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Their Fate is Sealed! Vandervelde on the Prospects of the II. International

I.

The Soviet Union—a Powerful Counterweight against Fascism

The Soviet Union is a powerful counterweight against fascism; this is nothing less than the statement of Vandervelde. It is taken from articles written by him on the prospects of the Second International in his own mouthpiece, the "Peuple" of Brussels on the 11th, 12th and 13th July. Vandervelde is answering the semi-official organ of the French government, "le Temps," which in an effort to prove the bankruptcy of "socialism" (in reality the bankruptcy of the Second International) referred also to the Soviet Union. Vandervelde answered:—

"Do the Law and Order lovers in the 'Temps' office really regard the overthrow of Kerensky and the creation of the U.S.S.R. as a defeat of socialism? Do they experience feelings of satisfaction when they observe that a red dictatorship is ruling over one-sixth of the world, a dictatorship which has thoroughly abolished the old regime, which has resisted all attacks on it for fifteen years and which represents a powerful counterweight to the anti-Marxist tendencies of the Central European dictatorships?"

This admission of Vandervelde is valuable from several points of view. We have not forgotten the campaign of incitement organised by the Second International in company with Trotsky in connection with the extension of the Berlin Agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union, and its attempt to lower the Soviet Union in the eyes of the masses and to present it as the supporter of fascism.

And to-day the chairman of the Second International admits the hypocrisy of this incitement by declaring in a polemic with his temporary enemies in the French government press that the Soviet Union is a powerful counterweight against fascist Germany!

In other words, Vandervelde, Léon Blum, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler opened a campaign against this admitted bulwark of anti-fascism in order to lessen its significance as a counterweight to fascism.

But Vandervelde's admission is also valuable in another respect. Up to the present those workers who are organised in the Second International have had it drummed into them as a dogma that the fascist reaction is created by Communism. All

the speeches at the Hamburg new inaugural congress in 1925 contained this slander. All the social-democratic newspapers have repeated it year after year, particularly when the Communists refused to support Hindenburg. It sounds almost envious when Vandervelde now declares that, in contradiction to the Social Democratic Parties of Central Europe, the Russian Bolsheviks have really completely abolished the old regime, that they have repulsed all attacks, in which, by the way, Vandervelde and the other leaders of the Second International played no small part, for fifteen years, and, finally, that there is not only no fascism in the Soviet Union, but that it also represents a powerful counterweight to the fascist countries of Central Europe!

II.

The Soviet Union and the International Class Struggle

The admission of Vandervelde, however, means still more. In the passage quoted, the fascist dictatorships are compared with the red dictatorship, but Vandervelde makes no attempt to analyse the basis of the differences. However, the State power is not without a practical basis in any country. It is based on the class relations existing in each country. The ruling class in a fascist State is the bourgeoisie, and in the State of the red dictatorship it is the proletariat. Vandervelde also makes no mention of the class struggle which takes place on the basis of the development of the productive forces. He also makes no mention of the stage of development of fascism which gives the character to a whole era and in this case makes it into an era of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. And that is just the question: rule of the bourgeoisie or rule of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks have settled the problem effectively, they have made an end completely of the old regime, i.e., with the bourgeoisie. The result is that they have no fascism and that their country forms a powerful counterweight against fascism in other countries. The international social democracy has fought on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution. It fought so long in fact until it brought fascism to power. And because it has said A it must also say B. The social democracy supported bourgeois rule in its democratic form and it supported it in its fascist form, so long in fact as fascism needed this support.

The class struggle is not ended with the victory of fascism. There is a counterweight to fascism not only outside the countries of fascism, but also inside them, and the latter counterweight is the Communist Party. The Soviet Union and the revolutionary international proletariat belong together; they are one fighting army against fascism as one form of capitalist rule and they are opposed to all forms of capitalist rule. The proletariat of the Soviet Union has advanced tremendously in this struggle, it has occupied powerful bulwarks against fascism, and it has become the advance guard of the international proletariat. We see therefore where Vandervelde's admission leads if it is pursued to its logical conclusion. Naturally, Vandervelde himself is by no means prepared to draw logical conclusions from his own admission, on the contrary.

III.

But Vandervelde Persists in his Anti-Sovietism

But the same Vandervelde who declares that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union is a powerful counterweight to fascism does not hesitate to attack it with the old slanders:—

"To sum up, therefore, we can say that the totality aimed at by Hitler leads to the same results as the totality of Stalin or Mussolini."

And in another passage:—

"What such a regime means for the individual and for the masses can be seen sufficiently from the examples quoted. Remember fascist Italy and Bolshevik Russia."

It is true that Vandervelde declares, unlike his dead friend Bernstein, that if he had to choose between fascism and Bolshevism he would choose the latter. Maybe the fate of Löbe and Stelling assisted him in making his choice. But even after this he goes on quite calmly with his incitement against the Soviet Union and quotes the French General Grenard as king's evidence, the man who took a leading part in the organisation of counter-revolutionary insurrections and military intervention. This type of argument borders on the pathological.

However, he is very sceptical. Only in one sentence does he express anything like a saving thought: the fascist dictatorships are

tears at the disruption of the working-class movement allegedly brought about by "Moscow." In his polemic with "le Temps" he writes:—

"Certainly, if the Russian Revolution in 1917 had not split, the proletarian forces in the other countries would probably not be divided into two camps as they are to-day. That is certainly the cause of the weakness which has just led in Germany to catastrophic results for both camps."

In other words, the wicked Bolsheviks are again the helpers of Hitler. Let us examine this piece of anti-Bolshevist rubbish once again, for it is being repeated just now again and again by those who paved the way for fascism, the social democrats.

Marx declared: "Either the proletariat is revolutionary or it is nothing." This "nothing" must be understood in the Hegelian sense, namely, that the negative does not dissolve into null, into the abstract nothing, but that it is also positive. In our case it means that if the proletariat is not for itself, if it does not fight for its own emancipation, then it is, in fact, on the side of the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the organisation of the working class for the struggle for emancipation is a process of separation from the bourgeoisie, and logically therefore a process of disruption. At the beginning of the 'sixties the German proletariat, as far as it was politically active at all, was in the camp of the liberal bourgeoisie. And then came Lasalle and founded a separate workers' party. The judges, Schulze-Delitsche and Sonneman, the proprietor of the "Frankfurter Zeitung," began to howl that Lasalle was "disrupting the forces of progress." But Marx, who was sharply critical of Lasalle and his policy, approved of this "policy of disruption" and declared it to be the historical service of Lasalle to the German working class. What social democrat doubted that before the war?

Apparently the proletariat is to be in one party quite irrespective of the aims of this party. But what did it help the German proletariat that it was unitedly in one party, the party of Ebert and Scheidemann, in August, 1914. The party unitedly served German imperialism. Or, in order not to go so far back, what would it have helped the German working class if the Communists had supported the armoured cruiser policy of the social democrat Hermann Mueller, or Bruening, or even Hindenburg, as the whole of the Second International, Otto Bauer unitedly with Wels and Vandervelde, did? Or if the German workers had been unitedly behind Leipart, and behind Wels on the 17th May, and behind Löbe, who until his arrest openly served Hitler?

We are also in favour of a united struggle of the proletariat, but what for? For its own interests or for the interests of the bourgeoisie? The Bolsheviks, the Communists, were in favour of the unity of all proletarian forces in the fight for proletarian emancipation, but the social democracy fought and still fights on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The social democracy was and still is the chief support of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, and everywhere it splits and is still splitting the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. And what is the present "struggle" of the social democracy against fascism other than an attempt to provide the bourgeoisie with a line of retreat, as openly admitted by Wels in Prague? When fascism collapses a party is to be there to organise the masses in order to prevent them carrying out the proletarian revolution and to persuade them to tolerate again the old democratic methods of bourgeois rule; that is to say, to begin another period of development like that from 1918 to 1933. Vandervelde has not altered in the least; he remains the enemy of the proletarian revolution; he remains the lackey of the bourgeoisie.

IV.

Consummatum Est

Writing of the fate of the German social democracy, Vandervelde uses this Latin phrase. It is finished! He might well have used it as a title for his whole remarks as far as they referred to the future of the Second International. He paints a black picture and can offer little hope. Perhaps Roosevelt's experiment may give a turn to affairs, perhaps the capitalists may finally see that the present struggle of all against all can't go on, perhaps they will usher in a new era of prosperity by abolishing the customs barriers. However, he is very sceptical. Only in one sentence does he express anything like a saving thought: the fascist dictatorships are

nationalist and they are therefore driving towards war, and war will finish them off.

The salvation of the Second International—war? But if there is one thing more than another calculated to smash the Second International completely it is war. The social democratic organisations in each country involved would place themselves behind their government unconditionally, including the governments of the fascist countries. One could take long odds that the social democratic leaders would joyfully accept the amnesty which fascism would probably issue in such a situation and dash home to become enthusiastic defenders of the fatherland.

In another war the Second International would collapse still more shamefully than it did in 1914. And yet Vandervelde feels that war is the only salvation. This might be right in the sense that the bourgeoisie in all countries would be prepared to accept the services of the social democracy, whereas at the moment and in a number of countries it refuses to do so. But such a situation means the end of the Second International completely. But Vandervelde is not prepared to write: "It is finished!" for as long as he lives he will attempt to serve the bourgeoisie. And therefore we also must not write it and consider the history of the Second International at an end, although we know that, historically considered, its fate is sealed, because this fate can only finally be consummated with our active assistance.

Even to-day the Second International is striving to win the workers with the cunningest methods. The "Neue Vorwaerts" declares that the social democracy abandons all claim to the leadership of the German workers; it wants to do no more than give good advice and tell the workers how **not** to do it. So to speak, it wants to continue to exist as a horrible example. But we have heard this story before. That was just the way Stampfer, until recently the editor of the "Vorwaerts," wrote to the workers' councils in November, 1918. He, too, wanted nothing, only to draw conclusions from the sad events and give good advice. As long as these people put themselves forward as a warning example they are still dangerous. They will cease to be dangerous when the proletariat itself puts them in the stocks as a warning example.

Politics

The Morgan Investigation

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

"One of the most democratic republics in the world is the U.S., and yet it can be seen nowhere more clearly than in that country . . . power is in the hands of a little group of millionaires who control the whole of society brutally and with open corruption. When capital exists, it controls the whole of society, and no democratic republic and no general franchise can alter the essence of this state of affairs."—Lenin, July 11, 1919.

J. P. Morgan & Co. has been investigated by a Senate Committee—for the second time in the past twenty years. The previous investigation by the Pujo Committee in 1913 showed the dominant position of this firm and its associated companies in the life of the country. The present hearings, although restricted and blocked at every turn by agents of the international bankers both within and outside the Committee, has proved conclusively that there has been a vast extension of the power of this financial octopus. It has exposed the widespread economical and political ramifications of this power, and the united front of the great bankers and industrialists—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Dupont, etc.—with the politicians in every phase of governmental activity.

Despite the most shocking scandals, the widespread bribery of government officials (from Roosevelt's closest clique down), the wholesale looting of billions from various corporations, nothing is done to the Morgans and their ilk. Vague suggestions are made about changing the law somewhat, so as to pretend to make "legal" crookedness and robbery more difficult. As a result of the investigation, even sections of the capitalist press are virtually forced to state that the government is the organ of Wall Street. But bourgeois democracy, and not merely Morgan, was being so clearly exposed that it became necessary to tone down the investigation after a while and finally to stop it in the middle.

A Senator, Neely, stated that "no matter which Party wins

an election, the House of Morgan wins. They have made it almost impossible for a President to appoint a Cabinet of which every member will be free of Morgan obligation and the influence of Morgan power . . . a brazen attempt to bribe on a nation-wide scale those most influential in the industrial, financial, and political life of the nation." Despite Roosevelt's strictures upon the money-changers, the investigation showed that his closest advisors and appointees were directly in the pay of Morgan.

Let us first see how Morgan—and this applies to all the confraternity—does business. He organised the **United Corporation** early in 1929 as a holding company to control other **public utility** holding companies. He added gas and electric companies until they now supply over 22 per cent. of the country's gas and electricity and serve a population of 55,000,000, or nearly half the total, exacting tribute from them through exorbitant rates. The U.C. is a dummy corporation, with practically no officers, and the books kept and cheques signed in Morgan's office. He paid 22.50 dollars for a share of its stock, which sold a month later for 67 dollars, and he bought hundreds of thousands of shares. He got 1,714,000 option warrants, paying a dollar each, which enabled him to purchase the common stock at 27.50 dollars, at a time when it was worth 68 dollars a share. Bonbright & Co., a Morgan utilities associate, bought one million warrants, and their joint profits were 108,000,000 dollars a month later. In organising the U.C. Morgan deposited securities worth 70,000,000 dollars, which were valued on the books at 53,000,000 dollars higher, giving him that much extra profit; he also deposited 20,000,000 dollars in cash, for which he received securities worth 107,000,000 dollars. The money of the small investors was thus absorbed through these crooked deals, and electric rates raised. In two years the Morgan Co. loaned the U.C. over 100,000,000 dollars, on which he made plenty of interest. Later Morgan permitted a large list of politicians and fellow-bankers and industrialists to buy U.C. stock at well below the current market price, making large profits at once. This was merely, on the one hand, a form of bribery and, on the other, a means of robbing the small speculator and stockholder.

To take another deal. Morgan had the **Van Sweringen brothers** acquire for him a great network of **railroads** which he controlled by a complicated pyramiding of holding companies that crashed in the 1929 crisis. In 1916 the Van Sweringens bought from the New York Central Railway the Nickel Plate Railway for 8,500,000 dollars. They paid 2,000,000 dollars cash, borrowing it from a Cleveland bank headed by one of the gang. Then they sold non-voting preferred stock to the public to get the money to repay the bank, using none of their own. The notes for the other 6,500,000 dollars were taken up by Morgan's Guaranty Trust Co. Later they acquired a number of other railroads, some of them already controlled by Morgan and his associates, paying fantastic prices at times. For example, in getting control of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway they used the Nickel Plate Securities Corporation (a holding company they controlled) to buy 3,000 shares of the C. and O. stock at 565 dollars a share, buying it from a relative of one of the organisers of the railroad. At the very same time the Nickel Plate Railway was buying 70,000 shares of the same stock at 80 dollars a share. Their lawyer was N. D. Baker, Democratic Secretary of War under Wilson, and an associate was J. R. Nutt, treasurer of the Republican Party National Committee. Fifteen per cent. of the stock of the C. and O. Railway was enough for control. None of their own money was put up, the Van Sweringens admitted on the stand, all of it coming from the "public" or from Morgan, who ordered them to buy the railroad. Immediately thereafter millions of dollars were spent on "improvements," the equipment being purchased from Morgan companies, including the American Car and Foundry Co., headed by Woodin, Secretary of the Treasurer.

Later, control of the Erie Railway was bought from Morgan's associate in the First National Bank, George F. Baker, at exorbitant prices, and other railroads followed, with Morgan raking in huge profits on every transaction. The Van Sweringens borrowed large sums from two Cleveland banks, which closed in the bank moratorium in March and never reopened, with these loans unpaid. Nutt is head of one of these banks.

The Van Sweringens admitted they organised a dozen holding companies, some for the express purpose of cheating the government out of millions of dollars of income taxes, and all to manipulate more millions out of the public. One railroad they bought was the Missouri Pacific, which got a 23,000,000 dollars loan from

the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (R.F.C.) just before the railroad went bankrupt, and when both the bankers and the R.F.C. knew it was broke. This loan was practically ordered by Morgan, whose henchmen control the R.F.C.

One of the last holding companies organised by Morgan was the **Alleghany Corporation**, whose stock was up to 106 dollars or more, and is now selling at 2 dollars a share. It controlled all the Van Sweringen railroads by ownership of less than 10 per cent. of their stock, and the bankers milked these roads, passing on the cost to the passengers, shippers, and workers through increased rates, wage-cuts, lay-offs, etc. Morgan bought from the Alleghany Corporation 1,250,000 shares of stock, selling 500,000 to his Guaranty Trust Co. and 575,000 to the politicians and bankers on his "preferred" lists. The latter got it at 20 dollars a share, when the market price was 35.37 dollars.

Let us now look at these preferred lists. They consist of selected politicians and office-holders to be bribed or rewarded for past services, of Morgan partners and business associates, and often of competitors (Rockefeller men, and others). They were permitted to buy at prices way below the market stock in half a dozen Morgan-controlled companies. If we group some of these "friends" according to political position, we find in the group of presidents and vice-presidents **Coolidge**, **Hoover**, and **Dawes**. Coolidge got a bribe of 36,000 dollars while head of the National Transportation Commission (after leaving the presidency), which was in a position to do Morgan roads many favours. Among its recommendations was one for wage-cuts for railroad workers. George Whitney, Morgan partner, testified that Cochrane, another partner, "was always a close friend of his" (Coolidge). Hoover's partner and personal financial representative, E. Rickard, was also on Morgan's lists, Dawes borrowed 75,000 dollars from Morgan.

In the Treasury Department, past and present, we find the secretary, **Woodin**, his under-secretary, **D. Acheson**, and the lawyer for the department, the three leading officials. Woodin was the head of the Morgan-controlled railroad and equipment companies, is a close personal friend and adviser of Roosevelt and was the second largest contributor to his election campaign fund. In answer to the disclosures of the Investigating Committee, Roosevelt defiantly invited Woodin to go fishing with him. Acheson's law partner is another on Morgan's lists. **S. Parker Gilbert**, ex-under-secretary of the treasury, is now a partner of J. P. Morgan & Co. As agent-general for German reparations, he was a Morgan "salesman," forcing a cut in social insurance benefits for the German masses to ensure payments to the international bankers under the Young Plan. **R. B. Mellon**, brother of the ex-secretary of the treasury Andrew Mellon, is another recipient of Morgan favours; likewise **Senator MacAdoo**, ex-secretary of the treasury, financial adviser to Roosevelt, and member of the very committee investigating Morgan and the other bankers. **Leffingwell**, assistant secretary under MacAdoo, and now a Morgan partner, is on the lists. **H. C. Couch**, director of the R.F.C. and head of a number of power companies controlled by Morgan, is the political boss of Sen. Robinson, Democratic leader of the Senate. He is adviser to Roosevelt on public utility matters.

In the State Department we find **N. H. Davis**, Roosevelt's Ambassador-at-Large to Europe, who borrowed 75,000 dollars from Morgan to buy stock in one of his banks (Bank of New York and Trust Co.) in order to become a director of it. He is still in debt to Morgan. Representative Hamilton Fish charges this beauty with being a fugitive from justice in Cuba, under indictment. The U.S. Supreme Court characterised Davis as a crook, a participant in land swindles in Cuba in 1904. There is **R. W. Morrison**, member of the American delegation to the London Economic Conference, heavy contributor to Roosevelt's campaign fund, and director in Morgan railroads. **J. I. Strauss**, Ambassador to France and close adviser to Roosevelt, is also one of Morgan's "friends." He is head of Macy's, one of New York's largest department stores, whose officials have benefited from Morgan deals. **F. L. Polk**, ex-assistant secretary of state and later member of the American Reparations Commission, is now a member of Morgan's law firm. **R. E. Olds**, ex-under secretary of state, is another name on the preferred lists. He tried in 1927 to involve the U.S.S.R. in trouble with Mexico through the circulation of forged documents. John W. Davis, ex-ambassador to England, is head of Morgan's law firm and was counsel to him in the investigation.

Among others high in recent governments are **N. D. Baker**, Democratic ex-secretary of war and lawyer for the Van Sweringens, and **C. F. Adams**, Republican ex-secretary of the navy. Adams wrote Morgan on February 8, 1929, after being offered the cabinet appointment: "As you know, I have signed on (accepted appointment—A. G. B.). I see no reason why this should interfere with this bit of investment." Among the judges accepting this delicate form of bribery are **O. J. Roberts**, of the U.S. Supreme Court and prosecutor of the Rockefeller Teapot Dome crooks, and two judges of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The Senators include **MacAdoo** and **Kean** (both members of the Investigating Committee), and ex-Senator **Pepper**, also a Congressman who is an oil millionaire.

Some more important politicians are the following, who illustrate Morgan's impartiality towards both parties. We find **J. J. Raskob**, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and head of Morgan and Dupont's General Motors Co. Raskob answered Morgan's invitation to the trough by writing that he hoped the future would give him "an opportunity to reciprocate." **J. R. Nutt**, then treasurer of the Republican National Committee (associate and banker of the Van Sweringens), and **C. N. Bliss**, his predecessor as Republican treasurer, represent some prominent members of the other party. **Hilles**, head of the Republican Party in New York State, and his predecessor, **Machold**, also held out their hands. They are both bankers now and utilities officials. The political boss of Connecticut, **Roraback**, was among those chosen who answered the call. Included among the miscellaneous small fry are **Pershing**, head of the U.S. armies in the world war, and **Col. Lindbergh**, air hero and son-in-law of a Morgan partner.

Of the business men, there is **S. Strawn**, ex-president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and political adviser of Roosevelt, **O. D. Young**, head of Morgan's General Electric and chief Roosevelt backer in the elections, and **C. E. Mitchell**, head of the National City Bank. **B. Baruch**, acting secretary of state in the absence of Hull at London, is another of Roosevelt's advisers, and head of the War Industries Board during the world war. He is a Morgan associate and was the largest contributor to Roosevelt's campaign fund. He now controls Johnson, Roosevelt's industrial dictator, and Peek, the farm dictator. Some of Rockefeller's men on the Morgan lists were **Teagle**, head of Standard Oil of New Jersey, **Albert Wiggin**, previously head of the Chase Bank, and **Arthur Woods**, head of the Rockefeller Centre and Hoover's unemployment relief administrator. There are also a number of Mellon's men. University professors, financial editors of newspapers and big publishers partook of the big fellow's largesse.

Let us now give something of a picture of the Morgan empire. The twenty partners are directors in 89 banks and corporations with assets of over 20,000,000,000 dollars, according to an estimate in the capitalist press. These 89 companies have 537 other directors serving on 2,305 other companies. The name of a Morgan partner or director in a Morgan company may be assumed to mean his domination. These figures are doubtless an under-estimation. These directorships are distributed mostly among industrial corporations, not banks, with railroads a close third.

	Assets
38 industrial corporations, of which 29 have	\$6,038,000,000
15 banks, with	3,811,000,000
10 railroads, with	3,437,000,000
5 public utility holding companies, with ..	3,404,000,000
8 public utility operating companies, with..	2,818,000,000
6 insurance companies, of which 5 have ..	337,000,000
7 miscellaneous holding companies	84,000,000
—	—
89	\$19,929,000,000
—	—

This shows only the direct participation by Morgan and his partners. Their less direct control and domination are far greater, through stock ownership, loans, deposits, etc. Senator Costigan stated that the Pujo Investigation showed that through interlocking directorates Morgan was represented on corporations controlling 22,000,000,000 dollars of assets. He quoted Lewis Corey, an authority on Morgan, as estimating that he now "influenced" 274,000,000,000 dollars.

(To be concluded.)

Germany

How the Position of the Fight Stands in Germany

(Conclusion)

The situation of the proletariat is decisive for the whole of Germany's internal development. On the basis of numerous reports from all parts of the country and on the basis of our own observations we can say that in comparison with March and April the situation in the ranks of the working class has changed considerably. The retreat which the working class was compelled to beat in that period has come to a stop. The class front has been re-formed and at many points new encounters with the enemy have taken place. The spirit of panic which was fairly widespread in March and April and the defeatism which was carried into the ranks of the workers chiefly by the social-fascist leaders have disappeared almost everywhere and given place to a new fighting spirit. The tendency of masses of workers to join the fascists has not only come to a stop, but it is even being transformed into the exact opposite.

The attitude of the Communist Party was decisive for the change which has taken place in the situation of the working class. In March the Communist Party also was compelled to beat a retreat because with the advance guard of the working class alone it was not in a position to take up the struggle against fascism. This retreat caused tremendous sacrifices and caused a feeling of deep depression amongst the masses. But it was a retreat in order to gather the Communist forces afresh, to re-form the fighting front and take up the struggle anew. That is the decisive factor in the situation. The rank and file of the Party members grasped the necessity and correctness of this strategy comparatively quickly, and the understanding of the broad masses of the working class for the situation grew quickly as soon as the Communist Party again entered the arena. The masses of the anti-fascist workers found a hold in the unshakeable firmness of the Communist Party, through the Party they were able to obtain clearness about the situation, the prospects and their present tasks. Every Communist leaflet, every number of the illegal newspapers was greeted with enthusiasm and studied avidly. The masses welcomed every sign which told them, the Communist Party is still alive, it is continuing the fight!

It would be foolish to attempt to conceal the heavy losses we have suffered. Between 60,000 and 70,000 persons have been arrested and a good three-quarters of this number are Communists or persons sympathising with Communism. In some districts the fourth or fifth new committees are at work, all the previous ones having been arrested. In many districts, and particularly in the smaller towns, the Communist workers are constantly with one foot in prison or in the concentration camps. Our comrades have been combed out of the factories, etc., in great numbers and at the Labour Exchanges they have been refused support. Every day the fascist terror tears new gaps in our ranks, but the terror has not broken the Party and will not succeed in breaking it, no matter how it may rage. We have new committees in great numbers, although they very often lack sufficient practical experience. We are faced with the necessity of continually finding new methods of struggle and work. We can observe how thousands of new forces are coming forward in the struggle. It is a splendid sign for the firmness of the Party when in an agrarian district like Mecklenburg over 70 per cent. of our branches (mostly in the small towns and villages) have been built up again and are at work. It is a sign of the ideological maturity of the Party that all the attempts of the class enemy to demoralise its ranks have been unsuccessful, and that such a difficult manoeuvre as the retreat in March and April could be carried out without confusion.

The struggle for the decisive sections of the working class is the most important part of the struggle between fascism and Communism. It is true that, outwardly at least, the N.S.B.O. (National Socialist Factory Organisation) has been able to get a

considerable section of the working class into its ranks. However, only a very small section of the membership is actually National Socialist, whilst the majority have little or no relation to fascism. In addition, the ferment in the N.S.B.O. is increasing rapidly. The illusions that fascism would mean higher wages and better working conditions have almost disappeared. The rise in the prices of daily necessities has caused mass discontent. The new taxes, the contributions to the N.S.B.O., the daily collections for all sorts of National Socialist organisations are causing increasing resentment. The continual parades, appeals, etc., are wearing out the enthusiasm of the N.S.B.O. members, the majority of whom would like to take off their brown shirts for good and throw their badges in the dustbin, but they are afraid that they would then be dismissed from their jobs and perhaps hauled off to a concentration camp. This growing ferment has caused the Nazi leaders to organise "a general cleaning," but this will not counter the general wave of discontent which is being fed from new sources every day. During the next few months Hitler has to keep his promises to the employers and carry out general wage reductions; the resultant intensified discontent will make the basis for our work in the N.S.B.O. still more favourable.

However, the decisive sections of the working masses are not in the ranks of the N.S.B.O. These masses are largely made up of those millions of social-democratic, reformist trade unionists, and members of the Reichsbanner who have been left leaderless by the collapse of the Social Democratic Party and who are now aimlessly hanging between fascism and Communism. For these masses a whole ideological world has collapsed. They abuse the social-democratic leaders roundly for their treachery and cowardice, and are readily prepared to admit that the whole policy of the S.D.P. was wrong, but they are still full of old social-democratic illusions. However, it is a fact that during the last few weeks, under the double pressure of the hopeless collapse of the S.D.P. and the new advance of the Communist Party, the revolutionary tendencies amongst these masses have been rapidly on the increase. The cases in which social-democratic factory officials have approached us with a view to building up a joint factory cell are rapidly increasing, as also are the cases where whole branches of the old S.D.P. have approached us and place themselves at our disposal for revolutionary work. The **Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the social-democratic workers**, which was published in the June number of the illegal "Rote Fahne" and distributed in mass leaflet form, came at just the right moment and has done much to advance our work on this field.

In the past the great weakness of our work was in the factories and in the trade unions, and it is here that we still have the biggest tasks to perform. Our work is made more difficult by the fact that thousands of Communist workers are still being flung out of the factories, numerous factory cells destroyed, and numerous positions in the factories and the trade unions lost. In some factories, however, we have been able to defend our positions successfully. We have been able to organise resistance to the arrest of Communist fellow-workers and Communist shop stewards, to organise small struggles for wages and other factory questions, and even to organise political strikes for the release of Thaelmann and the other arrested anti-fascists. In March and April it was practically impossible for a Communist to open his mouth in the factories, but now discussions are the order of the day. The discussions are growing in extent and vehemence, and the members of the N.S.B.O. and even the members of the fascist storm Detachments cannot keep out of them. In March and April they would simply have caused the immediate arrest of the comrades in question; but to-day, whilst such a thing still

occurs, it is growing seldom. The spirit of the masses in the factories has changed and the Nazis are growing more cautious. The supporters of the Nazis join in the discussions and very often their criticisms are sharper and more violent than the criticisms of the others.

The same change of feeling which has taken place in the factories can also be observed in the trade unions. The masses of the reformist trade unionists and the social-democratic workers who formerly took up a brusque and hostile attitude to their Communist fellow-workers now regard each Communist as a natural ally and look to him for leadership and guidance. Where our fractions are working well we have already had a number of successes, but for the most part our fractions are still too weak. The winning of the masses of the social-democratic workers is therefore of decisive importance. Up to the present we have not been strong enough to lead the masses to make a breach in the "labour peace" established by the fascists and to ignore their strike prohibition, but it is a fact that during the past few weeks the number of strikes and smaller actions have definitely increased. In the coming weeks the situation will be still more favourable.

The situation amongst the masses of the unemployed workers is difficult to estimate. There have been a number of smaller anti-fascist actions, but nothing on a mass scale. The illusions created amongst the unemployed masses by Hitler's promises have not yet been completely shed, and the repeated "labour schemes" of the Nazis are intended to keep these illusions alive and create new ones. Only after a few months, when the complete breakdown of all the Nazi schemes and promises becomes obvious to all, can any real intensification of the situation in the ranks of the unemployed be expected. The fascist "labour camps" are springing out of the earth all over the country like mushrooms after rain, and the younger and more active sections of the unemployed are being sent into them. It is one of our tasks to penetrate into these camps, and there are a thousand possibilities for our work there: bad food, brutal treatment, military drill and subordination, etc.

When we examine the situation in Germany as a whole on the basis of the reports from the various sectors of the front we can piece together a picture which must give us the firm hope of future victory. We want neither to minimise the strength of the enemy nor the magnitude of our own tasks, but we observe the rapid development which has taken place since March and April and the tremendous possibilities which are opening up for us. The Nazis are well aware that their possibilities of further manoeuvres and further demagogic deceptions are limited. They expect themselves, as Hitler frankly admitted in a speech before the representatives of German trust capital, that a new intensification of the economic and social crisis will take place. Therefore, after having liquidated all their rival bourgeois parties, they have opened up a new offensive against Communism. This means that the Communist Party and the whole of the class-conscious proletariat is faced with a new heavy task, but we withstood the tremendous test of the March-April offensive, and that gives us the firm confidence that we shall withstand the next Nazi offensive and that we shall advance rapidly in the coming struggles.

"Brothers" in Need

A Fascist Barrage of Lies against the Soviet Union

By St. (Moscow)

A campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union unparalleled in its scurrility and unscrupulousness is at present proceeding in fascist Germany, the country of hangmen and gallows, the country of mass impoverishment and mass misery. Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels, who organised the burning of the Reichstag and at the same time declared their handiwork to be the crime of the Communists, are now daily inventing new and shameless lies about the Soviet Union and in particular about the situation of the German-speaking peasants in **Ukrainia, Northern Caucasus, and on the Volga.** "A million Germans on the Volga threatened with death by starvation," "The literal extermination of the German minority" this and many other such flaring titles are used by the "Voelkischer Beobachter" in referring to the Soviet Union. The "Voelkischer Beobachter" is the chief organ of the party which abandoned the Germans in Southern Tyrol

to fascist Italy without the tremour of an eyelid. "The peasants in the Soviet Union are starving," lies the "Ring," the organ of the Herren Klub, the club of von Papen and the aristocrats of Germany. "Starvation and mass deaths in the Soviet Union" howl the organs of the German Press, now all broken in to Hitlerism. The crowning infamy, however, is the issue of a pamphlet which purports to contain authentic documents and letters concerning the situation in the Soviet Union. In reality this pamphlet is a tissue of lies and forgeries from beginning to end. This pamphlet bears the title under which an equally hypocritical "relief action" accompanied by numerous meetings and speeches of incitement is being conducted, "**Brothers in Need!**"

In order to judge the character of the present campaign it is very instructive to recall the fate of a similar campaign run under the same slogan in 1929, when the fact that small groups of formerly rich German peasants left the Soviet Union was exploited to the utmost by the anti-Soviet press. The newspaper writers who had been clamouring for weeks about "impoverished, hungry, ragged, and miserable human beings" were not a little astonished when they finally saw the emigrated peasants face to face in the camps which were opened up by the German government at the cost of the German taxpayer. The special reporter of the "**Frankfurter Zeitung,**" who visited one of these camps, wrote on the 2nd December, 1929:—

"The first impression was better than one would have expected. The clothing and footwear of the peasants were all in good condition and they had considerable quantities of luggage with them and many trunks. The girls of the party wore hats and not the coloured kerchiefs which are usual amongst the Russian peasant women. The emigrants declared that they were not in the least hungry; they had lived on the way from the provender they had brought with them, and in Moscow they had received so much bread on their bread cards that it had lasted them for the whole journey."

This impression had to be confirmed by other German newspapers, and the German Ambassador in Moscow, **von Dirksen,** protested against the incitement being conducted in Germany. In a secret report to the German government he reported:—

"When considering the complaints which come to Germany it must not be forgotten that the majority of them come from the upper sections of the German colonists, i.e., not from the majority of the German population. It has been reported to me by competent observers that in contradiction to these upper sections the poorer German peasants are well on the way to making their peace with the Soviet government and making the best of the collectivisation. In my opinion, therefore, it is only that section of the better-off German colonists who have determined to leave the country for good."

Even according to the admissions of the German press and of von Dirksen, the emigration was no emigration of misery, but the emigration of "real big-peasants and their sons," the emigration of "rosy-faced women in good health," the emigration of persons "from the upper sections of the German colonists" or, to put it in plainer language, the emigration of small groups of kulaks who were unwilling to abandon their exploiting proclivities. That was all that was left of the "Brothers in Need!" campaign of 1929. That was the end of the lying incitement about the "Mass Starvation of German Peasants."

However, it must be remembered that Hitler once declared in a moment of extreme frankness that the agitation of the National Socialists must be based on the minds of the most stupid in the community. Hitler is obviously convinced that he will always be able to find sufficient fools to believe any old long-refuted swindle providing that it is dished up to them again with sufficient insolence. That is the principle of the present campaign. It is already clear that this campaign will end as miserably as its predecessor ended. On June 24, 1933, the completely fascist "**Berliner Boersen Zeitung**" published a long article, entitled "**The Crisis of Russian Agriculture.**" After a series of slanderous allegations concerning an allegedly existing "acute shortage of food," it wrote:—

"The individual peasants are hit most hardly by this shortage, and particularly the German colonists in **Soviet Ukrainia** who have mostly remained **individual peasants** and who have fought as long as possible against their inclusion in the collective farms."

It is not true that the German colonists in Ukraina have mostly opposed entering the collective farms. In Ukraina 70 per cent of all the former individual peasant farms are now organised in collective farms, and in the most important grain areas up to 100 per cent. The percentage of the collectivisation in the German colonies is not lower than in the surrounding areas. In the Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans, where the German population is most compact and which is at the same time the chief object of the fascist anti-Soviet campaign of incitement, no less than 95 per cent. of all the former individual peasant farms are now organised in collective farms and these farms were responsible for sowing 93 per cent. of the total area prepared in the last spring sowings campaign. To-day there are only such elements who have been expelled for incurable laziness or sabotage, and kulaks who have been refused admission, who are not members of the collective farms. The admission of the "Berliner Boersen Zeitung" that it is these elements who are hit by the supposed shortage of food, these very few individual peasants, is very interesting.

The kulaks represent only a fraction of the peasants of German origin in the Soviet Union. Only very few of the German colonists have been deprived of the right to elect to the Soviets because they belong to exploiting sections of the community, or because they did until quite recently. This small fraction, these are the opponents of collectivisation of whom the "Berliner Boersen Zeitung" speaks. As individual peasants they have to pay higher taxes than the collective peasants, and if they are kulaks they have to pay more than ever. The "Berliner Boersen Zeitung" writes: "For the kulaks the agricultural tax is 200 per cent. more than the normal tax." They have to deliver up a higher percentage of the yield per hectare and they enjoy none of the advantages of the collective peasants. The proletarian State does not help them in purchasing machinery, animals, etc., as it helps the collective peasants. They are the enemies of the Soviet power and the latter fights against them as such.

It is obviously no fortuitous occurrence that the German fascists cause members of this little group of anti-Soviet kulaks to write them "hunger letters." They are flesh of each other's flesh. They have common interests. The fascists in Germany and the kulaks in the Soviet Union are the enemies of the working class and of the working peasantry. For the German fascists the tremendous successes of the work of socialist construction in industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union are a threatening menetekel.

German fascism is seeking a way out of its increasing difficulties, out of the intensifying economic crisis in a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. "Room in the East!" is the slogan of Hitler and Rosenberg. "New territory in Russia!" was the demand of Hugenberg at the World Economic Conference in London.

"Brothers in Need!" It is true, the brothers of the fascists in the Soviet Union are in urgent need of assistance, but should the German fascists try to come to their assistance by means of an armed intervention, then the Red Army, including the German peasants themselves and the workers of the world, will give them an uncompromising answer!

Prevent Arson Being Followed by Murder

Appeal of the E.C. of the I.R.A.

To the Toilers of All Countries!

Berlin, 10th July.

German fascism is beginning to carry out the second part of the vile provocations commenced by setting the Reichstag on fire.

At the Supreme Court in Leipzig the curtain will be raised amidst the savage howls of fascist propaganda. Fascist reaction is creating a pogrom atmosphere against the revolutionary fighters!

Meanwhile the Storm Troops continue to torture Torgler, to keep Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev in chains. Frightful tortures have been applied in the effort to extort "confessions" from them.

By means of torturing their victims, the fascist incendiaries and provocateurs are attempting to bring forward again the fairy tale, already exposed in the eyes of the whole world, that not they, but the Communists, set the Reichstag on fire.

They must not and they will not succeed in this!

German fascism cannot possibly clear itself of the crime of

27th February. Nor is it able to wash its hands of the blood of the thousands of workers tortured to death, of the thousands beaten and maltreated, nor to wipe off the guilt of the provocative death sentences against the proletarians in Altona and Chemnitz.

The rulers of the "Third Reich" are preventing the defence of the defendants, they are threatening the German lawyers with reprisals if they undertake the defence of the tortured prisoners, they will not permit the defence to be undertaken by the foreign lawyers ready to defend Torgler and the Bulgarian political emigrants. They tremble at the idea that the real facts may come to light. The incendiary Göring considers that he may feel safe only if out and out fascists conduct the "defence" of the prisoners. Incendiaries are to be the judges, incendiaries are to be the "defending counsel," incendiaries are to pronounce sentence!

But they will deceive nobody! Already workers' and intellectuals' delegations are coming forward in many countries, elected by the masses, ready to undertake the active defence of the victims of Hitler terror.

While the juridical comedy is beginning in Leipzig, the toilers of the whole world will place German fascism in the prisoner's dock. In millions they will gather round the heroically struggling German proletariat, the victims of the unheard-of fascist Terror. In meetings and demonstrations they will pronounce their verdict on Hitler and Göring, who placed the incendiary torch in the hands of their mercenary van der Lubbe.

Toilers! Unmask, stigmatise, and prevent the criminal juridical murder which is being planned!

Force the exposure of the bloody methods employed in the examination of the prisoners. Demand that all the details of the examinations be made public, demand the names of the brutal fascist warders who torture the prisoners.

Demand energetically that defending counsel chosen by the defendants themselves be permitted to undertake the defence!

Demand the release of the defendants and of all political prisoners! Down with Fascism and White Terror! Long live international proletarian solidarity!

E.C. of the I.R.A.

From the Appeal of the C.P. of Germany

Socialist Action for Freedom!

Comrades, workers, toilers in town and country!

Raise high the red flags! Rally everywhere, join your forces, proceed to the counter-attack! The impudent abortion of blood, lies and corruption, the fascist capital dictatorship is furiously shouting in order to appease their capitalist wirepullers and their grumbling followers: "The Commune is dead, the C.P. of Germany no longer exists."

We can only laugh at you, you murderers of hostages, you sadistic "flower of the nation," you lackeys of Krupp and Siemens, you lackeys of Mussolini and MacDonald, you grovelling politicians of the fulfilment of the Versailles Treaty.

The C.P. of Germany is organising and guiding the class struggle. The Communists in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges are issuing their battle-cry:—

Workers of Germany! Combine your forces for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of the capitalists!

This is now the slogan of all Communist, social-democratic and Christian workers, of all anti-fascists, no matter to which camp they formerly belonged.

A great wave to unite in the class struggle, in the struggle of resistance, a wave of indignation against the fascist capitalist mercenaries is sweeping through the country.

The workers in the factories see what this national "Socialism" means, which fixes usurious prices for fat, taxes bachelors, cuts wages, officially proclaims the employer to be "master in the factory," and tries to persuade the hungry worker, who does not own a nail of it all, that these are "his" factories and machines. The proletarians know perfectly well that the N.S.B.O. secretaries, the trade union commissars, and the whole bureaucracy who grow fat on the workers' pennies, who travel only by aeroplanes, motor cars, and first-class passenger trains, are a pack of employers' lackeys who are now to assist in the carrying out of fresh wage-cuts.

The starving unemployed realise that the Nazi government wishes to deceive the toiling people by means of false statistics and "provision of work." Deep into the ranks of the Storm

Troops indignation has seized the masses on account of Hitler's obvious swindle that he is out to provide work. The factory workers and the unemployed know very well why Dr. Ley, the bureaucrat, has announced a fresh "cleansing action" in all the factories. They have heard of Göbbels' plan, who wishes to make room in the factories for hundreds of thousands of Storm Troopers at the cost of the class-conscious workers; they see how the Nazi bureaucrats, under the leadership of the Minister of Labour, are conferring with the employers in order to set in the brown black-leg army for ensuring wage cuts in the factories.

For the millions of unemployed, and for those who are being dismissed, compulsory labour service camps are provided, and, later, aerial bombs, poison gas shells, and mass graves. This is their provision of work. They wish to convert every factory, by means of the Storm Troops, into a compulsory labour camp, with reduced wages and salaries and subjected to military discipline.

Workers in the factories! The attacks upon wages began with the taxes on margarine, with fresh customs duties and taxes. The capitalist offensive is to be carried out still more sharply by means of the "minimum wage," wages according to work performed, fresh speeding-up, and a general prohibition of strikes. The right to elect your representatives has been taken from you. You have only to obey commands.

Trade union comrades! You have been robbed of your trade union premises, your funds, your property, but not a penny has been taken from the millionaires. The Nazi bureaucrats are growing fat from your pennies. With your money war is being prepared and civil war waged against you already. You are completely deprived of the right of self-determination in the organisations you built up.

Chemical workers and civil servants! You are now seeing that your salaries are being more and more reduced; the fascist dictatorship deprived you of your elected representatives and impudently declared that your best friend is your superior—who intimidates and bullies you, and denounces you in order to secure your victimisation or dismissal.

Small traders and shopkeepers! You witnessed that 2,000 million of marks subventions disappeared into the safes of the big industrialists. You can now walk with your fat tickets from one authority to the other, no treasury office compensates you for them. You are called upon to pay the taxes for the year 1934 in advance. You have brought Hitler to power in order that he should help you in your misery. But now your means of existence are still more reduced and completely destroyed.

Peasants! You witnessed that 2,500 millions of marks Eastern Relief disappeared into the pockets of the big agrarians. You are in vain hoping for the realisation of Hitler's promises, cancellation of taxes, abolition of debts, reduction of tenants' fees, removal of interest slavery and the usurious prices of the syndicates.

All the toilers, workers, employees, citizens, and peasants are now witnessing the collapse of the Nazi lies. They not only perceive that in Germany the rotten capitalist exploiting system has remained, but they all now realise that misery and crisis are aggravating and continually growing:—

Versailles remains in force, Hitler is enforcing the payment of tributes, export is declining, Schacht is proclaiming a moratorium, The purchasing power of the masses is sinking, inflation is at the door!

After Hitler, Bolshevism is bound to come, and the Soviet star will rise victoriously over the wreck of the Hitler dictatorship.

Social-democratic workers and young workers! The "Open Letter calling for the Unity of the Working Class" is the brotherly hand stretched out by the Communists. If you will now unite with us and fight with us, then we shall soon have settled with Hitler and the employers.

Break your connection with Wels, who insulted the Communists as "provocateurs" and "Hitler's assistants" because on July 20, 1932, and January 30, 1933, they proposed a general strike against the fascist bandits.

Break your connections with Löbe, who declared that the social-democratic fraction voted on May 17 for Hitler's programme of the annihilation of Marxism and his Versailles fulfilment policy "out of innermost conviction."

Break your connection with Leipart, who after the "unification" of the trade unions offered to the hangmen's government the support of the trade unions and called upon you to join the

demonstration of the Nazis together with the employers on May first.

Break your connections with Höltermann, the leader of the Reichsbanner, who bargained away whole branches of the Reichsbanner to the German nationalist fighting league because Hugenberg was the "lesser evil" for the social democracy.

Only a fool can hope that the social democracy will return to the class struggle. No worker should let himself be deceived because Hitler has now suppressed the social democratic party; the social democracy is a party of the defence of the capitalist system. The social democratic policy is a policy of the struggle against Marxism, against Communism; it is the policy of splitting the working class and preventing the proletarian revolution.

Workers, social-democratic comrades, you have for such a long time adhered to the policy of the social democracy, you have kept the discipline of your party. Now you see the result of 20 years of social-democratic policy: the most bloody dictatorship of capital is chastising you with scorpions. You social-democratic workers have a great responsibility and duty: to break definitely with the anti-labour policy of the social democracy, to help overcome as quickly as possible the split in the working class and to set up the united fighting front with the Communists for the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship until the victory of the revolution and Socialism.

We are therefore organising together with you and with all anti-fascist workers the

Socialist Action for Freedom,

against terror, hunger and war-danger, for the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship, for the struggle for bread and work, freedom, peace and Socialism.

We appeal to all workers, employees and officials, to all exploited and oppressed, to all those who wish to bring about Socialism and who have been deceived by the national socialists. We propose the following fighting demands:—

(1) **Immediate relief action for all anti-fascist prisoners,** by means of the mass struggle against the fascist terror and murder justice, by solidarity actions for our brothers threatened by death sentences and mishandling.

(2) **Organise strikes in all factories** against the robbery of wages, the usury in food prices, the imposition of taxes and the drive for inflation; for wage increases in accordance with higher prices; for shorter working hours, with full wage compensation. Convert the trade unions into class organisations of the proletariat, protect your functionaries against denunciation and victimisation.

(3) **At all Labour Exchanges** wage a mass struggle against the cuts in unemployment benefit, for higher rates of benefit and a free supply of bread, potatoes, coal, clothes and homes.

(4) **Launch a mass struggle against the war mongers,** against the militarisation of the factories, against compulsory labour service. Make the 1st of August a day of anti-war demonstrations.

(5) **Protect the Soviet Union against the war plans of the Hitler government,** defend your socialist fatherland, spread everywhere the slogan: "Hands off the Soviet Union!"

If we wait quietly and cherish the false hope that "Hitler will make a mess of things," then the Nazi pack will drive Germany into catastrophe, inflation, and bloody war. We want to make an end of Hitler by the force of our class struggle, we proclaim Germany's salvation by means of the anti-fascist class struggle, from catastrophe, permanent civil war and a fresh world war.

We submit our fighting proposals to the millions of workers and unemployed by declaring to them: you have nothing to lose but your chains, but you have a whole world to win: **Socialism** by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

We call upon the millions of employees and officials who are compelled to keep their mouths shut, who are starved and trodden down, and declare to them: Only Socialism, as Marx, Engels, and Lenin taught us, will create a future in which we can live as human beings.

We call upon the ruined petty-bourgeoisie in the towns, whose last hope set in Hitler is now lost, and declare to them: The fascist dictatorship is depriving you of the means of existence. You need not fear the victorious proletariat; it will not rob you of your small property and the sums you saved under privations, and it will give you an assured existence under Socialism.

We call upon the millions of poor peasants, settlers, and smallholders, whose hopes in the "Third Reich" are now collapsing.

Drive away those who deceive you by stating that the Communists wish to rob you of your patch of land, whilst they themselves are destroying your existence.

Only the Communists will free you from taxes, usurious tenancy agreements and interests on debts, and only they will make all the achievements of technique and culture accessible to you.

We rally the whole of the starving and suffering toiling population of Germany to the flag of the Socialist Action for Freedom!

We are now standing like one man behind our leader and comrade, Thälmann.

It is now necessary to close our ranks more firmly. We are united by our common misery and sacrifices in blood, we are inspired by class-consciousness, boldness and courage for attack.

We are the future, and we must and shall be victorious. There is no other way to bread and freedom than the class war.

We socialists, we Communists-Leninists are carrying the day over the phrase-mongering of the fascist capitalist mercenaries who have stolen our songs and the outward forms of our agitation in order to cover up their policy of rescuing the decaying capitalist system.

Our Party has grown in war and civil war; it knows no fear and cowardice, it knows only the task set it by history.

The more powerful the enemy is rising against us, the more powerfully shall we crush it. Soon the day will come when we shall be the judges.

United proletarians! March on with a powerful step! The twenty thousand victims killed by Noske and Hitler are now marching in our ranks!

Under the red flag of the class struggle, under the banner of Communism, the workers and toilers will win their socialist fatherland, free of exploitation by capital and Versailles.

Our slogan is: Socialist Action for Freedom in town and country!

Our weapons are: The united front, resistance on all fronts; strikes, political mass strikes, the general strike, fight for power!

Create the condition for victory: The unity of the proletariat in the class struggle!

Keep always the aim in mind: The German Workers' and Peasants' Republic!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany
(Section of the Communist International).

Berlin, July 4, 1933.

Fight Against Fascism

The United Front of the Toiling Masses of Italy and the Anti-Fascist Struggle

By M. Starelli

The drive towards a united front of action is developing steadily among the workers of Italy, exploited and terrorised by fascism. The emigré leaders of the Maximalist Party, the former leaders of the Republican Party, and a strong revolutionary opposition in the Social Democratic Party have declared their agreement with the programme put forward by the Communists for immediate joint action in defence of the toilers, against fascism and war. This fact mirrors the will to joint action and struggle growing among the Italian masses. During the last few weeks this has found various forms of expression.

In the agrarian province of Ferrara, and the whole valley of the Po, a district frightfully affected by the crisis, the starving peasants have been roused to demonstrations against fascism—in Migliarion, Massafiscaglia, Codigoro, Ostellato, and other places. In Comacchio the peasants forced the gendarmes to release 15 demonstrators who had been arrested. In Molinella, province of Bologna, where an excellent tradition of resistance to fascism exists, the demonstrators forced the release of arrested peasants at Podestà. The whole province of Ferrara was placed under military law for days in consequence, and General Balbo, Air Minister and leader of the present pompous prestige and war undertaking, the transatlantic flight, went personally to Ferrara to suppress the movement by demagogic threats and promises.

Other demonstrations took place in the province of Udine, participated in by the Catholic workers, in Spilimbergo, Adeliaco, S. Osvaldo, etc. At Limon, near Belluno, unemployed seized two motor lorries and demonstrated in several villages, their slogans of "bread and work" being enthusiastically received by the workers of the villages they passed through.

The quarry workers at Seltz (Morifalcone) came out on strike three times in succession before their wages were paid regularly.

Fresh impetus has been given to the united front by the Anti-Fascist Congress. Socialist, Republican, Maximalist, Anarchist, and Catholic workers are fighting with the Communist workers for their common demands, against fascism, on the lines laid down by the Congress. Two examples suffice:—

A resolution was adopted by a secret meeting of the representatives of the workers of the Julia Venetia shipyard, recognising the line of the Congress, and stating that "the united front action of the international proletariat and all toilers is the sole means of breaking the brutal fascist reaction." The resolution further welcomes the determination of the revolutionary trade union organisations of Germany, Poland, and Italy to "fight on the side of the Communists for bread and liberty, against imperialist war and fascism, for the defence of the Soviet Union and for the proletarian revolution."

The second example consists of the strikingly symbolical gesture of a group of socialist workers in an industrial centre of North Italy, who emptied their treasury for the Congress, and declared that they "enthusiastically join in this work."

The recent campaign for the release of the Communist Gramsci, who is being slowly murdered by Mussolini's vassals in the Terzi prison at Bari, forms another aspect of joint anti-fascist action on the part of the workers. His name, with the names of the Socialist Bertini, the Anarchist Lucetti, the Republican Woditzka, and the Communist Camilla Ravera, has become the banner of the growing agitation for the release of all political prisoners and banished persons, for the abolition of the special courts, and against deportation to the islands. The appeals issued by the "Unità," the illegal central organ of the C.P. of Italy, have been responded to by the masses in a number of actions. A leaflet circulated by the Milan organisation of the Red Aid has awakened widespread echoes all over Lombardy.

Fascism is endeavouring to combat this wave of demonstrations and struggles in two ways—by futile promises of help, as exemplified in particular by the gigantic swindle of "relief work," and on the other hand by stricter repression. The special court has taken up work again after a few months' interruption, and is again imposing frightful sentences: 9 years of imprisonment have been passed for the offence of re-forming the Communist Party. The political prisoners on the Island of Ponza are being subjected to severer measures. These have, however, responded to the fresh brutalities with a last spurt of energy. The demonstration of women proscripts on 1st April was followed by a mass demonstration on 9th June: 152 political prisoners (Communists, Socialists, Republicans, and Anarchists) proceeded in a body to the headquarters of the commander of the banishment colony, and protested against the new police regulations to come into force on 10th June. The police and military authorities, alarmed, called reinforcements from the naval base of Gaeta. The 152 insurgent proscripts were arrested and taken to the prison at Naples, where they were rapidly sentenced to terms of rigorous imprisonment, up to one year.

The warning which the fascists intend to convey by these acts of repression is, however, very far from attaining its object. On the contrary, the movement is growing in the masses, combining economic demands with political action in a manner going far beyond the bounds of fascist legality.

At Leghorn, 2,000 workers attended the funeral of the Communist Camici, who died in consequence of maltreatment in prison. At the funeral of an Anarchist worker in Prato Carnico, a procession was formed, and anti-fascist speeches were delivered by three workers of different tendencies. The women workers of a textile factory refused to carry the tricolor at the fascist celebrations on 21st April; these celebrations were very poorly attended in comparison with last year. Red flags have been hoisted in many places, especially on the Garibaldi bridge in Rome (on 1st and 24th May, anniversaries of Italy's declaration of war). These are all signs of the reawakening will to fight.

But the facts best characterising the general tendency are the movements (followed by a political strike) among the workers in Spezia, the greatest naval base and leading industrial centre of Northern Italy.

The struggle was commenced by the metal workers of the great Terni works, in protest against fresh cuts in piecework rates, and against delays in wage payments. The workers, conducting the negotiations, have made skilful use of fascist legality for the mobilisation of the whole of the workers in the undertaking, and have for this purpose taken part in the meetings of the fascist trade unions. Here they have advanced their demands, and induced the unanimous agreement of all workers present to the necessity of a strike. The employers and fascist trade unions of course realised the danger, and mobilised all their forces against it.

As soon as the new wage cut was announced, the movement came to a head. The workers set aside the leaders of the syndicalist trade unions, who advocated the acceptance of the cuts, and elected a commission over the heads of the trade unions. This commission went directly to the managers. In face of the fighting determination and unanimity of the workers, the managers deemed it advisable to relinquish the idea of the cut.

This is the first victory won by the workers in the Italy of to-day, and it is of paramount importance. Hence the counteraction on the part of the fascist leaders, who sent out bands of their men next day, armed with cudgels, to punish the rebels. But the Terni factory workers at once stopped work, drove the would-be cudgellers out of the factory, and demanded that the management should dismiss the members of the band employed in the works. Again the management had to accede to the workers' demands.

This was a political strike, and a victorious one. At this point the fascist government intervened directly, arrested a number of the strikers, and sent them into exile on the islands.

This has, however, not intimidated the workers of the factory. They are more determined than ever to defend their interests, utilising thereby the fighting experience already gained. The workers of the Cerpelli factory, in Spezia, profiting by the above example, have negotiated directly with the employers, over the heads of the trade unions, and have attained the reinstatement of discharged workers.

These struggles bear the stamp of the transition to a higher stage of the class struggle. At the same time they confirm the correctness of the political line of the united front, and of the struggle taking as starting point the immediate demands of the workers, so energetically pursued by the C.P. of Italy. And it evidences the correctness of the directives of the C.P.I. and of the General Labour Confederation with regard to the utilisation of fascist legality for carrying on work inside the fascist trade unions, enabling the development of the struggle itself to expose the fascist unions as tools of the employers, and enabling these unions to be cast aside.

Proletarian Youth Movement

Prepare the World Congress of the Youth Against War!

German Youth, Young Workers and Peasants!

Fifteen years of "peace" have passed. Fifteen years in which a ruthless class struggle has been raging in our country, in which we have learnt what this "peace" means: continuation of the war by other means, war of the big capitalists for their profits, war at our expense, war which destroys our youth and our future.

We have learnt from this experience!

We are fighting against war and reaction! Along with thousands of young Germans we are fighting as an advance guard of the struggle for social freedom, against war in "peace time," against the threatening new war, against profit interests, against oppression and exploitation.

The Brown murder, sanctioned by the State, is raging in Germany. Thousands of our young anti-fascist militants are imprisoned in the concentration camps; hundreds of them have been slain. Every day we stand at the bier of one of our number who has been killed.

Reaction reached its culmination with the seizure of power by national socialism, which maintains itself in power by means of

lies and murder. The first wave of terror has swept over us; it was intended thereby to destroy all the workers' organisations and to choke the anti-fascist fight in blood. None of these aims has been achieved. But fresh waves, more dangerous than the previous ones, are threatening to annihilate our generation. The Hitler dictatorship, which deliberately fosters the basest chauvinism, needs a military conflagration in order to conceal from the masses its inability to provide work and bread.

At the present time, when we are immediately faced with the danger of a new fratricidal war, Barbusse, the undaunted fighter against the last world slaughter, calls upon the youth of the whole world to strengthen their forces against the threatening war:—

"We see already in all countries, in all social strata, strong minorities of young people who are in revolt against this insane bloodshed. Eyes are being opened, spirits awakened; the Youth are recognising more and more what lies hidden behind the war cries and the pompous facade of the fascist 'regeneration':—Murder, battles, ruin and the destruction of human progress.

"We call upon you now to go with us! We summon you to the united struggle against this order which has produced all evil. We have the right to do so, for, as a result of the Amsterdam Congress, we have created the broadest united front that has ever been set up in the fight against social and political reaction and against imperialist war.

"The youth of the whole world must dedicate their lives to this greatest fight for emancipation; they must devote themselves to it heart and soul."

Do not hesitate!

"Thousands of young people were gathered together at the Amsterdam Congress. There is being formed afresh an army, numbering hundreds of thousands, of young workers, peasants and students who are preparing for the Paris Congress. In France, England, Spain, in the Balkans, in North and South America, in the Far East, in Italy, Germany, the countries of fascism, the Youth are rallying round our slogans. The Congress against war and fascism is only the commencement of the gathering together of these young people. Hundreds of thousands, millions must be drawn into this army which is advancing and growing daily. It has inscribed on its flag: True peace among peoples, the real social and socialist regeneration."

Young workers and employees in the Krupp and Leuna works and in the thousands of other munition works, in the docks, on the ships, young workers in all factories and workshops, expose and combat the armaments and war preparations of the fascist rulers.

They are already drilling and training our generation for the battlefields. By means of the compulsory labour service the Youth are forced to live in barracks, deprived of political and economic rights, and given military training. In the sport organisations war games are the chief thing. The Storm Troops and the Special Detachments, and all fascist organisations, have been armed by the government and are under its leadership. Thus the Hitler government has at its disposal an army numbering millions, with which it wages civil war against the working population and is preparing for a new war.

We have taken the initiative to mobilise the oppressed Youth in Germany for this World Congress, which will take place in Paris on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of August. A great part of the working youth, students and intellectuals from all parts of Germany have joined us. But the will to fight against the Hitler dictatorship and against the war arising from it must become still greater; our front must become still bigger in order to offer successful resistance.

Young socialists, young trade unionists, unorganised young workers, young Christians, young Communists, pupils and students, who through your representatives at the anti-fascist Youth Congress enthusiastically adopted the decision to prepare with all your strength the World Youth Congress against War, convert this decision into deeds!

Set up anti-war committees in all factories, at the labour exchanges, in the labour service camps, at the schools and universities and everywhere where people gather together!

Discuss, demonstrate, join us! Elect your delegates now to the World Youth Congress against War!

German Initiative Committee for Preparation of the World Youth Congress against War (Berlin).

German Liaison Committee for Preparation of the World Youth Congress against War (Paris).

First of August—International Fighting Day Against Imperialist War

First of August, 1933

By Fritz Heckert

The period before the coming 1st August is similar in many respects to the situation before the 1st August, 1914. As at that time, the situation is full of war tensions. As at that time, the general war explosion is being preceded by wars and warlike actions, if not immediately on European territory, then in Asia and Africa. And though these scenes of war may appear far distant to the population of the European countries, still it is a fact that to-day war can spring more rapidly than ever before from the remotest spot to the closest vicinity. In 1914 the Balkans were the powder cask, ready to fly into the air at the touch of the match, and to-day all Europe is at this explosive point. Since Hitler's coming into power in Germany, the danger of a sudden, though not unexpected, outbreak of war, has increased tremendously.

The statesmen of the capitalist states are no longer attempting to conceal the war danger; on the contrary, they are all shouting that war has become inevitable. Some explain this with the impossibility of the continued existence of the Versailles Peace Treaty, others with danger incurred for the peace of the world by the Hitler system. Every group of capitalist war-mongers has found its adversary, which it can advantageously make responsible for the coming war. Therefore the rulers of the capitalist states and their military authorities are no longer giving themselves any trouble to conceal their war preparations. War armaments are being carried forward energetically, combined with the ideological preparation for war. The out-and-out patriots—the manufacturers of war material, the speculators, and the professional manslaughters—are again in the foreground. Those who are not on their side are not only no patriots, but traitors to their fatherland, to be rendered harmless as speedily as possible. Savage Terror is spreading. The lowest level of jingoism is let loose against the peaceful citizens. And it is the workers who are the main victims of this terror, for the warmongers fear that the workers will be the first to put a stop to their adventurers' policy. The experience gained in the last great war is not forgotten. Therefore all the capitalist states, democratic or fascist, are endeavouring to create laws protecting the state, enabling the resistance of the toiling masses to the adventurers' policy of the ruling classes to be broken down more easily and rapidly.

The seriousness of the situation may be seen from the results of the **London Economic Conference**, and even more from the comedy of disarmament at **Geneva**. These disarmament conferences, invented for the purpose of pretending to the oppressed peoples that their oppressors are anxious for peace, are now going over quite openly—as in Geneva—to the defence of existing armaments and the promotion of increased armaments. It would be absurd to assume that the conflicts among the capitalist great Powers are ridiculous trifles, mere storms in a teacup. The delegates of the disarmament conferences, the apostles of peace of the imperialist states, gaze with envy upon Japan, which has contrived so cleverly to keep the whole League of Nations on a string, and to conquer a great country with a population of 50 millions, in face of the Kellogg Pact. They are all secretly mortified that their own special fatherlands have not managed so skilfully as Japan, and rack their brains to find some way of accomplishing something similar. No one dreams of coming to the aid of China, a member of the League of Nations. No one dreams of punishing Japan, the breaker of the peace. That hostile tendencies are growing against Japan has nothing to do with this; the other Powers are only annoyed that Japan has got such a good start of them in securing the booty.

The League of Nations Pact, the Washington Naval Agreement, the Kellogg Pact, the Locarno Pact, and the recently concluded Four-Powers' Pact, are being revealed in the eyes of ever-wider circles as methods enabling new wars to be the more efficiently prepared under the cloak of solemn promises of peace. These

pacts and treaties only pursue the object of sanctioning conditions rendering it easier to fall upon the weaker Power at the first suitable opportunity. It is only necessary to explain that the present state of peace is worse than war. And now, thanks to the international economic crisis, a point has been reached when the rulers of the capitalist states are already stating this openly, naturally in such a guise that the Party guilty of the breach of peace is to be found in another country. The provocative attitude of fascism in Central Europe has given the representatives of the capitalist Powers an excellent opportunity of carrying on their preparations for war under the thesis: we must not deliver over the democracy and civilisation of our country into the hands of the fascist German barbarians without an effort at defending them. And at the same time Hitler and his companions shout that we must be converted to the creed of the right to self-defensive capacity, as only then can we break the fetters of the Versailles Treaty, now strangling Germany.

That such a policy is bound to lead speedily to the outbreak of war is an undoubted fact. The German warmongers in particular are quite aware of this. But as they are not sure enough of winning the war which they desire and are preparing for, so long as the present coalition of Powers exists with its resultant comparative forces, they are seeking to attain their object by round-about ways. The warlike elements grow with every day of the continuance of the world economic crisis—and this is becoming steadily acuter, in spite of all assertions to the contrary. And in particular, hatred is growing against the sole country in which there is no crisis, and in which the work of economic construction is proceeding at ever-increasing speed—the **Soviet Union**. The more it becomes evident that the socialist system develops economy, whilst the continued existence of capitalism leads back to barbarism, the more the determination to bring about an intervention against the Soviet Union grows and intensifies.

Hitler and his supporters in Germany are anxious to exploit this fact, so long as they are not strong enough to dictate the scene of war, and the result of the war, by themselves. Therefore, Hitler's agents, Rosenberg, Goebbels, Göring, Schacht, etc., travel about to Paris, London, Washington, Rome, and Warsaw, to submit their offers for the joint crushing of the Soviet Union. The division of the Soviet country would be a possibility of finding the lacking markets so necessary for a new economic upsurge.

Hitler's speculation on the hatred felt by all capitalist countries against the Soviet Union is sound enough, but the second speculation is by no means so sound—the supposition that German imperialism, in the course of such an excursion to the East, could so reinforce its powers that it would be able to gain the upper hand of its Western allies during the division of the booty, and could regain what it lost in the West during the war. It need not be emphasised that Bolshevism is hated by all the Powers of the capitalist world. But is an imperialist Germany, armed to the teeth, a less dangerous enemy? Would such a country permit imperialist France to hold the hegemony of Europe, would it recognise England's naval dominion, would it call a halt at the Brenner, would it leave other countries their colonies, would it not compete with America? Every question thus arising means a refusal to Hitler's offers.

But it is precisely these refusals which increase the war danger in Central Europe. Hitler, having awakened all the nationalist instincts of the masses, must now dish up some foreign political successes, but what can he do in the face of all these refusals? Can he regain the territory lost in the war: the Memel country, the Polish corridor, Upper Silesia, North Sleswick, Eupen-Malmedy, Alsace Lorraine, the colonies? Of course he cannot. Not even the alliance with Austria is possible without war, to say nothing of alliance with those territories where Germans live, outside the frontiers. And since it is equally impossible for Hitler to improve

the economic position of the country or to solve the national question, the Hitler system has come to disappoint all its adherents who really believed in the "national revolution." What is Hitler to do in this situation? The terror exercised against the workers' organisations, the deprivation of the workers of all rights, the concentration camps, the torture chambers, and the murdering of Communists, are all not enough to satisfy the dissatisfied. It was not of his own free will, but under the growing pressure of the discontent of the masses, that Hitler chose the path of unification, of destroying all organisations and parties outside of his own. And under this same pressure this system will be driven forward to war—if it will not capitulate—even if it is not sufficiently prepared for war. German capitalism, terrified of approaching revolution, resorted to fascist terror. But capitalism means war in its last consequences, and it means war the more when it is obliged to assume the garment of fascism. Fascism signifies an acceleration in the march towards war.

Hitler and his officers, being aware of this, are naturally ignoring the regulations of the peace treaties with regard to restrictions of armaments. They are arming secretly, but they are arming at full speed. There is no economic revival in Germany except in the armaments industry. Where the metal-working industries are flourishing, it is only in the manufacture of cannon and motors. The same applies to the textile and garment-making trades. Here it is the uniforms. The artificial silk and chemical industries are providing the raw materials for explosives and gases; the leather industry is making army boots and saddles; the motor-car industry furnishes the means of rapid transport. Every effort is directed towards preparations for the coming war. And at the same time the cannon fodder is being prepared for its fate in the labour service camps, in the organisations for "improving the physical efficiency of the people," and in the "unified" sport associations.

This armaments policy, combined with the destruction of the workers' organisations and the bloodiest terror, is what fascist Germany has to depend on to stand the storm conjured up by the decaying bourgeoisie itself. We should not console ourselves with the idea that Hitler can only lose the war, and that this will finish him. In the Great War Germany lost two million men and innumerable milliards in goods. Wilhelm II. was overthrown thereby, it is true, but his generals were not. These generals, aided by the princes, are now the commanders of the Brown pestilence now terrorising the toilers of Germany. It is only when the toiling masses recognise that the main enemy is at home in their own country, and must be defeated at home, that the number of victims may be lessened who have still to fall before fascism is overthrown. Hence it is our task to organise the revolution against fascism, and not to wait for the war which is to overthrow Hitler. Only by this means shall we shorten the Hitler war, should it come about in spite of the counteraction of the toiling masses.

Hitler intends celebrating the 2nd of August as a "Soldiers' Day." On this day the whole people is to recognise the defensive forces. It need not be said, however, that this day is not to honour the rank and file of the soldiery, or to give them soldiers' councils. No! The "Soldiers' Day" is to be the day of the generals and colonels, to whose will for power and adventure the people are subjected. The goal in view is the transformation of Germany into a Prussian-German barracks, as under Frederick I., when the monarch's crutch-cane ruled, and the soldiers had to hold their tongues and hold out. This may be an ideal for the imbecile Philistine, but not for the workers, who have to pay the whole expenses of this policy.

The 1st of August, the **International Anti-War Day**, has therefore become a day of special importance for the German working class. Not only does it draw the attention of the workers to the general war danger, but to the special dangers incurred for Germany by the Hitler system. He who wants to fight against war must fight against Hitler. He who joins Hitler for the sake of Germany's freedom, as the social democrats did in the Reichstag on 17th May, 1933, joins in an even greater crime than that committed by the Kaiser socialists on 4th August, 1914. Everywhere where there are revolutionary workers in Germany, they must raise their voices on 1st of August against the system and policy which are bringing about war. The louder our voices, and the more workers we can draw into this movement, the greater the blow which this day will deal to fascism. A successful 1st of August Anti-War Day in Germany means a sharp cut of the axe at the

roots of the Third Reich. It means a trench from which the toilers may conduct their offensive against the main enemy in their own country, against the capitalist bloodsuckers and their uniformed Brown pestilence.

First of August and the Tasks of the C.P. of Japan

By Sen Katayama

The intensifying contradictions between the countries of imperialism, the race for new territories and new markets, the growing contradiction between the world of imperialism and the Soviet Union, all make for new wars and particularly for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The imperialists have been preparing for war for many years. The military occupation of Manchuria, the drive into Mongolia, the attack on Shanghai and the creation of the puppet State of Manchukuo, and also the conclusion of an armistice between the Japanese imperialists and the Nanking government, mediated by British diplomacy, are all steps in the preparation of war against the Soviet Union.

There is already a tacit understanding for the partition of China, and this is recognisable in the fact that the Nanking government has acknowledged the independence of Tibet and Sinkiang. This means that Great Britain is dominant in the territories mentioned and encroaches on China proper, whilst Japanese imperialism coming from the other side has already occupied Northern China as far as the Yellow River and including Shantung and Tintau. The remainder of China, Central China, the Yangtze Kiang Valley, and Southern China is left for British influence.

This situation in the Far East represents a direct threat to the Chinese Soviets and a danger to the Soviet Union, which observes bases for intervention being set up on its frontiers both by British and Japanese imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek is to receive a free hand and support from Japanese, British and American imperialism in his attempts, so far completely unsuccessful, to crush the Chinese Soviets. This situation also means new tasks for the Communist Party of Japan.

Careful preparation is necessary if the demonstrations on the 1st of August are to be carried through successfully. The Party must mobilise the largest possible masses for the anti-war demonstrations. It must carry on its preparatory work in the factories and in the agrarian districts and make clear to the workers and peasants the character of the imperialist war as an attack on the Chinese revolution and an intervention against the Soviet Union. The Japanese Communist Party must work for the defeat of the Mikado and his government in this and all coming wars. The slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war for the defeat of the Japanese bourgeoisie cannot be carried into action unless every possible chance is utilised of securing strikes and exploiting every defeat suffered by the government and its army. This idea of turning the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the Japanese bourgeoisie must be preached in the factories and the villages continually in connection with the daily demands and needs of the workers and peasants. The anti-war propaganda amongst the workers and peasants must also point out to them the horrors of a new imperialist war far worse than the last with poison gas and poison gas bombs dropped from raiding aeroplanes.

Another important factor in the anti-war work is the necessity of stressing fraternisation between the Japanese troops and their "enemies." The workers who will one day take their places in the trenches must be imbued with this spirit of fraternisation in order to weaken the fighting strength of the Japanese forces. At the same time mass desertion to the Red Army must be preached.

This coming 1st of August campaign is of great importance to the Japanese Communist Party. It must mobilise the workers and peasants as a trial mobilisation for the coming revolutionary struggle. It must put forward economic, social and political slogans on the 1st of August in accordance with the needs and demands of the workers and peasants. In addition, the Party must do its best to secure a united front for the 1st of August anti-war demonstrations with all shades of working class organisations. This is the best way to fight against the pseudo-revolutionary and demagogic phrases of those who in reality support imperialist war.

Together with the Japanese Young Communist League the Party must conduct intensive propaganda amongst the young workers and peasants because they have had no experience of the

horrors of imperialist war and are therefore more likely to be deceived by the wiles of the chauvinist propagandists. The Party must show them the evils of imperialist war and draw them into the ranks of the anti-war struggle against imperialist slaughter.

The Party must also appeal to the **working women and girls** in the factories and in the villages to demonstrate on August the 1st and to join up with the general anti-war movement. It must point out the terrible sufferings of women in capitalist wars to them and show how they, too, are liable to become victims in the next imperialist war.

The Party must organise the anti-war demonstrations under the slogans: **A people's revolution against imperialist war and against the police monarchy! Rice, land, and freedom! A workers' and peasants' government! Down with imperialist war against the Chinese Revolution and the Soviet Union! Down with the bourgeois feudal monarchy! Refuse to pay the land tax and land rent! Demand the striking off of all peasant indebtedness to the landlords, the usurers and the banks! Long live the seven-hour day! Demand improved working conditions, the right to organise and freedom of action for the trade unions! Free the colonies (Korea, Formosa, Manchuria) from the yoke of Japanese imperialism! Fight against the police terror! Protest against the murder of workers whilst under arrest!**

The Tasks of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia for August First

By Karl Neumann (Prague)

The Czech bourgeoisie has not succeeded, in spite of the imprisonment of hundreds of agitators on account of "spreading false news" and in spite of the dispersing of demonstrations, in shattering the fighting front against imperialist war. The revolutionary anti-war front is growing. In spite of all forms of terror also in this year in Czechoslovakia there will take place **mass demonstrations and strikes against the imperialist people's murder on August First.**

With the intensification of the economic crisis the convulsions in which capitalism is writhing are becoming more desperate than ever. The bourgeoisie is seeking a way out of the crisis in a new imperialist world war. The Czech bourgeoisie, "victor" in the last imperialist world war and ally of France, is one of the gendarmes of the Versailles robber peace system and of the imperialist watchdogs against the Soviet Union. It is playing the leading role in the war alliance of the "Little Entente." Apart from ensuring the suppression of the proletariat and of the national minorities in its own country and in the countries allied with it, its main task consists in defending the hegemony of the French imperialist bloc in Europe, in particular in the so-called Danube Valley, in holding in check the competitors of this bloc and in preparing for the robber campaign against the Soviet Union. By means of its huge war industry the Czech bourgeoisie is arming its allies and is itself one of the best equipped of the imperialist robbers of Europe. The more imperialist contradictions sharpen, the more openly the Czech bourgeoisie threaten to resort to military measures, to war on the side of France.

In order to produce the necessary patriotic enthusiasm among the masses and to paralyse and disintegrate the revolutionary anti-war movement of the toiling masses under the leadership of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, the Czech bourgeoisie is at present developing a big national chauvinistic war incitement. The spirit of 1914 is to be revived. The social-fascists, no matter whether they are German, Czech or Slovak nationality, are at the head of this incitement. They have concluded civil peace with their bourgeoisie. Just as in the case of the German "arch enemy" under the Hermann Müller government, the social democrats of Germany voted for the construction of the armoured cruiser and on 17th of May, 1933, voted for Hitler's foreign policy, the social-fascists of Czechoslovakia have for years voted for the military and armament budget and for the imperialist foreign policy of their bourgeoisie.

The main tasks of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia for August 1st consist in revealing to the masses the seriousness of the imperialist danger of war as well as the chauvinistic fog by means of which the masses are to be driven to the slaughter and in illuminating the path which the proletariat must pursue, together with the rest of the toilers, under the leadership of the Communist Party in order to defend themselves against imperialist mass slaughter.

Against the assertions of the Czech imperialists and their social-fascist lackeys the Party must convince the masses that war for or against revision of the Versailles Treaty is an imperialist war, that the imperialist war of defence or war of aggression is an offensive war of their own bourgeoisie, that the slogan: "Not an inch of foreign soil" means the defence of the robbery resulting from the last war, that behind the phrases of the "defence of democracy against fascism" are concealed imperialist aims of their own country and fascism in their own and in the allied countries (Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia).

The Party must in particular rouse the **young toilers and the toiling women** against imperialist mass murder and carry out an enlightenment campaign on all questions of imperialist war by means of meetings, conferences, legal and illegal leaflets for August First, in order to counteract the imperialist and social-fascist incitement; it must expose in this campaign the practical war preparations of Czech imperialism, the enormous increase in armaments. The campaign must be extended to **the barracks** in order to win for the revolutionary anti-war front those toilers who are being drilled for imperialist mass slaughter. Great attention must be devoted in this campaign to exposing the shameful criminal role of social-fascism with a view to wresting broad strata of the **social-democratic workers** from the camp of the imperialist warmongers and drawing them into the proletariat united front with the **Communists**. On the basis of the **proletarian united front from below**, the Party must enhance the campaign for August First to such an extent that in connection with the daily economic and political struggles in the whole of Czechoslovakia powerful **demonstrations and protest strikes** take place on August First in order to frustrate the war plans of the Czech bourgeoisie. These demonstrations and strikes will express the protest of the toiling masses of Czechoslovakia against their being driven on the battlefields for the fatherland of the bourgeoisie, for the aims of capitalism, and it will at the same time express the readiness of the masses to **defend the Soviet Union**, to free themselves from the scourge of imperialist war by converting it into a civil war against their own bourgeoisie. It is clear that the Czech bourgeoisie is driving towards imperialist war. The question now is: who will terminate it? The **C.P. of Czechoslovakia** will see to it that the Czech working class will terminate the imperialist war by the **victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The first of August must become a mobilisation of the forces and a fighting day of the toilers for these aims.**

The Austrian Battlefront

By Oskar Grossmann (Vienna)

The intensification of imperialist contradictions has pushed Austria into the floodlight and revealed clearly to what a **great** extent Austria has become one of the most important strategical points in the struggle of the imperialist groups against each other and in their preparations for war. At the same time the Austrian working class has realised that the Austrian bourgeoisie is by no means a pacifist lamb in the hands of the big imperialists, but that it is deliberately accelerating the process of fascism in Austria and lining up the country in the imperialist groupings.

The question of Austro-German unity, the relations of Austria to Germany, represented since 1919 one of the most important points in the complex of Franco-German contradictions. The year 1933 has seen this question aggravated extremely, and the problem "unification with Germany or political neutrality and independence" has developed into an important question and has produced a certain antagonism between Germany and Italy. The interests of Mussolini Italy and Hitler Germany run parallel in a number of important political questions, and, above all, in their joint hostility to the Versailles Treaty, but in Central European questions, and Austria is the axle of Central Europe, and in Southern European questions their interests are clashing.

The **Hirtenberg incident** undoubtedly opened up a new stage in Austria's relations to the big imperialist powers and their game of intrigues. The Hirtenberg incident revealed the big importance of Austria in the question of munition transports for the Little Entente on the one hand and for the Italian-Hungarian bloc on the other. Hirtenberg mapped out the lines of future development: by the outbreak of the next imperialist war Austria will have lined herself up in one of the imperialist groups, or from the beginning of the war it will be the cockpit of hostilities. Austria will be the Belgium of the next imperialist war.

Only social-democratic demagogues can try to persuade the Austrian proletariat that a capitalist Austria can remain neutral, peaceful, and untouched amidst the conflicts of the big States, that Austria can remain a pacifist island in a sea of imperialist contradictions. The theory of neutrality is nothing but the idea of Austria as "a democratic island" transferred into the foreign political field. At the last congress of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, which took place in November, 1932, Otto Bauer proclaimed this new geographical discovery. Hardly four months later the Austrian bourgeoisie had smashed parliamentarism, and the newly discovered island disappeared as quickly as it had risen. This island theory of Otto Bauer was a deliberate attempt to deceive the proletariat, to prevent the workers realising the urgency of the fascist danger and taking the measures necessary to meet it. The theory is nothing but the foreign political expression of the old social-democratic policy of toleration. The differences between the Austrian bourgeoisie and the Austrian social-democracy consist only in their varied opinions concerning the value of pro-Italian or pro-French "neutrality." In capitalist Austria neutrality has become the formula under which the Austrian bourgeoisie will join this or the other imperialist camp.

Whilst the contradictions in Austria itself have intensified, there has been a not unimportant change in the relations of the chief protagonists gathered around Austria. France is no longer the chief defender of the independence of Austria. France has receded into the background, probably only temporarily. Italy has taken France's place in this respect. France is contenting itself for the moment with exerting pressure on Austria in connection with a new loan, whilst Italy has come out into the open. The fascist dictatorship, established in Austria by Dollfuss, seeks support from Italy, and the protest of the Austrian Nazis against the prevention of Austro-German unity is directed chiefly against Italy, whose Austrian plans are rejected just as much as France's plans for a Danubian Federation.

It is fascist Germany's drive towards the East which is beginning here over Austria, and it is at this point that decisive German and Italian interests run foul of each other. An Austria politically united to Germany would throw covetous eyes on Trieste, and that is an important point for Italy, whose whole South Eastern policy is based on a deadly enmity with Yugoslavia, its hated partner in the Adria. Only a little while ago, after MacDonald's visit to Rome, Italy's plans for the partitioning of Yugoslavia were made known by the press. Germany's relations to Yugoslavia are a measure of Italy's friendly relations to Germany. It is most important that Germany has never so clearly recognised the existence of the Yugoslavian State as in connection with the problem of Austro-German unity. In the middle of May last the "*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*" dealt with the Adria problem and at the same time with the Italian-Yugoslavian antagonism. It wrote:—

"The breaking up of the Yugoslavian State and the deviation of the ways of communication to the Near East over the old Via Egnatia (the old Roman highway which cuts through the Balkan peninsula) would not be in the interests of the German economic system. On the contrary, our interests demand that South Eastern Europe should join Central Europe both culturally and economically in order to create a balance between agrarian production and industrial needs."

The central organ of the Austrian Nazis, the "*Deutsch-Oesterreichische Tageszeitung*," goes even further. It publishes in a prominent place an article by a contributor in Belgrade, entitled "German Tasks in South Eastern Europe," which declares that Yugoslavia is the "Key to the Near and Far East." Hitler thus seeks to secure Yugoslavian support for Austro-German political unity by offering hopes of future support for Yugoslavia.

Germany has declared an economic war on Austria by cutting off the stream of German tourists into the Austrian Alp valleys, and at the same time it makes a bid for Yugoslavian support by offering to use Yugoslavia's harbours in the Adria in competition with Italy and by sending Germany's tourists to Dalmatia instead of to Italy.

The whole idea of German policy towards Yugoslavia is based on the problem of Austro-German unity, and it is all the more sensational because for years now the Austrian governmental press, and in particular the "*Reichspost*," has been conducting a furious campaign against Yugoslavia and, next to Budapest,

Vienna has become with the friendly toleration of the Austrian authorities one of the most important centres of the Catholic-Croat irredentists. On the day after the article mentioned above was published, the "*Reichspost*" published a report on the front page, with a big headline, "Important utterance of Mussolini. The Four Power Pact signed. The act significant for Austria also." This report declares:—

"The words of Mussolini were much remarked and much quoted to the effect that 'The Four Power Pact directly interests those States with whom we have maintained for many years a straightforward and honest policy of friendship, namely, at two points: Austria and Hungary in the Danube Valley, and Greece and Turkey on the Eastern Mediterranean.' It is pointed out here that Mussolini's words mean a demonstration of Italian willingness to act as a friend of these independent States in the circle of the four great Power signatories."

This was the first frank announcement that if necessary Austria would be prepared to join a South Eastern European bloc under Italian leadership.

Whoever is preparing for war must strive with all possible means to liquidate the class fronts at home. That is the real significance of the brutal offensive being conducted by Austrian fascism against the Austrian working class, and in particular against the Communist Party of Austria. For Austrian fascism the destruction of Marxism means the destruction of the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. Austria, too, is arming. Austria is preparing to set up a militia, whereby the authorities already declare that this militia will strongly resemble a professional army, because a purely militia army in Austria would be unreliable. Austria demands freedom to arm in the air and points out that, in any case, the Treaty of Saint Germain does not prohibit the building of anti-aircraft guns and pursuit planes. Austria is demonstratively reintroducing the uniforms of the old Habsburg army and has appointed military attachés in the most important capitals of Europe. Austria's war industries are working at full blast. The fascist labour service scheme is the backbone of the militarisation projects, whilst the road-building programme announced by the government, with the assistance of the labour-service soldiers is largely of a strategic character.

In this situation the coming 1st August is of particular significance for the Austrian working class and for the Austrian Communist Party. The C.P. of Austria is organising the coming 1st August demonstrations as an illegal party, but the fact that it will nevertheless be able to mobilise the working class for the 1st August despite the prohibition will be a powerful demonstration of proletarian internationalism against the fascist warmongers. The Communist Party of Austria will carry on the struggle against the fascist dictatorship in Austria and against the Nazi bands, and, above all, against the threatening chauvinist-nationalist wave with all possible energy. The Communist Party of Austria will mobilise the working class and the working masses of Austria against all attempts at unity with fascist Germany with the same energy and determination as it will fight against all attempts to line up Austria behind fascist Italy or "democratic" France. The Communist Party of Austria carries on this struggle against international imperialism as a part of the decisive struggle against the Dollfuss dictatorship, whilst the propaganda of the Austrian social democracy is in fact nothing but a platform for civil peace with the bourgeoisie.

The co-operation of the Austrian social democracy with the bourgeoisie is seen in its new campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union. During the past few weeks the Austrian bourgeoisie has put ultimative demands to the Soviet government in connection with the trade negotiations, its censorship has confiscated official telegrams from the Soviet Union in the working-class press concerning the extension of the Soviet civil air service, whilst the social democracy is organising an anti-Soviet campaign in connection with the extension of the Rapallo Agreement and the negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The Communist Party of Austria therefore pushes the protest against the preparations for imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union into the forefront of its struggle. The 1st August, the International Fighting Day against Imperialist War, Fascism and Intervention, will be a demonstration of the revolutionary united front in Austria.

The "Truce" in China Means more War

If the "truce" in the robber war in North China means "peace," why do Japanese troops still pour into North China? Why does the flow of the broad stream of munitions and war supplies from abroad to Japan and from Japan to Manchuria continue? It is evident that Japanese imperialism is planning further conquests.

Although the war office "solemnly promised" not to go beyond strictly Manchurian borders, it was clear after the Manchukuo "government" was set up that Araki and Co.'s lust for conquest was far from being satisfied. No sooner had the League of Nations "solved" everything than Jehol was taken and a move made against Chahar. The invasion of Chahar was also part of the plan to "conquer Manchuria and Mongolia" set forth in the "Tanaka Memorandum" of 1927.

Just before the "truce," Japanese military activity was concentrating in the direction of Inner Mongolia, the army advancing in four lines. Chahar's north border touches the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, the south touches the Chinese provinces of Chili, Shansi and Shensi. By occupying Chahar, the Japanese army becomes a constant threat to the basic territories of North China and to the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. It tries to control the oldest commercial route, Kalgan-Dolonar-Urga (Urga is now called Ulan-Bator and is the capital of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic), and put the third region of Inner Mongolia (Souian) under Japanese influence.

The moving of Manchukuo's first line of "defence" to about thirty miles off Peking gave evidence of Japan's intentions to conquer that area. The "truce" is a lie, because it was not agreed to until a Chinese general who was found to be "satisfactory," namely, bribed, by Japan. And, though the Japanese troops are supposed to "withdraw," the whole region is being flooded by "Manchukuo" troops. The next step will doubtless be the formation, under the kind guidance of Japanese commanders, of some "independent" government of Mongolia. Indeed, a half-dozen Chinese generals, all pretending to "save Chahar from the Japanese," are competing with each other to gather the Japanese bribe for the stealing of that area. Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-san stand at the head of the list of these scoundrels.

Thus the "truce" in China means more war, war directly threatening the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, which will not surrender to the blandishments of some fake "independent" Japanese puppet the gains its workers and peasants have won by bloody struggle and victory over the feudal-religious regime of the priests and princes. It means war will go on to massacre the toiling masses of North China, who continue, with their heroic Volunteers springing from the masses, to resist and harass the invader of their homeland.

The bloated arrogance of the Japanese military commanders has small base to exist on the purchased victories in North China. The complicated web of intrigues and squabbles between the reactionary Kuomintang military cliques is the main cause of the ease of the Japanese conquest, rather than superior strategy. The war-drunk Japanese generals will find this out when they attempt to attack—as they intend to do—the Red Army of the Soviet Union, or even the Peoples' army of the Mongolian Republic.

It should be known that absolutely all the resistance met by the Japanese in their invasion from the Great Wall to Peking was given without the aid of the Nanking government, who sabotaged the fight from start to finish and who sent soldiers north only to "save face," but refused to supply them, and who tried to prevent effective mass support of the heroic Volunteers, whom the Japanese command slanders by calling them "bandits."

The thousands of Chinese soldiers and Volunteers who gave their lives to block the Japanese advance to Peking were heroic victims of the dirty treachery of the Nanking "government." Chiang Kai-shek deliberately sabotaged the fight in the North, exactly as he sabotaged the resistance to the invasion of Shanghai a year ago. Wang Chin-wei, civil head of the Nanking government, openly opposed the popular demand for sending aid North to resist the invasion, saying that the troops were required in Central and South China to fight the Red Army of the Soviet Districts of China.

Thus the whole military power of Nanking was directed, not at repelling Japanese invasion south of the Great Wall, but at

attempting to stop the extending sweep of the Chinese Soviets and their Red Armies, whose territory and power grows daily because, under the rule of their own Soviets, the Chinese workers and peasants are freed from the hunger and misery and reaction that they suffered under the corrupt Kuomintang militarists.

Campaign after campaign against the Soviet Districts, with no less than 300,000 well-equipped troops in each campaign, has resulted in nothing but defeat for the Kuomintang, and the advance of the Chinese Red Armies. In May authentic information stated that the Nanking generals had only two army divisions remaining out of the recent—and fifth—campaign launched against the Soviet Districts. Two divisions, the 52nd and 59th, had been captured, men, horse and generals, by the Red Army. The "death" of the two generals was but scarcely commemorated throughout Kuomintang China by ceremonies, press eulogies and what not, when from these "dead" generals, who had been put on trial by the Chinese Soviets, came confessions in detail of how they had committed the crime of counter-revolution by fighting against the Red Army and for the Kuomintang, which they fore-swore and cursed as traitors to the Chinese nation.

Again, we see that the "truce" means more war against the Chinese people, in which the Japanese militarists serve as despicable aids of the Kuomintang butchers of their own people. The "truce" thus sealed a pact for war against the Chinese people.

The Plan for War against the Soviet Union

And not only against the Chinese people! The massing of no less than 150,000 Japanese troops along and near the borders of the Soviet Union, the building, in feverish haste, of new rail lines in Manchuria which can be of no immediate use but to transport Japanese troops in masses to the Soviet borders, the mobilisation of enormous numbers of tanks near the Soviet frontier, the hasty building of a naval base at Port Arthur, and the endless provocations by Japan—through the servile agency of "independent" Manchukuo—all this reveals the plan of Japanese imperialism to make war upon the Soviet Union.

Outstanding among the provocations is the series of manufactured "claims" by Manchukuo upon the Soviet Union in reference to the Chinese Eastern Railway (C.E.R.). Locomotives and cars, which are proven to be the property of the Soviet by undisputed documentary evidence from non-Soviet sources, are claimed as "Manchukuo property" by Manchukuo officials—with Japanese "advisors" at each elbow. When this false claim is rejected, Manchukuo blockades traffic, and commits every other sort of harassment and provocation.

The Soviet Union sent an official note of protest to Tokio on April 16. And it took Japan until May 26 to prepare an evasive "answer." There were four points in the Soviet protest: (1) The occupation by Japanese troops of the C.E.R. wharf on the Sungari river at Harbin. (2) The failure to pay even as much as the 50 per cent. regular rate agreed upon for transport of Japanese troops along the C.E.R., causing the road to lose heavily. (3) The creation of difficulties by the incitement of Manchukuo to make false claims for cars and locomotives. (4) The Japanese incitement of Manchukuo officials to arrest and abuse large numbers of Soviet citizens who are workers on the C.E.R.

To No. 1 Japan "explains" that the wharf was occupied because there was a flood at Harbin and Japanese soldiers were not allowed to get their feet wet. On No. 2 Japan claimed that something had been paid on account, and the Army wanted to "negotiate" (namely, to haggle and quibble) over the remainder. Then Japan simply denies No. 3, without answering the proofs presented by the Soviet note of detailed incidents of Japanese officers inciting Manchukuo to quarrel with the Soviet management of the C.E.R., and tries to counter it by claiming that the Soviet Telegraph News Agency had spread "untruthful information" about the actions of Japanese officers—but Japan failed to mention even one specific case of "untruthful information." Concerning the arrest of Soviet citizens (No. 4), Japan hypocritically states that this does not concern Japan, but is the business of "independent" Manchukuo.

The Soviet Union answered in five days (May 31), "expressing regret that the Japanese government in its reply passed over in silence the conflict which arose out of the illegal and baseless claims of Manchukuo officials, with the aid of Japanese officials, to the locomotives belonging to the U.S.S.R."

After remarking in detail the insufficiency of the Japanese

reply, the Soviet note states: "By its willingness to negotiate the sale of the C.E.R., the Soviet Government has fully and clearly expressed its desire to remove grounds for conflict between the U.S.S.R. and Japan."

But it appears that the opportunity to purchase the C.E.R. is not so much what Japanese imperialism wants, as an excuse to steal it. So Japan haggles over the price asked (which is but a fraction of its actual cost) and quibbles over the supposed "doubt" whether the Soviet ownership is "clear." In this, of course, Japan is merely playing for time, hoping to cook up an excuse for war against the Soviet Union, which Japan thinks will afford opportunity to steal the railway with no cost at all—if we except the lives of Japanese soldiers, who do not count anyhow in the opinion of the Japanese imperialists.

In this scheme Japanese imperialism is enthusiastically aided by the treacherous Nanking Chinese "government," which set a furious howl at the Soviet proposal to sell the C.E.R. Nanking froths at what it calls the Soviet "violation of the Mukden and Peking agreements," and even invents the claim that China "owns" the railway. It is true that the agreements mentioned stated that the future of the railway would be determined by the Soviet Union and China alone. But that was only part of the agreement, and was dependent upon China maintaining the other parts, among other things the safety of the railway and its possibility to operate without interference in Chinese (Manchurian) territory. But the Chinese government ran away at the first shot fired by Japan and left the road at the mercy of Japanese military vandals, with whom the Nanking government has found it possible to make peace itself, but with whom it expects the Soviet Union to make war. Thus Nanking had long ago violated the Peking and Mukden agreements, and by doing so forfeited its claims.

Moreover, the Soviet desire for peace does not permit it to be led into such a war trap set by Tokio and the Nanking betrayers of the Chinese people. But the Japanese militarists still pour war material and troops into Manchuria in undisguised preparation to attack the Soviet Union, and the "truce" with Nanking gives them a servile ally in their plots. Thus, the workers can see that imperialist "peace" is equivalent to imperialist war, and also that there can be no just peace, no cessation of war and its miseries for both China's and Japan's toiling masses until their revolutionary power strikes the sword from the bloody hand of the imperialist war makers! Stop the robber war! Defend the Soviet Union!

The First of August and the Youth

By P. Rachiomagi

The fighting day against imperialist war and the preparation of intervention is connected in the most actual and close way with the anti-militarist fight of the youth, for the chief cadres of the army as a rule are formed mainly of youths from 18 to 25.

Imperialist war is alien to the toiling youth, because of their class. Every day ever greater masses of the youth take part in the movement against war. The most advanced, most class-conscious sections of the young generation take the path of open revolutionary fight against militarism, in order to prevent the spilling of blood once again. Others, who are still under the influence of social democracy and quasi-radical bourgeois pacifism are caught in the net of this pacifism and believe that it is still possible to-day to maintain peace within the framework of capitalism, in spite of the sharpest and most uncompromising imperialist and class contradictions.

And so the youth who follow the pacifists believe in the fairy tales of honest "disarmament" efforts, in the League of Nations' mission of salvation, etc. But also for this section of the youth the feeling of aversion to war, of fear and at the same time of hatred for its senselessness is characteristic.

Nevertheless the task of these bourgeois youth organisations, as part and parcel of the capitalist state, is not only to prevent such feelings from changing into class-conscious, anti-imperialist fight, but also, under cover of this "Fight for Peace," to strengthen national sentiments, to instigate chauvinism, and to bring up these young people as obedient "defenders of the fatherland," as "defenders of democracy and culture" and against "invasions from without."

Quite apart from the tremendous armaments and the increase

in the standing armies, the bourgeoisie, in continual fear of the revolutionary action of the proletariat and the peasantry, finds it necessary to create armies, a million strong, of auxiliary troops, gendarmes and fascists, and to keep them in fighting trim. Not satisfied with this, it attempts to force the entire youth into the ranks of military organisations, by militarising schools and sport organisations, and the masses of unemployed youth (compulsory labour camps) and on a mass scale give military training not only to the youth but also to the women. This is done not only from the desire to ensure a sufficient number of soldiers trained in the use of the most modern engines of destruction, but also in order to gain control of and ideological influence over the broadest masses of the youth. To-day, more than ever, the bourgeoisie needs an army at home for defence not only against the enemy without, but above all against the army within the gates, the revolutionary proletariat.

The 1st of August will be carried out in a far tenser situation than last year. This is to be seen not only in the sharpening of the war preparations, but also in the revolutionising of the masses of the workers.

The task of the Y.C.L. is not only to win those sections which are turning away from social democracy and fascism, but also to speed up and to deepen this process of class differentiation.

In the factories and Labour Exchanges, in the task work centres and soldiers' barracks, in the villages, in the schools, in the fascist and social-democratic youth organisations, in the different bourgeois mass youth organisations—in short, wherever there are young workers, energetic, stubborn work must be carried on.

The Y.C.L., as a leading anti-fascist and revolutionary organisation, must carry a tremendous responsibility for the organising of the fight on the basis of the united front from below, of the fight for the freeing of the youth from the influence of fascism and social democracy.

The nationalist demagoguery of fascism, the pacifist feelings and illusions about the possibility of peace without a struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois dictatorship, so harmful to the youth, must be exposed.

The organising of mass youth meetings, and organs of the united front for the preparation and the drawing in of broad masses of the youth for the 1st of August, must be immediately taken up. The whole work of preparation for the 1st of August must be connected up with popularisation of the decisions of the Anti-Fascist Congress as well as with the creating of a strong youth anti-fascist front.

War and fascism hang together, and therefore a fight against war without a fight against fascism, without the exposing of nationalism and chauvinism, without a fight against them is impossible. On the basis of the development and the carrying through of the 1st of August, the work in preparation for **International Youth Day** and the **Anti-War Youth Conference** must be carried on. Our chief slogans for this fight must be:—

The mobilisation of the masses of the youth against imperialist war and intervention.

The defence of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the world proletariat.

The creation of a strong anti-fascist front of the youth on the basis of the united fighting front.

Against chauvinism and nationalism, for the international class solidarity of the proletariat.

For the drawing in of the masses of the youth in the fight against the bourgeoisie—for the proletarian revolution.

Unafraid, bring our slogans, our revolutionary teachings into the masses, organise the fight on the basis of their day-to-day demands, organise meetings and demonstrations in spite of prohibitions, in spite of the threats of fascist bands! Drive into the factories and barracks, organise revolutionary mass actions! More leaflets, papers and appeals to the masses! Organise anti-war strikes and mass actions! The work of mobilisation of all forces and means must be begun immediately.

Not only the Y.C.L. and the Party, but also all auxiliary organisations and those near to us must be brought into action for the preparation of the 1st of August, for taking part in it and for the preparation for the 19th International Youth Day.

Fascism and War

By E. Saf

Never was the mark of decay, collapse and approaching death so clearly stamped on the forehead of world capitalism as it is to-day. Even in the middle of the first imperialist world war Lenin wrote prophetically:—

“From a liberator of nations which it was in the time of the struggle with Feudalism, capitalism became the greatest oppressor of nations in the epoch of imperialism. Capitalism, which in earlier days was advanced, now has become conservative, it has developed the forces of production so far, that mankind is faced either with the transition to Socialism, or with years and decades of armed fight of the ‘Great Powers’ in order artificially to maintain capitalism by means of the colonies, monopolies, privileges, and every kind of national oppression.” (Socialism and War.)

The Bolshevik revolution drew a wall of fire between the dying world of capitalism, and the conquering world of Socialism. It gave a picture of the practical construction of Socialism, created an immovable stronghold of the proletarian world revolution.

Nevertheless beyond the Soviet frontiers the post-war development of the productive forces within the framework of capitalism led, after the deceptive years of “prosperity” and the period of partial stabilisation, to an unheard-of world economic crisis, rising from the very ground of the general crisis of capitalism. On the far side of the barricades capitalism—still the lord of the situation—stands before the danger of a new imperialist war. Capitalism can build only to destroy, to sow death and dark slavery.

On the far side of the frontiers of the proletarian dictatorship the fascist Brown pest is strangling the working class. On the far side of this frontier the production of means of destruction flourishes and under different “democratic, fascist-democratic” and fascist masks the chains are being forged.

The revolutionary forces, growing irresistibly, are knocking ever more threateningly on the door.

But how can this decaying, dying parasitic capitalism be set again upon its legs? How can it be saved from the destructive work of history? How can its existence be lengthened? How can the boom be resurrected when millions upon millions are starving and dressed in rags, whilst the granaries are full to bursting with unsaleable provisions because of the “general over supply”?

The division of the world anew by the imperialist robber states, at the same time also new intervention against the Soviet Union—this it is that the uncrowned rulers of milliards desire. Is not this a way out? Is it not the solution of all the questions which are nearest to them?

The social-democratic parliamentarians, the trade union bureaucrats and the officials of the party machine at bottom are of the same opinion as their national capitalists. The best which these “Left Radicals” are capable of is a polite—oh! very polite, expression of their regret at their own “impotence”—which, however, is just as like readiness for any support as one egg is another.

The Pilsudskies, who have made Poland a great torture chamber, proudly proclaim: We also are “against fascism.”

Dollfuss and Co. deport themselves as a “serious opposition” to Hitler, in so far as they have put their cards on other imperialist combinations than their Austrian Adolf.

In the Far East, the Japanese bandits are hacking to pieces China, oppressed and drowned in blood, they are preparing, with the help of the English die-hards, the invasion of the Soviet Union. They hanker after a place in the sun and bloodstained super profits. Leon Blum and Co. support them—with the excuse of “inevitability” and with mutterings about the over-population of the Japanese islands, but are silent as to the fact that the cause of this over-population lies in the over-population of Japan with capitalist and semi-feudal bloodsuckers.

Everywhere capital unrolls national flags and calls on “justice” for “its” nation.

The campaign against Marxism is a campaign against the working class as a class, to the extent that the mechanism of big industrial production unites the workers and forces them to the fight against capital at the bench. The advanced mission of capital consisted in the tremendous socialisation of the labour

process which created the immediate pre-conditions for the development of the class struggle of the proletariat. The factory and the workshop weld the workers together. Without industry even the rottenest capitalism cannot get on. Therefore it is forced to make terrorist dictatorship of capital effective right down to the individual bench, to the individual “place of work.” All the same the production of munitions, poison gas, aeroplanes is in the hands of the worker.

But this means that the fate of war, the fate of intervention, depends upon him and his conscious class will.

In the situation of to-day, of the fight between two systems and the growth of revolutionary crisis in a number of important capitalist countries, can social democracy ensure the conditions for “successful” leadership of imperialist war and intervention directly at the bench?

The bourgeoisie sees that it cannot rely on this. It must root out the urge of the worker to class war and organisation, destroy it at its source.

And here it finds that it is up against the fact that the productive forces are rebelling against capitalism. The factory becomes the “sorest point,” the most important “socially dangerous” Cell of the whole capitalist system. Every big strike of the workers, particularly in the most outstanding industries, mobilises great masses of dissatisfied elements from the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian toilers and can draw them into the revolutionary fight under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard.

The dividing line between factory, concentration camp and Storm Troop barracks is to be glossed over! This is what capital needs, and hopes through the unheard-of reduction of the standards of living of the workers and the toilers in general, to find a way out of the crisis.

The “national” flag of the imperialist bourgeoisie is for the workers a flag of slave war and hard labour barracks.

In order to avert the danger of the unity of broad toiling masses around the revolutionary class, fascism and the imperialist bourgeoisie, who are becoming fascist, mobilise the petty bourgeois strata under the “national” flag against the working class and put all the blame for the poverty which these strata suffer from the domination of capital on to them.

The impotent rage of the ruined petty bourgeois can become a force for finance-capital, a force of the great imperialist robbers in their fight against the working class, for the capitalist way out of the crisis. It is only necessary to tell this petty bourgeois that he is the “nation,” the “arbitrator;” he has the fate of the capitalist world in his hand. Then there is the chance that this petty bourgeois will hurl himself into the hell of imperialist war and intervention and put to the account of the working class all his doubts, his ignorance and lack of character.

The answer to the question why the German bourgeoisie stands in the first rank of fascism (apart from international and inner peculiarities of the class struggle in post-war Germany) is given by the “work” of German social democracy. Not only that, it did everything in its power to infect the ranks of the German proletariat with the poison gas of disintegration and disbelief in their own power, but German social democracy also drove part of the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian strata of toilers into the ranks of fascism and showed clearly what “democratic socialism,” with the Versailles noose round its neck, with the most repulsive grovelling before big capital, with its subservience to all international gamblers, really means.

Let us remember the words of Lenin on the corruption of the petty bourgeoisie by capitalist state power:—

“The development, perfecting and strengthening of the bureaucratic and military apparatus, has been going on through all the bourgeois revolutions, of which Europe has seen so many since the fall of feudalism. It is particularly the petty bourgeoisie that is attracted to the side of the big bourgeoisie and to its allegiance, largely by means of this apparatus, which provides the upper strata of the peasantry, small artisans and tradesmen with a number of comparatively comfortable, quiet and respectable berths, raising their holders above the people.” (State and Revolution.)

Now, not by the parliamentary game, and a broad system of bribery of parties, but by the methods of fascist dictatorship and fascist corruption, capital chooses out from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie the nearest and most trusted people for its “holy” ones.

Naturally capital does not solve the problem—it cannot, and will not, solve it—the problem of the saving of the petty bourgeoisie from the stranglehold of capital itself. It makes their mouth water with Jewish pogroms, a few crumbs thrown to them, and other forms of the corruption of the chosen.

In this way the reorganisation of the “nation” is completed i.e., the dictatorship of capital on a fascist basis.

Fascism bears the flag of imperialist and intervention wars, the flag of the preventive war against the working class, who can turn the war of the slave holders into the war against the slave holders.

Fascism wants to be in advance of events, to strangle the proletarian revolution in the womb.

War against war—in the language of the working class this means: ruthless fight against fascism, against new imperialist war, against intervention against the Soviet Union, for the proletarian fighting front, for the fatherland of the toilers of all countries, against social-fascist treachery and provocation.

The working class has the sublime picture of victorious Leninism before its eyes. It draws its steadfastness in the fight for the proletarian united front from the force of the unity and closed ranks of the proletariat and toilers of the U.S.S.R., from the hard lessons of defeats which fascism has brought it with the help of the social-democratic traitors.

Great Britain

The Reply of the British I.L.P. to the Comintern

The following letter of the Administrative Council of the I.L.P. was sent to the Executive Committee of the Communist International on July 7, 1933:—

Dear Comrades,—We received on June 24 your reply to our communication of May 18 and our further letter of June 19, which indicated the desire of the Independent Labour Party to find a basis of co-operation with the Communist International in our common task of revolutionary Socialist activity.

We welcome the view expressed in your reply that co-operation is desirable.

You do not refrain from criticism of the policy of the Independent Labour Party, and you indicate that the right to make comradely criticism must be maintained. We agree that such criticism is essential on both sides.

We have serious differences with you regarding the policy of the Communist International and believe that it is imperative, if correct tactics are to be pursued, that there should be constant and frank examination of Socialist policy.

In our view, the present disastrous position of the International Working-Class Movement is due to the failure of the policies of both the Labour and Socialist International and the Communist International.

The Social-Democratic and Labour Parties attached to the former have pursued policies of reformism and compromise which have proved disastrous in a situation which demanded a bold revolutionary lead and action.

On the other hand, the Communist International has pursued policies which have divided and weakened the industrial organisations of the workers and which, by treating sections of the working class outside its own ranks as enemies indistinguishable from the fascists and the most reactionary capitalists, have prevented that united action by the working class which alone could have defeated the forces of fascism and capitalism.

At the same time, we recognise that the Independent Socialist Parties have so far failed to rally mass support behind them. We realise that all sections of the working class have to learn the lessons of the present situation and to re-examine their policies with these lessons in view.

We make the following concrete proposals for co-operation:—

(1) In its desire to secure united action by the British working class the I.L.P. is already co-operating nationally with the Communist Party of Great Britain in opposition to fascism and war and in the organisation of the unemployed and resistance to the capitalist attacks on the standards of life of the workers.

We are prepared to continue this co-operation on the understanding that its object is to bring about united action

by the whole of the working class and that the rights of inter-party criticism is retained outside the sphere of co-operation.

(2) The Independent Labour Party is prepared to extend this national co-operation to the international field, by participating in international efforts to mobilise the forces of the workers against fascism, war and capitalist reaction. When international congresses are called for these purposes, however, there must be responsible collaboration by the parties invited to participate.

(3) The Independent Labour Party, in association with other Independent Socialist Parties, is striving to secure international united action by all revolutionary sections of the working class.

For this purpose we propose to call a world congress of all organisations which are prepared to co-operate on a revolutionary Socialist basis.

We shall be inviting the Communist Parties, together with other sections of the working class, to send representatives to this congress.

We hope that the Communist International will be ready to participate, with the object of developing united action by the international working-class movement against fascism, war and imperialism, and the attacks of capitalism, and to go forward to the achievement of power for the workers, the establishment of Socialism and the creation of an international workers' society.

We ask for your early consideration of these concrete proposals and hope that from them a basis of united action may develop.—Yours fraternally (signed), **John Paton**, Secretary.

The White Terror

Mass Trial of the Rumanian Railway Men

The Military Court in Bucharest has now finished its preliminary investigations in the case of the participants of the railway strike which occurred in February this year. The trial must now shortly take place.

This case—involving over 100 workers from all parts of the country—has aroused the interest of the masses of the railway workers.

Many workers still remember the heroic struggle of the railway workers of **Bucharest**, **Klausenburg**, and **Jassy** against the whole State apparatus of the Rumanian boyar rule, and the wage-cut and terror enforced by the engineers and foremen. The railway workers demanded increased wages, immediate release of the arrested workers, abolishment of the state of siege, and recognition of the elected Workers' Committee, etc. This struggle was finally crushed because the whole police apparatus and army were directed against the workers. Hundreds were murdered and wounded, thousands were arrested and fell victims to the Waida-Titulescu government.

Only by means of terror could the government, with the assistance of the social-democratic leaders, restore “order.” Never in the history of Rumania did the social-democratic leaders play such a shameful role as in this struggle of the railway workers. They tried all measures to stop this struggle—they made open use of strike-breakers and denounced the revolutionary workers to the police. All measures were resorted to in order to break the unity of the working class and their will to fight. But the unity of the working class grew stronger. Not a single worker became a strike-breaker or denounced his class comrades. The social democrats as well as the unorganised workers fought for their demands, together with the communists, on the barricades right to the last moment.

In the prisons the railway workers continue to struggle against the prison regime. The latest events show that the government could not break their will to fight even in the jails of Jilawa. The protest of the prisoners as well as the hunger-strike of 140 arrested railway workers confirm this. The workers of the other organisations are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Communists.

The struggle, which began last year in Oradia-Mare and in Cluj-Ploesti, and which ended in a blood bath in Bucharest, was a struggle of all toilers of Rumania whose interests are bound up with the arrested railway workers. Solidarity actions which were carried out throughout the whole country after the struggle in

February, in spite of the state of siege, prove this. In Bucharest the working women of the tobacco factory organised a great street demonstration on the day after the blood bath. The majority of the participants were members of the social-democratic trade unions and, despite the prohibitions of the trade union leaders, the demonstrations took place. Besides this, in Bucharest, many protest strikes (which lasted an hour or a half an hour) were organised. A strike (which lasted an hour) and a big street demonstration were organised in Cluj and all industrial centres. Some days after the blood bath the unemployed, together with the relatives of the victims, organised a big solidarity demonstration before the police prefecture. All this shows that the defendants were not alone during the trial, because this case is directed not only against the railway workers, but against all toilers in Rumania.

This case is attracting the attention of the peasants of the districts of Bucharest, Cluj, Jassy, Focsani and many others. Two-thirds of the railway workers either live in the villages or have close contact with them. While the misery and need is increasing in the village, the solidarity grows among the peasant masses. Very often the peasants discuss the question of assistance for the arrested and their families. They work in the fields of the arrested and take part in collections for them. The peasants have no money, and so they supply the families of the arrested with food.

After the blood bath in February the persecutions against the national minorities were intensified in the occupied districts. Actions against non-Rumanian workers in the State factories and first of all at the State railways took place. Dismissal of workers and the use of violence by the police to force the workers to leave the railway shops in Cluj, Brasow, Arad, etc., violent transfer from one district into another (for instance, from Transylvania to Bes-sarabia), are daily occurrences.

All these manœuvres do not give the results desired by the bourgeoisie, but have a contrary effect.

The railway workers of all countries, regardless of their party affiliations, must follow the example of the Russian workers of the Dzerjinski railway shops in Moscow, who sent a letter to the Rumanian railway workers, in which they expressed their solidarity and all of them joined the Red Aid organisation. The railway workers must organise a campaign and mass protest meetings in order to snatch the Rumanian railway workers from the hands of the executioners.

Judge Horton's Verdict in the Scottsboro Case

By Sender Garlin (New York)

The same Alabama Judge, James H. Horton—who on April 17 sentenced to death Haywood Patterson, the first of the framed-up Scottsboro' boys to be re-tried—on June 22 was forced to grant a new trial for this Negro boy.

The decision of Judge Horton in reversing the verdict of the jury in this case was the first legal development since April 17, when Patterson was sentenced to die in the electric chair in the Alabama State prison at Montgomery, Alabama, the slave capital of the old Confederacy. In ordering a new trial for Haywood Patterson, after attorneys for the International Labour Defence had presented arguments showing the prejudicial character of the trial in Decatur, Judge Horton based himself almost entirely on the testimony of Victoria Price, the prostitute, who was the prosecution's chief witness in the attempt of the white landlords and mill owners of Alabama to send the nine boys to the electric chair. Conscious that the eyes of the entire world, and particularly the working masses, were upon Decatur, Judge Horton read from a prepared statement, in which he said:—

"The testimony of the prosecutrix (Victoria Price) in this case is not only uncorroborated, but it also bears on its face indications of improbability and is contradicted by other evidence and, in addition thereto, evidence greatly preponderant in favour of the defendant."

Continuing, Horton said regarding her credibility:—

"Her manner of testifying and demeanour on the stand militate against her. Her testimony is contradictory, even evasive, and time and again she refused to answer pertinent questions. The gravity of the offence and the importance of her testimony demand candour and sincerity."

All of this will undoubtedly sound very beguiling to those who

are unable to see the basis for this sanctimoniousness on the part of Judge Horton. These facts about Victoria Price, and many others Judge Horton knew on April 17, when he brusquely declined the motion of the lawyers for the International Labour Defence to set aside the verdict against Patterson. It is therefore clear that the considerations which moved this Southern judge were not "legal" ones, but rather resulted from the intensification of the mass activities put into motion by the International Labour Defence and the Communist Party. This included the fact that over 1,000,000 workers have participated in demonstrations on behalf of the Scottsboro' boys since the frame-up began; the recent Washington Scottsboro' march, in which 5,000 Negro and white workers presented demands for enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, and the growth of the whole movement in the struggle for Negro rights.

The original Scottsboro' trial was saturated with vicious prejudices against the defendants. Militiamen were brought in from Hartsell, a small town of 13 miles from Decatur, not so much for the purpose of protecting the Scottsboro' boys, but in order to create the impression of "fairness," which was the guiding note in the strategy of the prosecution, which was seeking to electrocute the nine innocent boys. The fight for the right of Negroes to sit on juries was one of the principal issues in the Scottsboro' case, and the prosecution in the trial were forced very early to admit that no Negroes ever served on any jury in Morgan County. Judge Horton's class bias and the spurious character of his "fairness" can best be seen by the fact that, although he was forced to concede that the defence had made out a "prima facie" case on the question of Negroes being systematically barred from juries, he nevertheless denied the defence motion to declare a mistrial.

The comment of the southern bourgeois press both during and after the trial reveals the intensity of the lynch frenzy which was being engendered by all the propaganda agencies of the southern ruling class. Said the "Pickens County Herald," Carroltown, Alabama:—

"If these Negro boys are guilty, and from the evidence and verdict of the jury they are, no power on earth should or could save them from the death penalty meted out to them by the Alabama jury; not all the Leibowitz's and sons-of-witz's from the back alleys of New York to the slums of Moscow could save them."

The "Wiregrass Journal," another Alabama publication, announced indignantly:—

"Leibowitz in the Scottsboro' case has thrown down the challenge to the Democratic Party to maintain white supremacy in the South. The civil war is on again, but from a different angle. It seems that a Russianised northern element defends the Negroes, when we stop to summarise Leibowitz, Brodsky, and I.W.W. The Negroes should have justice in every case, but the traditions of the South will not be wrecked by any such tactics as prevail in the Scottsboro' case."

That this press opinion represents the point of view and programme of the official prosecution of the State of Alabama is evident not only from the statement about Jew money from New York made to the jury in open court, but the fact that the Attorney General declared that he did not consider it necessary to "call a nigger to corroborate a white witness."

There is no doubt that while Judge Horton's ruling setting aside the Patterson verdict is the direct result of the mass campaign of the International Labour Defence and the Communist Party, there is nevertheless evident a very dangerous manœuvre on the part of the Southern ruling class. This was indicated by a significant sentence which appeared in the capitalist press news despatches from Alabama, which stated that "Judge Horton's ruling will prevent the review of the Alabama jury system by the higher courts as arguments exist for an appeal." Fearing the growth of the mass protest movement, the Southern bourgeoisie were obviously eager to avoid the exposure of Southern lynch law justice as revealed in the lower courts, and smash the growing unity of Negro and white toilers in the struggle for Negro rights. It is at the same time clear that the prosecution is hoping to carry through the bitter concealed judicial lynching after a new trial.

While the revolutionary working class has won an outstanding victory in forcing Judge Horton to grant a new trial, it must not be forgotten that this decision by Horton does

not automatically free the Scottsboro' boys. They are at the present moment confined in a small steel cage in Jefferson County prison in Birmingham, Alabama. And the Southern landlords will not so easily relinquish their victims.

Conscious of the danger of a let-up in the fight for their release, the International Labour Defence and the Communist Party are calling upon workers in all countries to increase a thousandfold the mass protest campaign to force the immediate, unconditional release of all nine innocent Negro boys.

The World Economic Crisis

New Factors in the Development of the Economic Crisis

By L. Magyar

It was about a year ago that the stock exchanges of the world began to show signs of fever. The share and obligation quotations began to rise, as also did the prices for a number of raw materials, for instance, wheat, cotton, rubber, non-ferrous metals, etc. A certain enlivenment of industrial production began in the most important imperialist countries. In the **United States** production rose by 15 per cent., and in **Japan** the increase was still more considerable. In **France** and **Germany** also there were increases of production. The bourgeois economists began to talk of the end of the world economic crisis, that the crisis was now developing into the mere depression stage, that a new upward development and new prosperity were approaching.

This was the period of the Hoover boom, but it did not last very long. It came to an end in the American bank crisis. The United States went off the Gold Standard, industrial production dropped rapidly, the quotations on the stock exchange dropped and prices dropped also in a new convulsion of the crisis.

It was not difficult to prophesy that the feverish nature of the Hoover boom could not last, and that despite the injection of three milliard dollars into the American economic system by the Financial Reconstruction Corporation, it would lead to a new intensification of the crisis. The agrarian crisis sharpened. The situation in the agrarian and colonial countries grew worse. The tremendous disproportion between free and monopoly prices, between the prices of industrial and agricultural commodities, between the home and the foreign dumping prices, between wholesale and retail prices, did not diminish. Prices continued to sink, though more slowly, and with this the disproportion between falling prices and increasing debt burdens grew steadily. The offensive against the wages of the workers, the cutting down of social-insurance benefits in those countries where a social-insurance system existed, the plundering of the masses of the peasantry, and the ruin of the petty-bourgeoisie, all this diminishes the purchasing power of the home markets, whilst at the same time the world market is being reduced more and more owing to the ruin of the agrarian and colonial countries, the trade and customs wars, the stoppage of capital exports, the break-down of the relations on the commodity and capital world market, and the breakdown of the world money system. New markets cannot be found at all.

The Hoover boom ended with a tremendous fiasco. The industrial index of the United States rose as a result of the boom from 55 to 62 points in November, 1932, and by March, 1933, it had sunk back lower than ever to 52 points. In Germany a certain enlivenment in the winter months was followed by a new deterioration. Great Britain remained more or less at the same level, whilst in France there continues a slow growth of production. In Japan, on the other hand, industrial production is increasing rapidly.

The world capitalist system as a whole is going through a new wave of credit crisis, the depreciation of a series of currencies, and a new drop in world trade by 35 per cent. as compared with 1929. The spring of 1933 produced no material improvement on the building market. In all the leading industrial countries of capitalism the production of the means of production remained at a lower level than that of the preceding year. New emissions also dropped, even in comparison with the very low level of the preceding year. The debt problem, including the problem of war debts, remains unsolved. The budgets of the most important capitalist countries remain in a desperate condition.

However, despite all these things we must register certain new

factors in the development of the economic crisis. During the last few months there has been a certain improvement in the situation of various undertakings in a number of countries. As a result of the further lowering of wages and the heavy fall in the price of raw materials the costs of production have dropped. In a number of countries a series of industries are obviously carrying out a new rationalisation to meet the crisis needs. The employers in the foundry industry in the United States have declared that when their works are employed at 35 per cent. of capacity they can still show a profit, and that even if this fell to 25 per cent. they could still work without losses. In Japan sections of the old apparatus of production are being closed down by cartel arrangements and at the same time new spindles, weaving machines and other machinery are being introduced. In France the mechanisation of the coal-mining industry is being continued and the productivity of labour in the industry is being increased. In Great Britain also a certain rationalisation of the foundry and textile industries is being carried out on the basis of an accelerated concentration.

If we examine the most important imperialist countries we must register a certain growth of industrial production, although this growth is not uniform everywhere. As far as the tempo of this growth is concerned, **Japan** is undoubtedly in the lead. The production of cast-iron in Japan in 1932 exceeded 1931 production by 508,000 tons. Steel production has also risen. However, the production of the means of production by the engineering industry still remains below the level of the preceding year. And even the reports of the Mizi Bushi concern admit frankly that the enlivenment of industrial production is due to the orders of the naval and military authorities. **Japan is increasing the production of the means of destruction and not of the means of production.** Japan is producing more cast-iron and steel because it is equipping its army with more tanks, motor-cars, and military aeroplanes, and producing increasing numbers of pieces of heavy artillery and shells, because it is building strategic railways in Manchuria and war harbours in Korea, because it is building war factories in Manchuria, Korea and at home. The cotton industry, the production of writing paper, artificial silk, electric lamps, rubber shoes, etc., is also improving in Japan. This improvement has been obtained by means of an unparalleled campaign of foreign dumping, for the Yen has depreciated by 60 per cent., whilst the dollar has depreciated by from 18 to 20 per cent. only and the pound has depreciated by from 25 to 28 per cent. only. At the same time the price levels of the home market in Japan have not increased in proportion with the depreciation of the Yen. In April, 1932, the wholesale price index stood at 96, in April, 1933, it was 127, or an increase of 30 points. In the same period the retail price index has increased from 130 to 140 points, or an increase of 10 points only. In the same period the index of piece-wage rates has fallen from 89.9 to 86.3, or by 3.6 points.

In Japan the improvement in production has been obtained on the basis of war, preparations for further wars, the growing output of the war industries, the inflation and the dumping, all of which produce a new series of complications and contradictions.

In **France** the index of industrial production was 93 in the August of last year, and in the April of this year it had risen to 107, or an increase of 14 per cent. The production of cast-iron rose from a monthly average of 471,000 tons in 1932 to 525,000 tons in April, 1933. In the same period the production of steel increased from 464,000 tons to 584,000 tons. The iron foundry industry increased its production by 24 per cent. The engineering industry, on the other hand, shows an increase of 8 per cent. only. The motor-car industry increased production by 17 per cent., and the French authorities contend that the increased production of steel was used in this industry. However, it is well known that the motor-car works, Renault, also produces tanks, that the motor-car firm, Hotchkiss, also produces machine-guns, that the motor-car firm, Wooben, also produces aeroplanes, and that the motor-car firm, Citroën also produces heavy tanks.

On the French Stock Exchange the quotations for shares and debentures are going up, and above all the shares of the war industries. The chief increase of production in France is to be seen in the war industries. A certain growth in the production of the textile industry does not alter the general picture.

In **Germany** the production of cast-iron and steel is from 15 to 20 per cent. higher than it was last year, but the index of the production of the means of production has dropped from 117 points in August, 1932, to 114 points in April, 1933. The iron

foundry industry is increasing production whilst the engineering industry is throttling down its production. **Where is the cast-iron going to?** The German motor-car industry is working at top pressure and the fascist press makes no secret of the fact that Germany intends to catch up with France, where there is one motor-car for every 30 inhabitants, whilst in Germany at the moment there is one motor-car for every 100 inhabitants only. In other words, the aim is the mechanisation of the German army, the production of tanks, aeroplanes and heavy artillery. The fascist press also points with pride to the improvement in the production of building materials, although less is being built this year than last. The improvement in the production of building materials refers chiefly to cement. Textile goods are being produced for the members of the storm detachments and for the members of the other semi-military formations. During the crisis Germany has succeeded in increasing its production of aluminium to such an extent that it can now supply its own needs. During the crisis Germany has also increased its production of copper. In 1928 it was able to supply no more than 38 per cent. of its own needs, whereas to-day it is able to supply those needs to 67 per cent. At the same time, the costs of production for copper are so high in Germany as a result of poor quality and the bad position of the deposits that millions and millions of marks have been given by the State to subsidise the Mansfeld mines. With regard to agriculture the measures of German fascism are directed towards making the country self-sufficing with regard to fats, fodder, poultry, eggs and vegetables. In the opinion of the fascists this degree of self-sufficiency, the autarchy, has been already obtained with regard to wheat, rye, potatoes, meat and sugar, so that in case of war Germany could survive a blockade. The production of the means of production in Germany is decreasing, but the production of tanks, artillery and aeroplanes is undoubtedly on the increase.

Everywhere where, as in Germany, there is a half-way serious increase of production it is based openly on the growth of the war industries, on the preparations for imperialist war.

Great Britain has been able to maintain itself more or less at its old level, thanks to the imposition of new customs duties, the depreciation of the pound, the Ottawa agreements, and increased attempts to establish a colonial monopoly in the sense of utilising the colonial and dominion markets. It is peculiar that in Great Britain also the most obvious improvement to be observed is in the ironfoundry industry.

In the United States the index of industrial production stood at 52, and in May it rose to 64. That is a considerable increase. The utilisation of existing capacity in the iron foundry industry rose from 14 to 48, and even to 53 per cent., and the textile industry is producing 56 per cent. more than last year. The production of motor-cars has risen from 100,000 to 200,000 cars. And in this situation the level of building activities is lower than last year. The engineering industry is working at a lower level than last year. In April, 1932, new emissions in the United States totalled 142 million dollars, whilst in April, 1933, they were 45 millions only.

It is clear that the growth of production of the foundry industry in the United States is due chiefly to the increase of military armaments. The naval building programme speaks eloquently of this.

However, the growth of the production of the war industries is not in itself sufficient to explain the increase in industrial production. There is no doubt that the depreciation of the dollar and the threat of further inflation—it must be remembered that the President of the United States has the right to issue paper money to the extent of 3.3 milliard dollars and depreciate the value of the dollar by 50 per cent.—have played a tremendous role in the increase of production. The typical accompaniment of monetary inflation has begun in the United States, "the flight from money," "the flight into non-cash value." It is better to possess goods, motor-cars, houses, industrial shares and debentures than money which is continually depreciating. An inflation is always accompanied by an inflationary boom which regularly ends in a great smash, as was shown by the whole experience of the first post-war years.

The law for the assistance of agriculture gives the American government the right to tax those industries which use agricultural raw materials, or, in the last resort, to tax the consumers of the finished articles, and with the help of the funds obtained in this

fashion to assist the farmers by subsidies to limit the area they till. It is proposed to limit the area producing cotton by about 10 million acres. This accounts for the increase in the price of cotton, the increased purchases of cotton by the textile manufacturers and the growth of production in the textile industry. The new law, the unusually bad harvest and the depreciation of the dollar have all led to an increase in the price of wheat and other agricultural products.

The speculation fever, the expectation of orders in connection with the carrying out of public works—for which 3.3 milliard dollars are to be expended allegedly—a certain closing of the scissors between the prices of industrial and agricultural goods to the benefit of the latter, all these factors have led to an inflationary crisis. This inflation and the elements of a pre-war boom represent the basis for the increase of production in the United States. However, this basis is very unreliable and shaky because it already contains the seed of its own contradictions.

It is a law of inflation that the general price levels remain behind the depreciation of the currency. However, this does not prevent individual commodities from overtaking the tempo of depreciation. It is no accident that we can observe this particularly with regard to raw materials of military importance such as cotton, rubber, non-ferrous metals, etc. During the inflation, wages lag behind. Inflation means the decline of real wages. And in the last resort an inflation ruins the masses of the peasantry, despite the fact, as seen in the United States at the moment, that it depreciates the debts of the farmers and causes a certain closing of the scissors between the prices of industrial and agricultural commodities. The inflation also ruins the petty-bourgeoisie, because it depreciates their savings and their bank accounts. And in the last resort the inflation limits the purchasing power of the home market. However, inflation also limits the foreign market. At the moment 63 per cent. of all foreign trade is being conducted with depreciated currencies, 16.5 per cent. with currencies at a compulsorily fixed level, and only 20.5 per cent. in gold currencies. This creates a difficult situation. The inflation undermines both the home and foreign markets. The destructive consequences of inflation have been felt in severe crises by Germany, France, Poland and other countries, and there is not the least doubt that the fever of speculation now going on on the stock exchanges of the world will lead to a new collapse as soon as it transpires that the increased share quotations are not in accordance with the lowered profitability of the undertakings themselves.

If one considers the bare facts of the development of the economic crisis in the imperialist countries one comes to the irrefutable conclusion that where an increase of industrial production can be observed in these countries it has taken place on a basis of inflation and preparations for war. Unless a new series of wars does not fundamentally alter the development of the crisis and raise it to another stage, then the present growth of production contains in it all the preliminary conditions for a new convulsion of the crisis in the world economic system.

It is therefore not possible to consider the existing situation without taking into consideration the tremendous national and class antagonisms. The end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, the accelerated development into a new series of wars and revolutions, the struggle of the two worlds, the collisions between nations and between classes, etc., all react on the development of the world economic crisis, intensify and deepen it.

The Twelfth Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International condemned the theory that an automatic way out of the crisis would develop, and in fact the whole development of the crisis has proved the correctness of this condemnation and revealed the fact that the bourgeoisie is seeking a way out of the crisis in war, intervention and fascism. The proletariat, on the other hand, is seeking its own way out of the crisis in revolution.

The problem of the way out of the crisis will be solved in a struggle between two worlds, in the struggles between the imperialist powers, in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The World Economic Conference has produced no solution of the economic crisis. What is happening at the moment is not the development of the crisis into the less intensified form of the depression, but the development of the crisis into another and more violent convulsion.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

VI.—The Murder of the Red Commissar Zwilling and the Collective Farm "Zwilling"

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

In the south-eastern corner of the Central Volga area, in the Solletz district beyond the frontier between Europe and Asia, there lies the Cossack colony Stanitza Isobilnoya. The Orenburg Cossacks who lived in this colony were once one of the best shields of Tsarism. There is now a collective farm in Isobilnoya occupying an area of 9,000 hectares.

The history of this collective farm is very different from that of the Commune O.G.P.U. In the period of civil war the population of the Cossack colony of Isobilnoya were on the other side of the barricade. They had been educated by Tsarism in a spirit of blind obedience and trained to do their part in holding down the working masses. The men of this colony placed themselves in the services of all the counter-revolutionary troops and bands which came into the neighbourhood, no matter whether they were Czechs or the troops of Koltchak or Dutov. They also formed guerilla bands on their own account and fell upon the rear and the communications of the Red Army.

The chairman of the Orenburg Soviet, S. Zwilling, led a small detachment of 750 men against these guerilla bands, which were organised for the most part by the local Cossack kulaks. The Cossacks of Isobilnoya sent negotiators to him under the white flag and declared that they wanted to join the Red Army. They asked Zwilling to come to a meeting and address them. Zwilling did so, but when he arrived, he and his men were led into an ambush and slaughtered down to the last man. This was in the spring of 1918.

For a long time the neighbourhood was the scene of a bitter civil war. In October, 1918, Samara and a large section of the Central Volga area was captured by the Red troops and on the 22nd January, 1919, Orenburg was captured and cleaned of the Dutov bands. However, this was by no means the end of the struggle for the revolutionary emancipation of the Central Volga area. In April, 1919, Koltchak captured the very important strategical town Ufa and advanced towards the Volga. One after the other, Buguruslan, Busuluk, and the other railway stations fell into his hands, and at the same time Dutov recaptured Orsk and Aktiubinsk, to the south-east of Orenburg, and threatened the town itself. Isobilnoya was once again in the firing line.

This time, however, the political relation of forces had changed. The White troops did not know what they were fighting for and they had gradually demoralised. The 25th and 42nd Cossack Regiments and a number of other detachments went over to the Red Army in real earnest. However, the Cossacks of Isobilnoya were still in the majority firm supporters of the counter-revolution. The collective farmers in Isobilnoya do not like talking about it, but the village appears to have been a particularly dangerous nest of the kulak counter-revolution.

After the final victory of the Red Army a section of the Cossacks fled over the Chinese frontier. Another section, the poorer and middle peasants, recognised the fact that wherever the Whites established themselves they restored the domination of the rich landowners. And they went over to the side of the Soviet power. Slowly things began to develop in Isobilnoya. In 1929 the collectivisation began and to-day there is not a single individual peasant farm left.

The crime committed against the Commissar Zwilling and his men could not be repaired by the collectivist farmers of Isobilnoya, but they demonstrated their will to make amends for the crime against their own future committed under the influence of White Guardist and kulak agitation by giving the name of the murdered Commissar to their new collective farm.

To-day the Collective Farm "Zwilling" is one of the best in the district. It has even won a mandate for the collective farm shock brigade workers congress in Samara for its fine and expeditious work in carrying out the spring sowings. But even to-day

the Collective Farm "Zwilling" has its troubles to a greater extent than the Commune O.G.P.U. The latter got rid of its kulaks thoroughly, whereas the "Zwilling" collective is still not quite free of them. However, a few years of collective work have taught the Cossacks of Isobilnoya that it is impossible to fight successfully for the common good so long as enemies sit inside the community and work for the demoralisation of the collective.

In almost all the houses of the "Zwilling" collectivists, the words of Stalin can be seen in some prominent place:—

"Our next task is to make all our collective farmers prosperous. This can be done by honest work in the collectives, by the proper use of machinery, by the proper use of the draught and other animals, by proper attention to the ground, by taking great care of the property of the collectives, by consolidating labour discipline in the collectives, by excluding the kulak elements from the collectives, and by carrying out the instructions of the State implicitly."

That's all right, thought the collectivists of Isobilnoya when they prepared this year's spring sowings, but how can we use the machinery properly when we are constantly repairing it and finding it in disorder again the next day? How can we make proper use of our animals when we distribute the fodder properly and nevertheless find that the poor beasts are growing steadily weaker? How are we to pay proper attention to the fields? That means working on them quickly and well. Last year some of us declared: the fields must be sown quickly even if the quality suffers, and the quality did suffer. The fellows who talked like that sowed their fields practically without corn. And to-day the same fellows say: quality is the most important point. Quality is all right, but they work slowly and sabotage the carrying out of our labour quota.

When the newly formed political department of the tractor and machinery stations visited the collective and made an investigation into the causes of the trouble and explained the matter to the collectivists, the latter discovered that all they had to do was to read Stalin's words to the very end: "by excluding the kulak elements from the collectives . . ." and there they had the main solution to their problem.

Who damaged the machinery? Who hid the fodder, instead of giving it to the cattle and draught beasts? Who gave the slogan of good and speedy work such a counter-revolutionary interpretation? Well, here are a few of their names, with one or two particulars about them:—

Kudrin. Before the revolution this man had over 100 hectares of land and exploited a number of landworkers. After the defeat of the Whites he fled to Central Asia, returning only after a number of years. He tried to get a job, but his counter-revolutionary past had not been forgotten, and he failed. However, the collective "Zwilling" was not sufficiently watchful and he was able to enter it and carry on his counter-revolutionary activity there.

Krasnoyarzev. This man comes of a "good family." He had a rather large farm, almost an estate, and exploited several dozen landworkers. His father was executed during the civil war for counter-revolutionary actions against the Red Army. The son was an officer with the Whites and fled after their defeat with Dutov's bands to China. Two of his brothers were chiefly responsible for the murder of Zwilling and his men. Murder and counter-revolutionary insurrection are no longer a paying game under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but Krasnoyarzev succeeded in entering the collective "Zwilling" and doing as much damage there as he could. The investigation showed that this man was one of the chief organisers of numerous thefts of collective property, including camels, cows, and sheep.

Suchov. This man was formerly a cattle dealer and an active

White. He succeeded in becoming the labour controller of the second brigade in the collective "Zwilling." For himself and his kulak friends he registered double the amount of work done and robbed the best collective workers of much of their credit for their work by making false entries in the books. This naturally caused much resentment and disorganised the work of the brigade for a long period.

These were not the only ones. There were other Whites who felt that their previous crimes had been forgotten and that they could commit new ones with impunity. They were exposed during the work for spring sowings and excluded from the collective. And what was the result? The machinery suddenly began to work smoothly, the cattle and horses began to recover rapidly, and the work of the collective farm improved speedily and began to meet with success. It is possible that there are still other kulak elements concealed in the collective, but the rooting out of Kudrin, Suchov, Krasnoyarshev has been a great blow to them, and the spring sowings campaign has been successfully concluded, so that 200 hectares of fallow land over and above the plan were sown and many of the collectivists then formed a brigade and went over to help a neighbouring and backward collective farm with its work. The most important result of this struggle against the kulak elements in Isobilnoya was that it has thoroughly awakened the watchfulness of the real collectivist elements against the machinations of the kulaks. They now appreciate the words of Comrade Budionny to the full: "there are no bad horses, only bad horse tenders." They have learnt that the machines are reliable and do their work when they are properly taken care of. They have learnt that it is possible to sow both quickly and well. And, above all, they have learnt to distinguish the difficulties set by nature from those artificially created by the class enemy.

The Work of the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations

By J. R.

After the victory achieved in the spring sowing campaign in the whole of the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks, and in particular the new political departments in agriculture, proceeded to prepare and organise the harvest and the grain supply.

The grain supply campaign in this year fundamentally differs from that of last year, for grain will be delivered not on the basis of the contracts, but on the basis of the new law, according to which every collective and individual farm has fully to comply both in regard to quantity and quality, with its obligations for the supply of grain. The law concerning the grain supply constitutes a definite scheme which does not permit any counter-plan or deviation as happened in previous years.

In order to comply with this law it is of utmost importance for each farm to prepare for the harvest and to make a correct calculation of the harvest yield. The Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations, which were set up at the end of March, are now everywhere organising production conferences. These conferences are now allotting the tasks and work to each individual member of the collective farm, to the various farms of the district, among the brigades, etc. The Political Departments are combining the two qualities which Lenin designated as indispensable for the Bolsheviks: Russian revolutionary enthusiasm and American efficiency! The production conferences are conducted with great thoroughness. Special testing commissions are set up, which are entrusted with examining the stocks of draught cattle, the machines, the buildings, etc., in order to ensure a good harvest yield. The production conferences see to it that these commissions deliver their reports punctually and check the carrying out of the measures which have been decided upon. As a result of this thorough preparation for the harvest, the whole mass of the collective peasants is being mobilised for the harvest.

The Political Departments of the Communists in agriculture have to overcome not a few difficulties. These difficulties arise in the first place from the fact that the class enemy still persists in the agricultural districts. Former kulaks and those elements which are under the influence of the kulaks, are playing their nefarious role inside the collective farms, on the Soviet estates and in the Machine and Tractor Stations themselves.

How actively the class enemies in the rural districts are work-

ing is again proved by the wrecking organisation which recently was discovered in the Ukraine.

The spring sowing campaign concluded with the defeat of these hostile elements.

Ukrainian agriculture, which last year worked very badly, has up to 1st of June of this year cultivated 1½ million hectares more than last year and terminated the sowing of beetroots twenty-five days earlier than in 1932. This was chiefly due to the work of the Political Departments. The class enemy is setting his hopes upon a bad harvest and the failure in the campaign for grain collection. In order "to correct fortune" he resorts to the most cunning methods of sabotage. The grain hardly begins to shoot up when these elements creep into the fields in order to cut the stalks during the night. Others try to damage the collective farm by arousing unrest and bad feeling among the less class-conscious elements by means of prophesying a bad harvest.

The Political Departments, as the outposts of the Party in socialist agriculture, met these wrecking activities on the part of the kulaks with the necessary measures. They revealed the "scientific" basis of such harvest prophecies, they instituted mass protection of collective property, they enlightened the masses of peasants on the meaning of the law for the collection of grain and the role which the kulaks are playing.

A peculiarity of this year's grain collection campaign consists in the fact that the Machine and Tractor Stations must be paid in kind by the collective farms which they serve. The Machine and Tractor Stations have to collect this payment on the basis of a model treaty which has become law according to a decision of the Council of People's Commissars. The collective farms have to pay the Machine and Tractor Stations the appropriate quantity of grain from the harvest for the use of the tractors and the other agricultural implements. The Machine and Tractor Station delivers this quantity, less 5 per cent., for the provisioning of its own workers and for the premium rewards for the tractor drivers to the appropriate collecting centre of the State. The leaders of the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations, the managers of the collective farms and the secretaries of the Party nuclei in the collectives are responsible for the correct calculation of the payment in kind, and for the punctual delivery of this payment.

The Party and the Young Communist League set themselves the task of converting these collecting centres for grain into small cultural centres of Socialism. Every collective centre is to have at least one red corner and a reading room. In many localities cinema, radio and a stage are fitted in. The collecting centre will supply permanent information by means of statistics and wireless on the progress in the grain supply campaign. The peasants who bring their grain to this collecting centre are encouraged thereby as they are able to realise that the cause of the grain supply is their common cause and that the grain policy of the Soviet is correct.

Socialist competition and the shock brigade movement is of great importance in the preparation for the harvest and the grain supply. The Political Departments are more and more elaborating these methods. A competition of the collective farms throughout the whole Soviet Union has been organised. Competitions between various Republics and districts and inside these districts between various Machine and Tractor Stations with the participation of individual peasants are proceeding. The Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans, for instance, set itself the aim, that all the collective farms, all the Soviet estates, all Machine and Tractor Stations, as well as all individual peasants, must fulfil all their obligations right up to the 15th anniversary of the Republic of the Volga Germans, October 15.

The tasks of the Political Departments in socialist agriculture are variegated and extensive. The Political Departments are becoming, in this campaign, the Communist leaders of socialist agriculture. The results of the campaign, the results of the grain supply in autumn will be their reward.

Correction

A typographical error occurred in Comrade Page Arnot's article, "The Sham Constitution for India," published in No. 31, page 683. On the second column of this page, second line, where it reads: Churchill, Lloyd George and others prefer . . . it should read: Churchill, Lord Lloyd and others prefer . . .

The Greatest Canal in the World Completed

Moscow, June 29.

In one year and nine months the greatest canal in the world, connecting the White Sea with the Baltic, has been completed. This undertaking leaves the Panama and Suez canals far in the shade, for it took decades to build them. The length of the waterway from the White Sea to the Baltic is 227 km., almost one and a half times longer than the Suez canal and three times longer than the Panama canal. The new waterway has involved the building of 19 locks, 15 barrages, 12 water outlets, 40 dykes, and 32 secondary canals. For thousands of years the road from the Baltic to the White Sea has been via Scandinavia, and has taken at least 17 days. Now the road is more than three times shorter, and the Soviet ships do not need to round the Scandinavian peninsula. The canal alters the geography of the district. More than 100 islands in the Wyg Sea, now submerged by the higher level of the water, have ceased to exist. A section of the Murmansk railway alters its direction; 104 km. of the line have been branched off and a new and higher railway embankment built. Over the whole tract of country involved the builders of the canal have laid down excellent roads. The whole of the equipment of the numerous hydrotechnical plants have been furnished by Soviet work and of Soviet material. The opening of the canal ensures for the Soviet North the shortest possible connection with the industrial centres. During the second Five-Year Plan the goods turnover of the canal will attain ten million tons. This canal will play a part of paramount importance. The work of building it was entrusted to the State Political Administration in November, 1932.

The Co-operative Movement

Bankruptcy of the Reformist Co-operatives

By H. Oswald

The consumers' co-operatives of Western Europe as they now exist are in their overwhelming majority a product of the reform concessions of the bourgeoisie. In the period when capitalism was on the upgrade, the bourgeoisie allowed free scope to the dreams of the co-operators about the peaceful transformation of the present social order into a socialist society.

In the period of its development, industrial capital did not come out against the consumers' co-operatives. The co-operatives did not tamper with the essence of capitalism.

The basis of the reformist co-operative movement—**political neutrality**—was useful to capitalism in its struggle against the workers. The reformist co-operative movement pursued the policy of diverting the worker members and their organisations, which branched out in many directions, from the revolutionary struggle and leading them along the path of class collaboration with the capitalists.

The role of the consumers' co-operatives during the world war is well known. The leaders of the co-operatives were the first to come out for the support of the war governments under the slogan of the defence of the fatherland.

The leaders of the co-operatives also rushed to the aid of the bourgeoisie in the period of an immediate revolutionary situation (1918-1921), just as they did in the years of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. The co-operatives transformed themselves into one of the main supports of capitalist society.

During the period of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, "co-operative socialism" went through an "evolution." The thesis that the consumers' co-operatives had sufficient possibilities to develop within the framework of the capitalist system was put in its place. After that the co-operatives developed more and more into an integral part of capitalist economy. This found its expression in the entanglement of the reformist co-operatives with the undertakings of finance capital and with the State apparatus.

Tens of thousands of social democratic, trade union and co-operative functionaries were pushed into various State and muni-

cipal positions and were drawn into the administrative and supervisory councils of the big capitalist undertakings. In this way an important source for the "increased standard of life" was created for the bureaucracy.

The world economic crisis has thrown overboard the viewpoint of the reformist leaders regarding the duration and stability of prosperity. As a result of the capitalist economic policy, the economic crisis had the same effect upon the co-operative organisations as on the organisations of private trade.

The serious crisis which the consumers' co-operatives are now experiencing is still being particularly intensified by the sharpening of the class contradictions and the increased class struggles.

Particularly in the countries where the bourgeoisie still sees a way out of the crisis in the fascist dictatorship, the situation in the co-operatives is becoming still more complicated by the fascists taking them over. The consumers' co-operatives are being occupied by fascism notwithstanding the fact that the reformist leading committees of the co-operatives in Germany are "ready to serve."

The same fate is overtaking the "National Union of the German Consumers' Co-operatives," which was founded in 1905 in opposition to Marxism. Despite the fact that the "National Union was genuinely German, genuinely national and genuinely Christian" ("Konsumgenossenschaftliche Praxis" of 5.5.1933), the Christian consumers' societies were seized by the so-called "Labour Front" of fascism just as the reformist co-operatives were.

Although "in the course of a number of years the social-democratic leaders were selected from the 'best' representatives of the social-democratic party, they proved themselves to be the living bridge from social democracy to fascism." (Manuilsky.) And despite that they have been chased out by the fascists.

The leaders of the co-operatives still had hopes in Hitler, even after he already came to power, they still had hopes in him when in his speech in the Reichstag on March 22 he replied to Wels to the proposal of social democracy: "We no longer need the social democracy."

But even after that they still did not give up their hopes. They hoped that they would be able to save their posts by still further degradation.

Everything that the leadership of the German co-operative movement did recently was in the nature of crawling on their bellies before the national-socialists. It did not help at all that the Wholesale Society "itself demanded" the appointment of a government commissar by Hitler.

Fascism is convinced that it does not have to fear the reformist and Christian leaders of the German consumers' co-operatives. It knows quite well that the reformist leadership will serve it faithfully. But the point at issue is quite different. It is not a question of the leadership but of the co-operative organisations and the millions of worker members who are organised in the co-operatives.

The consumers' co-operatives of Germany, both reformist and Christian, comprise about four million members, predominantly workers, and have an extensive network of organisations which embrace 1,750 consumers' societies.

Fascism knew what role the consumers' co-operatives can play during the consolidation of the forces of the working class.

It endeavours to use these mass organisations for its own purpose in order thereby to extend the mass basis of fascism.

This was the reason why the consumers' co-operatives in Germany were occupied by the fascists.

The fate of the co-operatives in Germany must be a lesson for the million members of the co-operatives and for the entire working class of Germany. But the international co-operative movement also has to draw a lesson from this.

The policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, the policy of the "lesser evil" employed by the social democrats and the reformists does not serve the workers' co-operatives and the working class in general but, on the contrary, has helped fascism to come to power.

The consumers' co-operatives, which have a membership of millions of men and women workers, can, however, under class-conscious revolutionary leadership, be transformed into a means of proletarian class struggle for a revolutionary way out of the crisis.

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