployed, whom the government under various pretexts has deprived of unemployment benefit. Owing to lack of an adequate organisation, the workers in the 18th Paris municipal district, in Vincennes, Mitry-Mory, Lille, etc., have not always been able to defend themselves successfully against these hooligan elements and have been beaten up. The revolutionary students are often compelled to fight regular battles with bands of young bourgeois, whilst Communist newspaper sellers have frequent collisions with troops of the Camelot du Roi. All this is the commencement of a serious danger which must be nipped in the bud. This is all more necessary as the Republican police always side with these murderers against the workers.

In order thoroughly to expose the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy before the masses, the Communist Party has decided to organise during July a big agitational and recruiting campaign with the theme: *A Year of the "Lefts" in power*. It will strive for the speedy carrying out of the decisions of the Paris Congress:

setting up of broad local or factory anti-fascist committees and mass self-defence organisations. Failing this we should run the danger of being overtaken by the fascisation which is taking place and which is bound to increase the more the crisis grows and the militancy of the workers and peasants increases.

The Aggravation of the Situation in Poland

By W. Floriansky (Warsaw)

In the last few months there is to be recorded a further serious aggravation of the situation in Poland. The growing inner and foreign political difficulties, the deepening of the economic crisis, which is leading to economic collapse, and finally the revolutionary movement, which is becoming stronger every day—these are the main factors determining the present situation in fascist Poland.

It has always been the ambition of Polish fascism to play first fiddle as defender of "christian civilisation" in the attacks on the Soviet Union. Hitler is now in power, and is attempting to deprive Poland of this role and take it over himself. In view of the danger of a "revision of frontiers," however, Polish fascism has by no means abandoned its occupationist efforts in regard to Danzig. It has let loose a chauvinistic anti-German incitement in the whole country. But this incitement is at the same time a cover for the unceasing, systematic preparations for war against the Soviet Union. At the same time as the Polish government was protesting its sincere friendship towards the Soviet Union, the dictator Pilsudski organised a military review in Vilna. One of the editors of the government newspaper "Slovo" openly wrote that "Hitler is defending European civilisation" and Poland must draw the consequences from this. The whole of the national democratic press, in spite of the anti-German attitude it has adopted hitherto, is writing in the same strain.

The disastrous economic crisis in industry and agriculture is developing still further. This is to be seen from the figures regarding heavy industry. If we take 100 to represent production in the year 1929, we find that in January of this year the output of coal was 64.8, that of iron 77, zinc and copper 28. The output of the iron smelting works was 38.8 per cent. of the 1929 production, and the output of the oil refiners 76.7 per cent. The situation in the textile, chemical and leather industry is no better. The agrarian crisis has led to a fearful impoverishment of the peasants, which in certain districts is beginning to assume the character of wholesale starvation. The situation is equally desperate in regard to finances and the State budget, as a result of the decline in the revenue from taxes, the depreciation of the dollar and other factors.

The fascist government wished to save itself from the threatening disaster by a general offensive against the working masses. The attacks in industry and agriculture were to be crowned by a number of legislative measures enacted by the fascist Sejm, before all the law to liquidate social insurance. This attack, however, encountered the powerful resistance of the working class.

The proletariat of the Dombrova coal basin replied to the announced 15 per cent. reduction of wages in the whole of the mining area of Silesia and Dombrova with two strikes on the 3rd and 4th March, and then on the 20th and 21st of March. In face of these strikes the capitalists were compelled to withdraw the wage cuts for the workers in the Dombrova Basin and in Upper Silesia.

The government and the capitalists were compelled to make these retreats not only by the actions of the miners but also by the strike of the 150,000 textile workers, which lasted a month, and by the real danger of this strike spreading to other branches of industry.

These strikes and struggles developed on the basis of the proletarian united front, which was best realised during the textile workers' strike. The factory strike committees were permeated by the spirit of the united front and constituted exemplary organs of the united front. The workers, on the basis of the day to day economic struggles, are resorting with increasing frequency to the political strike struggle. They strike out of solidarity for their fighting class comrades, in protest against legislative measures and for other reasons. These strikes are revealing an increasing tendency to develop into a general strike throughout the country. This increasing militancy is to be observed at a time when the terror is raging ever more fiercely and the manoeuvres of social fascism

are assuming increasingly cunning forms. The bourgeois press is raising the alarm in face of the "terrifying number of strikes, occupation of factories," etc.

In the course of the Winter and Spring the strike movement of the working class was accompanied by uninterrupted fights in the rural districts. The driving away of the tax collectors and government representatives, the wholesale confiscation of corn from the barns of the big landowners, wholesale felling of timber in the forests, all these events fill the daily chronicle of the growing class struggle in the rural districts. The fight is assuming particularly sharp forms in the occupied districts, especially in Western White Russia, where the daily struggle of the peasants is connected with the growing will to fight for national emancipation. In Volhynia and Polesia there are fresh outbreaks of spontaneous partisan movements, to which the government is replying with punitive expeditions and the gallows.

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In spite of all the manoeuvres, phrases and pseudo-democratic gestures, the mass basis of fascism is becoming ever narrower. The trade unions which the fascists endeavoured to build up with so much pains, have never embraced large masses in Poland. The semi-military fascist organisations are hated by the broad masses and are maintained solely by means of corruption and bribery.

The mass basis of fascism is thus very limited. The second openly fascist party, the national democratic party, has no influence worth mentioning either among the workers or among the poor peasants. Under these conditions the P.P.S. and the big peasants parties play all the greater role as main buttress of the fascist dictatorship in the camp of the workers and peasants. They make use of very radical phrases. The last decisions of the central commission of the trade unions on the fight against fascism speak of "the ruthless fight on all fronts, even if this fight violates the law arbitrarily imposed by the dictatorship," and proclaim it as their task "to bring about the overthrow of the dictatorship and replace it by a workers' and peasants government." These decisions do not seem to have impressed the dictatorship as being very dangerous, as even the fascist censorship allowed them to be published. As a matter of fact, the social fascists in Poland are doing their utmost to save the bourgeoisie from the growing revolutionary crisis and are bending all their energies in this direction.

The leaders of the people's party are acting in a similar manner. They make use of the demagogic slogan of distribution of the land, and at their last Congress openly spoke of the taking over by the State of the big landed estates without compensation. Their main activity consists in damming the wave of peasants' strikes against market dues and other impositions.

The proposal of the central committee of the Communist Party of Poland, which was addressed to the Polish parties affiliated to the II. International on March 7, for the setting up of the united front of the workers, organising a one day's general strike in the whole country against the attacks on the social insurance and against the fascist terror, met with a big response among the broad masses. This proposal was rejected by the social fascist leaders. By this measure the Communist Party of Poland has proved once again that only the Communist Party is organising the united front of the workers and that the social fascist leaders split the united front.

The strong revolutionary fighting spirit of the masses is shown by the fact that the revolutionary illegal May Day demonstration in Warsaw was attended by 15,000 workers, who fought against the armed police for the right to the streets. Scarcely 6,000 workers took part in the legal demonstration of the P.P.S.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland emphasises that the main lever for letting loose the forces of the approaching proletarian revolution is the strike movement, together with street demonstrations. It is particularly necessary today to organise political strikes on the basis of the day to day economic struggles. To-day the mobilisation of the masses for the general strike, a mobilisation which assumes the most varied forms and must be adapted to the concrete situation, is the most important point in the revolutionary movement in Poland. The next and the most important task which the C.P. of Poland has to solve is the leadership of the rising wave of fights of the peasants and of the suppressed peoples. The systematic fight against war preparations and national chauvinism is one of the conditions for carrying out the victorious fight against fascism.

The Balkans and the Four-Power Pact

By B. Boshkovitch.

The events of the last few days—the signing of the "Four-Power Pact," the final elimination of the Little Entente bloc and the considerable intensification of the pressure exerted by fascist Germany on the Dollfuss government are without doubt leading to a greater tension in imperialist conflicts on the Balkan front.

The plan of imperialist *Germany* with regard to the union of Austria with Germany is directed first and foremost against the states of the Little Entente, and implies the danger of a war against Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, of a war against France. Italy, which has its own plans for a revision of the Peace Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, and Trianon, looks with suspicion on the claims of imperialist Germany with regard to Austria, which opens the door to the Balkans.

For *French* imperialism, Yugoslavia, which comprises a number of nations, is one of the most important links in the Versailles chain. One must bear in mind the fact that in the event of a war between France and Italy the latter would not only have to deal with the French and Yugoslavian armies, but also with the fact that the Yugoslavian harbours in the Adriatic Sea would be used as naval bases by the French war fleet.

The *Italian* bourgeoisie, which by the Pact of London of February 26 (concluded before the entry of Italy into the world war) was promised, in addition to several districts in Asia Minor and Africa, the Adriatic coast and Dalmatia, discovered that it had been shamefully betrayed. As soon as the war came to an end, the allies of Italy repudiated their obligations. This explains why Italian imperialism is striving for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles in its favour.

As Yugoslavia is very closely bound up with France and is endeavouring to bring to realisation its hegemony in the Balkans, under the watchword "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples!" Italian fascism is confronted with the task of isolating Yugoslavia. To this end Italian diplomacy supports *Bulgaria*, which has been humiliated and plundered by the Peace Treaty. Italian fascism pursues the very same policy in *Greece*. Italian fascism is forming a united front with *Hungary*. In the year 1927 the frequent journeys of the Hungarian Prime Minister to Rome ended in the signing of the Treaty of Friendship between Italy and Hungary. Hungary obtained the right to use *Fiume* as a free port.

Italian imperialism, which is interested in maintaining "friendly" relations with Austria, supports this country in the question of its exemption from reparation payments and participates in the international loan which is repeatedly guaranteed to Austria by the League of Nations.

Finally, Italian imperialism, in its struggle for the hegemony of the Adriatic Sea, is also interested in the control of the important strategic port in Albania, *Valona*, which is situated sixty miles from the Italian coast and offers a possibility of cutting off the Adriatic Sea in the event of a war.

The Yugoslavian fascist military dictatorship repeatedly attempted to strike a blow at the Italian influence in *Albania*. At the end of 1924 Yugoslavia actively supported the action of the representative of the feudal Albanian Achmed Bey Zogu against the pro-Italian Fan Noli, and made it possible for him to use Yugoslav territory for the preparation of the uprising. But in the year 1926 Mussolini concluded with Albania the so-called peace of Tirana, according to which fascist Italy pledged itself not only openly to defend the territorial integrity of Albania in case of an attack from without, but also to maintain the political régime of the Albanian dictator Achmed Zogu. Yugoslavia hastened to parry this thrust by signing the treaty with France of November 11, 1927. Italian fascism reacted to this treaty with the conclusion of a military alliance with Albania.

At the same time as the activities of Italian fascism, the activities of French imperialism which are directed towards the strengthening of the armed forces of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, are proceeding at a rapid tempo.

In its turn Italian fascism is developing its activities at a feverish tempo. In Budapest a secret conference of representatives of the General Staffs of Italy, Hungary, Albania, and Bulgaria, is arranged. Dozens of waggons of weapons destined for Hungary are sent from Italy to the munition factory in *Hirten-*

berg. Firms in Germany receive contracts from Hungary for the delivery of weapons, aeroplanes, tanks, etc.

As is well known, the "Hirtenberg affair" was extensively exploited by French imperialism. The governments of France and Great Britain sent a sharp Note to Austria with the demand for the return of the Italian arms sent to Hirtenberg.

The seizure of power by bellicose fascism in Germany has not only intensified all imperialist conflicts to an extreme point, but has also placed directly on the order of the day the question of war.

The first reply to the seizure of power by fascism in Germany was the calling of a council of the chiefs of the General Staffs and later of a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente, which ended with the signing of the so-called "Pact of Organisation" for the reorganisation of the Little Entente. According to the new pact the foreign policies of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania will be directed by a permanent council of the Foreign Ministers of all three States.

In this situation there took place the discussion and signing of the "Four-Power Pact," which aroused the uneasiness and watchfulness of those countries which enjoyed the fruits of the victory of Versailles during their co-operation with France. This uneasiness was all the more comprehensible when Mussolini developed the plan for a completely new division of Europe and in particular for a revision of the frontiers in East and South-East Europe.

How the draft of the "Four-Power Pact" was received by leading circles in the countries of the Little Entente is best shown by the resolutions, that were passed by the conference of the Little Entente, which took place in Prague on May 31.

The leaders of the Little Entente emphasise in their declaration the fact that every attempt to revise the frontiers that were laid down by the Peace Treaties would mean immediate war.

The "Four-Power Pact" has compelled Poland to enter into still closer relations with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The European press is already publishing news with regard to the conclusion of a military convention between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

All this proves that the "Four-Power Pact" has not only not lessened imperialist conflicts in Europe, but has still further intensified them, at the same time increasing the danger of a new war and in particular war between Italy and Yugoslavia.

The flames of a world-war have already in the past had their origin in the Balkans. At any moment now the imperialist antagonisms and conflicts, that have ripened with particular sharpness, and the boiling heat of the whole international situation may set a light to the European powder magazine and draw the whole world into a fresh imperialist blood bath.

At the same time this intensification of imperialist antagonisms increases the tendencies in the camp of imperialism towards solving these antagonisms at the expense of the Soviet Union.

Fascist Methods in Chile

By E. P. Greene (New York)

The increasing sharpening of the class struggle in Chile, and the weakening of the state apparatus have caused the bourgeois-landlord class more and more to resort to fascist methods of repression in order to carry out its policy in favour of imperialism. Among the class conflicts of the last two years should be mentioned: the revolt in the Navy in September, 1931; the risings at Copiapo and Vallenar in December, 1931; the general strike in Santiago in January, 1932; and the seizure of land in the south by the peasants and Indians in the summer of 1932.

On April 28th of this year the Chilean Congress granted dictatorial power to President Alessandri, in order to enable him "to deal firmly with any subversive movements or threats of disorder." In the words of Alessandri, the government pledges itself to maintain the "social order" at any cost, and to strengthen the so-called social laws of 1924, laws directed primarily against the workers, peasants and Indians.

In order to carry out this reactionary policy, which is in the

interest of the two thousand odd landowners who control 80 per cent. of all the cultivated land of the country, and in the interest of the native bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism, Alessandri is now to make use of the *Milicia Republicana*. This body, recruited from the petty-bourgeoisie, known also under the name of White Guards and Blue Shirts, is modelled on the *Milizia* of Mussolini. It was organised last August, after the June, 1932, coup d'etat of Davila, by Sanchez Errazuriz, as a repressive instrument against the mass movement of the workers and peasants which was threatening the existence of the military dictatorships of Davila and Grove. It was originally called the National Socialist Legion of Chile. Every member was forced to take an oath "to fight Communism in any form." At the present time one of its most important leaders is Julio Bustamante, Governor of Santiago. Domingo Duran, Minister of Education, holds in it the post of regimental commander, as do many other members of the government.

While this organisation is directed primarily against the exploited masses of Chile, it also serves another purpose: to uphold "civilismo" against coups d'etat organised by rivals of Alessandri. In Chile the word "civilismo" is used to distinguish the "civil government" of Alessandri from the governments of military dictators which preceded it, particularly the governments of Ibañez (1926-31) and Grove (1932). This same "civil" government of Alessandri is now being maintained with the aid of 40,000 troops, 20,000 military police, and 15,000 *Milicia Republicana*.

Not until May, 1933, was the *Milicia Republicana* officially incorporated into the state apparatus. On May 7th the *Milicia* took part in a large demonstration in Santiago, capital of Chile. Fifteen thousand Blue Shirts, together with detachments of the regular army from all parts of the country, marched down the broad and tree-lined Alameda de las Delicias, from the Jockey Club, an exclusive organisation of the upper strata of the ruling class, to the Plaza de Armas. At La Moneda, the Presidential Palace, they were reviewed by Alessandri and high officials of the government. This display left the 400,000 spectators "gasping with surprise at the strength of the first potent civil law-enforcement body since Diego Portales formed a civic guard 100 years ago."

The *Milicia Republicana* has been privately financed by the bourgeois-landlord class to the extent of 6,000,000 pesos (360,000 dollars). It possesses planes, tanks, and field guns, and all the equipment necessary for carrying on a war.

The demonstration of May 7th caused a disagreement in the Cabinet, and led to the resignation of Hevia, Premier and Minister of the Interior. The leaders of the *Milicia* recently warned all groups and political parties opposed to the regime of Alessandri that "no alteration of the present order will be tolerated, and all subversive agitation must cease."

At the same time Alessandri uses fascist methods against the workers and peasants, the "left wing" of "Alessandrismo," Pedro Ugalde, Pradenas Muñoz and various leaders of the reformist unions, is attempting to stop the workers from organising for struggle by inducing them to "petition" the government.

The imperialist pirates in Chile, led by Whelpley and Gibbs, by Alessandri and Grove, by Blanquier and Ross, by Agustin Edwards and Campillo, are preparing to throw themselves like jackals at the throats of the workers and peasants. Only the **Communist Party of Chile** is fighting against this murderous clique of exploiters, and is intensifying the struggle for the disarming and disbanding of the military police and the *Milicia Republicana*.

The Cassel Storm Detachment Mutinies.

Berlin, 23rd June.

The lower and middle strata of the population of Cassel have been thrown into seething excitement by the "revolutionary emergency contribution" which the Cassel Nazi authorities are endeavouring to impose on the toilers of this town. This excitement has now spread to the Storm Troops. Several detachments have mutinied openly. Many Storm men have been arrested and put in prison. At a Storm Troop meeting attended by 3,000 men, the National Socialist speakers endeavouring to impress on their followers the necessity of the "revolutionary emergency contribution" were howled down. The Storm Troop men left the meeting in a body, singing the "International."

Germany

Hitler's Decisive Blow Against Hugenberg

By Brand

The great blow against Hugenberg has now been struck. Recently the Thuringian Nazi district leader and Reich Stadtholder, Sauckel, proclaimed the new Nazi slogan that had been decided a few days previously: "I command intolerance towards all others!" And against Hugenberg he added threateningly: "Everyone must be branded as a traitor who ventures to cast doubt on the correctness of the national socialist world outlook."

Obviously nobody in the German nationalist party had any idea that the storm would break over them so quickly. Otherwise it is hardly likely that Hugenberg would have gone to London. During his absence the Nazis were able to prepare their action without disturbance. It commenced in Dortmund, Hagen, East Prussia and Silesia. The Nazi police presidents dissolved the local organisations of the German nationalist "Kampfring" and forbade the German nationalist factory organisation to recruit members; they arrested German nationalist speakers and deputies, because they had allegedly "spoken contemptuously of the Reich's government." At the same time they shattered the Stahlhelm organisations in those places where they were overwhelmingly German nationalist, as in East Prussia, Düsseldorf and Essen, and finally, dissolved the Stahlhelm in the whole of the Rhine province. All these were blows against Hugenberg.

When Hugenberg returned post haste from London, it was too late. He was still able to make a declaration to the public in which he stated that the Nazi report, according to which he had approved of the dissolution of the Fighting Ring organisation, was a swindle, and described the Nazi calumny about the "Kampfring" being permeated with "Marxism" as being completely contrary to the facts. On the same day as this declaration appeared in the press there followed the decisive blow, the dissolution of the whole of the "Kampfring" organisations and also the German nationalist "Bismarck" Youth.

The German nationalist bourgeoisie is highly indignant. The numerous house searches, the thousands of arrests, the incredibly brutal treatment of the arrested—all this is certainly reason enough for Hugenberg and his followers to spit venom. But what can they do? The financial capitalists who are behind the German nationalists take care not to come forward openly in this situation; among the junkers, Hugenberg has lost the greater influence to Hitler. Moreover, Hitler has obviously gained ground in the Reichswehr, and if Hugenberg could at one time cherish the hope that in the decisive hour he would be able to count on the higher generals, he must now perceive that in the meantime this hope has become an illusion.

The blow the Nazis have dealt the German national fighting organisations is, in our opinion, the decisive blow against Hugenberg. For, if Hitler has destroyed the mass basis of the German nationalists, Hugenberg's party is a nullity. Will Hugenberg attempt to defend himself? The only thing he could do would be to resign from the Cabinet. Hitler has no need to fear this, for he has all the means of power in his hands. Hugenberg believed that, owing to the political development of the last few months, he would become indispensable to Hitler. But precisely because the foreign-political situation is disastrous, the economic-political outlook exceedingly gloomy, and because at home a very serious crisis has broken out among the fascist masses—precisely for these reasons the Nazi leaders have been compelled to cast aside all other considerations and commence the decisive fight against Hugenberg.

It is of course absolutely ridiculous when the Nazi leaders assert that the reason which compelled them to adopt their measures was that the Kampfring organisations had become "dangerous to the State." The German nationalist organisations could not in any way compare, either numerically or even in their fighting value, with Hitler's brown troops.

There exists no doubt that Hitler has prohibited the German nationalist fighting organisations mainly in view of the approaching bigger conflicts between national socialism and Communism.

It seems to be an irony of fate that Hugenberg of all persons, who with the aid of his big newspaper concerns and various other institutions, has made the Hitler party what it is to-day, who helped Hitler into the saddle and took part without scruple in the fascist campaign of terror against the Communists, that this same Hugenberg is now being speedily got rid of in order that national socialism shall have a free field for the offensive against the Communists! Herr Hugenberg now has the pleasant experience of seeing his followers, the leaders of the Kampfring, the leaders of the Stahlhelm, confined in the same prisons and concentration camps that he, together with Hitler, established for the Communists.

We Communists have no time and no inclination to indulge in malicious joy over the fate of the reactionary and fascist Hugenberg and his organisations. We see what lies behind it, namely, the new attack of national socialism against us! The Nazis' offensive against Hugenberg, with the simultaneous attack on the Centre, is by no means a sign that Hitler-fascism feels strong and confident. On the contrary, the Nazi leaders are all too well aware of the growing ferment in all strata of the working population; they observe the increasing fighting strength and activity of the Communists; they see how Communism is gaining ground every day; they know that the Communist Party is not defeated, let alone crushed; they fear the coming sharpening of the economic and social crisis, as a result of which the Communist Party can become still stronger; and they are therefore preparing for the future fight with Communism. Therefore Hitler wishes to clear the field as soon as possible for the fight with Communism, to get rid of all bourgeois organisations, including the Centre, which could lame or hamper, in order to have a free hand for the decisive fight against the revolutionary labour movement.

The fight between fascism and Communism is a fight for capturing the masses. This determines the general line of our whole work. We realise that Hitler-fascism, in clearing away all other organisations and attempting to break all resistance within the capitalist camp, can strengthen its position for the time being. But apart from the fact that the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie still exist, the battlefield will also become simpler for us if the rubbish of the small bourgeois parties is cleared away and reduced to a common denominator: Hitler-fascism. The more plainly Hitlerism becomes the representative of the capitalist system of exploitation and slavery of the working class, the more clearly Communism becomes the representative of the working class and its fight against the fascist dictatorship of capital. It would be dangerous not to recognise that Hitler, by crushing the social democracy and its mass organisations, upon whose shoulders he climbed to power, by crushing the German nationalists and the Centre which helped him into the saddle, by absorbing all organisations which hitherto served as buttresses of capitalist class rule, certainly draws all power to himself. But at the same time he thereby renders easier our fight for the liquidation of bourgeois reactionary ideology in the working masses and for the ideological destruction of social-fascism and the Centrist deceivers of the people, and thereby enables us to bring together all the forces of the working masses, including the social democratic and christian workers, in a powerful anti-fascist united front. There is only one alternative: all that is anti-Nazi must gather round the Communists; for there is only one party apart from the national socialists—the Communist Party; there is only one fighting front against fascism—the Communist fighting front; there is only one salvation from the hell of the fascist dictatorship of capital—Communism! The working masses of Germany learn slowly, but in the bondage of fascism they are learning much that they need for the big fight for the emancipation of the German proletariat. They are now learning, for example, the slogan: "Intolerance towards all others!" This is the slogan with which the German working class will one day overthrow Hitler and the men who are behind him!

The Situation of the German State Finances

In Hitler's "Third Reich" there are no properly ordered finances subject to public control. The budget is drawn up by the Cabinet; the sham parliament does not even wish to know its contents. The budget surveys which the Finance Minister issues for certain purposes for foreign countries are so faked that they do not give any picture of the true state of the finances. We will give only one example of this. A few days ago the Reichs Minister for Finances, Count Schwerin-Krosigk, submitted to the public a financial statement for the year ending 31st March, 1933. In this he recorded with great satisfaction that during this year the deficit had increased by only 190 million marks. In order, however, to arrive at this fraudulent figure, the Finance Minister omitted to mention the following trifles: (1) the burden incurred by the Reich by the issue of "tax remission vouchers" amounting to 1,300 to 2,000 million marks; (2) the extra liabilities incurred by the issue of treasury bonds, amounting to 600 million; (3) the debt which has arisen as a result of minting silver coins, amounting to 500 million. The floating debt has been increased by these "trifles" from 2,000 to approximately 5,000 million!

A detailed examination strengthens the impression of the disastrous state of the State finances one receives at the first glance. The revenue from taxes shows an enormous decline. The proceeds from the income tax, which in 1928 amounted to 3,110 million marks (a third of the total revenue from taxes), declined to 1,333 millions in the year 1932. The reason for this disastrous decline is firstly, that the revenue from the wages tax, in spite of the tax having been raised, showed a sharp drop owing to unemployment, and secondly, that the capitalists are more and more evading payment of taxes. This last reason is confirmed by the very sharp decline in the revenue from the corporation tax of the capitalist undertakings, which has sunk from 608 to 106 million, i.e. to one sixth. This means that the joint stock companies, Trusts, etc. are no longer paying any income tax whatever. In the "Third Reich" the payment of taxes is more and more becoming a matter which concerns only the working masses, whilst the big capitalists confine themselves to consuming in the form of subventions an ever larger portion of the money squeezed out of the tax-payers.

The indirect taxation of the masses has been increased to the utmost possible limits. The turnover-tax has been increased from 0.75 to 2 per cent., and thus, in spite of the enormous decline of the trade turnover, has been able to realise 1,333 million instead of 1,000 million as formerly; in the year 1928 it amounted to one third of the income tax, whilst now it brings in even more than the income tax. The special taxes on beer, tobacco, spirits, in spite of the fact that they have been repeatedly increased, have yielded less owing to the fact that consumption declined so rapidly. This loss in revenue has partly been made up for by the increase in the tax on sugar and the introduction of the salt tax. In spite of the rapid falling off of imports, the revenue from customs duties, thanks to their having been increased so enormously, was maintained at 1,100 million; but it will sink as the last customs increases simply have the effect of shutting out goods altogether. Taken as a whole the ratio of the property tax to taxes payable by the great masses, which in 1913 was about 50 : 50 and in 1928 was still 40 : 60 is now about 10 : 90! In no other capitalist country are the working masses subjected to such taxation-robbery as they are in Hitler's "Third Reich."

This development of the revenue from taxes is one of the greatest sources of danger to the German finances. The second source of danger is the heavy burdening of the budget for the coming year in advance. These incumbrances, which for 1933 already amount to somewhere between 1,000 and 1,500 millions, will increase enormously in the next year or so. The former budget specialist of the Reichs Council, Arnold Brecht, published the following compilation of these liabilities in the "Vossische Zeitung" of 14 and 15th June :

1. Papen's tax vouchers	1,300 to 2,000 million
2. Treasury bonds for making good the losses of the banks, etc.	600 "
3. Papen's "provision of work"	340 "
4. Supplemental "guarantees" (risk of losses)	300 "
5. Hitler's "Provision of work"	500 "

together between 3,040 and 3,740 million

The hope that the Reich would be able to convert part of this floating debt into long-term loans has up to now proved illusory. The government are gradually beginning to realise that international finance capital, in view of Hitler's crazy financial policy, has no intention of granting loans to Hitler's Third Reich; and German financial circles have recently pronounced strongly against the plan to impose a compulsory loan at home, pointing out that such a loan would ruin the whole credit market for private capital.

The outlook as regards the financial development for the current year is very gloomy. On the one hand, expenditure has been increased still further: setting up of new Ministries (Propaganda Ministry, Air Ministry) involving an increased expenditure of 75 to 100 million, the setting up of numerous new offices; the increase in the number of government officials in order to give jobs to thousands of members of the national socialist party; and to this is to be added increased expenditure on armaments, bigger subventions to the industrial, commercial and agrarian capitalists and to house property owners, and finally the so-called "programme for providing work."

What is true of the Reich applies also to the federated states and municipalities. How disastrous the situation is in the Federated State and municipalities is proved not only by the constant appeals to the public to pay taxes more punctually, but also by such cases which have occurred for instance in Kassel, where the Nazi majority on the town council decided to reduce the payments made by the municipality for Poor Law Relief and to make up this amount by introducing a "voluntary emergency sacrifice," commencing at 2½ per cent. of the income and graduated according to the size of the income. The Reichs Minister for Finances protested against this measure, because such a communal income tax would be bound to reduce the yield from the Reichs taxes. But the Kassel Nazis refused to give way, and pointed out that their "emergency sacrifice" was purely "voluntary." Needless to say, the capitalists will never agree to such a taxation policy as that introduced in Kassel, for they have not made Hitler Reichs Chancellor in order that he shall place taxes on them, but in order that he shall make presents to them out of the taxes paid by the masses. The bankruptcy of municipal finances compels the Reichs Government to engage in fresh expenditure in order to prevent the collapse of the municipalities, and in so doing imposes fresh burdens on the Reichs budget.

As the Hitler government is fully aware that very little more can be squeezed out of the working masses, and that there is practically no prospect of raising a loan, it is compelled to stake everything on one card: "revival of economy." And, in accordance with the motto, "after us the deluge," to embark on further reckless expenditure. The Nazis find it very hard to persuade the foreign capitalists that the millions they are squandering on flags, S.A. uniforms and similar things, will make bankrupt Germany rich. With the enormous expenditure on "providing work," Hitler is playing his last card in order to "restore" economy and finances. If, however, this card wins no tricks, what other course will be left open than that of open inflation. It was not due to chance that at the opening of the Berlin Transfer Conference, Schacht held out the prospect of a new German inflation catastrophe, which would be greater than that of 1923. That is the real outlook of the financial development in Hitler's "Third Reich." "After us the deluge!"

Declaration of the C.C. of the Y.C.L. of Bulgaria

In 1925 the bloody dictatorship of Tsankov, afraid of the powerful revolutionary upsurge of the working class and the peasantry, used the monstrous bloody provocation, the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral, for the smashing up of the revolutionary movement.

Tsankov, with his satraps, blamed the Communist Party of Bulgaria for the explosion and used this provocation as a starting point for the physical extermination of the vanguard of the revolution—the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

Thousands of the best fighters were killed and tortured by the Tsankov henchmen. Tens of thousands were thrown into jails and many were forced to seek the right of refuge abroad, as they were faced with torture and the gallows. They were faced with the same fate as that of Sasho Koffarjiev and of Petko Napetov, killed without trial in the street. Among those who saved them-

selves from persecution were comrades **Dmitrov, Popov and Taniev.**

Despite the fact that the Communist Party and Y.C.L. of Bulgaria repeatedly and categorically refuted this heinous accusation; despite the fact that the whole proletariat and peasantry knew that such acts of individual terror have nothing in common with the programme or the tactics of struggle of the Communist parties, the Bulgarian secret police has not ceased its provocations and the hunting down of revolutionary activists of Bulgaria. It strove with all its strength to blacken the best revolutionaries and the whole Communist Party and the Y.C.L. of Bulgaria in the eyes of the working class and the peasantry.

Nevertheless, neither the provocation in regard to the Sofia Cathedral, the attempted assassination in the Askoruhovo station, the attempted blowing up of the Shipchensk monastery, nor the murdering and mass death sentences have separated the masses of toilers from their heroic Communist Party. Under the conditions of the most terrific terror and mass murder the Bulgarian Communist Party has won under its influence the majority of the working class and a considerable part of the peasantry.

No forces in the world can tear out of the hearts of the proletariat their everlasting hatred and bitterness against their enslavers and jail-keepers. The Bulgarian proletariat, headed by their glorious Communist Party, victoriously approaches the revolution.

March 5th was copied—a vile farce in a more pitiful edition—by German fascism in the burning down of the Reichstag. The whole world bourgeois press proved that **Van der Lubbe and Goering** are the organisers of this arson, which was needed by **Hitler**, as a pretence for declaring a crusade against the Communist Party of Germany.

Literally everybody knows that the Reichstag was burnt down by the fascists themselves. Nevertheless, in order to cover up their crime the German fascists have thrown into jail the leaders of the Communist Party, **Thäelmann and Torgler**, and the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party, **Dmitrov, Popov and Taniev**, who saved themselves from the oppression of the Bulgarian secret police by coming to Germany.

The Hitler government is fabricating absurd falsifications with the aim of putting them in the dock together with the fascist, **Van der Lubbe**, despite that the Communists have no connection whatsoever with the case.

We call on the toiling youth of Bulgaria, Germany and of all other countries to take action for the defence and the saving of the best fighters of the revolutionary proletariat—the comrades **Dmitrov, Thäelmann, Popov, Taniev and Torgler**. We demand the immediate release of all political prisoners.

Do not allow the fascist governments of **Hitler and Mushanov-Hichev** to shed the blood of our best leaders and comrades!

The German fascists want to deliver over into the hands of the Bulgarian fascists one of the best leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Youth movement, **Comrade B. Popov**. This is equal to death, as **Comrade Popov** was sentenced to twelve and a half years imprisonment for his revolutionary activity.

We demand the immediate release from jail of comrades **Dmitrov, Popov, and Taniev**, and that they should not be handed over to the Bulgarian henchmen.

Young workers and peasants of Bulgaria and Germany! Raise higher the banner of revolutionary anti-fascist struggle. Organise strikes, demonstrations and protest meetings in the struggle for the freeing of our leaders.

Toiling Youth of Germany!

Do not allow yourselves to be intimidated by terror and provocations! Fascism has not got the strength to exterminate us—because there are millions of toilers backing us. The future belongs to us!

Go to battle bravely and decisively!

You can learn greatly from the experiences of our struggle. Neither **Mussolini, Pilsudski, Tsankov** or **Hitler** are capable of extinguishing the growing flame of the revolution!

Long live the proletarian dictatorship!

Long live the heroic Communist Party of Bulgaria!

Long live the glorious German Communist Party and its leader, **Comrade Thäelmann!**

Our warmest greetings to Comrades **Thäelmann, Dmitrov, Popov, Taniev** and all the fighters for the international world revolution.

C.C. of the Young Communist League of Bulgaria.

Appeal of the Young Communist League of Germany

Young workers of town and country! The fascist murderers have been wallowing in blood for three months already in Germany. Hundreds of the bravest and most devoted sons of the working class are being done to death by the fascist murderers or "shot while trying to escape." Thousands are languishing in the fascist prisons and concentration camps and are subjected to the most barbarous and cruel torture. The fascist dictatorship has given the working youth neither bread nor work nor a way out of the crisis. It has brought it neither liberation from the exploiters and parasites within the country nor from the chains of the Versailles yoke. In the interests of preserving the bankrupt capitalist system, fulfilling the orders of the bourgeoisie, it places prisons, flogging and barracks as a symbol for its care for the youth—despite its former lying promises—and brings the young workers still greater impoverishment and slavery.

The Communist Party and the Y.C.L. of Germany, which **Hitler** wanted to exterminate and destroy, live and fight on heroically despite all the sacrifices and difficulties involved because the fascist dictatorship cannot kill the desire of the workers to fight for freedom and for liberation from slavery.

In blind fury and fear of the growing revolutionary upsurge, fascism endeavours physically to destroy the vanguard of the working class by means of provocations and terror and to frighten away the workers from the Communist Party.

Fascism does not shrink from employing the vilest and most contemptible methods in order to fulfil its aim.

The entire world knows that the Reichstag was not set on fire by the Communists but by Storm Detachment No. 33 (**Mordsturm**) on **Hitler's** instructions and with the direct participation of **Goering**. Despite all this and the fact that the reason for this provocative act is obvious, German fascism is endeavouring to make out that this was the action of the Communist Party.

With this the fascists want legally to justify the murder of the leaders of the German Communist Party, Comrades **Thäelmann and Torgler**, and of the three Bulgarian Communists, **Dimitrov, Popov, and Taniev**, which they are preparing to perpetrate.

Goering has been manufacturing a case for the past three months so as to shift the blame upon the Communists who have nothing in the slightest to do with this preposterous provocation.

All the workers, the rest of the toiling population and the bourgeoisie itself know very well that the programme and the methods of struggle of the Communist Party repudiate any kind of individual terror and destruction. We are not a band of paid murderers and incendiaries, but a party of the workers who are preparing themselves to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and fascism through the proletarian revolution.

Young Workers!

The C.C. of the Y.C.L. of Germany appeals to you to come out against this gruesome provocation, for the defence of Comrades **Thäelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, and Taniev**.

You must know that this is a blow which fascism is directing against the entire working class and the youth of the whole world.

Down with fascist terror, down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie!

Comrade Thäelmann stood at his post right up to the last moment, shoulder to shoulder with the German workers, filling the hearts of the young workers with enthusiasm and inspiring them for the revolutionary struggle for emancipation. The young Communists and thousands of young workers of Germany know with what energy and persistency **Comrade Thäelmann** fought for the liberation of the youth, to bring them a better future.

Through the person of **Comrade Thäelmann**, fascism wants to rob the German young workers of their best friend and leader.

Precisely because **Comrade Thäelmann** stands at the head of the struggle of the German proletariat and working youth for their liberation, fascism wants to murder him.

We call upon the young workers to take their places in the ranks of the mass campaign of protest.

Through the will of millions we will succeed in wresting the best fighters of the proletarian revolution—Comrades **Thäelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, and Taniev**—from the bloody clutches of fascism.

Close your ranks in mighty demonstrations and protest actions in the factories, labour exchanges, schools and streets!

Think of the power and invincibility of your forces and your will under the banner of international proletarian solidarity!

Form committees everywhere on the widest possible basis for the defence of Comrade Thäelmann!

We demand the immediate release of Comrades Thäelmann, Torgler and the Bulgarian Communists. We demand the immediate break-up of the concentration camps and the liberation of all revolutionary workers. Let your voice of protest be heard. Stay the murderer's arm!

Down with fascist terror! Down with Hitler!

Long live the heroic Communist Party of Germany and its glorious leader, Comrade Thäelmann.

C.C. of the Y.C.L. of Germany.

A Cry for Help from the Prison Hells in Germany

Berlin, 22nd June.

We take the following heart-rending account of the conditions obtaining in the notorious concentration camp Heuberg (Wurtemberg) from a report which has been smuggled out of one of the martyrs' cells of the Heuberg camp, where the bravest revolutionary workers are subjected to the most brutal of treatment in the so-called penalty buildings 19a, 19b, 23a, and 23b. One of the passages of this letter runs:—

"Dear Comrades,—

"It is to be hoped that you receive this cry for help. Life here is absolutely frightful. . . . At half-past eight we are forced to go to bed, and at half-past five (not 6 o'clock) we are driven out. We have no rest during the night. Often we are driven out in front of the barracks 3 or 4 times in the night, and chased round the quadrangle, beatings and brutal insults being a matter of course.

"A comrade from Elbing was given only two meals in the course of 6 days in the dark cell, and returned half starved and as pale as death. He was frightfully beaten up in the dark cell.

"The Nürting comrades are still black and blue from the terrible beatings up.

"The growls of the Storm Detachment men, and the shrieks of our defenceless comrades, may be heard unceasingly day and night.

"The food is deliberately intended to cause slow starvation, and is enough to destroy the strongest nerves, so that many comrades are thinking of suicide, or are drawn into offering resistance, even at the risk of being beaten to death or shot.

"The penalties are being intensified in cells 19a, 19b, 23a, and 23b. The prisoners are placed together on the various stages according to age: 20-25, 25-30, 30-40, 40 years and older

"We get no hot water for washing our crockery. We are allowed to wash our clothes for half an hour every Monday, with cold water. You can imagine what our underclothes look like; and any soldier knows that such washing does not kill the vermin. The consequence is that we are eaten up by lice.

"The walk in the courtyard is limited to 10 minutes. Windows may not be opened. You can imagine what the air is like. . . .

"Those Storm Detachment men who are not severe enough are relieved. . . . A fresh command comes every 4 weeks. Even when we do not give the slightest pretext for brutal action, some pretext is found. . . .

"The food is so wretched that we are all under nourished, and look frightful. There is no fat in the food, it has no taste, and there is a great deal of soda in it. We have had butter only twice in 11 weeks. One pound is divided into six portions. In 11 weeks! It is clear that under such conditions we become physical wrecks."

The letter closes with the following sentences:—

"Dear Comrades, this is our life. It is a perfect hell. We are subjected to the utmost danger in getting this letter out to you, with our appeal: help us! Bring these things to the attention of the wide public. Strengthen the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, against this abominable system of violence and beating! The obtaining of conditions worthy of human beings in the penalty buildings depends on your struggle. We set our teeth determinedly and are holding resolutely and unshakably to our convictions! Nobody can rob us of our ideal—it will be victorious! Revolutionary fighting greetings to you all!"

The World Economic Crisis

The Battle of London—the Crisis Wins

By R. Palme Dutt (London)

The **London Economic Conference** is not going "according to plan." Whatever provisional accords had been reached in the preliminary conversations for reaching some form of temporary truce or stabilisation at the Conference have broken down. This has shown itself conspicuously in the breakdown of the keystone of the whole attempt at stabilisation, the **Currency Stabilisation Agreement**, which had actually been signed by the Central Bank representatives of Britain, France and America, when at the last moment it was directly torpedoed by Roosevelt. The antagonisms are in the open.

What is the significance of this breakdown from outside the **Conference** of even the limited accords reached at the Conference? It reveals sharply the intensification of the crisis within each country even during the proceedings of the Conference. This intensification of the crisis so rapidly changes the situation of each protagonist and the balance of forces as to destroy the ground every time from under even any limited and provisional accord that is reached.

Thus on the key question of **Currency**, the sharpest expression of the battle of the Powers, there is every reason to believe that Roosevelt had originally intended a temporary stabilisation agreement to be reached at the London Conference, and that the Roosevelt-MacDonald conversations had prepared the ground for this. The original American intention in taking the dollar off gold had been to counter the depreciation of sterling and force sterling back to stabilisation. The American delegation and Harrison, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, had come to London with these instructions and acted on them in the provisional agreement reached. But meanwhile the situation in the United States had reached a far more acute point, compelling the definite decision to take the risk and advance with the inflation policy, for which stabilisation would only be a hindrance. Hence the directly contrary instruction of Roosevelt, vetoing the agreement (although the reported terms of \$4.05 to the £ were relatively favourable to America), and throwing the Conference into confusion.

Not the Conference controls the Crisis, but the Crisis controls the Conference. Each new event of the changing situation throughout the world throws the Conference out of gear. Delegations put forward policies and memoranda on one day only to disavow them the next. **Hugenberg** puts forward his obviously inspired memorandum, laying all too bare the real aims of German policy, only to be recalled and thrown out of office. **Hull** and **Pitman** put forward their statements of American policy, only to be disavowed and held up, while the Assistant Secretary of State, **Moley**, is dispatched post-haste with a new set of instructions from Roosevelt. Meanwhile the Conference marks time, hanging on the changing situation in each of the leading countries. New developments in Europe or in the Far East may at any moment further deflect its course. The Conference moves like a ship without a rudder, driven by the contrary forces of the hurricane of the crisis.

Not a single question has yet shown any sign of reaching solution at the Conference. Even the **debts question** was only held over and postponed, not solved, and that at the very last hour, by the device of the "token" payment from England to America; while it remains fully open and acute between France and America, and raising new difficulties between Germany and its private creditors. On currency there is full deadlock. On tariffs there is no step forward, even the ten per cent. all-round cut proposal of Senator Pitman having been withdrawn. The most active negotiations are characteristically those for the restriction of production and exports in leading commodities—that is to say, to make the Conference purely and simply a **conspiracy in restraint of trade and against production**. But even here, as with the opposition of Australia against the American demands for wheat limitation, the contradictions are intense.

With this failure of every attempt so far to reach even a temporary truce, the war of all against all stands out clearly and unconcealed as the dominant character of the Conference. As the British Chancellor of the Exchequer declared in the House of Commons on June 2nd, on the eve of the Conference:

"Much as all of us regretted the economic warfare which had arisen between us and other countries, we must maintain

that warfare as long as it was the other countries that had taken the aggressive."

"We must maintain that warfare." That is the keynote of the Conference.

In the forefront of all stands the **Anglo-American antagonism**. This showed itself already in the very opening of the Conference, when MacDonald, in the face of the American ban on the introduction of the debts question into the agenda, used his Chairman's position to bring the debts into the very centre of all. The anger of the American delegation was intense; and there was widespread talk, according to the American press, of leaving the Conference.

The second stage of the Anglo-American fight developed with currency stabilisation. Britain and France, which already had a de facto stabilisation between them, combined to exert pressure on America to tie down the dollar to a corresponding de facto stabilisation. Agreement was reached between the heads of the Central Banks. Then came the thunderbolt of President Roosevelt's veto. The United States was determined to maintain its independent policy. The war between the pound and the dollar goes forward.

British anger was now intense at the American blow. The "**Daily Telegraph**" wrote that, if the United States refused currency stabilisation

"the effect on the World Conference may be very serious. That fact will be represented to Washington in the clearest possible manner. **The gravity of that situation would lie in the fact that Great Britain in that event could then hardly resist the pressure which would seek to drive her into a united European front against the United States.**"

—(Daily Telegraph, 20.6.33).

"A united European front against the United States." Such is the language of this leading British organ standing close to the Foreign Office.

British policy, and indeed the whole Conference, is thrown into great confusion and uncertainty by the new developments.

On the one hand, the United States, confident in its strength and in the possibilities of the "forward" policy on which it has decided to enter, is more and more openly indifferent to the outcome of the British-led Conference. As one of the American delegation, **Senator Coudens**, the multi-millionaire and strong advocate of an "isolationist" policy, declared ("Times" 20.6.33):

"Between the time of calling the Conference and the present the developments in America seem to indicate that internationalism will conflict quite severely with our national economic programme. If my analysis is correct, we cannot carry through both programmes. Sooner or later in the Conference we shall have to decide which programme we are to follow."

Inflation first; stabilisation at an unspecified future date (i.e. after the United States has fought Britain to a standstill by inflation): that is now the American programme.

On the other hand, France and the bloc of gold countries in Europe demand, not merely stabilisation, but stabilisation on the basis of the gold standard, and the general cancellation or cutting down of debts. French expression openly declares the Conference a failure and useless, if no currency stabilisation can be reached. In that case, it is declared, no settlement on tariffs or other economic questions can have validity, since a fluctuating currency can completely overturn their effect; and France, if remaining on gold, must have full tariff freedom. It is noticeable that the Daladier Government has immediately preceded the Conference by introducing special legislation for establishing emergency tariff surtaxes by degree.

British policy wavers between the two. On the one hand, Britain is drawn to the possibility of the united European front against the United States. On the other hand, Britain fears to be left behind, if the United States enters on a policy of large-scale inflation to attack British markets throughout the world. Chamberlain talks vaguely of the necessity of "cheap and plentiful credit," of a "policy of cheap and plentiful money;" but at the same time hopes that a concerted policy, "co-ordinated action" can be reached between "the leading central banks," to limit such a policy to a uniform level. But the United States Government, whose own programme of large-scale credits and expenditure is already elaborated and forging ahead, shows small signs of paying attention to these appeals of the British Govern-

ment, whose policy still remains in the stage of hesitating general declarations.

In any case, the **inflation drive** gathers force. This inflation drive is the expression of the intensification of the crisis, and of the breakdown of all attempts at stabilisation. It bears no pretence of a constructive character, but is directed entirely to the intensified robbery of the working masses and of the petit-bourgeoisie, to intensified economic conflict, and to the open preparations of war. Of the programme of "public works" announced by Roosevelt, 287 million dollars is allocated to new naval construction. Vast camps of conscript labour are in process of organisation, as in Germany. In Britain the call is increasingly raised for similar measures.

Of especial significance in this developing world situation is the role of **Germany** under the Fascist dictatorship. The inflation drive finds a strong echo in Schacht and the Nazis. The Hugenberg Memorandum, despite official disavowal, remains the distinctive contribution of German policy to the Conference, in line with the whole of Nazi propaganda, with the Rosenberg Mission, and with further negotiations developing (the reported project of a Goering visit to London for the preparation of an Anglo-German anti-Soviet front—"Reynolds' Newspaper," 25.6.33). German Fascism offers to sell Germany as a mercenary to Western Imperialism for the war on the Soviet Union, in return for re-arming, colonial concessions and expansion possibilities in the East. The only error of the Hugenberg Memorandum was to state these aims with too clumsy openness. Behind the scenes of the Conference the forces of capitalism, and especially of British Imperialism, move increasingly to this "solution" of the crisis.

On the other hand, the **Soviet Union** has been able to utilise its representation at the Conference to maintain a firm position in the face of the capitalist conflicts and manoeuvres, and at once to expose and weaken these manoeuvres, first by the proposal of the **Pact of Economic Aggression**, and second, by the programme of **Litvinov's speech**, offering positive market possibilities on a gigantic scale to the market-hungry capitalist world, and in this way making the only concrete proposition in the whole Conference for developing production and trade, in place of restricting it. These propositions have inevitably had their effect, particularly noticeable in the very attentive treatment in the American and French press. The question of American recognition of the Soviet Union comes sharply to the front. In the face of this, the British Government shows increasing anxiety about the continuance of its embargo, and the pressure to end it grows from within the British capitalist ranks.

That the Economic Conference should follow the example of the Disarmament Conference and cover its discomfiture by an "adjournment," is already widely advocated, within less than a fortnight of its meeting. The British Government still actively opposes this, and endeavours to secure some result from the gathering, the open failure of which will seriously weaken its internal position. But the expectation of any positive result has already fallen to zero in capitalist comment. It is clear to all that even the continuance of the Conference can only lead to the lengthy elaboration of paper formulas, which can have no effect on the realities of growing world conflict, of growing crisis and of the drive to war.

The "Brain Trust" and the Trustification of Capital in America

By M. Tanin

Events in the United States are developing with kaleidoscopic swiftness and unexpectedness. Following on the adoption of the law partially subordinating the diffused and arch-individualist agriculture to State control, a broadly-planned scheme is now being worked out for "planning" the whole of industry and regulating labour power, both to be under the control of the President, who is provided with exceptional powers.

Roosevelt has left the carrying through of this draft bill to General **H. S. Johnson**, one of the leaders of the Military Industrial Council from 1917 to 1920, who is termed by the press a "Dictator of Industry." Behind this General is **Bernard Baruch**, the "enlightened" magnate of finance capital and former chief and soul of the council mentioned. He was formerly the confidential adviser of President Wilson and is now adviser to President Roosevelt.

The so-called Brain Trust, a group of young "left-wing" petty-

bourgeois professors around Roosevelt, is now enjoying its greatest triumph. The ideological production of this "trust" is now the commonest commodity in finance capitalist circles and has received official approval, although but a little while ago the conservative representatives of big industry looked upon its activities as highly dangerous "acrobatics in the intellectual stratosphere," as a "challenge to 100 per cent. Americanism," even as a sort of Bolshevism.

Let us now see if we can find the reason for this change of attitude. First of all, however, we must be clear about the real significance of the "Law for National Reconstruction," whose draft was presented by Roosevelt on the 17th May. The draft provides the President with far-reaching powers "to further the organisation of industry with a view to securing co-operation between the various industrial groups, and to introduce and further co-operation between labour and directive management." No matter how this law may be applied in practice, it is in fact something new and unusual in the history of the United States. The draft also gives the President the power to form an organ for "industrial planning." The aim of this is to further the cartellisation and trustification of industry.

Public works to a total of 3,300,000 dollars are provided for in order to fight against unemployment. This sum includes not only work on public buildings, roads, railway equipment, amelioration work, power stations, but also naval and military mechanisation. In order to soothe the workers the Bill contains a clause recognising the trade unions (together with the yellow boss-run works associations).

Roosevelt also demands special powers in order to carry out the immediate reorganisation of the petroleum industry and for the unification of the railway system. The Secretary for Labour, Perkins, has also brought in a draft providing for a 30-hour week (with simultaneous wage-cuts). However, hardly had the discussion of this draft begun when it transpired that new and increased powers would be necessary in order to carry the draft through.

All these plans mean a downright breach with custom in certain sections of the economic structure of the United States and the destruction of old traditions and ideas. It is understandable that the conservative "old-fashioned" representatives of big industry were first of all violently opposed to the proposed changes. Later on, however, the United States Chamber of Trade, the highly influential organisation of large-scale capital, came out openly in support of the President. And now even Republican organs like "The Herald Tribune," which not long ago were denouncing the approaching "sovietisation" of the economic system of the United States, express qualified approval of Roosevelt's drafts.

A series of important factors have caused this change in the ranks of American finance capital. As the economic crisis began to intensify rapidly, the bankers, the railway magnates and other capitalists who had at first strongly opposed the interference of the State in "business affairs," began to call zealously for such interference in the form of cheap or even non-repayable credits. Under their pressure the State Finance Reconstruction Corporation was founded even under Hoover, and this institution has already provided credits to the sum of 2.2 milliard dollars to semi-bankrupt and bankrupt capitalists.

The active intervention of the State is extremely valuable from the point of large-scale capital when, under a cloak of high-sounding propaganda for the solution of the crisis, it is able to extract milliards of dollars in credit from the State for the financing of orders (see the proposals of the Roosevelt drafts for credits for re-equipping the private railway companies). The intervention of the State, a capitalist State controlled by finance capital, is also necessary in order to further the process of capital concentration in industry. Large-scale capital requires official sanction for the monopoly trust from the State. Naturally, the trusts have grown and strengthened despite the miserably inefficient anti-trust legislation for which the petty-bourgeoisie and the reformist workers fought. However, it is time to put an end to this game. The monopoly trusts must cease to be a thorn in the side of the masses. The masses must be persuaded that the monopoly trusts perform a very important role in the regulation of industry. This is the reason for the announcement that the anti-trust legislation is to be revised. In the future its weight is to be directed against the outsiders, against the middle and small capitalists.

The final subjection of the "wild" small and middle capitalists will make it possible to limit production and raise prices "rationally" and at the same time to prepare the re-equipment of the

productive apparatus for the better times for which the United States capitalists hope.

Further, the United States capitalists need more elastic methods in order to prevent a revolutionisation of the tremendous army of unemployed, calculated at 15 millions. Instead of a State unemployment insurance scheme it is proposed to "spread over" employment, or to put it more correctly, to spread over unemployment by compulsorily cutting down both the working week and wages. This is the reason for the 30-hour week Bill.

And finally, there are foreign political reasons. Finance capital in the United States must amalgamate, organise and concentrate industry as thoroughly and as rapidly as possible in order to show an invincible front to foreign competitors.

The farmers need State help and in consequence a change has taken place in their attitude. This has made it possible for the bourgeoisie to propose the "planning of agriculture" by the "organised" limitation of the sown area, a "planning" which is to take place at the cost of the workers and the farmers themselves, so far as the latter are also consumers.

The petty-bourgeois intellectuals whose ranks have produced the "brain trust" have easily fallen victims to the illusions of capitalist "planning." They are suffering the brutal blows of the crisis; they have lost faith in capitalism, but, with few exceptions, they have not won confidence in Communism, and they want, therefore, to attempt "the golden middle way" of a peaceful development towards planned economy under a reformed capitalism. This explains the success of the propaganda of the "Technocrats" who boast that their organisation now has a quarter of a million members.

However, the "academic Cabinet" is only the facade behind which the powerful figure of the real representative of enlightened finance capital is at work, **Bernard Baruch**. The practical application of the projects sketched out by the academicians of the brain trust is under the control of Bernard Baruch, who may possibly receive the post of "Generalissimo," or "Supreme Co-ordinator" of industry, or something similar. General Johnson, James Warburg (a son of the well-known banker, Paul Warburg), J. Peak, the director of the office for the carrying out of the law for the regulation of agriculture, and the new President of the Finance Reconstruction Corporation, J. Jones, are all men of the Baruch school.

Although the idea of "people's control" of industry is a fiction under capitalist conditions, the law for "national industrial reconstruction" is an absolutely real and earnest factor making for the further cartellisation and trustification of United States industry. United States finance capital is now making desperate efforts to shake off a section of the useless ballast remnants of antiquated capitalism. About 15,000 unprofitable small and middle banks, thousands of weak industrial undertakings, hundreds of half-bankrupt railway companies running superfluous parallel lines, etc., are the strata which make up this useless ballast.

During the discussion of the "planning" law in the Senate there were protests from the side of the democrats. Violent differences have developed between the magnates of finance capital (Rockefeller against Morgan, General Motors against Ford), the old contradictions between the various competing branches of industry (the motor-car manufacturers against the railway companies, etc.) are breaking out with renewed force, for "organised capitalism" is a contradiction in nature. It does not and cannot exist. However, despite all this there can be no doubt that large-scale capital in the United States has met with a certain amount of success in the reorganisation and extension of its productive apparatus.

What influence will this have on the development of the crisis? The bourgeois press in the United States attaches great importance to a certain enlivenment in a number of branches of industry (the utilisation of capacity in the United States steel foundries has risen from 27 per cent. in April to 41 per cent. towards the end of May, and assumes that the public works and credit schemes provided by the new law will represent a sufficient impulse to accelerate this enlivenment into a new upward drive. In reality, however, the situation is more complicated. In a number of branches of industry the immediate result of the new law will be an artificial limitation of production with a view to securing higher prices.

The tremendous international importance of the reorganisation of industry in the United States with State intervention is already beginning to make itself felt. Following on the well-known declaration of **Hull** concerning the desirability of a general reduc-

tion of tariffs, there has been, in fact, an increase of protectionism. The rise in prices as a result of an arranged limitation of production carried out by the newly-formed associations of industrial branches, will not be permanent in face of strong competition from outside. In its search for a way out of its internal contradictions, United States finance capital is turning its front against foreign markets.

In London a conference is proceeding with a view to securing "economic disarmament," but simultaneously the imperialist States are equipping themselves economically at full speed for a re-division of the capitalist world in the throes of the crisis.

Great Britain

Letter from the Comintern to the British I.L.P.

COMRADES,—We confirm the receipt of your letter of May 18 regarding the resolution adopted at the Derby Conference of the Independent Labour Party, a resolution which undoubtedly expresses the strongly increasing will to unity and struggle against capitalism among the British working-class.

In conformity with your wishes, we will set out our opinion of how the Independent Labour Party would assist the work of the Communist International.

An important step in this direction is the start which is being made in the practical carrying out of the united front between the Independent Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, the Fascist terror in Germany and the danger of new imperialist wars. This in itself is the beginning of practical collaboration with the Communist International.

In our opinion the further steps in this direction should be as follows:—

Firstly, the extension and strengthening of the actions of solidarity, which have already taken place between the Independent Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain, to all the important and urgent questions of the struggle of the British and the international proletariat against their bourgeoisie and world imperialism and winning of the broad strata of workers, members of the Labour Party and the trade unions, for the united front in this struggle.

Secondly, the giving of real support to the struggle of the Communist Party of Great Britain against the bourgeois nationalist and reactionary policy of "National Labour," against the reformist policy of the Labour Party leaders, the leaders of trade unions and the Second International.

Convinced by the experiences of many years, the members of the Independent Labour Party decided at the Derby Conference to follow up disaffiliation from the Labour Party, by leaving the Second International. These two decisions were necessary and important steps in the struggle against reformism. But the Independent Labour Party cannot stop merely at the point of an organisational break with the Second International.

If the Independent Labour Party has seriously decided to participate in the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, it cannot carry this out except by a constant active struggle against "National Labour," against reformism and the reformist leaders who propagate reformist ideas, hold back and disrupt the working-class movement.

In practice, the slogan of struggle against the capitalist offensive remains an empty phrase if the party which advances it does not take any steps to mobilise the workers for mass resistance to wage-cuts, dismissals, the reduction of unemployment insurance, etc.

But the Social-Democratic parties and the reactionary leaders of the trade unions, who state in words that they are opposed to the capitalist offensive are in reality directing their efforts towards permitting the capitalists to carry through their merciless pressure on the workers without meeting with any resistance.

The members of the Independent Labour Party know this from the experience of Mondism, and also from the actions of the "Labour" Government, which reduced unemployment relief, carried through wage-cuts, introduced "economies," etc.

In exactly the same way, the struggle against Fascism remains a hypocritical phrase if it is not accompanied by the organisation

of the united front of the working-class with the aim of barring the path of the Fascist attack from the very beginning.

But in every country, the parties of the Second International, including the British Labour Party, are doing everything in their power to hold back the majority of the workers from participating in the united front with the Communists for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and Fascism.

By their policy of collaborating with the bourgeoisie and by their policy of splitting the united front of the working-class, the parties of the Second International are building a road for Fascism.

Before the eyes of the workers of all countries stands the example of German Social-Democracy. Under the slogan "Against Fascism and Against Communism," it consistently supported every reactionary Government in Germany on the plea that it was the "lesser evil" as compared with an open Fascist dictatorship, and in this way it restrained the masses from the struggle against the Fascist danger.

At the same time it attempted to show the exploiters by means of all kinds of concessions to the bourgeoisie, at the expense of the workers, that they had no need to replace the "democratic" constitution by a Fascist dictatorship in order to carry out their policy of attacking the standard of living of the toilers.

All the repeated and insistent attempts of the Communist Party of Germany to call on the workers for solid anti-Fascist activity, to form a united proletarian front of struggle, were disrupted and betrayed by Social Democracy and the leaders of the reformist trade unions. In this way they succeeded in paralysing the efforts of the Communists to mobilise the majority of the working-class for mass resistance to Fascism (demonstrations, political strikes).

The other parties of the Second International, and the trade union leaders of the Amsterdam International who are connected with them, follow the same path as German Social-Democracy.

Similarly the struggle against imperialism and the wars which it is preparing remains an empty phrase in the mouths of those who do not honestly and insistently strive to mobilise the working-class for an irreconcilable struggle against the imperialism of its "own" country.

But the parties of the Second International are themselves infected through and through with the ideology of bourgeoisie chauvinism and are interested in the success of the robber policy of their own imperialism. Just as the Social-Democratic Parties in every country supported their Governments during the war, so are they now supporting the bloody suppression of the colonial peoples and other independent nations, and the policy of preparing new wars.

In those cases when a Social-Democratic Party forms part of the Government, it directly carries out this violent imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie (bloody repression in India and the bombing of unarmed populations under the Labour Government).

Also, in the struggle between the capitalist countries and the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**, the Parties of the Second International have really joined in the anti-Soviet front of the capitalist world.

Therefore, there cannot be any question of really serious support for the struggle of the Communist International against the capitalist offensive, against Fascism, imperialism and the menacing war danger, if at the same time the harmful role of the reformists and their hostile policy towards the working-class are not exposed and if a struggle is not carried on against them at every step.

If the Independent Labour Party wishes to help the struggle of the Communists against the bourgeoisie and their chief social support in the ranks of the working-class—the Second International, it will give real assistance to the development of the working-class movement.

But if any representative of the Independent Labour Party supposes that the deep divergence of principle between the Second International and the Communist International could be covered up by an unprincipled rapprochement and conciliation, we openly announce that this would be a most harmful delusion and an impermissible mistake from the point of view of the interests of the class struggle and the proletarian revolution.

The Second International is not acting for but against the class struggle of the proletariat, not for but against the proletarian revolution.

The members of the Independent Labour Party must clearly

understand that the chief danger of the Second International consists precisely in the fact that, while representing the interests of the bourgeoisie, it does not do this openly, but under the cloak of defending the interests of the workers.

If a party like the Independent Labour Party, instead of exposing the real nature of the Second International, were to depict it as a genuine representative of the workers to which the revolutionary workers' organisations could and should reconcile themselves, it would by this merely make the deceptive manoeuvres of the Second International easier to carry out.

If the Independent Labour Party were to renew the harmful attempts which it made after the war, together with several other parties, to act as an "unbiased" intermediary between the Second and Third Internationals, and if individual leaders of the Independent Labour Party were to write articles hostile to the revolutionary working-class movement (such as the last article written by Fenner Brockway), this would not be support for the Communist International, but for the Second International.

In practice, such attempts would be an obstacle on the path towards the establishment of the proletarian united front and the unity of the working-class on the basis of the class struggle. That was the role of the 2½ International, which held back the revolutionary development of the radicalised workers, so as to return them once more to the fold of the Second International.

What relations can be established now between your party and the Communist International?

Our opinion is as follows: Although the Independent Labour Party does not at present accept the standpoint of the programme of the Communist International, nevertheless, it can establish really revolutionary collaboration both with the Communist Party of Great Britain and with the Communist International.

We on our side declare our complete readiness for such collaboration, but, of course, retaining the right of comradely criticism when necessary.

In Great Britain there is a very great necessity for the uniting of the revolutionary forces. We see at present that many members of your party are studying the programme of the Communist International and advocating a united revolutionary party. This is of serious importance.

If the members of the Independent Labour Party are really developing in the direction of adopting our programme, then possibilities open up in Great Britain for the formation of a single, strong, mass Communist Party corresponding to the conditions of the country.

We are facing the greatest fights in the history of the world. A historic transition is taking place to a new cycle of revolutions and wars. The class struggle is rapidly growing in all capitalist countries. The antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists themselves are intensifying.

The picture of the capitalist world discloses the complete bankruptcy of the capitalist system. At the same time the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., with its mighty economic, technical and cultural upsurge, shows that as soon as the working-class organises its forces, overthrows the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and shakes the capitalist parasites and exploiters from its shoulders, then before it opens up the path for a great creative work in all branches of life.

In many capitalist countries the revolutionary outlook opens up this possibility of proletarian victories. The forces of the proletarian world revolution are growing. In all capitalist countries it is the Communist Parties which are carrying on a determined struggle for the interests of the proletariat and for the cause of the Socialist revolution.

In Germany, in spite of the raging Fascist terror, the Communist Party with great self-sacrifice is successfully carrying on the struggle, and without doubt will show to the whole world that it has rallied around the banner of the proletarian revolution not only the five million workers who voted for it at the last elections, but the majority of the working-class of Germany.

If the Independent Labour Party energetically assists the struggle of the Communist International, this will be of great international significance.

We request you to inform us whether your Party agrees to give precisely such support and assistance to the Communist International.—Yours fraternally,

(Signed) O. W. KUUSINEN.

(For the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.)

In the Camp of Social Democracy

The New Anti-Soviet Campaign of the II International

By Bela Kun

Imperialist Europe is falling more and more into two hostile camps. Both of them are arming feverishly to an ever accelerating degree for war. In one camp are those States which are opposed to the frontier demarcation of the Versailles Treaty, led by the three fascist States, Italy, Germany and Hungary. At the head of the other camp is France, "democracy's last trench," and behind France are the "democratic" republic of Czechoslovakia, the "democratic" Kingdom of Belgium, and such other "democracies" as Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland, the States which have benefited from the Versailles Treaty. In Bulgaria and in Greece the struggle for power between French and Italian imperialism is about to be settled. The Austrian bourgeoisie wants to develop its own kind of fascism under Italian protection, and this is the reason for the antagonism between it and the real German fascism of Hitler. A number of other European countries are taking up a waiting attitude until their neutrality should have been bought or forced by one of the two leading groups. British imperialism decides its attitude in European politics not exclusively out of European considerations, although its efforts to weaken the continental hegemony of France play a not unimportant role, but above all in connection with the great world political questions, the most important of which is the Anglo-American antagonism.

This is why Europe is falling into two hostile camps, but this is also the reason why the antagonistic imperialistic powers may try to solve their contradictions in a military intervention against the Soviet Union and at the cost of the emancipated workers and peasants. There is not only an armament race between the capitalist countries and their main groupings; there is also a race between the preparations for war between the imperialist powers, and for war between world imperialism and the socialism of the Soviet Union.

The temporary victory of fascism in Germany has intensified the danger of both these forms of imperialist war intensely. Despite the disagreement in the question of Austro-German unity, despite the opposition of German minorities in South Tyrol and in Hungary, Hitler Germany has joined the revisionist block of Italy and Hungary in order to obtain allies in the struggle against the Versailles frontiers. The danger of war is steadily increasing.

On the other hand German fascism offers itself to British imperialism for services in an anti-soviet war. Deterding's agents are not willing to limit themselves to attacks on the tanking stations of the Soviet oil industry; they are burning to undertake a crusade against the Soviet oil fields themselves and to secure control of these areas for British imperialism with the assistance of the cannonfodder supplied by German fascism, whereby they are prepared to give Soviet Ukraine "a place in the sun" under the hegemony of German capitalism.

In this situation the Second (Labour and Socialist) International remains true to those principles which assisted in its birth and which have guided its activities since its resuscitation. Each Social-Democratic Party fights against the proletarian revolution in its own country in order to cure sick capitalism at the cost of the working class of its own country. All social-democratic parties support with combined forces the international co-operation of the imperialist powers to overcome the crisis of the capitalist system at the cost of the toilers of the Soviet Union and of the colonial countries.

Military intervention against the Soviet Union is a "lesser evil" for the "left-wing" socialists, even those who oppose the open white guardism of Kautsky, as compared with a war between the imperialist powers themselves, because in such a case their own bourgeoisie would be in danger of having to shoulder the costs of such an attempt to solve the crisis at the cost of other countries. This was the basic principle of the "policy of international conciliation" pursued by the Second International on the basis created by the robber Treaty of Versailles. And this is the reason why, despite the intensification of the danger of war against the Soviet Union, there has not once been any serious difference of opinion in

the Second International between those who openly demand the overthrow of the Soviet Power and those who cloak their support of the interventionist preparations with pacifist phrases. This was the reason why the Second International split, why it fell to pieces in a situation when the contradictions between the imperialist powers had reached such a pitch and when the war preparations of the two imperialist groups of powers had reached such a stage that the Social-democratic parties of the imperialist countries had to take up an open attitude in favour of the war aims of their own bourgeoisie.

Concerning the provocative Reichstag declaration of Hitler the social-democratic leader **Otto Wels** has said openly that his party approves the foreign political aims of German fascism. The German social democrats did with this no more than they have always done. They supported the policy of beaten German imperialism when it showed itself incapable of opposing the dictated peace terms, and they are supporting it now that it is preparing to take up arms again in order to settle the question of the Versailles Treaty by war.

The French socialist leader **Leon Blum** has declared in the French Chamber that he is in favour of maintaining the shameful Treaty of Versailles in view of the revolutionary danger threatened by fascist Germany. Just as Wels, he is no more than true to himself. He supported victorious French imperialism when the latter carried out its annexation and contribution robbery, and he supports it to-day, at a time when it is preparing to defend the booty secured at Versailles with force of arms.

What Wels and Blum are doing is also being done by the leaders of the other social-democratic parties.

The peace policy pursued by the **Soviet Union** has nothing to do with the "international conciliation" preached by the Second International, which is nothing but a bad imitation of the policy of the capitalist League of Nations. The peace policy of the Soviet Union is directed not only towards defending the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union against the danger of military intervention, but at the same time it is a struggle in the interests of the whole international proletariat, in the interests of the toilers of all countries and of all human beings who have been destined by capitalism for sacrifice in a new imperialist war in the interest of capitalist profits. It is this fundamental difference of principle between the international policy of the social democracy and the international policy of bolshevism which explains why the workers and peasants government of the Soviet Union, unlike the capitalist governments, very often with the participation of the social-democratic parties, has never entered any imperialist bloc and has always strived to maintain peace with all countries.

The Second International has exploited the exchange of ratification originals for the extension of the British Agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union which was signed on the 24th June, 1931, in order to launch a new campaign of slander against this proletarian class policy of the Soviet Union. A flood of slanderous and inflammatory articles has been let loose in the social-democratic press against the Soviet Union. In **Czechoslovakia** the German social democrats were the leading lights in this campaign. The **Prague "Social Democrat"** declared that the extension of the Berlin Agreement was treachery to the German working class and it would like to add a new anti-soviet slogan to all the others, namely, "Hands off the German and International Fight against Fascism!"

A note which appeared in the official information service of the Czechoslovakian social democracy concerning an anti-fascist demonstration in Bratislava is interesting. It reads as follows:

"During the social-democratic procession there were demonstrations in front of the German consulate, however, there was no violence. Official social democratic circles declare that the party took no part in these demonstrations and that its procession had in fact been misused."

In other words, the anti-fascism of the social democracy must not exceed the anti-fascism of the democracy of Benesh.

The **Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung"** declares that now that the victory of German nationalism has intensified the contradictions between the capitalist powers the Soviet Union has less to fear than ever for a military intervention. Hitler's "Drive to the East," Rosenberg's visit to Deterding, the trade war of the British government against the Soviet Union, the Mussolini-MacDonald Four Power Pact and the Japanese provocations in the Far East do not exist for the "Arbeiter-Zeitung." Everything, even the victory

of fascism in Germany, is another opportunity for the Austrian social democracy to lull the watchfulness of the workers towards the threatening danger of intervention.

In order to give the swindle the usual intellectual level of the Viktor Adler school the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" declares that the Soviet Union has allied itself with fascist States—Germany and Italy—against the democratic States, for instance, France. It is trying a new swindle; it would like to persuade the workers that there is some difference of principle between the Pact of Non-Aggression signed between France and the Soviet Union, and the Pact of Non-Aggression signed in 1926 between Germany and the Soviet Union on the basis of the Rapallo Treaty. The Austrian social-democratic leaders, who have gone through a ministerial school, know perfectly well that there is no such difference and that there can be no such difference. However, this knowledge does not prevent them from spreading this hypocritical lie. They act along the same lines as **Paul Faure**, the secretary of the French Socialist Party, who declared a few weeks ago that a military alliance existed between France and the Soviet Union.

The central organ of the **Polish** social democracy, the **Robotnik**," does not want to lag behind its Czechoslovakian and Austrian companions and joins in the chorus. The **Finnish** social democrats pretend to see a danger to their "democratic" State in the exchange of the ratification notes. The **Russian** social democrats work up the same hollow indignation.

The **French** socialists are following in the wake of the others. Perhaps their laggardness is deliberate. In any case, the infamy of Leon Blum and his loyal ally the Russian Menshevist white guardist Rosenfeld makes up in full measure for any little loss in punctuality.

The Second International is in the process of breaking up and just for that reason it is intensifying its anti-soviet campaign. Hatred of the proletarian revolution and hatred of its advance guard, the Soviet Union, was always the cement which held the social-democratic parties together in an International. This cement is more than ever necessary at the moment in order that the Second International may lengthen its days.

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The importance of the Soviet Union for the whole of the international proletariat was never greater than it is at the moment, at a time when international fascism is on the march. It was never clearer than at the present time after the utter capitulation of the German social democracy and of the reformist trade union leaders before fascism, that the Second International is not only incapable of offering any effective resistance to fascism, but that it is not even prepared to defend bourgeois democracy the moment the bourgeoisie decides to abandon the methods of parliamentary democracy and adopt a fascist dictatorship. After a few mild reproaches addressed to the German social democracy and accompanied by the resignation of Otto Wels from the Executive Committee of the Second International, the whitewashing began. The leaders of the Second International began to whitewash the German social democracy. They had to do this because the capitulation of the German social democracy and its voluntary liquidation took place in just that country which was always presented to the international working class by the Second International as the highest example of the realisation of socialism with "democratic" means and as a set-off against "Asiatic Bolshevism."

No wonder that the Second International which is trying in its own vital interests to whitewash the attitude of the German social democracy and cloak its voluntary self-destruction in favour of fascism, is trying to exploit the Berlin Agreement as a means of averting the attention of the workers from this collapse. Who would be prepared to believe that those social democrats who support the party of Otto Wels who support the organisation which does everything possible to hold the workers back from the anti-fascist struggle, would themselves be prepared to conduct an international struggle against fascism? Who would be prepared to believe that those parties which support the efforts of their own bourgeoisie to cure capitalism at the expense of their own working class, just as the German social democracy did, would act differently from the German social democratic leaders, Wels, Severing, Leipart and Grassmann when faced with the fascist danger?

"Democratic socialism" in Germany meant the disarming of the working class and the arming of fascism in the interests of the defence of capitalism. On the other hand and in the same period the working class of the Soviet Union raised socialism

to the dominating system in a struggle against the internal and external class enemy and created all the internal guarantees against a restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The aim of the Second International is now to mobilise the last weapons against victorious socialism, the weapons of international imperialism. Just as the anti-dumping campaign was a joint means of imperialism and of the social democracy in order to deceive the workers and peasants into the belief that the cause of their impoverishment and misery was not capitalism, but the Soviet Union, so now both fascists and social democrats are competing in an attempt to prove that German fascism is being supported not by the German social democracy, not by the Second International, but by the Soviet Union. Fascists and social democrats go hand in hand in the leadership of this campaign of incitement.

This is the explanation for the campaign of anti-soviet incitement now being conducted by all the social democratic and fascist enemies of the proletariat and of its Fatherland, the Soviet Union. To-day they take the Berlin Agreement, which is the logical continuation of the peace policy of the Soviet Union directed to the prevention of war, to-morrow the Second International will find a new occasion for its incitement, probably it will revive the old bogey of "red imperialism" and declare that it is threatening "democratic England" in India.

The loyalty of the social democracy to capitalism and its hatred of the proletarian revolution have no limits.

The White Terror

Why Mussolini and the Italian Bourgeoisie Wish to Murder Antonio Gramsci

By Giovanni Germanetto

"Gramsci will not be able to live much longer under the present conditions."

—Professor Arcangeli, chief physician of the hospitals in Rome.

Since November, 1926, Antonio Gramsci, the leader of the Communist Party of Italy and of the revolutionary Italian proletariat, who has been sentenced to 20 years imprisonment, has been buried alive in the fascist dungeons.

From the Turi di Bari prison, where our Comrade Gramsci is incarcerated, there comes alarming news regarding his state of health. The seven years of imprisonment have brought our comrade Gramsci to death's door.

The laconic declaration of Professor Arcangeli clearly shows how near Mussolini, as the true servant of Italian capitalism, is to realising his design to murder our Comrade Gramsci.

"Tuberculosis of the spine, tuberculosis of the lungs, effusions of blood, arterial sclerotic, fever, fainting fits, temporary unconsciousness" . . . this is a death sentence if the Italian proletariat does not enforce the release of its leader.

Why do the Italian bourgeoisie wish to murder Gramsci? Antonio Gramsci has shown the Italian proletariat the way to victory. Antonio Gramsci has also created and sharpened the victorious weapon: the Communist Party.

In the indictment with which Gramsci and 35 comrades were handed over to the Special Tribunal, the examining judge said in dealing with the various points of the indictment:

"It was Gramsci who, in 1926, led the Party with a firm hand, after he had at the Congress of Lyons shattered the opposition led by the engineer Bordiga. Gramsci is the soul of the whole movement, and it is he who points the way and guides the steps of the whole party. Gramsci's political past shows him to be one of those whose name arouses the greatest response among the masses. He was particularly prominent at the time of the occupation of the factories in Piedmont. His work is that of a real party leader."

Gramsci, the former manager of the newspaper "Il Grido del Popolo" (The Call of the People) and chief editor of the Turin "Avanti," founded in 1919 the newspaper "Ordine Nuovo" (The New Order) which later became the daily organ of the Communist Party. Round the "Ordine Nuovo," round Gramsci there gathered Togliatti, Terracini and others. The group of which Gramsci was the leader, developed and established a firm footing in the Turin

factories in spite of the opposition of the social-democratic leaders.

Already in 1917 Gramsci, at the illegal conference of the majority of the socialist party of Italy in Caporetto, in the polemics against the centralism of the leadership of the S.P.I. and in spite of the depreciative criticism of Bordiga, had put the problem of creating organs of the proletarian power in the shape of factory councils. This problem became the central problem of the "Ordine Nuovo" group, and Gramsci wrote later that the germ cells of the proletarian power already existed in the shape of the factory councils.

Around this movement there gathered workers of all political shades: anarchists, Left socialists, abstentionists, reformists and non-party.

The trade union bureaucrats like D'Aragona, Rigola, Colombino and Buoizzi, the first three of whom went over to fascism, constantly fought the factory councils and inner factory commissions. In the period of the biggest and fiercest fights of the Italian labour movement, which reached their highest point in the occupation of the factories, the movement represented by the "Ordine Nuovo" steadily gained ground. We saw how in the occupied factories the factory councils took over the leadership of the whole movement.

The Italian bourgeoisie still have lively and painful recollections of that time when the proletarian power threatened to take the place of the capitalist power, when they sought the aid of Buoizzi and D'Aragona in order "to save the country from the horrors of the Bolshevik revolution," i.e. in order to wrest the factories from the hands of the workers.

Gramsci is pining behind prison walls on account of his revolutionary work as leader of the Communist Party. In his fight against fascism and capitalism he was opposed by the party of Modigliano, Buoizzi, D'Aragona, Rigola and Nenni. This is proved by the history of the revolutionary attempt at occupation of the factories, which was the subject of the investigation by the Special Tribunal in the trial of Gramsci and the Central Committee of the C.P.I. And Nenni cannot cleanse his conscience even if in the "Populaire" he describes the trial of Gramsci as "a shameful act even for such a regime as fascism."

All traitors, and above all Nenni, were at that time on the other side of the barricades in order to save Italy from "the horrors of Bolshevism;" and also to-day they are on the other side of the barricade.

To-day, after more than 15 years' experience of the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia, the Italian bourgeoisie perceive even more clearly the danger which threatened them at the time of the occupation of the factories. Therefore they wish to kill Gramsci, the creator of the movement which is so dangerous to them in the vain hope that they can thereby throttle the Communist movement and avert their own doom.

Antonio Gramsci, the creator and soul of the powerful movement which has shown the proletariat the right way to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the leader of the Communist Party of Italy which is unswervingly continuing the fight against fascism, has been condemned by the Italian bourgeoisie and their jailer, Mussolini, to a lingering death because he is the most devoted and dangerous revolutionary fighter.

Only the action of the Italian working masses and international solidarity can rescue Gramsci and with him all the victims of fascism.

New Victory in the Scottsboro Case

By William Troll (New York)

One of the highest peaks attained by the revolutionary movement in America with its weapon of mass protest was reached in the Scottsboro case. Forceful and effective as have been the tactics of the International Labour Defence and the tremendous, worldwide pressure by workers to have the nine Negro youths unconditionally released, even greater mass pressure is needed to bring about their release.

The latest battle in the case took place June 1, at Decatur, Ala., when Osmond K. Fraenkel, New York constitutional lawyer retained by the I.L.D. and Gen. George W. Chamlee, chief of the Scottsboro legal defence corps, argued writs of habeas corpus which Judge James E. Horton was forced to issue on behalf of Roy Wright and Eugene Williams, the two youngest Scottsboro boys.

With a flood of telegrams and letters from workers' organisa-

tions demanding freedom for the boys pouring in on Judge Horton, the attorneys in court insisted that the two youths be freed. They pointed out that not only were the boys under age—they were only 13—when accused of attacking two white girls on an Alabama freight train more than two years ago, and should have been turned over for hearing in a juvenile court in accordance with Alabama law, but by being illegally held in prison for so long they were denied their right to a speedy trial, a constitutional provision.

Furthermore, the lawyers showed, the case against the boys had been completely shattered and the nature of the frame-up publicly revealed, when Ruby Bates testified at the retrial recently of Heywood Patterson. She appeared as a surprise defence witness and declared all the boys were innocent, explaining that at the first trial that she had testified against the youths under coaching from Victoria Price, the girl who with Ruby was on the freight train, as well as under threats from Southern Bourbons intent on lynching nine Negro boys.

Judge Horton decided to remand the two boys to the custody of the juvenile court, thereby admitting that for two years they had been illegally held in prison, and had also been illegally tried in the superior court. It was a partial answer to the rising demand of black and white workers throughout the world that all the boys be given the freedom wrongfully taken from them. More mass protest is needed, however, to clinch the victory. Already signs are on hand of the relentlessness with which the prosecution will seek to put the boys again into the shadow of the electric chair.

Attorney General Thomas E. Knight of Alabama has said he would fight in juvenile court to have the boys returned to the jurisdiction of the higher one.

He intends to do this at the hearing set before Judge L. B. Malone on June 22, by declaring the boys are "incorrigible," the only ground on which they can be returned to the criminal court for trial.

However, I.L.D. lawyers will present conclusive proof of the innocence of these two, as well as the seven other boys, and again demand they be freed.

Immediately before this case is heard, Judge Horton at Decatur will hear arguments on a writ for a new trial for Heywood Patterson, first of the nine Scottsboro boys to be retried recently at Decatur. Despite the Ruby Bates testimony to the frame-up against the boys and to their guiltlessness, despite medical testimony showing the impossibility of the State's contention, Patterson was again convicted and sentenced to death in the little Southern town that was filled with an ominous lynch-spirit of hostility and race-prejudice.

To assure the safety and release of the boys, William L. Patterson, national secretary of the I.L.D., has called for more powerful mass protest movement on behalf of the nine Negro youths. He pointed out the struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, involving as it does the rights of Negroes, the fight on Jim Crowism, the right of Negroes to serve on juries, and similar issues, links up inextricably with the battles waged for the release of Angelo Herndon, of Euel Lee, the framed Tampa sharecroppers and the other victims of a growing ruling class terror.

One of the immediate actions carried on now in connection with the case is intense agitation around the Civil Bill of Rights which the Scottsboro Marchers to Washington demanded President Roosevelt and Congress adopt at once. Its provisions call for enforcing and amplifying the provisions of the 13th, 14th and 15th Constitutional Amendments whose violation has helped to deprive the Negroes of the franchise, of the right to jury service—in short, the right to equality.

All except the two youngest boys are now in Birmingham jail. Six of them are to be submitted to the torture of a retrial unless their release is effected soon.

They have all been in jail more than two years, after being arrested in Paint Rock, Ala., in 1931, following the fight on the train on which they were hoboing in search of work.

At the first trial at Scottsboro, the town was filled with a mob bent on lynching if the boys were not convicted. It resulted in a jury finding all guilty except one boy in whose case a mistrial resulted. This was followed by death sentences for all except Roy Wright, doomed to life imprisonment.

The I.L.D., backed by mass protest won a reversal of the verdict from the United States Supreme Court.

Against Imperialist War

International Fighting Day Against Imperialist War and Military Intervention Against the Soviet Union and China

**To the workers and working women of all countries!
To the young workers and young working girls!
To the oppressed and exploited of the whole world!**

The fires of imperialist war and military intervention are already glowing in several big war craters. Overnight the destructive flames of a new imperialist slaughter can sweep throughout the whole world.

The flames of the Japanese robber war have been leaping up in the Far East for almost two years now. The struggle between the United States and Japan for the dominance of the Pacific Ocean threatens to develop rapidly into an armed conflict. Japanese imperialism has seized the whole of North China down to Peking in an imperialist robber drive. Its armies are ready at a moment's notice to undertake a military intervention against the Soviet Union. The Nanking government has betrayed the national emancipation of the Chinese people. It has capitulated before Japanese imperialism in order to be able to continue its counter-revolutionary war against the Chinese Soviets.

The permanent war in Latin-America is nothing but an expression of the greatest of all imperialist contradictions, the contradiction between Great Britain and the United States of America which are behind the warring States, Peru and Bolivia.

Two hostile armed camps are forming in Europe. In feverish haste the Hitler government is completing the military preparations of defeated German imperialism which has been preparing a war of vengeance for over ten years now. This intensifies in the extreme the danger of war in the Polish corridor, in Danzig, along the Austro-German frontier and in Upper Silesia.

Mussolini's Italy is striving to unite the Powers hostile to Versailles in order to secure military allies in a war with France and Yugoslavia. Under the flag of a struggle against Versailles, Italy, Germany and Hungary are preparing a new imperialist robber war.

At the same time France and its fascist and semi-fascist allies, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Czechoslovakia are making tremendous preparations under cover of an alleged defence of "democracy" against fascism to complete their armaments and maintain the Versailles robber treaty by means of a new imperialist war.

Now that France has temporarily dropped the leadership, Great Britain has taken over the chief role of organiser in the preparation of a military intervention against the Soviet Union. The government of MacDonald and Baldwin are seeking allies in all the countries of the capitalist world in order to unite the imperialist powers against socialism. It supports all the provocations of the Japanese militarists on the eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union. Under the flag of defending the lives of its spies the British government has declared economic warfare against the Soviet Union. The British espionage service, the notorious intelligence service which organises the sabotage and espionage against the land of socialism, is following the Japanese example of Manchukuo and preparing a new basis for military operations against the Soviet Union in Chinese Turkestan.

The Four-Power Pact between Great Britain, Italy, France and Germany, between the States of the fascist and the "democratic" dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is the joint attempt of MacDonald and Mussolini to solve the imperialist contradictions at the cost of the Soviet Union in a military intervention.

The capitalist world is unable to overcome its economic crisis either by its economic policy or by any world economic conference. It is seeking for a solution more and more in military conflicts. In most of the imperialist countries the stage of preparedness for war has almost been reached.

The reckless nationalist incitement both in the countries of fascism and "democracy" is exceeded only by the feverish pace at which the armament works and the General Staffs of the capitalist countries are working.

The advance of fascism in Germany and other countries is a sign that the bourgeoisie in its fear of the proletarian revolution is attempting to secure the military leadership against the forces of the proletarian revolution.

Pacifism which serves to cloak the danger of war and the military preparations of the capitalists, supplements the nationalist methods of the fascists in order to chloroform the future victims of the coming imperialist war. The **Geneva Disarmament Conference**, which served to screen the increased preparations for war and the military alliances of the imperialist Powers, has become the scene of open preparations for war. "Democratic" France and fascist Germany defend with the same arguments and with the same zeal their right to arm for new imperialist wars.

The parties of the **Second International**, which is now breaking up, and the leaders of the reformist Amsterdam Trade Union International, have already taken their places in the war front of their own imperialists. The German social democracy with the nationalist "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles" on their lips, pledged themselves to support the aims of Hitler's nationalist policy. The French social democracy grants French imperialism the means for armaments and defends the policy of the Versailles robber system. The leader of the British Labour Party, Arthur Henderson, represents the interests of British imperialism in Geneva, and in practice his party adopts the war policy of MacDonald as its own. The social democratic parties in Czechoslovakia support the policy of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie which, pretending that it is erecting a bulwark against German fascism is in fact steadily leading the country to fascism. The Polish social democracy supports in practice the war preparations of the fascist government of Poland.

To-day the parties of the Second International are held together solely by their joint hatred of the proletarian revolution, of the revolutionary class struggle under the banner of the Communist International and all its actions, of socialism and its home, the Soviet Union, and by their joint efforts to overcome the imperialist contradictions in a war of intervention against the Fatherland of the international proletariat.

This is the reason for the fierce campaign of incitement conducted by all the parties of the Second International against the Soviet Union in connection with the prolongation of the Berlin Agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union. This is the reason for the proposal of the social democratic parties of the countries of the French block that the Soviet Union should join a fighting alliance of the democratic defenders of the Versailles robber system against the fascist countries. In place of the earlier slanders about red imperialism comes the criminal provocative incitement—why doesn't the Red Army march against fascist Germany?

The Second International conducts a campaign of incitement against the independent proletarian class policy of the Soviet Union which refuses to permit the power of the emancipated proletariat to be exploited by an imperialist Power. The Second International conducts a campaign of incitement against the peace policy of the Soviet Union which is opposed to all imperialist war-mongering and which is just as little inclined to support a new war for the re-division of the world as it is to support the defenders of the Versailles robber system.

The oppressed and exploited of the whole capitalist world, proletarians, working peasants and petty-bourgeois, must not forget for one moment that they will be expected to bear the tremendous sacrifices in blood and suffering which the next imperialist war will bring.

The revolutionary proletariat of all countries conducts a struggle against the preparations for imperialist war and military intervention under fascist as well as democratic slogans, under nationalist as well as pacifist slogans. The revolutionary proletariat of all countries stand side by side with the working masses of the Soviet Union.

All the oppressed and exploited must line up in this fighting front if they want to oppose fascism, the Versailles system and imperialist robbery and fight for the free right of self-determination for all peoples and against all national and colonial oppression.

The workers, young workers, the poor peasant masses and all toilers, all honest opponents of war, all those who want no new imperialist war, no new mass murder must fight shoulder to shoulder with the millions of the socialist State for the destruction of the basic causes of war, against capitalism and for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war, for the proletarian dictatorship and for the victory of socialism.

Proletarian Workers, you who want to prevent the imperialist war, the military intervention against the Soviet Union, the robber partitioning of China, the bloody destruction of the Chinese

Soviets and the continuation of the slaughter in Latin-America, fight under the banner of proletarian internationalism against your own capitalists, against your own governments, against fascism and imperialist reaction, against nationalist and chauvinist incitement, against militarism and the militarisation of the youth, and against hypocritical pacifism.

Fight for the prevention of the transport of war materials to the belligerent imperialist countries and above all against the transport of war material to Japan!

Workers and working women! Young workers and working girls! Oppressed and exploited of the whole capitalist world!

The Communist Parties of Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Austria call upon you to develop and intensify the revolutionary mass struggle against imperialist war and military intervention.

Organise again this year on the 1st August an **International Fighting Day against Imperialist War and against Military Intervention in the Soviet Union and in China!**

Show the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys your unbending and determined will not to permit a new piece of treachery as at the beginning of the last imperialist world war. Show them that you are prepared to stake all your forces in the struggle against any imperialist war, in the defence of the Soviet Union and in the defence of the Chinese people.

Show your revolutionary fighting will on the 1st August in **powerful demonstrations, meetings and strikes according to the conditions existing in your countries.**

Down with the imperialist war in the Far East!

Down with the military preparations for an imperialist war and a war of intervention!

Down with fascism and imperialist reaction!

Defend the Soviet Union!

(Signed) **The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Austria.**

The C.C. of the Czech C.P. on the Political Situation.

Prague, 26th June.

The **Polbureau of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia** has issued a **resolution** dealing with the present situation in Czechoslovakia, and with the tasks imposed thereby on the Party and the revolutionary movement. The resolution states that during the last few months the political situation in Czechoslovakia has been changed by the culmination of the efforts of the fascists in the present introduction of the system of emergency regulations and accelerated preparations for the open fascist dictatorship. That the Czech bourgeoisie is able to make this attempt without risking a resistance on the part of the proletariat and the other working strata which would shake their class rule to its foundations, is due to the social democratic parties. The transition to the regime of emergency orders has been supported, and even initiated, by the social democrats and the party of the Czech socialists. The slogan of "protecting democracy" is skilfully applied. The existence of fascist dictatorships in the leading revisionist States, Germany, Italy, and Hungary, makes it easy for the Czech bourgeoisie—by means of slogans on the "protection of democracy" against fascism, on the "protection of the Republic" and of the "national independence" of the Czech people against the fascist front of the revisionist States—to exercise a terrorist regime against the working people at home and against the oppressed nationalities, and to prepare for imperialist war against the fascist revisionist States.

The resolution deals further with the fundamental tasks of the Communist Party, and states:

"It is our duty to give the masses clear, comprehensible and revolutionary perspectives in all questions which they put to us. Every Party member must be more than ever an apostle of Communism. All the prerequisites for a mass change in the trend of the masses of socialist workers are rapidly growing and maturing. Their open joining of the revolutionary front is only a question of time and of our day to day revolutionary work among the masses of these workers. The development of a new united front offensive on this basis can greatly accelerate this transition, and in this manner the whole proletariat of Czechoslovakia may be given wide revolutionary fighting initiative for the workers' and peasants' government."

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

III.—Differences and Transitions.

One notices at every step that here there is taking place a tremendous process of transformation. This process of transformation is not going on everywhere at the same rate. There is still a considerable mixture of the old and the new in the collective village. An expression of this is still frequently to be found in the living room of the peasants' houses. In one corner there hang pictures of Lenin and Stalin, coloured revolutionary placards, "diplomas" for successful shock-brigade work, and in another corner sacred pictures. The husband is already a revolutionary, a shock-brigade worker; the wife or the grandmother still clings to her religious superstitions. But the number of houses in which these red and black corners exist side by side is steadily decreasing. Where the husband fails to persuade the wife to abandon the things of the past and the old ideas, the son or the daughter is more successful: the ikon finds its way to the rubbish heap, or, if it is winter, it is used as fuel. Then peace is restored in the home, and at Christmas or Easter there is another laughing countenance at the anti-religious theatrical performances of the Youth.

Within the collective farm there are also to be seen different stages of adaptation to collective economy. The former process of differentiation among the peasantry has now given place to a contrary process. Middle peasants, poor peasants and land workers are now equal members of the collective farm; and it depends mainly upon their own diligence whether they will be better or worse off in the coming year. Poor peasants, land-workers and middle peasants are being steadily transformed into a uniform stratum of collective farmers. But this process of transformation is not yet so far advanced that it has wiped out all traces of the old differences.

Of course, love for the collective farm is the greater, the more miserable the past was from which it has rescued its members. Less than two miles from the village of Ossinski, the centre of the "Neubach" collective farm, I saw a dozen tumble-down mud huts, without any adjoining yard or garden, with no floors, and with leaky roofs. One shudders when one remembers that people, whole families with children, spent their lives in these wretched hovels. To-day the huts are empty. Their former inhabitants are now living in the houses of the kulaks. These poorest of the former village have received from the Soviet power and the collective farm, in addition to their emancipation from an indescribably wretched existence, an income many times exceeding their former income. Of course, these strata were, right from the first, the most enthusiastic supporters of the collective farm movement. There was no need to ask them whether they are better off now than formerly. We put this question, however, to a number of former middle peasants. Here are the various answers:

(a) "I am better off than formerly, when I was a middle peasant. I alone last year worked 400 working days; my wife and my eldest son worked 250 working days. Thus we have an ample income." (It should be explained here that the term "working day" does not relate to a unit of time but to the fixed standard of daily work. A good worker, however, can in a day perform one and a half or even two days' work according to the fixed standard. The net yield of the collective farm is distributed according to the number of "working days" and the category and also the quality of the work performed.)

(b) Embarrassed, evasive answer: "Oh, we get along somehow." (I made enquiries of the bookkeeper and was informed that in the whole of the year 1932, this peasant had worked only 140 working days, the rest of the time he loafed about; consequently he has only himself to blame if he is not better off.)

(c) "Life to-day is so different that it is hard to compare it with what it was formerly. At one time I had three horses, two cows and several acres of land. There were times then when I was not so badly off. But it is better still on the collective farm."

"Why?"

"Because when I was an individual peasant I had far too many cares and worries. Once my two horses died of glanders just at the time of sowing; that crippled my farm for years. In addition, I was exposed to all the vagaries of chance. Now I know that I only need to work steadily and diligently and I have no cause to worry about myself and my children."

(d) "I am better off and freer now than when I was an individual peasant. At that time I did not even dream of working with machines, with tractors, of improvement of the soil. Now the way to prosperity and well-being is open to us; we have only got to learn to work better. We now have a good agronomist, and we shall get more out of the land than formerly. This spring we have sown properly, and if the weather is favourable we shall do very well out of the harvest."

(e) "Up to the bad harvest of 1931 I vacillated and did not know where my place was: on the collective farm or on an individual farm. But the bad harvest taught me. The harvest was just as bad as in the year 1921. But how different our life was from 1921! It is terrible even to think of that time. We ate grass and all kinds of muck, while some kulaks had full barns and took our last shirt in exchange for a crust of bread. But in 1931, on the Kolchos, we had no need to go hungry. We had no need to flee from the village in crowds or sell ourselves to the kulak for half a pound of bread. What we had was properly and fairly distributed, and it sufficed for every one. The State and the neighbouring collective farms helped us with seed corn."

From the numerical data it is to be seen that already last year, when the harvest was not particularly good, the standard of living of the collective farmers was on a level with and even higher than the former standard of living of the middle peasants. As the collective farmers on the farms served by the Besentchuk Machine and Tractor Station reported in their letter to Stalin, in this region the average annual income of a poor peasant before the revolution was 177 roubles, and that of a middle peasant 408 roubles. In the year 1932, however, the average income of a member of the kolchos "Comintern" was 495 roubles, of the kolchos "Iskra" 560 roubles, kolchos "Tchepayev" 311 roubles, kolchos "Gigant No. 2" 355 roubles, and of kolchos "Lenin" 460 roubles. These sums do not include the extra income the collective farmers earn by keeping their own cows, pigs, vegetable garden, poultry, etc.

A voice from the camp of the enemy: A woman sidled up to me and exclaimed: "Do you know how we live? We are starving! They have taken everything away from us and reduced us to beggary." I asked some collective farmers how much truth there was in this. "Come with us," was the reply. They spoke to the chairman of the village Soviet, and with his permission carried out a house-search in the house of the woman who was "starving." They found more than they themselves expected to find. 21 sacks of excellent wheat flour and other foodstuffs. After this incident they inquired into her antecedents and the following facts came to light:—She is the wife of a kulak from another district who was arrested on account of counter-revolutionary activity. Concealing this fact, she managed to join a collective farm. For a time she appeared to work all right. Then, when she had gained the confidence of the collective farmers, she began by her gossip to slander the leading members of the collective farm administration and also to sow discord among the collective farmers. She thought that the presence of a foreigner in the village would serve as a favourable opportunity in order to come out into the open with her counter-revolutionary agitation. That she did not live so well on the collective farm as she did formerly, I do not doubt for a moment, for as the wife of a kulak she employed some farm workers out of whom she squeezed the last drop of blood.

The villages of Ossinski, Preobrashenskoye and Novomichailovka are fairly close to each other. All three are collective villages served by the Besentchuk Machine and Tractor Station. But each village has its own character.

Ossinski ("Neubach" collective farm) has no school as yet, but every morning the children are conveyed by waggon to the school in the neighbouring village and brought back again when the school is over. There is a fairly modest reading hut, but no proper library. There exists the basis for cultural development: illiteracy has been abolished but this village appears for the time being to have no great need of "cultural luxury." "Before we establish a proper club and a permanent kindergarten and our own school," said the chairman of the village Soviet, "we must first build warm stables for the cattle." The collective farmers in Ossinski are well informed by means of public newspaper readings about political events at home and abroad. For the rest, however, they are interested in purely economic questions. They have their own dairy and their books are kept better than on all the collective farms in the district.

The village of Preobrashenskoye (collective farm "Gigant No. 2") already has a population with growing cultural requirements. Here there is a big school with three teachers, a local club, a kindergarten and, finally, they have their own smithy, a repairing workshop, at the head of which is the collective farmer Viktor Michailovitch Prosnjakov. If this peasant had been given the opportunity of studying in his youth, he would not have had to learn to read and write when he had already reached his prime after the revolution, and to-day would perhaps have been a world-famous inventor. He contented himself, however, with equipping a big workshop with his own inventions, the chief value of which is that they cost next to nothing to produce. He has invented a primitive but very serviceable motor, a number of primitive machines, which can be made out of old iron and other scraps of metal. And with their help he repairs all the agricultural tools, waggons, etc., and he can even render "first aid" to tractors which have broken down.

Although all inhabitants of the village, from the chairman of the village Soviet to the manager of the co-operative shop (with the exception of one of the three teachers), are peasants, we already see here energetic efforts to escape the deadening monotony of village life.

The village of Novomichailovka (Commune O.G.P.U.) is incomparably farther advanced. It differs also in its form of organisation from the two other villages. The two former are "artels" (that is the prevailing form of the collective farm), in which only the land and farming implements are socialised and each peasant, in addition to the common property can have and has his own private property (house, garden, cow, pigs, rabbits, poultry, etc.). The O.G.P.U., however, is a commune in which everything is socialised. Such a Commune demands a higher degree of class-consciousness and makes bigger demands of its members. Therefore, numerous attempts to realise these higher forms of the collective farms without any transition stage have failed. Those, however, which have been able to overcome these difficulties are among the best collective farms.

Such a collective farm is the Commune O.G.P.U. Here we already see new dwelling houses, built of wood but very comfortably equipped: two rooms and a kitchen for each family; in every house there is a wireless apparatus. There are numerous farm buildings. The school is well equipped. A kindergarten, crèches and playgrounds meet the needs of the rising generation (out of about 600 inhabitants there are 180 children attending play schools). The children are provided with excellent meals by means of a special communal kitchen. For the adults there is also a communal kitchen, but no dining hall; the food is fetched and eaten at home. The Commune has also its own clubhouse with piano and stage. The peasants in the O.G.P.U. commune can already be regarded as well off. In 1932 the fields yielded 11½ centals of wheat per hectare; about 1 to 4 centals more than the neighbouring collective farms. In their appearance, in their language and manner of living, the members of the Commune resemble qualified industrial workers more than peasants.

If the harvest turns out good, the Commune will have sufficient funds in order to buy some motor lorries, to build new farm buildings. Negotiations have already been commenced for a grant from the State for the purpose of building a small hospital. It is reckoned that after the next harvest the remuneration per working day will be doubled.

The conditions in the Commune O.G.P.U., of course, do not yet exist on all the collective farms. What this Commune has achieved, however, will be achieved next year by thousands of other collective farms. As we shall see, the secret lies in the fact that the members of the Commune O.G.P.U. have had considerable experience in the class struggle. They are all steeled class fighters and have been able, sooner than most of the other collective farms, to get rid of the useless ballast of kulaks, parasites and pilferers.

Kolchos "Neubach," kolchos, "Gigant No. 2." Commune O.G.P.U. represent three various stages in the development of the collective farms. But they are all going the same way—the way of overcoming the former misery of the peasants, the way to common well-being and culture.

The Soviet Loan for the Second Five-Year Plan Over-Subscribed

On May 15 there was published the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on the "Loan for the Second Five-Year Plan" amounting to 3,000 million roubles. Twenty days later, on June 5, 3,050 million roubles had already been subscribed. It is reported from all parts of the Soviet Union that the loan is being subscribed to with great enthusiasm.

The exceedingly rapid subscription and over-subscription of the loan is a splendid proof of the growth of socialist consciousness of the toilers of the Soviet Union, a fresh great victory of the Bolshevik Party. The "loan for the second Five-Year Plan" is being supported by many millions of conscious builders of Socialism. Millions of working men and women, men and women collective peasants, toilers in town and country have given in 20 days 300 million roubles more for the construction of Socialism than the total amount of the "Loan for the Fourth, the final year of the first Five-Year Plan."

It is particularly noteworthy that this loan has been subscribed to a far greater extent in the rural districts than were the previous loans. This shows that the ideological level of the peasants on the collective farms has been greatly raised. In the year 1928/29 only 180 million roubles were subscribed in the rural districts, in the year 1932, 665 millions. This year, however, the collective farmers have almost caught up to the industrial workers. In 20 days, 635 million roubles have been subscribed in the rural districts, of which 520 million roubles fall to the share of the collective farmers. This is a big stride forward when one remembers that last year the sum reached in twenty days was only 368 millions. This development can only be explained as due to the growing influence of the proletarian town upon the collective village, the progressive socialist re-education and organisation of the collective farm members.

The best results of the first 20 days of subscription to the loan were achieved by Moscow, Leningrad, the Ivanovo industrial district, the Ukrainian Republic, whilst subscription in the Central Black-Earth district, in Eastern Siberia and in the Bashkir Republic is lagging behind. It is clear that these districts must now make special efforts in order to catch up to the best districts.

In the Soviet Union, socialist competition has become the law of public life. Therefore no political mass campaign is considered as having come to an end as long as all possibilities have not been exhausted. These possibilities are not exhausted so long as there exist backward elements which can be drawn into socialist work by means of a political enlightenment work. Thus the central Party organs point to the necessity of special propaganda among the building workers. They are most closely connected with socialist construction; before their very eyes there are springing up those works of socialist industry in which are invested the means for which the Soviet population is subscribing the loan. The Party and trade union organisations are conducting a lively campaign for the loan among the masses of building workers.

Also in the rural districts the organisations are not satisfied with what they have achieved. The collective village represents vast possibilities. The Party organisations set themselves the task of inducing every single collective farmer to subscribe to the loan for the Second Five-Year Plan. The individual peasant of to-day is the collective peasant of to-morrow. Hence the Party organisations must not overlook him but extend the campaign for the loan to the individual peasants, draw them nearer to the collective farms and to socialist construction. The small sum subscribed by the individual peasant binds him to socialist construction,

enhances his interest in socialist reconstruction of agriculture, and strengthens his feeling of responsibility for the great cause.

In the campaign for the loan it is not only a question of the amount of the sums subscribed, but in particular of the number of subscribers. In the year 1932 there were already 40 million persons in the Soviet Union who held loan bonds of the Soviet State. To increase their number further is an important Bolshevik task of the Party and trade union organisations.

Socialist construction in the Soviet Union is carried out with the means supplied by the country itself, without foreign loans, without the exploitation of colonial peoples, independently of the capitalist world. The campaign for the "Loan for the Second Five-Year Plan" is being continued under the slogan: "Not a single toiler in town and country without loan bonds of the second Five-Year Plan."

The Party Cleansing in Practice

By I. R.

The Party cleansing in the C.P.S.U. has already lasted for three weeks. This campaign imposes great tasks upon all organisations. To carry out the examination of every member in a correct manner, so that the interests of the Bolshevik Party are thoroughly safeguarded but at the same time no petty personal rancour or injustice permitted—this is a task which imposes a great responsibility upon the leading commissions.

But the commissions have good helpers in the shape of the rank and file of the Party members and numerous non-Party workers, who consider it their own business that the Party ruling the Soviet State and building Socialism for all toilers, shall be up to its tasks. The good organisation of the Party cleansing consists precisely in getting ever broader masses of the workers and toilers to participate in it. The mass participation in the cleansing meetings of the factory and village nuclei enhances the masses' respect for and confidence in the Party, for they see that great devotion, discipline, honesty, diligence and knowledge are demanded of the Communists—and it secures, on the other hand, a correct carrying out of the cleansing campaign controlled and supported by the masses.

The Leningrad Party organisation reports that in the nuclei, on an average, 12 members a day are examined. In the "Marty" factory, the cleansing meetings of the department nuclei reveal the great interest of the whole staff in the campaign, expressed in a large attendance at the meetings not only of workers of the same department, but also of other departments. The factory and wall newspapers publish reports of the Party cleansing in every number; they stigmatise those who have proved unworthy of the name of "Communists," and bring to the notice of the workers those who have shown great self-sacrifice or performed good work, but have not pushed themselves to the front.

The decision of the C.C. and the C.C.C. on the Party cleansing not only contained directives regarding the aims of the campaign, but also gave instructions regarding the methods by which it is to be conducted. It is necessary that the cleansing meetings be conducted in a friendly, comradely manner, free from the influence of personal relations, undue severity, etc.

The questions chiefly occupying the Party cleansing meetings are those connected with the work of the respective nucleus. The campaign for Party cleansing is part of the constructive work of the country, so that all questions engaging the attention of the Party cleansing meetings relate to the life of the respective factory, collective farm, Soviet farm, etc.

For instance, in an industrial undertaking the Communist must report what he has done in the way of realising the scheduled tasks of the works as a whole and his works department in particular, how he has worked and controlled the work of his work-mates. On the collective farm the actual problems of collective economic construction occupy chief attention: the work of the sowing campaign, organisational and ideological consolidation of the collective farm, fight against the kulaks and their influence upon the collective farms, etc.

In the Party cleansing great importance is attached to the examination of individual knowledge. Owing to the great influx into the Party which has set in recently, many new members have not yet acquired the necessary knowledge and have not yet attained to the Marxist-Leninist level of the Party. It is therefore the main duty of every Communist continually to increase his knowledge.

The question of training is particularly urgent in those organisations, most of the members of which have only recently joined the Party, as is also the question of work in realising the scheduled tasks in those factories and collective farms which have not completely fulfilled their production plans, and the attitude of the Communists to the non-Party masses in those places where bureaucratism has taken root.

The central press organs of the Soviet Union are devoting special attention to those districts which recently were the source of the greatest concern to the Party and Soviet organs, as for instance the Kiev organisation. This district was behindhand in every campaign. This year a change has taken place: the beet root-sowing campaign was ended 37 days before the scheduled time. Nevertheless, there still exist many shortcomings. Here the resistance of the kulak elements is carried on under the guise of efforts at "national" development. Hence in this district the national question is an important point in the cleansing campaign. The exposure of all those cases in which the Leninist national policy of the Party has been distorted and abused in the interest of aims hostile to the working class will greatly improve the work of the Kiev organisation.

Great attention must be paid to the Party organisations of the Donez basin and the Ural, as the successful and most vital increase in the production of coal and iron depends upon these districts. It is of the greatest importance for the whole country that the Party organisations of these districts carry out an examination of the Party ranks with a view to freeing them from all hampering elements and steeling them for the fight for the raw materials of socialist heavy industry.

The nuclei meetings for Party cleansing sometimes develop into stormy discussion evenings, sometimes into small festivals in honour of this or that splendid Bolshevik. His career, a life of heavy struggle against Tsarism, White Guardists, intervention and saboteurs, years of work at the bench or at the writing table, at machines or with books, is described in the press and his work-mates are proud of him. The Party knows that such Communists are indefatigable workers, that they can always be trusted, that they breathe forth an atmosphere of socialist work and draw into it ever-growing sections of the working class.

The Latest Achievements of Soviet Industry

The Cheljabinsk tractor works, which are constructing caterpillar tractors never previously manufactured in the Soviet Union, commenced working at the beginning of June. With the opening of this works, the greatest of its kind in the world, the decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. of April 30, 1931, has been fulfilled. This giant of the tractor industry represents the highest stage in the development of this branch of industry, and will become the decisive technical basis for completing the collectivisation of agriculture.

The works bears the name of Stalin. The casting department, the mechanical assemblage department, the smithy and the tool departments are all ready to commence operations. Further, the construction of 34 four-storey dwelling houses in which 15,000 persons will be housed has been completed; there is a great food factory, dining halls, cinema, children's crèches and kindergartens as well as other institutions for the staff of the new works. All these buildings are supplied with up-to-date conveniences, water supply, drainage, electric light and power, central heating, etc.

The works were set the task of completing 2,000 caterpillar tractors by the end of the year. The construction of the Cheljabinsk tractor works was greatly promoted by the working people of Cheljabinsk and by the garrison of the Red Army, who voluntarily devoted their free time to this work.

It is now the task of the engineers, technicians and workers of Cheljabinsk to ensure an uninterrupted output and the complete mastery of the technique of this work. This will be the most difficult part of their work; it will undoubtedly be a period of increased class struggle in Cheljabinsk, for only by overcoming the influence of the kulak elements will it be possible to secure the final victory in Cheljabinsk.

The cadres of the new works are mainly young elements who are taking up their work with great enthusiasm and learning eagerly. The first year of the Cheljabinsk work is an apprenticeship year, and 2,000 caterpillar tractors are a rather big task for this year. But in Cheljabinsk nobody doubts this task can and will be realised.

Obituary

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the Death of Clara Zetkin

Moscow, June 21, 1933.

To-day's "Pravda" publishes the statement of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the death of Clara Zetkin under the heading:

Clara Zetkin, the Fighter for the Proletarian World Revolution!

Clara Zetkin the great revolutionary is dead. She gave more than 50 years of her life to the fight for the cause of the socialist world revolution. Up to the last moment of her life she held aloft the flag of Communism.

The German working class, which is fighting heroically against the bloody fascist dictatorship, honours in Clara Zetkin its tried, courageous and beloved leader. The working class of the country of the victorious proletarian revolution honours in her its true comrade and friend in the fight for the building up of socialist society. The Communist International, the working men and women of all countries who are fighting for their emancipation, honour in her their revolutionary heroine.

In the international labour movement our Clara was the comrade-in-arms of Friedrich Engels and Lenin. She fought together with Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. She entered the ranks of the old social-democratic party of Germany at a time when this party was still illegal and persecuted by Bismarck's police régime. She took an active share in founding the Second International, but at the same time she was one of the first of those who took up the fight in the ranks of the Second International against the revisionists and other opportunists. As editress of the women's newspaper "*Gleichheit*" (Equality), she proclaimed since 1892 militant revolutionary Socialism and mobilised the first opposition to the opportunist leaders of the German social democracy. At the beginning of 1906 she already wrote that these leaders wish "to convert the social democracy into a tame lap-dog of a national-social or social-liberal character, into a dog which offers its paw to every bourgeois scoundrel."

During the imperialist war she was arrested on account of her anti-militarist agitation, her self-sacrificing fight against chauvinism and social-patriotism. After her release she belonged, together with Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and others, to the *Spartakus League*. Up to the year 1919 she continued the fight against the opportunist leaders in the ranks of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. She then entered the *Communist Party* which had just been founded, and since then remained right up to her death a member of its Central Committee. She wrote: "The Second International cannot even say: 'All is lost save honour.' It has before all lost its honour, because it abandoned the fight."

Right from the beginning the Russian revolutionary movement was for Clara Zetkin a source of fighting energy and understanding of revolutionary Marxism. When, in 1917, many other Left Radicals in the ranks of the West European movement adopted a sceptical attitude towards the tactics of the Bolsheviki, Clara Zetkin immediately supported these tactics and enthusiastically welcomed the October Revolution. Since then she indefatigably and unswervingly defended the Soviet Union against all its enemies and, full of enthusiasm, always and everywhere made international propaganda for the achievements of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat.

Clara Zetkin was a genuine internationalist. Immediately after the founding of the Communist International she took part as its representative in the Congress of the French socialists in Tours, where she succeeded in winning the majority of the delegates to Communism. In the following year she fought a magnificent fight for Communism at the Congress of the Socialist Party of Italy in Milan. On her initiative the *International Women's Secretariat* was founded and *International Women's Day* set up. For many years she led the women's work of the Communist International. She was for years at the head of the *International Red Aid*.

Since the year 1921 she was a member of the Executive Committee and of the Presidium of the Communist International, and took an active part in the discussions of the most important questions and the realisation of decisions. In the last few years Clara Zetkin, owing to her ill-health, was obliged to curtail her activity. Nevertheless she always continued with living revolutionary hatred the undeviating fight against the social-democratic agents of the bourgeoisie, against the enemies of the Comintern from Kautsky to Trotsky.

One of the greatest things to the credit of Clara Zetkin is the passionate fight she waged for many years with all her revolutionary elan against the preparations for imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet Union. Already in 1922, at the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., she delivered the report on the fight of the Communist Parties against the danger of war, which is no less important to-day. Clara Zetkin concluded her report with the words: "Only the overthrow of capitalism can save humanity from the danger of war. Only the world revolution leads humanity to freedom. Let us act, let us fight! Let us mobilise the masses for this fight!"

"The War against the working people, the working people against the war" is the title of the last pamphlet Comrade Clara Zetkin was able to finish. Even in the last days of her life she commenced a new work against social democracy. Her last public appearance in Germany was when she delivered her famous speech as the oldest member at the opening of the German Reichstag on August 30, 1932, which was devoted to the fight against fascism and to the anti-fascist united front, and which aroused the greatest admiration of the workers of the whole world. "I hope," she declared in the face of the fascist Parliament, "to have the pleasure of opening as its oldest deputy the first Soviet Congress of Soviet Germany."

She was always filled with courage and the joy of battle. "Let us unselfishly devote our whole forces up to the last moment of our lives to accelerating the revolution until the victory of the proletarian world revolution!" she declared after Lenin's death. "Then we shall help to erect the only monument worthy of Lenin, worthy of all the great ones who advanced at the head of the proletariat, pointing out to it the way and the goal—worthy of all the unnamed and unknown fighters who, fighting and falling for freedom, attained to greatness. This monument is the Communist society."

Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Death of Clara Zetkin

By Wilhelm Pieck

The life of a genuine revolutionary fighter is ended. Clara Zetkin has fought her last fight. Of the 76 years of her life, more than 50 were spent as a fighter in the foremost ranks of the international labour movement. She belonged with heart and soul to the proletarian class. Her whole life was one uninterrupted fight for the emancipation of the working class from the capitalist yoke and for the establishment of socialism. Even when in her last years physical infirmity confined her to her sick bed and medical science almost failed, her restless revolutionary spirit always raised her up again. With the eager passion characteristic of her, she took part right up to her last breath in the discussions of all fighting questions of the international labour movement. I have often experienced how, in her sick bed, during a political discussion, her body weakened by age and sickness and conveying the impression of apathy, she became suddenly animated, her furrowed features became firm and she expressed with glowing revolutionary energy her political opinion. Her speech in which as the oldest member she opened the last German Reichstag, her fierce indictment of the capitalist system and

fascism, was one of the last great acts to which she spurred on her almost failing body.

Clara Zetkin gave the international proletariat the highest revolutionary example of a genuine Bolshevik self-sacrifice for the proletarian revolution. Just as she worked for the proletarian world revolution at the head of the Communist International, so she always stood in the foremost fighting ranks of the German proletariat. Even in the few cases when she was not in agreement with the decisions of the Party and opposed them, she was inspired by a genuine revolutionary desire to help the Party to fulfil its Bolshevik tasks. It was just in these cases that Clara Zetkin set a high example of Bolshevik discipline by supporting the decisions of the Party in spite of her contrary opinion and doing everything to secure their realisation. Clara Zetkin was profoundly convinced of the inevitable advance of the proletarian revolution and the certain victory of the world proletariat. The victory of the Russian workers and peasants, under the leadership of Lenin's Party, over Tsarism and the bourgeoisie and the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union, was also for Clara Zetkin a vast reservoir from which she drew ever fresh strength for her passionate fight for the revolution in Germany.

That which Clara Zetkin did already at the commencement of her political activity for the fight for the emancipation of the proletarian woman from the slavery of capitalist society she carried out right to the end of her life as one of her chief tasks. But she fully realised that this fight cannot be waged in an isolated manner, but only as part of the general fight of the proletariat for the revolution. Her uninterrupted fight against the military system and imperialism, against competition in armaments and the war criminals, against capitalist wage slavery, was at the same time a fight for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the world revolution. Her rich literary activity, her speeches at meetings or her work at the head of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Germany reveal almost inexhaustible power, which brought forth ever new ideas for the fight; they show her passionate hatred of the exploiters, oppressors, and betrayers of the proletariat, but they show also her great love for all the oppressed and exploited in all capitalist countries and colonies. This was expressed also in her activity as president of the International Red Aid.

Clara Zetkin lived with her heart and mind in closest union with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, where she found her real native country. During her long journeys through the country which is building up Socialism, she studied the creative and liberating force of the proletarian dictatorship, the tremendous advance of culture, the social and economic advance of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. How painful was her complaint on her sick bed that, owing to her physical infirmity, she was prevented from making all these experiences accessible in her own language to the world proletariat and in particular to the German workers and that she could no longer be as active as she used to be. In her inexorable fight against reformism which denies the proletarian revolution, against the betrayal by the II. International of the international revolutionary principles of the proletariat and against social fascism, Clara Zetkin gave splendid examples of the application of Marxist-Leninist theory, with which her whole work was permeated. Just as Clara Zetkin saw in Lenin her great master, so Lenin repeatedly pointed out the great importance which the life work of Clara Zetkin constituted in the Bolshevik fight of the world proletariat and in the support of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. And the close intellectual ties which bound Clara Zetkin to the great executor of the testament of Lenin, Comrade Stalin, and Lenin's old guard, gave her ever fresh stimulus and power for her work.

Thus with the death of Clara Zetkin there ends the life of a heroic revolutionary fighter. Clara Zetkin's ashes are preserved at the Red Wall of the Kremlin, by the side of Lenin and the other great dead of the revolutionary world proletariat. Clara Zetkin's death is a great loss to the proletariat of the world. The German proletariat loses in her, along with Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Franz Mehring, one of its best leaders. This loss, however, will spur on the German workers and peasants, and before all the Communist Party of Germany, to exert their forces in order to overthrow Hitler fascism and to achieve their revolutionary aim. Then the German proletariat in the triumph of its victory, will convey the ashes of Clara Zetkin to the revolutionary burial place in the Berlin cemetery in Friedrichsfelde by

the side of her old comrades-in-arms, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Franz Mehring.

That for which Clara Zetkin fought a lifelong fight, the German proletariat will realise in common with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and the world proletariat; they will set up the fighting unity of all the oppressed and exploited, destroy Hitler fascism and lead Bolshevism to victory, in order to set up a Soviet Germany in which socialism will find its realisation.

We lower our flags before our dead Clara Zetkin and raise them aloft again in order to carry them at the head of the working masses for the attack on capitalist rule. Clara Zetkin's life work, together with the teachings of Lenin and the great deeds of his party, gives us strength and leadership for this.

Clara Zetkin is dead, but her life work endures. It will continue in our revolutionary deeds.

Clara Zetkin's Funeral

By Paul Dietrich (Moscow).

Moscow, June 22, 1933.

To-day the proletariat of the Soviet Union bore Clara Zetkin to the grave. The revolutionary passion, the victorious fighting spirit which filled her long life of struggle, was manifested to-day a million-fold in the last respects paid by the Moscow proletariat to Clara Zetkin. This manifestation is at the same time a demonstration for the fighting proletariat of Germany and its heroic Communist Party.

Four hundred thousand working men and women, scholars, students and members of the Red Army, solemnly filed through the hall of columns of the Trade Union House in order to pay their last tribute to Clara. More than 600,000 attended the funeral to-day, among them being delegations from Leningrad and the big working-class centres of the Soviet Union, the foreign workers who work in Moscow.

The best disciple of Lenin, the leader of the international proletariat, Comrade Stalin, together with Comrade Molotov, Voroshilov, Ordshonikidse, Kalinin, Kuybyshev, Andreyev and members of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, Comrades Piatnitzki, Heckert, Knorin, Bela Kun, Marty and Katayama formed the guard of honour, and then, to the sounds of the Funeral March, carried the bier to the Red Square. The leaders and the vast crowds all knew that Clara Zetkin, the heroic fighter and bold leader, was most closely allied with those for whose emancipation she devoted her whole life. She and the working masses of the whole world felt themselves to be closely bound together. Whenever she spoke to the masses, whether in articles or in appeals, whether from the Parliamentary tribune or at great mass meetings, her first militant words formed a living bridge to the masses. In her earliest youth just as in her old age she spoke passionately to the masses, who hailed her and loved and esteemed her.

This intimate connection with the masses was her strongest support when she, the passionate revolutionary and trained Marxist, took up her pen or mounted the platform in order to combat the falsifiers of Marxism, the treachery of the social-democratic lackeys of capitalism.

All recognised Clara as leader, for her clear revolutionary work and activity was in the truest sense international. She was a Marxist-Leninist internationalist. Therefore her death is a heavy blow to all those who are fighting for the aim which was Clara's one life purpose. Her close connection with the international proletariat, with the masses of the emancipated workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, could find no greater and finer monument than that which the Moscow proletariat has set up. No imposing monument of stone or marble—but millions of hearts set up this monument.

These were the thoughts of the millions who accompanied Clara on her last journey to the Red Square, where her earthly remains found their resting place in the shadow of the Kremlin wall alongside the Lenin Mausoleum, among the foremost of the old guard of Bolshevism, who with Lenin were the proclaimers and realisers of Socialism.

The Red Square is one mass of people. A forest of red flags flutter in the wind. Members of the Red Army stand to attention. Then, in the presence of all members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, there commences the funeral ceremony.

The first words are spoken by the veteran Japanese revolutionary *Sen Katayama*, an old comrade-in-arms of Clara Zetkin, who already in 1904 fought with her against the reformists and in 1932 opened with her the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress. He is followed by the hero of the Black Sea Fleet, *André Marty*, who speaks in the name of the Executive of the Comintern. The next speaker is Comrade *Heckert*, one of the oldest German comrades of Clara, representing the Communist Party of Germany.

"The system," he declares, "which Hitler fascism set up leads to the abyss. There is one way out, the way shown by Clara Zetkin, the way trodden by Lenin, the way of the victorious October revolution. In Clara's last speech in the Reichstag she declared it to be her fervent wish to open the first Congress of Soviets in Soviet Germany. Death prevented the fulfilment of her dream.

"The German revolutionary working class and the German Communist Party unite in returning thanks for what she has done. We promise here, before hundreds of thousands who have paid their last respects to you, beloved leader, that we German Communists will not give our enemies a minute's respite in the fight until fascism and its bearers lie crushed under our feet. Soon our red flags will wave victoriously in Germany. Then, when the doors of the first German Soviet Congress are opened, then, Clara, we shall fetch your ashes from the shrine of the Red Wall and carry them to the President's seat of the Congress. Until then, however, your indefatigable spirit will urge us on in the fight."

Comrade *Molotov* then stands before the microphone. He eulogises the bold fighter, the internationalist and her undaunted, indefatigable fight against the threatening danger of war. He praises the heroic defender of the land of victorious socialism. His speech ends in a declaration of warm revolutionary solidarity with the emancipation struggle of the German proletariat against fascism: "We are convinced that the great future of the Communist Party of Germany, its inevitable future victory, is bound up with that cause for which Clara Zetkin fought and lived."

Comrade *Molotov* is followed by Lenin's wife, the best friend of Clara, Comrade *Krupskaya*. She described in eloquent words the valuable work achieved by Clara for the international revolutionary women's movement. Then the members of the Politbureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade *Stalin* at the head, and representatives of the E.C.C.I., to the sounds of the Funeral March, carry the urn to the Kremlin wall. Three salvos of artillery rend the air. The sound of the "Internationale" is heard. Then commences the demonstration of the detachments of the Red Army, followed by the vast masses of the Moscow proletariat.

Clara Zetkin's funeral is more than an acknowledgment of her great merits in the emancipation struggle of the proletariat. Today's ceremony is a challenge to those who wish to exterminate Marxism with blood and fire. They shall know the German proletariat does not stand alone in its heroic fight against the murder dictatorship of fascism. Behind it stands the power of the Comintern, and the millions of emancipated workers and peasants of the socialist Soviet State.

Proletarian internationalism, of which she was an outstanding representative, lives. Filled with the bold fighting spirit which inspired Clara, millions and millions are standing ready to support to the utmost the German proletariat in its heroic fight against bloody fascism.

Organisational Questions

Factory Papers of the C.P. of the United States

By Mova

The papers give sufficient space to the conditions of work in the factories, and to the partial demands of the workers. Factory papers are comparatively rare which, like the "*Stewart Warner Worker*," contain only political material of a general character. There are a certain number of concrete, living articles on local subjects in the "*Ford Worker*," the "*Crane Worker*," for example. But the general fault of the papers is that there is an incapacity to choose, from among the various questions, the most important, principal and vital questions, and to carry on a fight on these. One article speaks of reduction of the hours of work, another of overalls for the workers, a third of the necessity of kicking a spy out of the

works. But one does not know by which means the paper proposes to begin the fight. The demands for the fight are not formulated, and this prevents the papers from becoming the organisers of the fight of the workers in the factory for their demands and daily needs.

On the other hand, the papers appearing in the name of the Communist cell, usually do not know how to link up the partial demands with the general tasks of the working class. They do not explain sufficiently to their readers, what is Communism, nor do they indicate clearly enough the objectives for which the Communist Party is struggling, only very rarely do they mention the final aim of the working class. In general, they speak only of partial demands, although the title of the paper is followed by the indication that it is "Organ of such and such a cell of the Communist Party," the text gives only detached, scattered and accidental explanations concerning such and such demands as are fought for by the Communists. Thus the "*Headlight*," on the elections indicates that the Communist Party is the only party which does not fear to struggle for better conditions of labour in the factories. The "*Railroad Worker*" explains that the Communist Party is for payment in full of the war veterans' pensions. This is correct in itself but the tasks of the Communist Party are not limited to this.

The "*A.B.C. Paperworker*," in an article on the youth, writes: "Young Communists have no other interests than those of the young workers." The paper forgets to add that the interests of young workers are indissolubly bound up with those of the working class as a whole. In short, the non-party worker or reformist worker who reads ten or fifteen different factory papers will not have got an exact idea of the tasks of the Party, still less will he know that this Party fights in practice as much for the partial demands as for the final objective of the working class, while subordinating the former to the latter.

The papers of the factory cells reflected the Communist Party's campaign at the time of the Presidential elections, but a number of mistakes were shown therein. The papers set forth without any comment the six points of the Communist Party's election platform, for instance, the "*Crane Worker*" did this. With regard to the capitalist candidates, the factory papers confined themselves to general statements explaining that there was no difference in essence between the republicans, democrats and socialists ("*Tinplate Worker*," "*Stewart Warner Worker*"). The papers made no attempt during the elections to bring out the position of the Communists as opposed to bourgeois democracy, and the aim that the Party pursued by taking part in the elections. One of the rare examples of a good electoral agitation is furnished by the "*Railroad Worker*," which makes use of Roosevelt's intervention in favour of a cut in the wages of the railwaymen to show the policy that this candidate will apply if elected President.

Many factory papers are not edited by the workers themselves and are not even made at the factory: whence a number of mistakes appear as a result of the lack of knowledge of factory conditions. A lack of initiative as regards demands that there is a chance of putting forward in each given case; abstract formulas about the need of organisation. Sometimes the factory papers ask worker correspondents for articles to be sent to such and such an address—which from a conspirative point of view is absolutely impermissible.

The question of organisation of the workers' press, of joining the Party and the trade unions is not put clearly. As a rule, there are simple appeals: "Organise, organise immediately," without indicating how it is to be done.

"The *Crane Worker*," which states below its title that it is "published by the Communist Party cell of the Crane Factory," carries on an agitation in some articles in favour of joining the trade unions, and in the very same place, without any explanation, it inserts a slogan: "Join the Communist Party." A worker reading the journal cannot grasp in what way the writers would distinguish between joining the union and joining the Party.

As for the trade union factory papers there is scarcely any difference from the Party papers, and in general, it is only from the heading that you can know who publishes the paper.

The question of forming various committees of action is put forward only in a very abstract manner in the various papers. But who should take part in these and what their tasks should be remains unknown. Sometimes the papers call on the workers to create at one and at the same time several different committees. "*The Decker Worker*," for example, proposes the creation of shop

groups, of anti-wage cut committees, of anti-war committees, in such a way that the worker reader does not gain an exact idea of what has to be done first of all. As an exception to this may be mentioned the "Illinois Steel Worker," which gives some practical indications as to the way in which a grievance committee can be organised in the factory.

The struggle against imperialist war and the popularisation of socialist construction takes the form in the majority of the papers, of small articles of a rather schematic kind ending with a long list of slogans; very rarely are these questions linked up with the life and struggle of the workers of each given factory. Some papers give good examples of this work. "The Crane Worker" publishes an article on social insurance in the U.S.S.R., and beside it a note about a Crane factory worker who lost his sight and a limb at his work without receiving any compensation. There we have a concrete example which shows up the profound difference between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries. The "Illinois Steel Worker" points out the part that the Illinois Steel Co. shop will play in the next war, and puts forward the following demands:—"The war budget should be made into a fund for the unemployed." In this way the paper shows the worker the manner in which the war danger concerns workers directly. The papers do not carry on systematic work for the political education of their readers and do not make an adequate effort to adapt themselves to the level of reformist and non-party workers.

"The Armour Worker" publishes a dialogue which looks very popular. It is between workers, one of whom wants to know what the Communists are, the other replies: "To-morrow I'll bring you their programme, and if you do not see me to-morrow, get the programme from the 'Daily Worker' seller at the factory gate." For the Communist worker this dialogue is not at all a model of the way in which to approach a non-party worker, and the non-party worker, too, can get nothing from it. There is no rhyme nor reason in inserting, as the "Armour Worker" does, a blank to be filled up by name and address and the words: "I should like to be sent information about the Communist Party." Information on what the Party is and does ought to be found in the paper itself. Sometimes the papers insert workers' letters without reply or any explanation. "The Tinplate Worker" publishes a non-party worker's letter which shows mistaken tendencies. This worker says: "We cannot live on this Chinese wage," but, "if we refuse to work the unemployed will take our jobs," etc. The paper gives a very unsatisfactory reply and it should be noted passes over in silence the question of organising the solidarity of employed and unemployed workers.

The question of National Minorities in the midst of the working class, and particularly the policy of the Communist Party on the national question, are left unexplained in the factory papers. And it is the same with the situation of the Negro workers. Many papers appearing in factories employing Negroes do not mention them, and in the election article do not even point out that the Communist Party's candidate for the Vice-Presidency is a Negro worker. The papers do not put forward demands looking to an amelioration of the situation of the Negroes, equal rights and equal wages with those of the white workers, comradely relations between white and Negro workers, questions of organising the mass of Negro workers, etc.

To overcome this big lack, Negro worker correspondents must be induced to take an active part in the factory papers.

The "Daily Worker" can help in the factory papers very much. On the one hand the factory papers can carry on propaganda and win readers for it in the factories. On the other hand, the "Daily Worker" could from time to time, print fundamental articles showing how both general political questions and local questions should be dealt with in the factory paper. It should also publish reviews of the factory papers, reprint articles and the most characteristic letters and set forth the experience of this work, both good and bad.

The Practice of Factory Work

(Conclusion)

(4) in addition to the official speaker, provision should have been made for speeches from the masses, including speeches from members of the reformist and Christian trade unions with revolutionary feelings; (5) a motion should have been prepared in advance. If it becomes plain in the course of the meeting that the prepared resolution will not go through, the leaders of the nucleus must immediately bring forward another one which corresponds better to the circumstances which have arisen and all Party members and sympathisers in such a case must compulsorily support this proposal with all their force. In general, after the distribution of Party literature, a most important task of the factory nucleus and of every member of the nucleus and every sympathiser is to mobilise the broadest possible masses by individual and group agitation around the slogans and organisational proposals advanced by the newspapers and leaflets. Here arises the next important question of the work of the factory nuclei—the utilisation of the mass organisations, the utilisation of all existing legal and semi-legal possibilities. Above all, the question arises of utilising the factory revolutionary T.U. groups. The above-mentioned French comrade explains that at the factory where he worked there was in practice no difference between the revolutionary T.U. group and the factory nucleus. In particular, the newly organised non-Party members of the revolutionary trade union participated in closed meetings of the factory nucleus. This, of course, is not correct. The factory nucleus contains the most militant and class-conscious workers who firmly support the Communist Party and who are well tested from a political point of view. The trade union can and must attract also all workers who wish to enter it and who are prepared to participate in the work of the revolutionary organisation of various militant activities. In addition, and this is particularly important in connection with the growing repression against the Party, the factory nuclei must compulsorily utilise **all the mass organisations in the factory without exception**—mutual aid, societies, sport clubs, cultural and educational circles, and societies, etc. The comrade tells us that at the factory where he works the employer formed a series of organisations such as clubs, sport grounds, vocational schools, etc. We must utilise even them, send comrades to work within them, but, of course, watch sharply that this has not the character of connections with anti-Party political activity, etc.

Finally, the last question is the struggle against factory provocation and espionage. We must not only conceal the work of the factory nucleus from spies and provocateurs, but we must mobilise the masses for an active struggle against them. If we carry on successful mass work against provocation and espionage, we can immediately clear various shops, if not the factory as a whole, from this filth, and thus make them into basic points for more open and broad revolutionary work.

Our comrade tells us that at his factory the nucleus did not carry on any struggle against spies and provocateurs, though, according to him, a struggle could easily have been organised against them in the factory. He tells us, for example, how in the tinplate shop the workers themselves "accidentally" turn the compressed air pipe into the face of a spy, another worker covers his face with putty, a third pretends to be falling and knocks the spy on to a spinning grindstone. The nucleus does not react to all these facts of the spontaneous struggle of the workers against spies and provocateurs.

We have here put only a few practical questions of the work of factory nuclei, taking the practice of a factory nucleus at the beginning of 1933 in one of the big Communist Parties, in one of the big factories which is under the direct observation of the C.C. This example shows that in all Communist Parties we must again and again verify most seriously how matters stand regarding work in the factories, the work of the factory nuclei. We must not waste a day or a single hour.

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