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Fight Against Fascism

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Threatening War of Intervention Against the Soviet Union in the Far East

By Michael Hollay (Paris)

The war which imperialist Japan has been waging for the past twenty months against semi-colonial China again threatens to take a dangerous turn, to become a war on quite another scale and of far greater historical importance; a war against the fatherland of all the exploited and oppressed, the commencement of imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union.

This danger of intervention in the Far East had already more than once become very acute in the course of the last year or so. Nevertheless each time it was averted, thanks to the unshakable policy of peace of the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic, whose sole aim is, by completing socialist construction, to bring prosperity and well-being to the whole of the working population of the Soviet Union. The country of the proletarian dictatorship, unlike the capitalist countries, has no superfluous labour power and goods in whose destruction it would be interested. But precisely because the imperialist world sees in war the only way out of the terrible crisis which is more and more undermining its rule, and because the whole situation drives it to seek a speedy decision, the danger of intervention is greater to-day than ever.

A further reason for the extreme intensification of the danger of intervention lies in the fact that the establishment of a *place d'armes* as a precondition for war against the Soviet Union, as demanded by the notorious **Tanaka Memorandum**, has been already achieved by the setting up of **Manchukuo** as a "free" Japanese colony and by the conquest of **Jehol**. This basis of military operations against the Soviet Union was created—and this must be emphasised—thanks to the benevolent attitude, in fact the direct support which was accorded Japan by France, England, and the League of Nations. To-day, however, a further advance of Japanese troops southward on Peiping would threaten to evoke international complications in the imperialist camp, as here the most important spheres of interest of Great Britain and the United States commence. Japan apparently wishes to avoid these possible conflicts and to continue its robbercampaign in a northerly direction against the Soviet Union.

Be that as it may, the fact is that the news which has arrived in the last fortnight regarding the situation in the Far East is extremely alarming. According to these reports, Japan appears to be carrying out a complete change of front. The Chinese front is being evacuated by Japanese troops, who are being rushed to the north, to the Soviet frontier. Three Japanese armies, 120,000 strong, are already concentrating in the neighbourhood of Soviet territory: one in Pogranitchnaya, the second opposite Chabarovsk, and the third opposite Blagovestchensk. Movements of troops are also reported from Korea. For weeks past cargoes of war material have been unloaded in the Manchurian ports, and then transported not to the Chinese front, but to the Soviet frontier. The Japanese fleet is lying off Vladivostok, and a whole flotilla of gunboats is being concentrated in the Sungari, a tributary of the Amur.

And if these military preparations appear to justify the worst fears, still more so does the manner in which Japan is seeking through its lackeys in the Manchukuo government to provoke the Soviet Union. Towards the middle of last month the Manchukuo authorities (in reality the Japanese General Consul in Harbin who is behind them) addressed an exceedingly impudent Note, a regular ultimatum, to the Soviet government demanding that by May 10 the locomotives and railway waggons, which for years had been in use on the Chinese Eastern railway and have been conveyed to Soviet territory for the purpose of repair, should be delivered over to the Manchukuo government. The Soviet government pointed out in a Note that this rolling stock is the property of the Soviet Union, and that it only placed this rolling stock at the disposal of the Chinese Eastern railway in its capacity of joint administrator of the line. Regarding this juridical question we should like to quote the views of a paper which certainly cannot be accused of sympathy with the Soviet Union. "L'avenir," the organ of the French Comité de Forges, wrote on April 26:—

"From the legal standpoint the Manchukuo government is absolutely in the wrong. The Chinese Eastern railway is the property of the Soviet Union; it is only the administration which it shares with the Chinese government. The rolling stock withdrawn from the Chinese Eastern railway is likewise the indisputable property of the Soviets."

This conflict, which is being deliberately aggravated, is to be used as a pretext for confiscating the Chinese Eastern railway. The news published on April 29 that the Manchurian authorities have decided to rechristen the line known as the Chinese Eastern railway the "North-Manchurian railway," confirms the robber intentions of Japanese imperialism. This is a further measure for incorporating this line in the Manchurian railway system, into the system of strategic railways for intervention in the Soviet Union. For the fact is no longer concealed that Japanese imperialism has set itself further aims: Vladivostok, North Sakhalin and the Far Eastern Province are to be the next stages in the Japanese robber-campign. Thus for instance, "La Renaissance," the organ of the white-guardist General Miller, wrote on April 28:

"The situation in Manchuria is such that the ultimatum regarding the handing over of rolling stock is only a first step. It is quite certain that the coming actions will be carried out just as methodically as has been the case hitherto with the occupation of Manchuria and Jehol by the Japanese. . . . The next aim is the removal of the danger of air attacks by the Soviet air fleet on the centres in Manchuria and the Japanese Islands. This means, therefore, an action against Vladivostok and the Far Eastern Soviet Republic. . . . A further point of the Japanese programme is to secure the Manchurian frontier from the other side. This is only possible if on the other side of the Amur and the Transbaikal frontier there no longer exists the Soviet Union but a Russia free from the Bolsheviki. . . . In order to protect North-China against the penetration of Bolshevism it is necessary to occupy Mongolia. . . . These are the inevitable stages of the initiative taken by Japan."

The plan of operations elaborated here is completely in accordance with the Tanaka Programme.

That Japan is not acting alone is proved by the efforts of the **British** Consul in Peking, **Lampson**, to mediate between China and Japan. It is quite certain that Great Britain, pursuing its anti-Soviet offensive commenced in connection with the trial of the Metro-Vickers engineers, will support Japan's intervention in the Far East. But it will do so not out of friendship for Japan. Like Washington, London hopes that such a war will lead to a considerable weakening of its Japanese rival in the Pacific. This explains also the following statement made by the U.S.A. Secretary of State **Hull** to a press representative on April 17:—

"The government of the United States is so engaged with economic questions that it can pay but little attention to the events in the Far East, through which a serious conflict between the Soviet Union and Japan has become possible."

Owing to the aggravation in the last few months of the imperialist antagonisms between the Versailles and anti-Versailles Powers, it is hardly likely that Japan will receive immediate aid on the Western frontier.

This does not mean, however, that in the course of an intervention commenced in the Far East, further imperialist countries will not join the anti-Soviet front and attempt to solve their antagonisms at the cost of the Soviet Union.

However it may be, the situation in the Far East is exceedingly serious. The official organ of Japanese imperialism in Harbin wrote on April 28:-

"There is no sense in negotiating with the Soviets. New

measures are necessary in order to solve the unsettled questions . . . even if we should have resort to arms."

May 10, the day on which the Manchurian ultimatum expires, is drawing near. The Soviet Union will not hand over its locomotives and railway waggons to the Manchurian lackeys of Japanese imperialism; it will know how to protect the property of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. Should the Japanese imperialists raise their criminal hands, which are already dripping with the blood of the Chinese people, against the Soviet Union, the Red Army will give them the necessary reply.

Nevertheless the international proletariat must realise that Japan is only the advance guard of the international army of intervention; that, even without an open declaration of war, the other imperialist countries will support Japan with war material and by granting loans; that it will depend upon the action of the international proletariat whether and at what time the other imperialist Powers will join the intervention-front.

The brave **Communist Parties** of **Japan** and **China** have already proved that, in spite of the most monstrous terror, they know how to conduct the fight against the enemy in their own countries. The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries in the world must exert their forces to the utmost in order, by powerful actions, to thwart the intervention, which would inevitably lead to a new world conflagration.

Politics

The World Situation and Working Class Unity

By R. Palme Dutt

Never was the need of working-class unity throughout the world to defeat the offensive of capitalism more urgent than at the present time.

There is no question of the seriousness of the situation we have to face.

The offensive of fascism in Central Europe is part of a general offensive of reaction throughout the world, which is shattering all pacific and democratic pretences, letting loose every antagonism and contradiction of the capitalist world to the point of explosion, and visibly driving towards war on the Soviet Union alongside civil war against the working class.

It is impossible to fail to draw together the common character of the present dominant lines of the world situation.

First, the fascist terror in Germany represents the direct attack of international capitalism against the strongest workingclass movement in the capitalist world, in order to behead the international working class for the coming struggles and final attack on the Soviet Union. The foreign policy of fascism, under cover of empty noise against Versailles, offers Germany, in return for re-arming, as a pawn to the Western imperialist powers for the war against the Soviet Union.

Second, British imperialism takes immediate advantage of this success of the reaction, in order to let loose an anti-Soviet crusade, institute an economic boycott, prepare to sever diplomatic relations, and at the same time, through the Four-Power Pact megotiations and the direct approach to Germany and Italy, endeavour to draw these powers into a combined anti-Soviet front (under cover of empty promises of revision of Versailles, combined with assurances to France that no real revision is intended).

Third, Japanese imperialism seizes the favourable opportunity to launch its long-prepared ultimatum against the Soviet Union in the Far East.

Fourth, the imperialist antagonisms all break out to an extreme point: in particular, the conflict of the Versailles bloc and Revision bloc in Europe; and the British-American antagonism on a world scale. These antagonisms complicate the formation of the anti-Soviet bloc, but at the same time increase the intensity of the offensive against the working class (economic war, currencý war; tariffs, dictatorial steps and constitutional suspensions in the leading countries), increase the intensity of war-preparations, and encourage the drive to find a solution at the expense of the Soviet Union.

Fifth, the world economic crisis, for which the capitalists can find no peaceful solution, reaches its most intense stage, and drives to new and more reckless measures, expressed in the abandonment of the gold standard by the United States and the moves, both on the side of Britain and of America, for a world policy of inflation. These measures only increase the universal instability, and encourage the drive to violent and aggressive policies.

Sixth, the institutions of capitalist pretence for lulling the masses, such as the League of Nations, the Disarmament Conference, and also the closely associated Second International, all pass into a phase of eclipse, in face of the gathering open storm and unconcealable conflicts and violence.

In particular, the *Second International* in this hour of trial performs anew its supreme betrayal, as in 1914, directly opposes working-class unity, and breaks up into its constituent parts, as its various sections join closely with their respective governments, including with fascism, on the eve of war.

This is the present world situation which confronts us. What are the prospects of the working-class struggle?

The intense advance of the international counter-revolution is a measure, not of the strength, but of the weakness and growing instability of capitalism, of the breakdown of all the former peaceful and stabilising methods, of the eruption of every antagonism and contradiction, of the shattering of Versailles and all the peace settlements, of the growth of social contradictions and mass discontent, bursting all peaceful and legal forms; that is to say, of the very advance of the objective forces which finally make for the victory of the proletarian revolution, since only the proletarian revolution can solve these contradictions. All these are signs that we are entering into the new period of wars and revolutions.

The disorganisation of the working-class forces by social democracy, and its refusal of the united front, has made possible this initial victory of the counter-revolution. But the victory of fascism in Germany is not comparable to the victory of fascism in Italy, not only because of the basic difference in social conditions and the existence of a powerful and organised industrial proletariat, but still more because of the world situation. Fascism in Italy came at the end of the post-war revolutionary wave, and was able to take advantage of the period of capitalist stabilisation then opening. For fascism in Germany the situation is the reverse. Stabilisation is destroyed; the world crisis grows more intense; and a period of new wars and revolutionary struggles opens, in which the present fascist regime becomes only an opening phase.

The very factors which make for the advance of the counterrevolution, at the same time intensify all the inner contradictions of imperialism, and strengthen the revolutionisation and unification of the working class, destroying the pacific-democratic illusions and the influence of social democracy.

On the one hand, the antagonisms within imperialism continually cut across the endeavours to build a common front. This has been powerfully shown in the diplomatic moves and negotiations of the past two months, notably in the Four-Power Pact moves and Rome meetings, and then in the British-American manœuvres and Washington negotiations.

The Four-Power Pact endeavours have so far broken down on the unreconciled antagonisms of the Powers concerned. While Britain was primarily concerned to build up the bloc as a combination against the Soviet Union and against America, and as a channel of British influence outweighing France, the interest of Germany and Italy was only in what they could secure from it in respect of breaking down Versailles. Britain was prepared to sign platonic clauses in favour of revision; but as soon as the opposition of France and the Little Entente was strongly declared, Britain was not in a position to face a break with France or with the essential basis of Versailles. In consequence followed the emphatic declarations of Chamberlain, Churchill and all the Conservative leadership, normally and even openly favourable to fascism, denouncing Hitlerism in Germany, despite the class sympathies, because of the antagonism in foreign policy.

Even with the attempted reconstitution of the old Triple Alliance, the progress meets with no less obstacles. Fascist Germany seeks the incorporation of a fascist Austria, but fascist Italy is emphatically opposed to any such union, as made fully plain in the Mussolini-Dollfuss conversations.

The British-American negotiations still more powerfully reveal the intensity of imperialist antagonisms at the present point. The heavy offensive of the deliberate throwing over for a period of the gold standard by America is let loose at the

moment of MacDonald's arrival; and its character as a stage in the development of the Anglo-American conflict, following on British devaluation, Ottawa, the Far Eastern question and the debts question, is openly admitted on either side. Although every attempt will be made to reach some kind of stabilisation and settlement, in view of the heavy menace to capitalism involved in the extension of this conflict, the prospects of any speedy arrangement are doubtful; and indeed the prospects even of the holding of the World Economic Conference grow doubtful. Such are the effects of the arisis on the side of imperiolism

Such are the effects of the crisis on the side of imperialism, which help to disorganise their camp.

What of the effects on the working class?

The Second International is in process of break-up. Tts leading section, German social democracy, makes submission to fascism, and passes out of the Second International in order to be able to come to terms with national fascism. The remaining leaders of the Second International try to save themselves by denouncing the betrayal of German social democracy; the selfsame leaders who a short time back repudiated with indignation the "calumny" of social fascism, themselves now speak of social democracy passing to fascism. But it is obvious to all that their line is in fact identical with the line of German social democracy; that there is no difference in principle between the line of Wels, Vandervelde and Henderson, or of Leipart, Citrine and Jouhaux; but that the only difference is in the stage of development and the system of their bourgeoisie. The British and French leaders can still indulge in the luxury of denouncing fascism in words (while refusing all common working-class action against it), because the system of their bourgeoisie is not yet the system of open fascism, but only of imperialist violence, which they support in the name of bourgeois democracy. But at the same time they also draw closer to their respective bourgeois governments. The majority of the French socialists vote the war credits, already before the coming war; while the Labour members of parliament join noisily in the crusade against Communism and against the Soviet Union.

But this very process means that the influence of the Second International in the working class begins rapidly to break up. Already before the fascist coup this influence was visibly weakening, as shown in the dwindling numbers and votes of social democracy, in the Left manœuvres, and in the growth of Communism (German elections, November, 1932). The fascist coup enormously accelerates this process. The workers find themselves faced with the heaviest attack of their class enemies, and the destruction of all the legal-democratic pretences in which they have been told to place their trust. At the same time they see the leaders who have handed them over thus defenceless to a merciless enemy, now refusing and opposing all united workingclass resistance, and themselves passing directly over to the enemy. At the same time they see the Communist Party alone carrying forward the struggle, with greater strength and energy than ever. This lesson has enormous effect, not only in Ger-many, but in every country. It becomes clear to more and more that it is no question of two tendencies, of two possible paths, of the working-class movement; but that the Communist International alone carries forward the struggle in the conditions of the period we have to face.

Our whole endeavour must now be directed to building up with the utmost speed the united working-class front of struggle in every country against the supreme offensive which world capitalism is letting loose. Despite the sabotage of the handful of leaders of the Second International, this united front of the working class must and will be built up, because the whole situation confronting the working class is more and more manifestly and imperatively demanding and compelling it.

Young Workers Demonstrate Against Hitler Dictatorship

Stuttgart, April 26.

On April 21 revolutionary young workers demonstrated against the fascist dictatorship in Stuttgart East. The demonstrators shouted: "Long live the Communist Party" and "Long Live the Communist Youth League." A young Communist spoke to the workers, showing up Hitler's role as hangman of the German capitalists and calling on the workers to organise mass resistance against fascist dictatorship.

British Foreign Policy in the Present World Situation

By Karl Radek

When the British government decided to place an embargo on Soviet goods, the Tory young-bloods in the Carlton Club in London raised the glasses of champagne and drank to Britannia, who rules the waves. Their hearts beat loudly under their starched shirts. The British citizen is more than a Roman citizen, for Rome never broke off trade relations in order to defend its spies who had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

If it were possible to rule the waves by means of a decree, then the decree prohibiting the import of Russian goods would be a great victory for British imperialism. Unfortunately, however, the waves are so unruly that decrees are just as powerless to curb them as was the famous king Canute in his time.

On April 13 the former British Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, declared in parliament that the situation in Europe, the state of public opinion, and the actions of the governments constitute a more immediate threat to peace to-day than at any time since the end of the world war.

We will see how the British government will overcome this danger of war, which is greater than at any time since the world war. We will see whether the British government know whither the proud British ship of State is steering. We will see whether it is mastering the waves or is being hopelessly driven by them.

The Disarmament Conference has lasted more than a year. Speaking of this conference in the name of Great Britain, the Prime Minister, **Ramsay MacDonald**, attempted with his pastoral prophecies to direct the nations on to the path of peaceful and friendly relations and to persuade them, if not to disarm, nevertheless to refrain from increasing their armaments. Sir John Simon also spoke at the conference and called upon his audience to pursue that peaceful policy of which Great Britain has always been the model. The British Prime Minister and the British Foreign Secretary conducted negotiations with the representatives of France, Italy, Japan, and America, but the ungrateful heal thyself!

On the 16th of March last, Mr. MacDonald went once again to Geneva with a new plan for saving the world. The conference listened with polite attention to his proposal and then handed it over to a committee. Mr. MacDonald then proceeded to Rome with his Foreign Minister, who is a trained lawyer, in order to talk with the head of the Italian government.

On the following day it was telegraphed all over the world that in the ancient city of the Cæsars and the Popes these two statesmen had worked out a plan for a Four-Power Pact which would again save the world. This news indicated that Great Britain was not capable of ruling the waves alone, that it had abandoned its position of splendid isolation, and decided to share the role of saviour with three other big Powers.

How humanity was to be saved, and what agreement he had come to with Mussolini, MacDonald did not inform the House of Commons; he only made some remarks the meaning of which is very vague. Mr. Winston Churchill, afraid that the world might be rescued without his aid, expressed himself very disrespectfully and said that the government, to which he, Winston Churchill, was prepared to give his loyal support, was master of the art of saying a great number of words containing very few ideas.

Three weeks passed, and on April 13 the English House of Commons again discussed the mysterious Four-Power Pact. In reply to a question, Sir John Simon stated that Signor Mussolini had handed over a copy of this project to the French Ambassador in Rome, to the Italian Ambassador in Paris, and to the German Ambassador. There was no honest discussion of the project, and Sir John Simon insists that when they went to Rome they were not aware that anything would happen there. Even the English Prime Minister, MacDonald, was unable to give any report on the negotiations in Rome.

This is not surprising. Some English newspaper correspondents, as, for instance, the representative of the "Manchester Guardian," report that these negotiations were not so harmless and innocent as Sir John Simon tries to make out. The project of the Four-Power Pact was severely criticised not only by the Powers who do not wish to be the objects of the rescue work of

Great Britain, but also by representatives of the parties which are in power in England. The British Prime Minister and his Foreign Minister had to resort to the declaration that nothing had happened. This assertion was a very clumsy means of getting out of an extremely painful situation.

The former Foreign Minister of Great Britain, Sir Austen Chamberlain, delivered a speech in which he declared:

"Revision is a dangerous word to those not included in your deliberations. Revision should never appear in the mouth of a statesman, or in the policy of a government, until they were prepared to define very closely the limits within which it should take place.

"What has passed in Germany seems to me to render this a singularly inopportune moment to talk about revision of treaties."

"Are you going to discuss revision with a government like that? Are you going to discuss with them the Polish Corridor? The Polish Corridor is inhabited by Poles. Will you dare to put another Pole under the heel of such a government? "

We will not deal here with the depths of Sir Austen Chamberlain's indignation on account of present-day Germany. Whatever may be the reason of this indignation, which was shared by other Conservatives and by Liberals, one thing is clear: the attempt of the British government to rule the waves, the attempt to take into its own hands the revision of the Versailles Treaty, has proved a failure, not only on account of the resistance of France and its allies, but also as a result of the resistance of the ruling class of Great Britain itself.

The reasons for this are very simple and understandable. Speaking in the parliamentary debate on April 13, General **Spears** expressed it very plainly when he said that the campaign commenced in Rome had added a new danger to the numerous dangers already existing in Europe. What had happened in Rome had brought about the possibility of a preventive war. **Churchill** for his part said that Germany had raised the question

Churchill for his part said that Germany had raised the question of the return of her colonies and the question of disarmament. She demanded equality of armaments and equality of the fleet. This was an exceedingly dangerous demand.

"As surely as Germany acquired full military equality with her neighbours, while her grievances were still unredressed, and whilst she was in her present temper, so surely should we be within measurable distance of a renewal of the general European war."

The English bourgeoisie do not believe that France and Poland will willingly consent to a revision of the Versailles Treaty. They fear, therefore, that when the question of revision is raised it will involve the danger of a preventive war. England is faced with the necessity of choosing between Paris and Berlin. The English bourgeoisie, recognising the situation of the British Empire, are endeavouring to avoid a war between the imperialist Powers, for this war would reveal the whole weakness of England.

The meeting of Parliament on April 13 constituted a severe defeat for the English government, and immediately afterwards Ramsay MacDonald proceeded to America.

Roosevelt's invitation to MacDonald was couched in very friendly terms. He asked him to bring his family with him in order to pass their time in the "White House," in order to think out "realistic means" for saving the situation. MacDonald had enough to think about whilst promenading the deck of the "Berengeria" and inhaling the breezes of the Atlantic.

For two years England has been vacillating between the U.S.A. and Japan in the Far East. The Americans are endeavouring to induce England to oppose the separation of Manchuria from China. But for England to oppose Japan would mean losing one of the main trump cards which it can use against its American friends. At the same time it cannot openly oppose the U.S.A. The Americans have many trumps. But the slightest attempt to support America, be it only in words, would not fail to arouse the anger of Japan.

Things have gone thus far. Sir John Simon when explaining to the House of Commons why England, which is so devoted to peace, could not decide on prohibiting the export of weapons to Japan, practically admitted that Great Britain, which rules the

waves, is afraid that the Japanese, if they were annoyed, might seize the weapons intended for China. In a word, the English Foreign Minister openly declared that England's vacillating policy between Washington and Tokyo does not emanate from the desire to maintain the trump of Japan against the U.S.A., but from fear of Japan.

Everyone will realise that the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, while on his way to visit Roosevelt, must have wondered with many misgivings what realistic means for saving the world his American friend would propose to him. The interest on England's debt to America falls due on 15th June. In return for not insisting on payment, the U.S.A. will demand concessions in the Far East, or in regard to trade policy or the gold standard, or in regard to all three. The reduction of tariff duties, which the American press declares to be the plan of Roosevelt, means increasing American competition and a blow to the whole Ottawa policy. Finally, if England agrees to return to the gold standard, it will lose all the commercial advantages which it has acquired by abandoning the gold standard. Before the Anglo-American conversations commenced, the United States announced that it had decided at the risk of inflation, to wrest from British imperialism the big trump which the abandonment of the gold standard offered it. American capitalism, by abandoning the gold standard, thereby says to English capitalism that if necessary it too will conquer the markets by dumping.

One might think that the English action of April 19—the embargo on Soviet imports to England—was to be explained as emanating from a desire on the part of the English government to show great energy and determination on at least one front. The Conservative circles which determine English policy behind the scenes know what they want. They are not against war. They only desire that this war shall be waged by others. The Conservatives hope that the breaking off of trade relations with the Soviet Union, from a temporary shall become a permanent measure, and that then a situation will arise in which others will venture to do what England fears to do.

Bevin, member of the Labour Party, declared in parliament, on April 4, that it was generally known that no agreement was possible in regard to the revision of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Agreement, however, was possible on the basis of the separation of the Soviet Ukraine from the Soviet Union. Propaganda in this direction had been going on for many years. If it was possible to separate the Ukraine from the Soviet Union, then it might be possible to persuade certain nations to give up a part of their territory to Germany and thereby settle the dispute.

This, according to the English politician, is the idea which is being propagated in certain English Conservative circles. But the main ideas of the English diehards are not very realistic. It will be a hard job to persuade responsible politicians in Poland to abandon what they have in their hands and to plunge into an adventure for the benefit of the diehards. As regards the Soviet Far East, the Japanese have already once embarked on an adventure there, but had to retreat.

But, even if the gentlemen of the Carlton Club have not made a mistake in their estimation of any of the Powers, one thing is beyond doubt: they have in this case greatly erred in regard to the situation in England itself. No upheaval in Europe or Asia can remain isolated; it would affect all countries, and no matter how little the English gentlemen wish to risk their old bones, they will nevertheless have to do so:

English imperialism is in a situation where it is unable to lead either European or world politics. If the English diehards believed that the decree of April 19 would create an impression of strength, they have made a mistake. It has only created an impression of its weakness and confusion.

South American Anti-War Congress in Montevideo New York, April 21st.

The South American Anti-War Congress, which had been organised at the initiative of the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress, assembled last week in Montevideo. 466 delegates from all countries of South America were present, among them were 392 workers from numerous big works and factories. The other delegates were mainly intellectuals. Most of the delegates had to travel illegally. One of the Argentine delegates had been elected by a secret meeting of 200 Argentine soldiers. One of the delegates from **Paraguay** reported that the Paraguayan government, which is at present at war with Bolivia, is even mobilising 14-year-old boys.

Militant Hunger March in the Philippines

March 6 this year was a real day of struggle against unemployment in the Philippines. A successful and militant hunger march centred upon **Manila**, and in **Manila** upon the **Malacanang Palace**, the seat of American imperialist authority and, before that, the seat of the Spanish governors.

Though the preparations were not fully carried out, nor begun at the time planned, the hunger march was nevertheless a success in bringing delegations from nine provinces outside Manila, bearing demands for relief from some 6,000 destitute workers to the American governor general.

A few days before, the leaders of the Unemployed Committee asked permission from the Manila mayor to march to Malacanang. This worthy (an American business man, Earnshaw) referred the matter to the police chief (also an American, Piatt), who advised against granting the permit, as the hunger march leaders, so he said, were known to be "Red followers." The mayor accordingly refused permission, as did also the Cabinet Minister of. Interior and Labour, a Filipino bourgeois, Sison, in the name of the Philippine Government.

The bourgeois press opened fire against the hunger marchers, whose leaders, said the Manila Herald, would "bear watching." There were, admitted the bourgeois press, "doubtless many hungry people. But questionable people were taking advantage of the situation. The hunger march was unnecessary. The unemployed here could live under a banana tree and reach up and get a living," etc. (omitting to mention the fact that banana trees are located on some feudalist's land, who would not permit hungry workers to live, even if they could exist so primitively). Further, said the press, "the hunger march would set back recovery from depression for months and maybe years." And this, just as the U.S. bank collapse dealt Philippine commerce a

All the authorities, so accustomed to having their bureaueratic decrees and orders obeyed, were thunderstruck at the announcement of the leaders of the hunger march to proceed, in defiance of their sacred prohibition. Such a defiance was something new in their lives, and in the life of the labour movement in Manila. In last September's unemployed demonstrations there were clashes in the provinces, but now the traditional feudal "politeness" between exploited and exploiters was being upset in Manila itself.

Three hundred and fifty Manila police and detectives were mobilised to "prevent." the marchers reaching Malacanang. But at 8 a.m. delegations began to pour into Miendola Street, coming from the provinces of Bulacan, Laguna, Bataan, Batangas, Tayabas, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Rizal and even far-away Iloilo. They were joined by a large group from Manila, and made up a mass delegation of somewhat over 2,000, with 500 from the provinces.

At 10 a.m. they began the forbidden march to Malacamang. The police tried to bar the way, but the marchers, though orderly, firmly pushed the police aside and proceeded. At the palace there were some further minor clashes, the workers forcing the police to give way step by step: A delegation of six entered the palace and left the petition. Nobody received the delegation, though the capitalist press printed fanciful stories of the governor general's remarks and how the hunger marchers "cheered him."

Then, after having succeeded in marching to the palace, the marchers paraded through a good part of the city to the workers' district, **Tondo**, the police having been compelled to retreat. Women were in the front ranks and showed splendid militancy, releasing arrested workers from the police. At the Plaza Moriones, a "forbidden" mass meeting was held; addressed by three speakers, whom the police tried to arrest but failed to, owing to the protection of the masses.

During the march four arrests were made, but when the police learned that the masses were planning to march on the police station to rescue the arrested workers, the prisoners were suddenly released.

The first real hunger march of the Philippines was thus a great success. The masses feel encouraged and confident in their maiden efforts to defy the most miserable bureaucratic government of the Far East. They are now planning to make the Unemployed Movement a permanent organisation and not to cease until unemployed workers and peasants win real relief and unemployment insurance.

No. 20

Germany Hitler's Autarchic Plans and the Danubian Countries

By Oscar Grossmann (Vienna)

Every day brings fresh evidence of the sharpening of the economic relations between Germany and the countries immediately adjoining: Holland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, France. This is only the logical result of Germany's general plans to set up an economic autarchy, to render itself independent of imports, to shut itself off from foreign countries by impassable customs barriers. But a country which wishes to exclude all imports must also reckon on its exports being shut out from foreign markets.

In the last few years the European market has become increasingly important for German economy. It is true, Germany's exports to European countries have declined, but not anything like to the extent of its overseas exports. Whilst in the year 1931 Germany's exports to European countries declined by 17 per cent., its overseas exports showed a falling off of 32 per cent. In the year 1932 the decline in Germany's exports to the European countries and to the overseas countries was about equal (40 per cent.), nevertheless the development of the previous years has been of decisive influence in determining the proportion between exports to European countries and the overseas exports.

Germany's exports to South-East Europe, the Danubian countries, occupy the most important place in Germany's exports to European countries. Germany has advanced to the first place among those States which import goods from the Danubian region, and if we take into account the traffic in goods among the Danubian States, Germany's share amounted in 1931 to 19.8 per cent., while Italy's share was only 7 per cent. and that of France only 2.2 per cent. If, however, we leave out of account the traffic in goods among the Danubian States and reckon only the traffic in goods among the Danubian States and reckon only the traffic in goods among the Danubian States and reckon only the traffic of the exports of the Danubian countries, we find that 30.7 per cent. of the exports of the Danubian countries went to Germany, only 10.9 per cent. to Italy, 8.7 per cent. to England, 5.9 per cent. to Poland and 3.3 per cent. to France.

The picture is still more striking if we examine the imports of the Danubian States. In 1931 Czechoslovakia imported from Germany alone more goods than from Rumania, Yugoslavia, Austria and Hungary together. Germany's share in the imports of the Danubian countries amounts to 21.1 per cent., that of Italy to only 4.1 per cent., that of England 4 per cent. and France 3.5 per cent. If, however, we leave out of account the exports of the Danubian States among themselves, we find that Germany's share in the imports to the Danubian countries amounts to 30.4 per cent. and that of France to only 5 per cent.

The value of German exports in 1931 to the five Danubian countries amounted to 972.2 million marks. This represented 10.1 per cent. of Germany's total exports. This part of Germany's trade balance showed an export surplus of 415.9 million marks, whilst Germany's total export surplus in the same year amounted to 35.9 million marks. If Germany lost its export surplus to the Danubian countries, its favourable trade balance would be converted into an unfavourable trade balance of 380 million marks. Thus the importance of the Danubian countries to Germany's trade is perfectly obvious.

A further increase of the autarchist tendencies of Germany is bound to lead to an artificial further throttling of imports from the Danubian countries, and at the same time, however, to a drastic reduction of Germany's exports to South-East Europe. Germany's autarchy plans are, however, only one side of its imperialist aspirations. Here the contradictions in capitalism's attempts to combat the crisis are expressed in the most glaring manner: Germany, wishes to exclude imports from abroad, but in doing so comes into conflict with the South-European States. Ab the same time it is vitally necessary for Germany to increase its exports; and this must cause it to strengthen its endeavours to draw the South-East European countries into its capitalist sphere of interest. Autarchy thereby becomes not only a catchword for the defensive closing of the home market, but a battleery of the imperialist offensive. The Austrian Nazis, who are a branch of the German mational socialist party, have already founded a theory for this sort of autarchy of the Greater Germany propagated by them. They insist that autarchic economic areas must be big, and therefore talk of a "Central East and South-East Europe under German leadership."

The various projects brought forward in the last few years for a new settlement of the economic and political relations in the Danubian countries were built on this economic basis. Of the five Danubian countries, Austria and Czechoslovakia are designated as industrial countries, and Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia as agrarian countries. In all the negotiations up to now the agrarian problem has occupied chief attention. Precisely here lies the importance of Germany to South-East Europe. Germany's imports of wheat in 1929 amounted to 2.1 million tons. Of this amount, 46 per cent. came from Argentina, 36 per cent. from Canada, 11 per cent. from the United States and only 1.4 per cent. from Hungary and 0.5 per cent. from Rumania. In 1928 the wheat surplus of Eastern Europe amounted to 25 million double centals, while Germany's import requirements amounted to 26 million double centals. Germany, however, actually imported only 5 million double centals of wheat from Eastern Europe. Here lie the chief demands of the South-East European countries in regard to Germany, and at the same time, however, the strength of Germany's economic attack. The German autarchic measures, which relate in the first place to agrarian products, only serve to increase the economic tension.

In 1930 the economic war for South-East Europe, the antagonism between Germany and France, had reached a higher stage. Briand had increased his Pan-European propaganda. Schober, the Austrian Federal Chancellor at that time, replied to this with a counter-move. Schober's proposal, which was immediately endorsed by the German Foreign Minister, Curtius, included the formation of an industrial bloc between Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria, and an agrarian bloc between Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Between these two blocs only regional treaties should be concluded. It was obvious that such an economic system was bound to increase the influence of Germany. France shattered this plan and even prevented Rumania and Yugoslavia from accepting Germany's offer to conclude preferential tariff agreements in regard to corn. Nevertheless the fight is still going on. The Tardieu plan of 1932, which had as its aim a customs union of all the Danubian countries, from which of course Germany was to have been excluded, disappeared, just as the "recommendations" of the Stress Conference remained on paper. The forthcoming new agrarian conference in Bucharest, in which Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Esthonia and Latvia are to take part, will forge new plans. Germany has already predicted that the conference will lead to no results. The formation of the organisation pact of the Little Entente, declares the Berliner "Börsenzeitung," prevented the conclusion of an effective agreement, and thus the Germany of Hitler flings down the gauge of economic battle to the conference and the countries participating in it.

Germany's way to South-East Europe lies through Austria, and the economic relations of Germany to Austria are therefore of special importance in regard to the economic questions of the Danubian countries. For Austria, far more than the other countries, the question of trade relations is of vital importance. The economic history of Austria since 1918 shows that as a capitalist country it can only vegetate unless it is included in a larger economic area. When the present *Dollfuss* government came into power at the end of May, 1932, the government organ, the "*Beichspost*," wrote: "We know that we in Austria at the present time understand by foreign politics above all commercial politics." The Schober-Curtius plan for the conclusion of a customs union, i.e., the economic union of Germany with Austria, was wrecked owing to the resistance of France. Whilst ever fresh plans are being made, Austrian industry and trade are shrinking from month to month. Thus exports in the year 1932 declined to 800 million shillings compared with 1,300 million shillings in 1931, whilst exports to Germany dropped from 217 million to 137 million. At the same time Austria's imports fell nearly 50 per cent. This development still continued in 1933. When Hitler came into power, one of his first measures was to increase a number of customs duties, which particularly affected the imports from Austria.

The Austrian Vice-Chancellor, Winkler, recently delivered a short speech, in which he bitterly complained about the rapid decline in the exports of timber to Germany. The figures for the last few years are as follows: 1928, 111,000 waggons; 1930, 38,900 waggons; 1932, only 4,800 waggons; and, on January 23, Germany's import duties on timber were again increased, which will mean that Austrian timber will be shut out from Germany altogether.

Austria has commenced fresh megotiations, but the inner political development, which German imperialism regards as hostile to it, has already caused the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" to remark that under such circumstances there exists little hope of concessions being made to Austria.

We thus see that the policy of fascist Germany increases the antagonisms between it and the South-European States and provokes fresh tariff wars; its autarchist policy is bound to increase and deepen still further the crisis of German economy, whose existence is dependent upon large-scale exports. The fascist saviours will only lead Germany into increased economic misery and imperialist war.

Breaches in the Wall of German Fascism

(Letter from Berlin.)

In its issue of April 7 " Der Ring " (the paper published by the Herrenklub or Gentlemen's Club which has achieved such prominence through the late Papen-era), goes into the question of the struggle against Communism. According to its statements, owing to the attainment to power of the fascist system the Communist Party has been rendered so very weak an organisation now that Communism no longer represents anything in the nature of an acute danger. Yet, we are told, this is not to be taken as indicating that the C.P. of Germany has abandoned the idea of carrying its aims into effect in " the same way as the out and out pacifist-reformist social democratic party, which offers the sorry spectacle of complete collapse." Rather is the C.P. of Germany already at work creating the new conditions requisite for its agitation and party action. The paper then goes on to say:

"Actually, the C.P.G. is already on the job of carrying out these instructions of the Communist International. To begin with, a complete series of measures are being observed, and as far as possible, that is, as these measures come to be increasingly recognisable, are being discovered by the authorities, said measures being intended to secure the organisational prerequisites for the most extensive agitation it is at all feasible to obtain even under the most onerous conditions that go with a status of illegality. . . . Whoever may doubt the continued existence of the C.P.G. need only enquire of the proper authorities or those responsible for the management of industrial plants to be told how often to-day secret Communist meetings discovered time and again, the isolated incitement to strike of active Communists, the distribution of illegal leaflets, attempts to foment sedition in the labour camps and similar activities prove that individual active Communists are still stirring."

The article then deals with the "atrocity propaganda" which the Communists are supposed to be carrying on abroad and calls on the government to deprive all Communists conducting such propaganda abroad of German citizenship. This aspect of Communist activities is not considered the most serious, however, but:

"Of greater seriousness than this attempt to rally public opinion abroad against Germany and the National Government are the efforts of the Communists to work destruction at home. Acting on the assumptions of the 'revolutionary perspectives ' of the Comintern, the C.P.G. is making every effort to foster that defeatist mentality we know only too well which has been the main background of the whole of the cultural bolshevism with which we have been dosed in recent years, especially in the ranks of the working-class adherents of the N.S.D.A.P. (National Socialist Labour Party of Germany). In copies of the 'Press Information Service' being produced by the C.P.G. as speaker's and editor's notes for the use of shop and tenement papers and for agitation by word of mouth and personal contacts we come across constant allusions to the (supposed) immediate promises of the older national-socialist propaganda, this being done with the object of rousing discontent over the non-fulfilment of these supposed promises. And it is a well-known fact now that, further, stool-pigeons are being sent direct into the national movement.'

Then it goes on. Similar work is being carried on by the C.P.G. among the social-democratic workers, while particular importance attaches to the work of disintegration which the Communists are carrying on in the trade unions:

"In this case we have to deal with a peril which is by no means confined to the proletarian strata, and which ought therefore to be combated by all who stand behind the country to-day through a careful watch over these activities and by enlightening our fellow-citizens as to their true intent."

These quotations from a paper like "Der Ring" are enough to prove not only the successfulness of Communist activities, but also show that the fascist bourgeoisie are well aware of the danger for them of these particular activities. Now the most important breaches in the system of German fascism lie in the class contradictions of the situation, in the fact that fascism is out to support itself on the backing of the masses, who are against capitalism, and in its being compelled to push through a policy involving the defence and maintenance of capitalism as a system.

This contradiction is most plainly revealed in the case, to take an instance, of the national-socialist shop and garage committees of the Berlin Traffic Combine submitting a dozen or so duly formulated demands to their leaders which had to be turned down right away by the Nazi-leadership as "pure bolshevism." The same contradiction is seen again when you get the chairman of the national-socialist works committee of the big oil works of Thörl, Ltd., of Harburg, telling the manager, who had referred to Hitler when he was moving for a reduction of wages: "You are mistaken, sir; Hitler doesn't want wage cuts, but a rise in wages!" Or yet again when the national-socialist workers join with the Communists in beating up the national-socialist shop committee of the Haspe Steel Works because he announced a cut in wages (which was then approved by the Nazi-leadership as well!)

The work of "disintegration" of which "Der Ring" complains so bitterly is the inevitable result of class contradictions which-this being equally correct in both cases-affect not only the proletariat, but also the petty-bourgeois elements who form the picked troops of fascism to-day. In the case of the small business men of Berlin a great deal of dissatisfaction was created among them by the circumstance that on the day of the big boycott of the Jews the Karstadt Stores were not immediately closed merely because the one or two Jews who sat on the board of management had already been got rid of. For had not nationalsocialism promised them the elimination of the competition of the big stores which was pressing them so hard? As it happens, after a single day of the boycott the competition of the big stores has become sharper than ever! And why isn't fascism taking any steps at all against the joint stock companies and against the " receipts and income obtained without working for it " by their shareholders which was promised in its programme? It is in vain, too, that the fascist-minded peasantry and small farmers await the raising of the burden of interest and taxes which is pressing them down. After all, these things were promised them by the fascists. Then why isn't Hitler keeping his word and carrying out his promises?

the Reichstag!" In the national-socialist ranks there are signs of ferment. The Nazi worker is still waiting for that rise in wages, the Nazi out-of-work is still queuing up to stamp his unemployment cards and draw his miserly dole, the Nazi small tradesman in a small way of business is still in vain expectation of better business ahead, while the Nazi peasant is consoling himself all for nothing that the chains of his mortgages and burden of interest payments may still be broken.

In this way the growing disillusionment of the labouring masses who follow the fascist flag is preparing the ground for the sowing of the seeds of Communism. And the sowers are there, for:

"In Hamburg yesterday 8,000 Communist leaflets and 13,000 Communist pictures were confiscated." (" Berliner Börsenzeitung," April 13.)

"It is announced by the Bremen Chief of Police that on Easter Sunday a motor-car was confiscated in a local garage after arriving there the evening before with a load of 3,000 copies of the banned 'Bremen Arbeiterzeitung' and about 5,000 copies of a Communist pamphlet entitled 'The Truth about the Reichstag Fire.'" ("Berliner Börsenzeitung." April 19.)

Reports like these in the fascist papers are important indications of the work being carried on by the Communists to-day. The fascists now wielding power in the country are only too well aware that what booty they do get in this way is a mere fraction of the printed matter the C.P.G. is actually getting out. Besides its printed newspapers, which are still being produced illegally, there are some thousands of local, shop, and tenement papers got out in typescript, which are far more difficult for the present authorities to lay their hands on because they can be more easily produced. The fact of the matter is that the people as a whole are only too anxious to get this printed matter and Communist propaganda; and the workers are rather proud of every leaflet and bit of printed matter that can be smuggled into their plant or into the labour exchanges as the case may be. And all this illegal material is passed on from one to the other, being read not by one person alone but by many. We perfectly realise the anxiety with which the gentlemen of "Der Ring" view all this Communist agitation. However, the recipe "Der Ring" recommends the national-socialists to employ in order to crush the "work of disintegration" being pushed ahead by the Communists is unavailing? what they advocate being the 'moral' conquest of the followers of the Communists. It may be asked how that is at all likely seeing that fascism can provide the masses with neither work, bread nor decent rights? The breaches in the system of tascism in Germany are only too glaring; and it is here that the Communists get across with their revolutionary mass activities.

Revolutionary Trade Union Work under Fascist Terror

By Erich

0.000The national-socialists are only too well aware that if they are to maintain themselves in power and extend their hold on the country they have got to make an effort to win the millions of Communist and social-democratic workers in Germany.

This is being done along two lines.

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Writing in No. 14 of his "Reichswarte" (National Guardian), Count Reventlow states :-

"Each one in his own place, we must do our utmost to get cot(ainto closer contact with the members of the employed classes who · tt d up to now have been led in the Marxist spirit. In this regard, it is really a case of getting at the mind of the worker. To get into closer contact with them and to win them over is something that can be done through one's own mind; something, Nigo then, which ought to be well within reach as far as the national-socialists are concerned.'

Just let us enquire a little deeper into the manner in which the Nazis, and more especially the N.S.B.O. (national socialist factory organisation), are going about their work of "winning the minds of the Marxist workers.'

At the end of this last March a meeting on the job was held of the men employed by the Sommerfeld building firm on their Machnow site near Berlin, the meeting being for the purpose of electing a new factory council committee. There was a practically unanimous vote in favour of re-electing the old committee, which consisted of oppositional "free trade unionists." The meeting likewise voiced its complete opposition to the surrender policy of the reformist T.U. leaders and closed with three cheers for the Communist Party and the singing of the Internationale.

Next day some sixty heavily-armed Storm Troopers and auxiliary police turned up and arrested the factory council committee. A squad of three of the troopers led off the committee chairman into the nearby woods in order to shoot him out of hand there. It was only owing to the active interference of a forester of the place that they were prevented from carrying out their intention of murdering the chairman, who managed to escape. He was arrested late the same night, however, in his own house and taken off to General-Pape Street. There, in the premises of the old district detachment, he was most brutally knocked about to the effusion of blood for the space of four whole days, only being released when he had given an undertaking that he would join the N.S.B.O.

In the case of the Knorr-Brake Works of Berlin, Storm Troopers effected the arrest of the entire works committee and locked them up for a whole day in the same premises in General-Pape Street. In the evening they had a written undertaking submitted to them which they were asked to sign. Our comrades refused, however, to do so. It was only when Urich, as representative of the Metal Workers' Union (who had been called in to act as mediator in the matter), had induced the reformist members of the committee to put their names to the yellow-dog ticket that they did sign, thereby agreeing to offer no opposition to the election of the new committee that was going to be put in or to the commissioner appointed from the Nazis and to give up all political activities. Some hours later the factory council involved, who were members of the Red union, saw nothing for it but to sign as well.

In the Nurau-Margarine factory, where there are large numbers of employees, a shop committee member was similarly arrested for running an oppositional shop paper and frightfully beaten up. To finish with, they cut a large swastika sign in his forehead and had him taken to hospital in a dangerous condition.

Likewise at the end of March a printer was brought into the same hospital with a bullet wound. He was supposed to have been distributing leaflets and was on this charge arrested by Storm Troopers and beaten up on the open street till he was almost half dead. When he made an attempt to escape in the crowd he received a bullet in his back.

In the Eisner Printing Works two oppositional factory council members were arrested (the day before the staff had resisted their arrest by the use of what tools as weapons they could lay hands on at the moment) and detained for eight days in the General-Pape Street lock-up, being confined in one room along with thirty other workers. Daily they were filed into a room whose floor was thickly sprinkled with sawdust, there stripped and bloodily whipped with sjamboks and hide thongs. In his despair one of the workmen thus arrested took his own life by running full force, head-on, against the wall. Another had to be taken away to the Wittenau Insane Asylum.

These and like terrorist measures, and more particularly the threat of dismissal, have brought about a great influx of members into the N.S.B.O. in a large number of plants. On the 7th of April. Engel, who is acting as the Nazis' T.U. leader, spoke in his address at the Sport-Palace of 25,000 enrolments. The reformist T.U. bureaucracy assert that these new recruits for the Nazis' T.U. organisation come mainly from the ranks of the German Trade Union Opposition (the Minority Movement of Germany) and to some extent from the Red unions themselves. They lie. We do not deny that in a number of municipal factories, more particularly big stores, etc., certain of the oppositional members have joined the N.S.B.O. owing to their having been threatened with dismissal otherwise. But we are also aware that at the H.S. Hermann Printing Works the notorious reformist Peris has caused the entire printing staff to go over with himself to the Nazis, this also being the case with other reformist T.U. officials in Neukölln belonging to the organisation catering for the municipal street cleaners and scavengers.

The Red Trade Union Opposition of Germany and the Red Union stigmatise most scathingly such trade unionists as Klemusch, works committee chairman at the Henningsdorf plant of the General Electric Company who have gone over to the Nazis

and actually furnished them with a contingent of prominent candidates on the factory council election lists.

Although in recent months the R.T.U.O. has been emphasising the need for wholesale enrolment in the "free trade unions" of members schooled in its own ranks and has also been successful in effecting large-scale enrolment along these lines at various times. R.T.U.O. comrades have been tending to let themselves be enrolled for preference in the N.S.B.O. rather than join the "free trade unions." In fact, the hatred felt for the reformist leaders has been blinding them to a recognition of the obvious truth to them as revolutionaries that even to-day, with the N.S.B.O. beginning to turn into a mass organisation (though mainly, of course, by getting workers and office employees compelled to join its ranks), the "free trade unions " do not lose their importance as outstanding mass organisations.

Similar leanings have been observable during the shop committee elections as well. Following on the circumstance that in many plants the reformist shop committees have done nothing to resist the dissolution of our Red shop committees and the appointment of Nazi commissioners, nor the dismissal of unionists, and have actually ordered the non-recognition of oppositional candidates as they have been listed or put up for nomination, and that they have adopted all sorts of soap-box trickery in order to prevent the inclusion of oppositional candidates on T.U. lists for election to the shop committees, the sentiment has been created which makes the rank and file look at things this way: "Well, we're not going to vote at all. Under no circumstances are we going to vote the 'free trade union ' ticket! " And yet, as it happens, it will be necessary in most cases to appeal directly for them to vote the ticket of the "free trade unions" even where our oppositional comrades have so far failed to eliminate rank traitors who have been put up as candidates, and especially where in addition we get unionists running as candidates who have to be won for the idea of the united front and for the need of protecting the unions against the trickling away of their memberships to the other side, against fascism itself.

Another dangerous tendency lies in the way the social-democratic party and Reichsbanner unionists in some places like Tietz, the Seidel printing works, and other plants are beginning to favour the self-defence body of the Steel Helmets as against the N.S.B.O. As it is, they have already won over a few adherents from our ranks. Then again, the S.P.ers are fostering the dangerous notion that Hitler's downfall can be brought about " by the disintegration of the ranks of the fascist front," or yet again "by exploiting what antagonisms are already there," and that sort of thing. In arguing like this, however, they are purposely shutting their eyes, and they know it themselves, to the revolutionary axiom that "the emancipation of the working class can only be the work of the working class itself."

The fact certainly remains that the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition is being made to suffer to an extraordinary extent under the present fascist terror. This has resulted in a certain number of our members forsaking our ranks, while others again have lapsed into passivity. But the number of men and women who are ready to fight as ever and with the will to fight is far greater.

Ever larger numbers of the working masses are coming round to the conviction that Hitler cannot get the upper hand of the crisis, cannot give the unemployed work nor the men in work higher wages, that through suitable and wholehearted work by the revolutionaries those working-class elements lending their support to Hitler to-day can be won for our camp, and that, finally, by throwing itself into the struggle for bread and work the proletariat can, and must, bring about the Socialist Revolution.

Expulsions from the Party.

Saarbrücken, April 28.

The Saarbrücken "Arbeiterzeitung," the organ of the C.P. of the Saar district, contains the following announcement:

"The Baden-Pfalz district committee has requested that the following notice of expulsion be published in the "Arbeiterzeitung ":

The Reichstag deputy Bennedom-Kusel, who has been staying in the Saar district for several weeks and who did not return to his district, although ordered to do so by the Baden-Pfalz district committee, has been expelled from the C.P. of Germany for cowardice in face of the class enemy.

C.C. OF C.P. OF GERMANY,

The Fascist Terror in Germany

A New Fascist Provocation of the S.U.

Moscow, April 25.

The Moscow press received the following telegram from Berlin :-

On April 24th, at 11 a.m., police surrounded the premises of the "Derop" (German-Russian Oil and Petrol Company). They occupied all rooms and searched them. More than 100 regular police, 50 officials of the political police, and several agents of the emergency police took part in this action. All employees of the "Derop" were asked to stop work. The search lasted for more than four hours. All employees of the "Derop" were searched and 20 of them, German citizens, were arrested.

The management of the "Derop" was informed that the Prussian Home Secretary has nominated a certain Holmann as commissary for the "Derop" and the "Deronapht" (another Soviet trading organisation). No commercial and financial transactions are allowed without the consent of this commissary. Holmann declared that he will stay as commissary of the two institutions " until all Marxist and Jewish elements " have been driven out. He also stated that all employees who are willing to obey his instructions could continue their work, whilst all those who offered resistance would be punished.

It is reported that the "Derop" branches at Nuremberg, Frankfort o/M, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Cologne and other towns have been placed under Holmann's control.

The Soviet Embassy in Berlin has lodged an energetic protest with the German Foreign Office against this procedure of the Prussian government.

Moscow, April 26th.

The "Izvestia" writes regarding the latest raid on the " Derop " in Berlin:

Owing to the repeated raids on Soviet economic institutions in Germany, the Soviet government lodged several protests with the German 'government. The German Ambassador in Moscow gave the assurance that his government would guarantee undisturbed working of the Soviet economic institutions in Germany.

The latest raid on the "Derop" and the nomination of a special commissary show clearly that Germany's ruling circles want to continue their policy of disturbing relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. Public opinion in the Soviet Union considers this raid as a direct contravention of the assurances given by the German Ambassador.

The German authorities-the "Izvestia" continues-are trying to explain their measures, which are intended to damage Soviet organisations in Germany, in an absolutely unfounded manner, by the necessity to "cleanse" the apparatus. The German authorities are fighting their inner struggle in the rooms of Soviet institutions. This is by no means to be regarded as a guarantee for their undisturbed activity according to the existing treaties.

Fascists Intend to Murder Comrade Torgier.

Prague, April 27th.

The "Sozialdemokrat" publishes the following report from

circles that the Storm Troops plan to dispose of Comrade Torgler, the leader of the Communist Reichstag Fraction. Of course it is to be given out that he committed suicide. If news of this "suicide" is published it must be pointed out that this is not a case of the voluntary death of Comrade Torgler, but a brutal murder of one of the Communist leaders.'

This report is to be taken very seriously, because it is getting known that no material whatever can be produced proving that Comrade Torgler was in any way connected with the Reichstag fire. Since, however, the police and the government stated that they had proofs of Comrade Torgler's complicity, they now want to get rid of him so as to avoid a scandal. र 🖓 हे

Ill-Treatment of Prisoners in Sonneberg.

Berlin, April 24th.

On Thursday, April 6, about 60 prisoners were conveyed from Spandau to the Sonneberg Penitentiary. The prisoners were escorted by Nazi Storm Troops. During their transport the prisoners were so badly ill-treated that even the "Sonneberger Generalanzeiger" published a report. The prisoners were beaten with truncheons and forced to sing the national anthem. Comrades **Casper, Bernstein** and **Pieper**, and the anarchist, **Erich Mühsam**, were among those ill-treated. The wives of the arrested men went to Sonneberg on April 8 to see their husbands. At first they were refused permission to see them; when they were ultimately admitted they saw that all the men had been badly ill-treated. Erich Mühsam had been so terribly beaten that his wife did not recognise him. Upon the protests of his wife, the leader of the storm troops sought to exculpate himself by alleging that Mühsam had not been beaten by the Nazis but by the police.

The women then went to the police presidium in Berlin and protested. As a result of this protest a further batch of 100 prisoners who were to have been conveyed to Sonneberg were held back in Spandau.

Workers are being Murdered Every Day.

Berlin, April 26th.

In the night of April 20 the Nazis arrested the social-democratic worker **Otto Schröder**, Büschingstrasse 30, in the east of Berlin, beat him up and left him lying unconscious in the street. Schröder has always been an active S.P. member and was working at the Bewag (Berlin Traffic Trust).

On April 20 the Bewag commissary arranged a Hitler birthday celebration in the yard of the Bewag, in which Schröder did not take part. In the evening he went home as usual. About midnight a troop of about thirty Nazis on motor-cycles broke into his house. His eight-year-old child had to stand with its face to the wall, whilst the Nazis thrashed Schröder mercilessly. They then led him to the Landsberger Platz, ill-treating him all the time and leaving him unconscious on the pavement.

It is reported now that Comrade **Budig**, the former business manager of the "Rote Fahne," was arrested last week and terribly beaten by the Nazis. He was first dragged to the Ulap (a Nazi murder den), where he was beaten and then transported to the Papestrasse, where the ill-treatment was continued. The Nazis stripped him and beat him until he became unconscious. Two women who were arrested with him had to witness this ill-treatment. Budig now lies in hospital in a serious condition.

In Wedding, Comrade **Spiro**, a well-known member of the Red Sports Movement, was arrested by Nazis and taken to the Prinzenstrasse, where he was beaten by members of the Nazi storm troop 100. From there he was taken to the Hedemannstrasse, where he was again beaten. Spiro has now been found dead in the River Spree with his throat cut.

Walter Schütz, Communist Member of the Reichstag, Murdered. Berlin, April 23, 1933.

News has arrived from East Prussia that Walter Schütz, member of the Communist Reichstag fraction, who was arrested by the fascist murder gangs, has been murdered in a bestial manner. Walter Schütz was a brave, indefatigable revolutionary, who in fascist East Prussia risked his life a hundred times for the cause of the revolution, which he served with the most faithful devotion. His name will be always remembered.

Dozens of "Suicides" of Prisoners Awaiting Trial. Berlin, April 25, 1933.

The fascists, who follow with great attention the reports appearing in the foreign press regarding the terror in Germany, have noticed that even the Conservative foreign press no longer gives credence to the lies about prisoners being "shot while attempting to escape." They are therefore beginning to conceal their uninterrupted acts of murder by a new trick. Reports are becoming more and more frequent of "suicides" of prisoners awaiting trial. As usual, they only take the trouble to report such deaths in the case of prominent people, whilst most cases of workers being done to death are not mentioned in the press. The Republican press has already reported dozens of such cases from which we quote only a few:

The "Stuttgarter Neue Tageblatt" of April 15 reported that Dr. Odenkirchen, a member of the Düsseldorf Town Council, was found hanging in his cell.

The same paper reports: Dr. Elias, a Jewish lawyer of Dortmund, committed suicide in the night of Thursday in his cell in the Dortmund prison, where he had been held under arrest for nonpayment of taxes,

The "Münchener Neueste Nachrichten" of April 15 reports that the manager of the Berlin Health Insurance Society, Max Ebel, hanged himself whilst in prison on remand.

Particularly significant is the case of the "suicide" of the former Communist member of the Reichstag, Albert Janka, who is said to have hanged himself in Reichenbach, in Vogtland, whilst in prison awaiting trial. The fascist press at one time reported that Janka had joined the national socialist party. This, however, was a case of the wish being father to the thought. For weeks all kinds of pressure were exerted on Janka in order to induce him to enter the national socialist party, which however, as a sincere class fighter, he refused to do. In order to conceal the lie about his alleged going over to the Nazis, he was done to death whilst in prison.

Disintegration of German Social Democracy

Berlin, April 30.

The process of disintegration within the social-democratic party, the going over of large numbers of the leading functionaries into the camp of the fascists, the dissolution of the whole local and district organisations, the temporary neutralising of a part of their functionaries, who are turning their backs on the leadership in disgust, and, lastly, the growing influx of the best proletarian elements into the Communist Party, which is now fighting illegally, is going on uninterruptedly.

The social-democratic group on the **Munich** City Council have issued a declaration that they are ready to co-operate

"in the reconstruction work of the German people according to their honest conviction and their best ability. This declaration is meant honestly and originates from our concern for our people and country. The fraction demand to be recognised as equals and to be treated accordingly."

This is one of many hundred cases in which the socialdemocratic party has humbly begged for the favour to be recognised as the officially recognised opposition to fascism.

At the same time the central leadership of the S.P. is attempting a new cunning "left" manœuvre. The last national conference of the S.P. affirmed again "their international fight against capitalism " and the " holding fast of the party to their principles," and, of course, "the continuation of their work within the possibilities of the law," meaning that the socialdemocratic party recognises fascist " laws " as the basis of their work.

This process of disintegration is going on even more rapidly in the trade unions. Some of their organisations are dissolving of their own free will. The Berlin correspondent of "Het Volk" (Dutch socialist organ) reports that the reformist unions want to amalgamate with the Catholic unions, which is just what the fascists want. The Belgian "Peuple" reports that the trade union leaders even want to form a special parliamentary group.

To complete this picture it may be added that the S.P. of Germany appears to want even to co-operate in Hitler's anti-Semitic work. Hilferding and Breitscheid, as well as Grzesinski and Braun, have been removed from the central committee, some of the most cunning "left" demagogues, like Künstler, Aufhäuser and others, being put in their place.

Split of the S.P. in Hamburg.

Berlin, April 27.

The press reports that the social-democratic party in Hamburg has been split. Several "authoritative" persons of the Hamburg organisation have founded a new party, calling it "German Workers' Party." The main objective of this party will be to support the Hitler government and to break with the Second International.

New Disclosures Concerning Bell's Complicity in the Reichstag Fire

Saarbrücken, April 25.

The socialist "Volksstimme" of Saarbrücken publishes further disclosures as to the reason why Bell, who was formerly the connecting link between Deterding and the Nazis, was murdered. A few days after the fire in the Reichstag, Bell was invited to the "National Club" in the Friedrich Ebertstrasse (in Berlin). He was already under the influence of drink when he appeared there and continued to drink. While drunk he told one of the members of the German People's Party, who had not been re-elected on March 5, that he was the spiritual author of the Reichstag fire. The name of this politician is known to the "Volksstimme," but for obvious reasons it cannot for the present be disclosed. As this man did not keep his secret, mentioning it in his private letters to his friends, Bell had to be got out of the way. Göring, the German Home Secretary, did not hesitate for one moment to give the order to kill Bell.

Unemployment in Germany.

Berlin, April 26.

The official statistics of the fascist government on unemployment are not of the slightest value, because they are deliberately falsified. The fascist rulers have forgotten, however, to "correct" other statistics, which show a real picture of the labour market, in the first place the statistics of the social insurance institutes.

These statistics show that the number of employed workers reached the lowest level since the beginning of the crisis—with the exception of the end of January, when the number of employed was still lower by 46,000. The total number of employed reached 11,553,000 at the end of February, 1933, as against 11,928,000 at the end of February, 1932.

It is a significant fact that unemployment diminished by only 69,000 between April 1 and April 15, as against 100,000 for the same time last year.

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Great Britain

The Communist International and the I.L.P. Moscow, May 2, 1933.

The following telegram has been sent by the secretariat of the Communist International to the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party:—

"To the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain :---

"The Secretariat of the Communist International welcomes the decision of the Forty-first Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party to leave the Second International and to approach the Communist International 'with a view to ascertaining in what way the I.L.P. may assist in the work of the International.'

"During the last few weeks, the I.LP.. has taken part in united front activity with the Communist Party against fascism in Germany and the menace of a new imperialist war, and now the conference has decided to follow the example of the Lancashire and London districts, where the I.L.P. members also agreed with the Communists to extend the fighting united front of the workers, to the vital question of the struggle confronting the unemployed, the railway workers, the textile operatives, etc.

"This common struggle with the Communists has taken place at a time when German social democracy has passed over to the camp of fascism, and when the march of events has demonstrated the bankruptcy of the policy of class collaboration pursued by the Second International and its sections, including the Labour party of Great Britain.

party of Great Britain. "Under these conditions thousands of I.L.P.ers have realised from their own experience the necessity for the unity of all revolutionary proletarian forces which base themselves on the policy of irreconcilable class struggle.

"The unity of all the revolutionary proletarian forces in Great Britain on the basis of irreconcilable class struggle, upon which the programme and tactic of the Communist International is founded, would be a turning point in the history of the British Labour movement and would open up an international perspective for the revolutionary workers of the I.L.P.

"The Secretariat of the Communist International is firmly convinced that the decision of the conference majority in favour of approaching the Communist International will meet with the warm sympathy of the members of the I.L.P. and of all advanced workers in Britain.

"The Secretariat of the Communist International, for its part, expresses its readiness to commence negotiations with the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P."

Fight Against Fascism

Appeal of the Scandinavian Workers' Conference

The Scandinavian Anti-Fascist Workers' Conference, which was held on April 14 and 15 in Copenhagen, unanimously adopted an appeal to the working population of Scandinavia which stigmatises in burning words the fascist dictatorship of Hitler, which is driving Germany to a catastrophe and increasing the danger of war. The appeal puts the question, how was it possible for Hitler fascism in Germany to achieve a victory and states:—

"The delegates assembled at the Scandinavian anti-fascist Conference record that Hitler's coming into power in Germany was only possible owing to the splitting of the working class as a result of the social-democratic leaders betraying the socialist fighting programme of the workers.

"The policy of the 'lesser evil' which German social democracy pursued with the assertion that it would prevent Hitler's coming into power, proved to be a path to the Hitler dictatorship. The struggle against the revolutionary organisations of the working class, the coalition with the bourgeoisie, the policy of emergency decrees, the election of Hindenburg and the abandonment without resistance of the positions of power possessed by the working class, have served not to combat fascism, but on the contrary to pave the way for Hitler and Göring.

"After Hitler's coming to power, German social democracy is now making ready to capitulate completely to fascism and to subordinate itself to it. The withdrawal of the German social democracy from the Second International is a fact, and in collaboration with Hitler the social-democratic party committee sends its emissaries to the various European countries in order to induce the working class to cease their attacks upon the Hitler regime. Leipart and Tarnow have capitulated to Hitler and are ready to incorporate the trade unions in the 'Third Empire.'

"This is tantamount to a fresh 1914 for the Second International; it shows how the policy of the reformist leaders has paved the way for the offensive of the bourgeoisie, and reminds the workers of the whole world that it is necessary to wage a revolutionary struggle against fascism, which after Hitler's coming inte power in Germany has become an acute danger also for the Scandinavian toilers.

"The police attacks on the striking seamen in Sweden and the treachery of the reformist leaders are clear proof that the fascist attacks of the bourgeoisie are intensifying and that the socialdemocratic leaders are fully supporting the reactionary offensive against the living and working conditions of the workers. Whilst the fascist forces of the bourgeoisie are being consolidated and the wage-cutting offensive intensified, the reformists are splitting the forces of the working class by launching a broad expulsion offensive against the revolutionary workers. By this tactic and by the starvation policy of the social-democratic government in Sweden, the reformists are paving the way for fascism.

"In Denmark the bourgeoisie, under the pressure of the economic crisis, is proceeding more and more to apply fascist methods of government in its open attack upon the toiling population. Strikes and demonstrations are forbidden by law or are being forbidden by the government and the police, the collective agreements of the workers are being prolonged by law for another year, whilst the State is reducing the value of the wages by means of inflation and enormous indirect taxes. The revolutionary movement is being persecuted by the police, by administrative and other measures; and the social-democratic and reformist leaders not only support this policy, but are carrying it out in the government, whilst they are advocating the expulsion of revolutionary workers from the trade unions, asserting that they ' are thereby destroying the basis for the growth of fascism.'

"In Norway too the bourgeoisie is preparing the ground for fascism, while at the same time unemployment is increasing, so that about 200,000 workers are unemployed, thousands of others are working short time, and wages are being cut. The fascist organisations are being developed, and Quisling, the former War Minister, is attempting to create a mass movement on the basis of a Norwegian Hitler programme. The police have been recently reorganised and strengthened, a fresh military organisation, 'Ledingen,' has been set up, having as its object to convert the youth into the bodyguard of fascism. In imitation of the fascist 'Labour Service,' the 'Arbeiderfylkning'' was introduced which is controlled by the blackleg organisation 'Samfundsvaernet.' Finally, a law has been passed restricting the right of the workers to strike or to conduct a boycott. 'The government has further appointed a committee to find means and ways to incorporate the trade unions in the capitalist State apparatus.

"In *Iceland* the bourgeoisie is proceeding to apply fascist methods of violence against the workers, partly as an attempt to reduce wages, partly to oppose the demands of the unemployed for work.

"In Finland the bourgeoisie has already established its fascist dictatorship. All the revolutionary workers' organisations are suppressed, the revolutionary workers deprived of all political rights, hundreds of workers are killed, tortured, or thrown into prison. The social-democratic leaders helped fascism to come into power by splitting the trade union movement, by approving in Parliament of the fascist terrorist laws against the labour movement. At present they are supporting fascism by calling upon the workers to remain quiet and passive, by sabotaging and combating the militant movement of the workers, by denying the fascist character of the Svinhufvud dictatorship, by rejecting the proposals of the Communists and of the revolutionary workers to conduct a joint struggle for the vital daily demands of the workers against the fascist dictatorship.

"We Scandinavian anti-fascist delegates of all political affiliations, raise our voice in warning and call upon the Scandinavian proletariat ruthlessly to exterminate this class-treacherous reformist policy, the fearful result of which is to be seen in the seizure of power by Hitler in Germany. In admiration of the heroic resistance of the German workers against the fascist dictatorship of murderers, we send to the German proletariat our warmest anti-fascist greetings. . . We know that the German working class is not defeated. We know that it is gathering its forces against the Brown Shirts' reign of terror. We know that the anti-fascist spirit is alive in the work places and that the workers in the factories are protecting their factory councils by admirable actions and doing everything in order to render it impossible for fascism to penetrate into the ranks of the proletariat.

"Hitler has imprisoned 30,000 class fighters—all the more perseveringly will we fight together with the German workers for their release.

"Hitler, who himself staged the fire in the Reichstag, wants to hand over the workers' leaders Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitrov and many others to the gallows. Let us increase our efforts a hundredfold for the release of the best people from the clutches of the hangman.

"Hitler is driving the workers' organisations and the workers' press into illegality—all the more indefatigably will we, Scandinavian proletariat, support the fight of our German class brothers for freedom of organisation.

"Hitler intends, with the aid of the trade union leaders, to fascise the trade unions. He steals the funds of the trade unions and occupies the trade union premises. He removes the factory councils elected by the workers and throws them into prison wholesale in order to put Nazi commissars in their place. We must help the German workers with all our power to save the trade unions."

After a detailed enumeration of the necessary fighting measures, the Manifesto calls upon the Scandinavian working class and all anti-fascists of Scandinavia, to support with all their forces the German proletariat in its fight against the Hitler dictatorship and to defeat fascism in their own country.

The Manifesto concludes:

"Put the question of the struggle against fascism and the election of delegates to the European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress in Copenhagen on June 4 and 5, upon the agenda of all your meetings in the factories and organisations. The European Congress must demonstrate a great extension of the anti-fascist fighting front in Scandinavia and must show that the whole working class has realised that at this historical moment it is necessary to convert Scandinavia into a bulwark against fascism and to unite all workers in a common will:

"Down with fascism! Down with the dictatorship of capi-

talism! Long live the rule of the workers and peasants! Long live the European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress!"

The Response to the United Front Offer of the C.P. of Italy

The appeal addressed by the C.P. of Italy to the socialist, Maximalist and Republican workers and their party committees, and distributed in thousands of copies in all the most important industrial centres of Italy, to set up the militant united front, has aroused the greatest interest among the toiling masses.

The Republican Party of Italy, which is supported by workers, artisans and poor peasants, replied to the united front offer of the C.P. of Italy with a resolution in which

"the Committee of the Republican Party of Italy declares its agreement with the nine demands put forward in the appeal as a basis for joint action . . . and proposes to the other parties interested the immediate convocation of a delegate conference in order quickly to arrive at a concrete agreement. . . ."

The Republican workers have for a long time been striving for a militant united front with the Communist workers. It will be remembered that the committee of the Republican Party has affiliated to the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress and declared itself against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. Mention should also be made of the decision of this committee to give permission to the worker Amadori, secretary of one of the local branches of this party, who had visited the Soviet Union as a member of a workers' delegation, to report on the situation in the Soviet Union to the various local branches of the Republican Party.

The influence of the C.P. of Italy upon the toiling masses is so strong, that even the Socialist Party of Italy, a section of the Second International, was compelled to recognise that the appeal of the C.P.I. marks an important step forward in the direction of the militant united front. Although the S.P.I. is compelled, under the pressure of the working masses, to make this admission, it is obvious from the contents of its reply that it is only manœuvring in order to check the striving of the masses for the united front.

The C.P. of Italy immediately exposed this manœuvre to the working class, as well as the capitulation of the Second International and its Sections to fascism, and stigmatised the rejection of the united front proposals by the S.P.I. The C.P. of Italy then appealed to the Congress of the S.P.I. which has just taken place in Marseilles. But the decision which this Congress adopted is also tantamount to a rejection.

United Front Proposal of the C.P. of Roumania to the Social-Democratic Organisations

The Communist Party of Rumania, in the middle of March, addressed a letter to all committees of the social-democratic party of Rumania, to the Independent Socialist Labour Party and a new group which had split away from the social-democratic party, as well as to all delegates to the Party Congress of the S.P., containing a concrete and very detailed united front proposal.

The letter begins by calling attention to the new offensive of the ruling classes of Rumania against the economic achievements and political rights of the toiling masses, and points to the necessity of the united front of all toilers for the fight against this offensive. The letter refers to the heroic February fights of the railway workers and oil workers as a splendid example of the militant united front, and then proposes the immediate setting up of a united fighting front for the following main demands of the toiling masses of Rumania:

- 1. Against any repression and victimisation of the heroic workers of the railway repair shops, for the immediate release of the arrested workers.
- 2. Against martial law, against the dissolving of the workers' organisations, etc.
- 3. Against wage cuts and reductions of pensions, for their increase in accordance with increased prices.
- 4. Against the expropriation of the land of the small peasants in favour of the colonists in the occupied territories.

5. For acceptance of the Soviet proposals of a non-aggression pact.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Rumania declares that if the socialdemocratic organisations accept these proposals, if they fulfil the conditions of the agreement with the C.P. of Rumania and really fight for the interests of the working masses, the C.P. will refrain from attacking the social-democratic organisations during the time of the joint struggle.

In conclusion, the letter calls upon the workers, peasants and officials, not to wait for the result of the negotiations, but, following the example of the Bucharest railway workers, immediately to organise the united front from below. In conclusion, the letter calls attention to the Anti-Fascist Congress of Europe and appeals to the social-democratic workers to attend the meetings and take part in the election of the united front committees and of delegates to the Congress.

How the International Working Class Celebrated May Day

States in

England

First of May

London, May 1, 1933.

Five thousand workers marched the streets of London to-day, celebrating the First of May. Fifteen thousand workers marched in a mighty demonstration in *Glasgow*. Both demonstrations marched behind the banners of the *First of May Committees*, which are under revolutionary leadership.

In Glasgow, as in London, the reformist Labour Party and T.U.C. had boycotted the demonstration. Despite these attempts to split the ranks of the working class in the fight against war, fascism and the capitalist offensive, quite a good percentage of demonstrators were members of the reformist organisations— Labour Party, Trade Unions and from the Co-operative Movement.

In *Glasgow* the police interfered with the demonstration on several occasions, but the militancy of the workers succeeded in preventing them from stopping the march.

Against the Maryhill section the police drew their batons and charged time and again. Nothing daunted, the workers maintained excellent discipline and the ranks remained solid.

Not only were the Glasgow workers celebrating May Day, but the demonstration was also supporting a deputation to the Public Assistance Committee, who were to-day considering the question of making a heavy cut of £100,000 in the workers" relief.

The demonstrators marched round the city, and by the time they arrived at Glasgow Green—the scene of many historic battles of the Glasgow workers—over 50,000 workers had gathered there to greet them.

The Green resounded with the shouting of revolutionary slogans of: Down with the National Government of hunger and war: Defend the Soviet Union against the bloody reign of Hitler and his murder gangs: For the Release of the Meerut Prisoners, etc.

In London the demonstration was not so big, mainly owing to the splitting tactics of the reformists, who are holding their "May Day" on Sunday next. However, there was no denying the difference in spirit among the workers from previous May Days!

The character of the banners and slogans carried denoted that the London workers appreciate the significance of the events, that they appreciated the terrible danger of war, of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R., the necessity of ruthlessly combating fascism and rendering the greatest support to the heroic German working class, and the urgent necessity of conducting an energetic fight against the capitalist offensive.

The pride of space in to-day's demonstration must be given to the *Bermondsay municipal strikers*, 700 of whom marched in the demonstration.

Second place must be given to the University students. There were contingents from Cambridge, Oxford, the October Club, the London University, London University of Economics, etc. Combined they totalled over 500 people. The slogans which they carried marked a decided step forward on the Oxford resolution. The Oxford University October Club banner carried the slogan: "Unite to fight against war!" The second banner was:

There were a goodly number of Trade Union and Co-operative Guild banners in the demonstration. Banners of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, the Independent Labour Party were very significant, as well as banners of all the Communist Party Locals in London, and Young Communist League.

A very huge poster was carried by a sturdy group of Negro workers, with the slogan: "Free the nine Scottsboro' boys! Demand a fair re-trial! Aid the Scottsboro' victims of U.S.A. legal lynching!"

There were upwards of 200 to 300 mounted police, and foot police escorted the whole length of the procession, only one yard apart. At each of the side streets leading to the West End, cordons of police were strung across the road, in order to block the way to prevent marchers from breaking through.

Thousands of workers escorted the procession along the pavements. The police attempted to prevent them from marching on the pavements, but they were foiled by the militant spirit shown by the workers.

Another striking feature was the spirit of militant trade unionism, as evidenced by the representatives of the Busmen's Rank and File Movement.

There was a great crowd waiting in the Park for the demonstration to arrive, and they flooded over the grass to the place where the platforms were set out. Approximately 10,000 gathered around the platforms, to listen attentively to the speeches of the speakers from the May Day Committee, among them being Tom Mann, Fenner Brockway, Harry Pollitt, and others.

The following resolution against war was passed at all platforms in the Hyde Park, London, May Day demonstration.

"May Day, 1933, sees the forces of Socialism and capitalism engaged in a life and death struggle on a world scale. The conflict between victorious Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist powers engulfed in the throes of an ever-worsening world economic crisis, grows daily sharper. Open war rages in the Far East and in South America.

"German capitalism sets itself the forlorn aim of annihilating the forces of its revolutionary working class through the instrument of the bloody Hitler dictatorship of fascism.

"The European Powers carry forward their war preparations a stage further with the Four-Power Pact and, parallel with the endless farce of disarmament conferences, the armament race develops more fiercely. The decision of the National Government to carry out an embargo against Soviet goods represents a further serious step towards war. . .

"This great May Day demonstration heartily welcomes and supports the joint campaign for organising the united front of London's workers, now being carried forward by the London Independent Labour Party and the Communist Party.

"It calls upon the workers within the Labour Parties and trade unions, irrespective of political affiliations, and, despite the struggle jointly with the Communist Party and the I.L.P., to come together to organise solidarity support for the German workers, heroically battling against fascist terror, and for united action against the National Government and the capitalist enemy.

enemy. "Finally, this demonstration demands the release of all working-class political prisoners now held in capitalist jails, and calls for the building up of the International Labour Defence movement to further the agitation and struggle for this aim."

No. 20

France

70,000 workers marched to the Vincennes Forest, near Paris, where the May demonstration of the C.P. of France took place. A German comrade greeted the French working class in the name of the C.P. of Germany and emphasised that the German working class is fighting indefatigably against the Hitler dictatorship.

During the return march a serious incident occurred. The police attacked the demonstrators who had rallied to protect Comrade Cachin. The workers offered determined resistance to the police, with the result that 12 policemen were injured.

The number of factories which ceased work on May 1st was much bigger than in former years. In particular work was at a standstill in nearly all the workshops in the automobile industry and aircraft industry.

The chief meeting of the reformist trade unions was attended by only 700 persons.

Reports from the provinces state that numerous united front demonstrations, convened on the initiative of the red trade unions, took place everywhere. In many towns and industrial centres, for instance in Nice, Brest, Lorient, Marseilles, Toulon, Grenoble, Henin-Lietard, Lens, etc., the processions of the revolutionary and reformist trade unions merged into one. In a number of coalfields work was completely at a standstill.

Belgium

In the Belgian industrial districts nearly all the factories were idle on May Day. A considerable number of railwaymen did not turn up to work, and only a small part of the arsenal staffs came to work.

Communist demonstrations, attended by several thousands of people, took place in numerous towns and localities, such as Brussels, Charleroi, Seraing, etc.

In the afternoon of May 1st, social-democratic demonstrations, with tens of thousands of participants, took place in Brussels, Antwerp, Liege, Verviers, Charleroi, Ghent, etc., in which the Communists took part with their own banners and posters. Everywhere the Communists gave prominence to the slogan of the united front.

United States

The united front demonstration in Union Square, in New York, convened by the Communist Party of the United States and the Red trade unions, proved to be the most powerful May Day demonstration ever held in New York. 60,000 workers marched in the processions, whilst tens of thousands were marching with them on the pavement. When the speakers of the C.P. and of the revolutionary organisations started to address the crowd, 125,000 people had assembled. The enthusiasm which inspired the demonstration was unparalleled.

In Boston 20,000 workers attended the revolutionary demonstration; in New Orleans, 10,000; and in Chicago also 10,000.

On the eve of May Day gangsters had thrown bombs in the business quarters of Chicago, and this act of provocation was used as a prextext by the police in order to start a big raid on the Communists. The police arrested all the leading Communists.

Czechoslovakia

Although May Day is a State holiday in Czechoslovakia, the Communist demonstrations imparted to this day an outspoken fighting character. Everywhere the demonstrations were carried out under the slogans of the united front of struggle against hunger, faseism, and war.

In numerous localities the Communists were successful in carrying through united demonstrations, whilst in other places this was prevented by the reformist leaders. But the workers replied to this sabotage on the part of the socialist leaders by participating in great numbers in the Communist demonstrations.

The Communist demonstration in **Prague** was much larger than the two demonstrations of the German and Czech social democrats taken together. Comrades **Thälmann** and **Stalin** were elected to the Honorary Presidium of the meeting.

Reports from the provinces show that this year the partici-

pation of the workers was much larger than last year. In Brünn 20,000 workers participated in the demonstration, in Moravian Ostrau 15,000, and in Reichenberg 8,000. In Reichenberg the demonstrators marched to the German Consulate and expressed their protest against the Hitler government in Germany.

Reports to hand show that 176,000 workers participated in 95 demonstrations.

Austria

Large masses of workers demonstrated in Vienna in the streets leading to the inner part of the city and Communist speakers addressed the crowd. The police made a number of arrests, but no collisions occurred. The inner part of the city was completely cordoned off by the police until eight o'clock in the evening.

In a number of industrial towns in the provinces spontaneous demonstrations took place in spite of the military occupation.

The Soviet Union

We have received the following description of May 1 from our Moscow correspondent:---

A sunny day. The Moscow dwellings are empty; millions of toilers are on the streets. Huge columns of gay Moscow proletarians and toilers, carrying thousands of banners, are marching to the Red Square. On both sides of the Lenin Mausoleum thousands of people take their places on the huge granite tribune. Here are the foreign workers' delegations, the shock-brigaders of the Moscow factories, the delegates from the industrial centres of the Soviet Union, foreign Ambassadors, military attaches, etc Punctually at ten o'clock Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovitch and other members of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. come from the The public on the tribunes receives them with Kremlin. tempestuous applause. Voroshilov rides into the middle of the square. Commanders of troops and of the Moscow military district report to him. Voroshilov then mounts the tribune of the Mausoleum and delivered a short speech.

In his First of May speech he addresses the Red Army, the workers of Moscow and of the whole of the Soviet Union. He greets the proletarians of the West and of the whole world. Voroshilov declares that only in the Soviet Union, where the proletarians are the complete masters, is the First of May freely celebrated as a day of international solidarity of the workers and of the fight for Socialism. In the capitalist countries on this day, the fascists, the police, and the machine-guns are active. But all the oppression will avail the capitalist world nothing, for the emancipation of the toiling humanity is a historical necessity.

There commences the march past of the troops before the Mausoleum. The iron battalions of the proletarian infantry march. They are followed by the old proletarian fighters: grey veterans who have taken part in three revolutions, red partisans and red guardists. Then the magnificent Red Cavalry gallops past. The light and heavy artillery thunders across the Square, followed by the deafening rumble of armoured cars and tanks. Following the ranks of the Red Army, columns of thousands of armed workers march past.

A sea of flags, placards with slogans, drawings and caricatures of the enemies of the Soviet Union pour from all the streets leading to the Red Square. Thousands of Moscow proletarians march past. All the streets of Moscow are full of joyous, singing people, enthusiastic young men and women and happy children. Now come the crowds of guests—collective farmers from the Moscow region. Greetings are expressed to them through loudspeakers. They reply: "Long live the Red Capital." They are the shock brigaders, the collective farmers who have been invited by the Moscow workers to the May Day celebrations. There now demonstrate the firm columns of young workers in the smart uniform of the Young Communist League, and with them girls and working women with red kerchiefs on their heads. At four o'clock numerous troops of actors and performers appear in front of the opera, the theatres and places of amusement and give performances.

Nobody has such a right to the joy of life as the working class of the Soviet Union. They have vanquished the class enemy; they are successfully building up Socialism; they are accomplishing great work for the international working class.

Switzerland

All May Day demonstrations carried out by the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition were very well attended. In **Zürich** about 2,800 attended the Communist demonstration. In addition to a great number of tramwaymen more than 250 workers' children took part in the demonstration. A representative of the German workers who addressed the meeting was arrested by the police.

In **Geneva** the social democrats sabotaged the decision of the delegate conference of the S.P., held on April 29, to demonstrate with the Communists, and capitulated to their executive committee, which had rejected all united front offers of the C.P.

In Schaffhausen it was possible to bring about a joint May Day demonstration convened by the Trades Council, the C.P. of Switzerland and the S.P., at which representatives of all three bodies spoke.

Denmark

The revolutionary demonstration in Copenhagen, called by the Communist Party and the Red Trade Union Opposition, was attended by 10,000 workers and was carried out under the slogan of the revolutionary united front. Leaders of the Communist Party and of the trade unions addressed the crowd. The socialdemocratic party, under the pressure of its members, organised a street demonstration for the first time in eight years. In twelve places the workers hauled down flags bearing the Swastika sign.

Norway

Great revolutionary demonstrations took place in Oslo. Whilst in this town, owing to the sabotage of the reformist leaders, social-democratic and Communist workers marched separately, in sixteen other towns, such as Slemmesstadt, Skien, Bergen, Trondhjem, big joint demonstrations were organised by the local unity committees under the slogan of the revolutionary united front.

Against Imperialist War

Growing Discontent in Japanese Military Machine

By J. R.

The crisis of capitalism in Japan and the imperialist war against the Chinese people have resulted in the general worsening of the conditions of the workers and peasants in Japan. Since the workers in the war plants are part of the working class and the privates in the armed forces come mainly from the working class and poor peasantry, the misery of the toilers generally has also its effect upon the workers in the war plants and the privates in the armed forces. Under the pretext of "national emergency the workers in the war industry have been reduced to the position of slaves. Their real wages are much lower as a result of the inflation that exists; they are forced to work many hours of overtime for which they receive very little additional pay, and they are forced to work under extreme conditions of terror and espionage. The privates in the armed forces, who are being killed by the thousands on the battlefields, are forced to exist on the scantiest rations, while their officers live in luxury.

From all this it is easy to understand why the discontent of the Japanese toilers is also reflected in the war industry and the armed forces. In a certain naval arsenal, employing about 10,000 workers, 4,000 of whom are temporary, wages for the permanent workers are about 1 yen and 30 sen per day, while for temporary workers the wages are 1 yen and 20 sen. Apprentices (whose period of apprenticeship lasts three years) receive 60 sen per day. Prior to the war the workers received a minimum wage increase of 15 sen a day every two years; which is now reduced to 5 sen a day every four years. Likewise, the two bonuses of 25 days' and 15 ways' wages received yearly have been discontinued. The temporary workers receive no bonuses or extra pay whatever. The regular work-day is 9 hours, but overtime of from 2 to 6 hours a day are worked, for which very little is paid. The Uraga Dock Co. and the Yokohama Dock Co. are very important enterprises in the war industry. In these factories real wages did not only depreciate because of inflation, but the nominal wage was actually cut. Hours of work have been increased and the speed-up system greatly increased as a result of elaborate rationalisation schemes. The above are only a few instances of the conditions that actually prevail in the war industry.

The workers in the war industry have not accepted their e conditions without struggle. The press reports that in slave conditions without struggle. February this year the workers in thirteen munition factories in Tokyo declared a protest strike against the arrest of a number of revolutionary workers who were the leaders of all the workers in their fight against their worsening conditions. The press report states that "the War Minister gave instructions to crush the strike even if the most severe measures had to be used." In the munition factory "Satumei" the police broke up a meeting of strikers, injuring quite a number of them. In two important war industry plants, the Fuji Nagata Ship Building Co. and the Kobe plant of the Mitsubishi Ship Building Co., the workers went on strike against their miserable conditions. In the latter plant the workers of the engine department again came out on strike at the end of February this year. The report states that the workers of the other departments were very indignant about their conditions and threatened to join the strike of the engine department.

Workers from the different war industry plants, in writing to the revolutionary press, state that many workers in these plants are not only very much discontented with their economic conditions, but that many of them are showing very definite anti-war sentiment. From all the above we can see why the military authorities and the bosses are using extreme terroristic methods against the workers, especially in the war industry, which is so important for Japanese imperialism. For instance, in the Jujo Military Ammunition Factory they have stationed two heavy and six light machine guns, which are continuously covering the workers to terrorise them and to be ready for use if the workers should show any signs of taking action against their slave conditions. In addition, there are gendarmes continuously watching the workers. This system of terror, in one form or another, prevails throughout the war industry.

We already know of the discontent that prevailed among the rank and file soldiers sent to Manchuria and Shanghai. Many of these were shot on the order of their officers, and entire units had to be sent back to Japan. These soldiers saw that the war did not improve the conditions of their relatives and friends at home, as well as the fact of their own torture and misery. The soldiers are forced to live in hovels and receive only boiled barley for food, while their officers live on the fat of the land, in warm, houses, surrounded by prostitutes. They are also learning that the war is against workers and peasants who, like themselves, suffer from the same miserable conditions. They see that the war is entirely in the interests of the bankers, industrialists and landlords, and that the toiling masses will have to pay, not only with their lives at present, but for years to come, the tremendous expenses incurred as a result of the war.

Reports leak out from time to time of the anti-war actions on the part of the rank and file soldiers.

From Yokosuka a press report, dated March 28, 1933, states that sailors from three gun-boats of the Yokosuka Admiralty port were arrested. They had been serving on the following gunboats: "Haruna," "Nagato," and "Yamashiro." Another report from Japanese newspapers states that at the beginning of March of this year the gendarmes arrested a number of soldiers in the Tokyo suburb of Shybu and charged them with leadership of Communist activities in the army.

At the same time we learn of the increasing discontent among both the Japanese and "Manchukuo" troops in Manchuria. The Manchurian people have not been subjugated by the invader. Proof of this is the continued need for large Japanese forces in Manchuria, as well as the continued offensive against the invaders carried on by the partisan troops who are representative of and come from the toiling masses of Manchuria. The "Manchukuo" troops are unreliable in so far as Japanese imperialism is concerned. They also come from the toiling masses of Manchuria and reflect the discontent of these masses, who are being oppressed by Japanese imperialism and its "Manchukuo" lackeys. In the attack on Jehol it was necessary to intermingle Japanese and "Manchukuo" troops, because the military clique feared that if "Manchukuo" troops were left to themselves they would go over to the partisan forces that defended Jehol. Recent reports show that large forces of partisan troops are again attacking the Japanese and their puppets in different parts of Manchuria. Although news from Manchuria is severely censored, nevertheless reports leak out that the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Trade Unions are increasing their activity both ideologically and organisationally.

The lie of Japanese imperialism, to the effect that the Japanese nation is united in support of its imperialistic aims, is exposed by all the above facts. In addition, why is it necessary to carry on all the terror and mass arrests if the nation is united? Not only are thousands of revolutionaries and militant workers arrested, but the terror is carried on against the toilers as a whole. Continuous searches are carried out, not only in the homes of workers, but also in those of students and intellectuals; street cars are stopped and passengers searched; thousands of special police and gendarmes are stationed in the working-class and industrial sections of Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, etc. The police are organised on military lines and must reside in such places that they can be mobilised in the shortest possible time. This surely gives the lie to the imperialist claim of "national unity." On the contrary, we see an increasing division, and this on class lines. On the one hand the toiling masses, on the other the imperialists and their reformist lackeys. The task now is to extend this movement and organise it, especially in the factories, mines, docks, ships, and among the military forces.

<u>Socialist Construction in the</u> Soviet Union

Fifteen Years of Foreign Trade Monopoly in the Soviet Union

Moscow, April 23, 1933.

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Foreign Trade Monopoly in the Soviet Union, the "Pravda " writes:

Fifteen years have passed since the publication of the decree, signed by Lenin and Stalin, for the nationalisation of foreign trade. We have defended the Foreign Trade Monopoly just as we have defended our whole country. In 1927, Comrade Stalin stated at an interview with American workers:

"The Foreign Trade Monopoly, as an integral part of planned economy, is an unshakeable basis, the 'platform' of the Soviet Government."

By nationalising foreign trade, Lenin closed the gates of the country against the economic intervention of capitalism. Stalin said the abolition of the Foreign Trade Monopoly would mean the conversion of our country from an independent to a semi-colonial country.

Fifteen years after the issue of the decree on the nationalisation of foreign trade, the Soviet Union has become an economically independent, industrial, socialist world power. The world economic crisis which is shaking the foundations of the advanced capitalist countries has not crossed the frontiers of the Soviet Union. Our trade and our industry know no crisis. -The "Pravda" compares the character of the imports into

-The "Pravda" compares the character of the imports into Russia before the revolution, which consisted of articles of luxury and food delicacies, and the present imports into the Soviet Union, which consist of machines, industrial equipment, etc. It is partly owing to the character of the Soviet-Russian imports, writes the "Pravda," that industrial production in the Soviet Union has increased three or fourfold compared with the years before the revolution.

It is not surprising, continues the "Pravda," that a number of discerning English conservatives maintain that, thanks to the Five-Year Plan, "the Russians can get on without us, and if we limit our credits and introduce restrictive measures in our markets, Russia will make its purchases from our rival—Germany."

The originators of the anti-Soviet campaign in England are the extreme Die-hard elements. They wish to continue the policy of Lord Curzon and are attempting to organise the united front of imperialist attack against the Soviet Union. The embargo is the first step in this direction. Nevertheless the Die-hards are playing a very ridiculous game. England urgently requires raw material. The prohibition of their importation will cause a rise in the price of the articles in question on the English market. This will mean a severe blow to industry. We, however, can buy the machines and equipment we require anywhere. Business circles in England are already calculating how many undertakings they will have to close down and to what extent the unemployed army will increase.

The development of the Soviet Union opens up great possibilities for our Foreign Trade Monopoly, which we shall defend with all our might. It depends upon the far-seeing business circles in each country to what extent they participate in this trade.

In connection with the 15th anniversary of the Foreign Trade Monopoly of the Soviet Union, the newspapers publish a number of addresses of greeting to the workers in the Foreign Trade Institutions in the Soviet Union.

The message of greeting from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union states:

The Foreign Trade Monopoly in the Soviet Union, created under Lenin's leadership, was and remains one of the most powerful instruments for the building up of Socialism, and the unshakeable basis of Soviet economy. The tasks confronting the Foreign Trade Monopoly—promotion of the industrialisation of the Soviet Union, the socialist transformation of the village, and protection of the country which is building up Socialism against the capitalist encirclement—have been and are being honestly fulfilled by the working population of the Soviet Union and the staff of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of People's Commissars call upon the staffs of the Foreign Trade institutions to protect the inviolability of the Foreign Trade Monopoly. The workers in the Foreign Trade Institutions also received a message of greeting from Litvinov.

On the orders of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, several prominent workers in the Foreign Trade Commissariat, including the People's Commissar for Foreign Trade in the Soviet Union, Rosengoltz, the Trade Representative of the Soviet Union in Germany, Weitzer, the Trade Representative in England, Ossiersky, and a number of others were decorated with the Lenin Order and the Red Order of Labour.

Excellent Results of the Spring Sowing Campaign

Moscow, April 25. The sowing in the Soviet Union has been completely successful. Up to April 20, about 14 million hectares had been sown as against 6½ million hectares in the same period of last year. In the Ukraine more than 3½ million hectares have been sown, against less than 2 million last year. In Northern Caucasia there is an increase of 2 million hectares of cultivated land over last year. The Central Black Earth districts can show the following successes: Lower and Middle Volga district, 4 million hectares, against 300,000 hectares last year; Tartar Republic, 600,000 hectares, whereas last year at this time sowing had hardly begun.

The collective farms of the S.U. have sown 111 million hectares, i.e., more than 17 per cent of this year's plan, whereas last year in the same period only 5 million hectares were sown.

The machine and tractor stations have sown 5 million hectares, i.e., 21 per cent. of the plan, a considerable increase over last year. The Soviet farms have already fulfilled the plan up to 50 per cent. in some districts. A brilliant example is shown by the Tartar Republic. There the collective farms in various districts have already completed the spring sowing. In 15 districts the original plans have already been exceeded.

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