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After the Passing of the "Enabling Act" in Germany

By F. Brand (Berlin)

The passing of the "Enabling Act," which gives to the Hitler-Papen-Hugenberg government completely unlimited dictatorial powers for four years, acquires its special importance by reason of the fact that the Centre and also the Bavarian People's Party voted for it under the strong pressure of the threats contained in the Chancellor's speech. All fractions of the German bourgeoisie have thereby submitted to fascism.

The "unanimity" with which all parties of the bourgeoisie have declared themselves for the open fascist dictatorship must not, however, conceal the profound differences which still exist. The bourgeoisie are unanimous on only one point; **annihilation of Communism and throttling of the revolutionary danger.** But the antagonism between **industrial** and **bank** capital, against which the agrarian protectionist policy of the government is directed, and **agrarian** capital, whose interests mainly determine the economic policy of Hitler and Hugenberg, continue undiminished in spite of all the declarations of loyalty. Hitler, in his speech in the Reichstag, attempted to reassure the exporting industries, and Hugenberg's state secretary, **Dr. Bang**, has in a number of long articles attempted to persuade them that the commercial policy of the government will turn out to be in their favour; but the facts, which are a thousand times stronger than all the strongest words, speak another language.

The antagonisms between the **fascist government parties** and the **Centre and its Bavarian branch** are of course also not to be overcome, even though these parties make ever such loyal declarations of support in the Reichstag. The vice-chancellor von Papen

is continuing his endeavours to split the Centre; and the Centre bureaucracy, supported by the Catholic Church and its numerous clerical organisations, is continuing its underground fight against the government and its parties and is only waiting for a more favourable time in order again to play a leading part in politics.

More important than these differences at the present time are the **antagonisms in the government camp itself.** Whilst Hitler's declaration that the composition of the government would remain unchanged even after the election was enforced by strong pressure and even the threat of martial law, and whilst Article V of the "Enabling Act," according to which the Act only remains in force during the lifetime of the present government, means a success for Hugenberg, there is no doubt that the fight between the government parties is still proceeding behind the scenes. The national socialists have not given way to the pressure of the German nationalists, who wished to make Papen Prime Minister of Prussia, but declare that they, who after the exclusion of the Communists from the Prussian Diet have the absolute majority, will appoint one of their party members, namely Goehring, Prime Minister of Prussia. His appointment was postponed only because Hitler did not wish to have an open conflict in the government camp before the "Enabling Act" had been passed.

A second important point of difference between the government parties is the **question of the monarchy.** Hitler is by no means against the restoration of the Hohenzollern monarchy, but he declares that "it cannot be discussed at the present time,"

because in the present situation it would mean a strengthening of the German nationalists as against the national socialists, and because the Nazis wish to wait until they alone have the power and are able to make the monarchy dependent upon them.

Hitler's declaration is all the more significant because on the previous day, in the Prussian Diet, the German nationalist leader **von Winterfeldt**—it is true, amidst the icy silence of the Nazis—had demanded the speedy restoration of the Hohenzollern monarchy. The latest events prove that the German nationalists are forced almost completely on the defensive against the Hitler party. And there are already leading people of the Hugenberg party who, in the circle of their political friends, openly say that if things go on as they are they also will shortly be turned out of the government, and that they have to fear the fate of the other old bourgeois parties, preventive arrest, etc. Such statements were made, for example, a few days ago by **Leverenz**, the chairman of the Berlin party organisation of the German nationalists.

Of the greatest importance also are the antagonisms in the Hitler party itself, which result from the class character of the various strata of the national socialist followers. The first weeks of rejoicing over the finally achieved victory of Hitler are passed. Now feelings of discontent, of dissatisfaction with the results are growing. Neither in his Potsdam speech nor in his government declaration in Berlin has Hitler given any concrete indication of what he intends to give to the toiling masses of his supporters who are now expecting from him the fulfilment of all the national socialist promises. Instead of an acknowledgment of any "German socialism," Hitler has proclaimed "the greatest encouragement of private initiative," i.e., of capitalism. Instead of any alleviation he announced measures which "cannot reckon on any popularity." In their attacks on the big stores and the Stock Exchange, the Nazi supporters learnt from practical experience that Hitler's and Goehring's police protect the warehouses and Stock Exchanges which the national socialists promised to do away with. There is nothing left for the Hitler government, as representing the interests of monopolist finance capital, than to increase the plundering of the working masses in order thereby to obtain the means to subvention bankrupt capitalism. Hence the "reform" of the unemployment insurance, of the health insurance, etc., hence also the break with the system of tariff wages, which has already been introduced in order to depress the wages of all workers still further. All these factors must, of course, also have an effect on the supporters of fascism among the working population; but it would be dangerous to overestimate the tempo of this development, for it is certain that fascism will seek to conceal its anti-working class economic and social policy by means of a number of manoeuvres. These include, in the first place, "the provision of work." The Reichs Minister for Labour **Seldte** has mentioned 3000 million marks as being the sum which is to be devoted to this purpose, and **Luther's** replacement by **Schacht** means that the Reichsbank will finance this "experiment." These 3000 million marks mean a very serious **danger of inflation**, the more so as at the same time the budget expenditure has increased enormously as a result of the extension of the subvention policy, the financing of the auxiliary police, the setting up of new ministries, the appointment of thousands of new officials. The social manoeuvre of "providing work" therefore involves serious dangers. The leading circles of fascism are, of course, quite clear about this. If they nevertheless intend to pursue this course, it is simply under compulsion, because they must do something in order to satisfy their supporters.

Fascism is endeavouring to divert the masses of its supporters by a new terrorist offensive and by stirring up chauvinistic feeling. The hopeless position of isolation in foreign politics in which the Hitler government finds itself at present makes it appear expedient to it to conceal its imperialist policy. But this cannot hide the actual situation, which is marked by an aggravation of antagonisms such as has never existed since 1923. The danger of an imperialist war is growing from week to week and is increased by the armaments policy and chauvinist propaganda of fascism.

All the inner antagonisms of the fascist dictatorship and of its objective difficulties furnish the prerequisites for organising the counter-offensive of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party. Therefore the fight for the anti-fascist united front stands in the forefront; therefore one of the chief tasks is to defend the trade unions as organisations of class

struggle against their fascisation; therefore the Communist party calls upon all Communists to enter the trade unions and carry on an intensive work in the factories and trade unions for organising the resistance to fascism. The mass campaign for the release of Comrade **Thaelmann** and all other class war prisoners, the leadership of the masses in the political mass strike for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be closely connected with social and political questions and questions of wages.

There is every sign that the masses are waiting for a lead. It is reported that the workers in the factories eagerly seize the illegal propaganda material distributed by the Communists, that everywhere where systematic work by the Communists has commenced the mood of depression disappears, and it is to be seen that the main forces of the working class remain intact.

Politics

The Emergency Decree Dictatorship in Austria

The Hitler dictatorship in Germany has rapidly changed the whole political situation in Austria. It has led to an acceleration of the fascist development in Austria. The bourgeoisie have gone over to a system of **fascist emergency decrees**.

The Austrian bourgeoisie, following the German example, are employing the fiercest terror against the Communist Party, and declare quite openly that they intend by these measures to prevent a "centre of German Communism" being set up in Austria.

The terror which the reaction is organising against the Communist Party is the expression of the absolute helplessness of the Austrian bourgeoisie in face of the tremendous economic crisis and misery. A big blow is to be dealt against Communism. Hitler is the model. The Communist Party of Austria is to be paralysed, shattered and forced into illegality, either now officially, by a prohibition, or by a number of emergency decrees rendering all activity of the Party practically illegal.

But the emergency order dictatorship of the Dollfuss government is not simply an extension of the Hitler dictatorship into Austria. The most necessary prerequisite for the fight against fascist reaction and for the mobilisation of the workers is to analyse the **specific** class relations in Austria. Austria is one of the most important focuses of imperialist antagonisms in Central Europe. It is an important link in the Versailles system. Every big inner-political change becomes a problem of foreign policy and of the relations of Austria to the Versailles bloc, headed by France, and to Germany and Italy, who aim at a revision of the Versailles treaty. This imperialist struggle of the two blocs experienced a considerable intensification during the last few weeks in connection with the Hirtenberg arms smuggling affair. The Hitler dictatorship in Germany has aggravated these antagonisms to the utmost; it was bound to promote tremendously the growth of the Nazi movement and its agitation for the inclusion of Austria in fascist Germany. The new elections demanded by the Austrian Nazis would certainly bring a decided shifting in the play of parliamentary forces and in the extra-parliamentary forces. The present government majority would become a minority.

As against these tendencies, however, the exceedingly strong influence of France and England is continuing to have an effect on the political situation developing in Austria. These Powers recognise that a victory of the Nazis would bring Austria into the German-Italian-Hungarian bloc. Even to-day a great part of the Austrian bourgeoisie have a Franco-British orientation owing to the considerable financial dependence of Austria on English and French finance capital, even though Italy has undoubtedly gained considerable ground in Austria of late.

Thus the emergency decree dictatorship is also intended to check the further progress of national socialism. There is here reflected the antagonism between two fascist groups—the Heimwehr and the Nazis. It is the resistance of the Catholic christian-socialist party to the danger of absorption threatening them, of being overpowered by national socialism, just as has

happened in Germany. The christian socialist party in Austria have far more favourable possibilities of defending themselves in view of the independence of Austria and the strong foreign influences which are hostile to national fascism. The christian socialist party, as the leading government party, are to a considerable extent the bearers of French influence, and it was not due to chance that the proclamation of the Dollfuss dictatorship took place almost on the same day as the setting up of the Reich-Commissioner in Catholic Bavaria.

Under such circumstances, the response of the German Right press to the events in Austria was perfectly plain. The "**Berliner Boersenzeitung**" spoke of a "fronde of the Centre party in Austria," and declared that:

"Neighbouring Austria is obviously the last bastion which the Centre in Austria, the christian-socialist party, are defending against advancing national socialism."

It then further stated:

"That the emergency orders form only the prelude to the setting up of a dictatorial regime, which shall prevent the simultaneous rise of the national renaissance movements in the Reich and in Austria."

It is these antagonisms between Austrian Hitler-fascism and the Heimwehr which have so far prevented the setting up of the fascist front in Austria. As a result, the position of the bourgeoisie is considerably weaker than in Germany, whilst in addition the Dollfuss dictatorship is based on parties whose influence among the masses of the people is rapidly declining, so that the dictatorship of the Dollfuss government has a far narrower basis than the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

The Heimwehr are an organisation akin to the Stahlhelm. After the formation of the Hitler-Papen government, the leaders of the Austrian Heimwehr declared:

"The best head in this government is the present vice-chancellor Papen, and it is in his hands that the actual leadership of the cabinet will lie."

On 6th March, the day after the German elections and a few days before the proclamation of the Dollfuss dictatorship, the Nazis replied in an open letter to Starhemberg that:

"Between the two (Heimwehr and Nazis) there exists on all fundamental questions not only no agreement, but on the contrary an unbridgeable gulf."

As the history of the fight between Hitler and Hugenberg shows, one must not overestimate such phrases of the Nazis as "an unbridgeable gulf." Nevertheless, at the given moment this rift in fascism plays a relatively important role. In regard to these antagonisms it must not be forgotten that they have a strong foreign political character, and therefore are not so easily bridgeable, as was the case in Germany.

What role is the social democracy playing? The fact that the bourgeoisie are suppressing the social democratic newspapers and meetings is due to the circumstance that the socialist party of Austria is still to-day the mass party of the proletariat; that there exists the danger of the resistance of the proletariat, against the will of the social democratic leaders, crystallising round the lower social democratic organisations, and because the social democracy at present is obliged to use radical phrases which shall serve to deceive the working masses.

Owing to its capitulation policy, however, the social democracy is bound to become a supporter of the emergency order dictatorship, and it has already pronounced in favour of the introduction of an emergency order system. The leaders of the social democratic party of Austria have themselves prepared the way for this emergency order dictatorship. They only desire such a dictatorial system as will secure their collaboration. The fascist Federal Constitution of 1929, which came about with the approval of the social democracy, provides for presidential emergency decrees which require the co-operation of a small parliamentary sub-committee. The social democracy is now becoming a concealed propagandist of this parliamentary badly disguised dictatorship. In spite of the new events, it has maintained the offer of coalition which it made to the christian socialists a few days before the exclusion of parliament, and it will endeavour to make out to the working masses that the emergency order dictatorship is the "lesser evil" compared with the national socialist dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie see the danger threatening them from the Communist Party. Hence the increased terror against it. It is precisely in such a situation, however, that the proletariat

perceives that the Communist Party is the only revolutionary anti-fascist force.

The Communist Party of Austria comes before the working class with plain slogans. It is the initiator of the mass fight against the emergency order dictatorship. It is strengthening its efforts to set up the united front. To this end, in accordance with the Manifesto of the Comintern, it proposed to the social democracy to conduct a common fight against the emergency order dictatorship by employing the most extreme fighting measures. The social democracy is given the opportunity of showing whether, in this situation, it is prepared to fight for the arming of the proletariat and disarming fascism, including the Heimwehr and the Nazis, for the withdrawal of all emergency decrees, for withdrawal of the military who were ordered to Vienna in the last few days, against the victimisation of the railway workers, and for preventing the threatening wage cuts.

Regardless of the attitude of the social democracy, the C.P. of Austria has immediately commenced to organise the fight of the working class for these demands.

The fascist terror is intended to divert attention from the collapse of the economic system in Austria. Austrian capitalism lives only by the constant injections given it by international capital. But these doctors are now squabbling over which of them is to be the "saviour" of Austria. This economic impotency will not be reduced one iota by the fascist terror. The present situation opens up for the C.P. of Austria the perspective of a further rapid increase in strength and influence.

Nationalist and Pro-Fascist Campaign in France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The setting up of the fascist dictatorship in Germany came as a welcome event to the French bourgeoisie. Since 30th January, the French bourgeois press has been unable to make up its mind whether it should hold up Hitler as a bogey or as an inspiring example. The possibility of making play with the threat of a German Reich under autocratic leadership, which is strengthening its military forces with the aid of the Stahlhelm and the Brown Shirts and is compelled to resort to foreign-political manoeuvres as a means of diversion, induced French imperialism to launch a large-scale campaign for strengthening the state power in France, for the national concentration of the parties, as well as for greater security by more intensive war preparations.

The incorporation of the fascist bands in the police, as well as the incidents in Kehl, was declared to be a violation of the Versailles Treaty and of the Pact of Locarno. There was a loud demand for sanctions. The enormous increase in the military orders for the metal industry and the registration of gas-proof underground chambers in Paris and in the neighbourhood have greatly disquieted the population. The organ of the French General Staff, the "Echo de Paris," makes use of this circumstance in order to announce that the Right parties will develop a big agitation in the whole country in order "to arouse the still sleeping masses." The waves of chauvinism are rising everywhere.

For this reason also the bourgeoisie intend to achieve the greatest possible unity of the imperialist forces in the government and in parliament—a unity which will at the same time enable it to break the resistance of the masses to war adventures.

The movement of the state employees and municipal workers, which failed only on account of reformist treachery, the growing excitement among the small peasants in face of the fresh drop in the price of agricultural products, the protest movement against the new taxes, the strike movement of the 300,000 miners, have caused great uneasiness in the capitalist camp. The bourgeoisie are now endeavouring to divert the anger of the masses by making use of the disappointment which has arisen as a result of the complete bankruptcy of the policy of the governing Left parties. There is a disquieting increase in the number of articles in newspapers and periodicals stigmatising the failure of parliamentarism and demanding the revision of the constitution, the setting up of a "strong government," etc.

The fact that the "**Petit Journal**," the organ of one of the ministers of the Daladier government, started a discussion on

the question: "Does France want a Dictatorship?" is a sign of the times which is plain to everybody. The answers to this question are, of course, not openly in the affirmative. But behind the subtle declarations of **Flandin**, **Caillaux** and even of the extreme radical **Bergery** there is hidden the concern of the bourgeoisie, which is openly confessed by Paul Renaud:

"The government of France does not stand on the same height as the governments of Germany and Italy. It is urgently necessary to raise it to this level."

The greatest efforts are being made to keep the mass demonstrations of the farmers, small business people and tax payers in reactionary channels. Following the example of German national socialism, the reactionaries are endeavouring to persuade the masses that "Marxism" is the cause of all their sufferings. These masses are only too inclined to believe this assertion when they see the abyss to which the systematic policy of capitulation and deception pursued by the socialist party has led.

The social democratic party is working together with the bourgeoisie in order to promote the idea of a coalition of the democratic states against fascism. The social democratic party has never once pointed to the responsibility of French imperialism for the rise of fascism in Germany. It has trust in the government that it will prevent Germany from rearming, but carefully avoids exposing France's increased armaments. This is quite understandable, as the social democratic parliamentary fraction has always voted for the military credits.

The social democratic party has not made any reply to the offer of a united front addressed to it two weeks ago by the Communist Party. The party has left it to its journalists to declare brazenly that Communism is solely responsible for the events in Germany. Leon Blum can only find arguments of the following kind in reply to the hysterical campaign of the bourgeoisie:

"The horror of the Nazi movement precludes us from imitating it. . . . Socialist functionaries, we will continue to appeal to reason against such aberrations of instinct."

It is with such fine phrases that it is intended to divert the workers and peasants from the unavoidably necessary mass actions and to prepare the way for fascism in France just as in Germany.

The situation is serious. There is no doubt that chauvinism, wrapped in a democratic mantle and hidden behind the idea of an authoritarian government, is making rapid progress among the broad strata of the disappointed and uprooted population. In face of this situation, the Communist Party is sounding the alarm. It has just started a big collection campaign which will enable it to increase the agitation and fight against misery, fascism and war.

The Government Crisis in Spain

The "socialist-republican government" of Spain has been placed in an exceedingly difficult position by the "Casa Viejas" affair. The difficulties of the situation are expressed not so much in the parliamentary majority of the government being threatened; they rather consist in the fact that never since its formation has the government suffered such a big loss of prestige and that, before all it is the toiling peasants and the workers who have received an object lesson regarding the actual character of "their" government. Even the monarchist revolt of the civil guard under Sanjurjo in Seville falls into the background in comparison with the present affair.

The events that took place in Casa Viejas are already generally known. Following the anarchist putch in Catalonia, it came to revolutionary outbreaks in a number of towns and villages. Many big estates of the Spanish nobility and the Church were seized by the landworkers and peasants, divided up and brought under the plough. It came to such actions also in the small mountain town of Casa Viejas, during the course of which the peasants killed several civil guards who resisted the seizure of the land of the big landowners. A big punitive expedition consisting of civil guards and storm guards were sent against the insurgent landworkers and peasants in Casa Viejas. These police troops, who are hated like poison by the working population and at bottom are monarchist-minded, behaved in Casa Viejas as if they were in an enemy country. A house in which several of the insurgents had barricaded themselves was burnt down.

The fire, in which many insurgents perished, spread to other houses, so that a considerable part of the neighbourhood was reduced to ashes. But it was not this act of savage incendiarism that called forth the popular movement against the government, but the further behaviour of the civil guard, who made indiscriminate arrests among the population and shot down 14 arrested in cold blood.

The Communist Party made itself the mouthpiece of the popular indignation. For weeks it conducted a persistent campaign which brought ever larger masses into movement. The monarchist-clerical Opposition, which represents the interests of the big landowners in the most reactionary form, made use of the occasion in order demagogically to come forward on behalf of the victims. The government was violently assailed in parliament and in the press, and in order to save its face it was compelled to institute an inquiry. The head of the government, **Azana**, hesitated right up to the last moment to publish the result of this inquiry. When this was no longer possible, the government resorted to fresh tactics. It admitted that "serious mistakes" had been made, but sought a scapegoat in the person of the officer in command, upon whom it attempted to place all the blame. When this manoeuvre failed to silence the oppositional press and the Parliamentary Opposition, the government even sacrificed one of the leading officers of the civil guard. But this measure came too late in order to bring about a change of feeling and to exculpate the government.

The "socialists" who are participating in the government, in spite of the fact that at their last party congress they adopted a resolution demanding the dissolution of the civil guard, stuck to the government through thick and through thin.

The parliamentary deputy **Balbontin**, who recently came over to the Communist Party of Spain, was, both in parliament and at meetings, the only real indicter of the government. He was therefore suspended for several sessions of parliament—an exceedingly rare event in Spain—on account of his courageous advocacy of the cause of the victims of Casa Viejas.

The government, it is true, seriously exposed itself in parliament, but with the support of the socialists and by putting the question of confidence, it was able to secure its usual majority. But never since the existence of the socialist-republican government have the democratic illusions of the Spanish workers, and also of the peasantry received such a severe shaking. The bloodbath in Casa Viejas has opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, discredited the government, exposed the socialists and rapidly increased the influence of the Communist Party in Spain, which was able to place itself at the head of this movement.

The Expropriation of the Small Depositors in the United States

Of the 19,000 banks in the U.S.A. 2000 have opened again. Amidst the noise of the press agitation on the necessity of having "confidence" in the banks and the praises of the "saviours of the country," there is taking place a wholesale and unexampled plundering of the masses, before all of the small depositors.

It is no longer a secret that the closing of the banks had been prepared a long time beforehand, and that in face of the obvious financial catastrophe **Roosevelt** had conferred with **Hoover** on the closing of the banks already three weeks before 6th March. The burden of the bank catastrophe was as far as possible to be cast on to the small depositors. Whilst the whole press asserted that everything was in perfect order in the banks, and the banker, James Brown, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, reproached the anxious depositors with having spread alarmist reports and declared that there was not the least cause for any uneasiness; whilst the Governor of New York (also a big banker) officially declared that there was no thought of a bank moratorium, the big capitalists withdrew vast sums from the banks. When the broad public realised the danger, the banks were closed for an indefinite period.

The government does not give any exact figures regarding the number of banks which have opened again. The banks which have reopened are paying out only 5 per cent. of the deposits, and the saving banks are not paying out more than 25 dollars a week, regardless of the amount of the deposit. It is not known

for the time being when the remaining banks will open again, and which of them will not open at all. Many of the so-called weak banks are placed in the hands of special controllers, who have either to liquidate the undertaking or put its affairs in order. In either case the depositors will be paid only a part of their deposits.

Not only the small but also a part of the big banks are now being administered by these controllers. The **First National Bank** and the **Guardian National Bank**, which Ford was to have rescued, are already under the supervision of the controllers, as is also one of the largest New York banks, the **Harriman National Bank**. The chairman, Joseph **Harriman**, was arrested on 15th March. He is accused of embezzling sums amounting in all to a million dollars. The arrest of Harriman is a link in the long chain of robbery, deception and fraud practised on the small depositors and trades people. The former Senator, Luke Lee, and the heads of the **Bank of the United States**, Bernard **Marcus** and Saul **Singer**, have been sentenced to imprisonment for misappropriating the funds belonging to the depositors. The Ministry of Justice has now instituted an inquiry into the activity of the former chairman of one of the largest banks in the United States, the **National City Bank**, who recently resigned his office in con-

nection with the scandal which the exposure of his frauds called forth.

In the hope of covering at least a part of the enormous budget deficit, Congress has passed a law permitting the sale and production of beer. A tax revenue of 125 million dollars is anticipated from this source. The prices of alcoholic liquors have been raised 10 to 25 per cent.

The Bulletin of the **Standard Statistic Company** wrote on 13th March regarding the disastrous influence of the bank crisis on the economic life of the country and on the situation of the toiling population that the actual holding back of the bank deposits and the circumstance that an essential part of the purchasing power is being destroyed, because many weak banks will never open again, give every reason to expect that in the next few months there will be a further worsening in many branches of economy. Under these circumstances it would be scarcely possible to avoid a further increase of bankruptcies and unemployment and a further decline in wages. As a matter of fact, the last weekly statistics indicate a further and severe intensification of the crisis. The production index fell in one week by over 3 per cent, and the transport of goods by 8.5 per cent. The index of automobile production fell in the second week of March from 33.3 to 18 per cent.

Germany The Social Democratic Leaders Prepared to Sell Out to Fascism

By Marcel Cachin (Paris)

"L'Humanite" of 24th March publishes a leading article by Marcel Cachin, from which we publish the following extracts.—Ed.

It is high time to call the attention of the social democratic workers of France and of the whole world to the attitude of the leaders of the Second International, who are also the leaders of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, and to warn them against these leaders.

The leaders of the German social democracy and trade unions have announced their readiness to come to an understanding with the fascists who are massacring the workers in the whole of Germany and have instituted a regime of white terror.

This assertion we are making is confirmed even by Vandervelde, who wrote as follows in a Paris newspaper:

"There is a very disquieting tendency in German trade union circles which is attempting to tolerate the worst of all governments in the hope of being tolerated by it. In short, which is ready to allow itself to be fascised."

Leipart and Grassmann have been negotiating for some days with Goehring. They have succeeded in obtaining from this fascist the evacuation of the A.D.G.B. school, which was occupied by the Nazis. In return, they are prepared to submit to the fascist dictatorship.

When the savage campaign of terror of Hitler's Brown Shirts was let loose, Leipart and Grassmann sent the following letter to Hindenburg, who had handed over power to Hitler:

"We apply to you, Herr Reichs-President, as the leader who combines in his person the tradition of the old Germany and the dignity of the new Germany.

"In our Fatherland, which is torn by political contradictions, you are the representative of the unity of our people. . . .

"We appeal to you to put an end to the terror which is threatening the lives and the property of the workers.

"The trade unions are opposed to the use of force. During and after the war the trade unions were the advance-guard which fought for the unity and freedom of our people.

"We look to you to prevent the destruction of the property of the trade unions and the persecution of their members."

That is the language employed by these leaders of the reformist trade union international. But the leaders of the German social democracy are no better. The opening of the Reichstag clearly revealed their cringing attitude. Two days after the terrorist election of 5th March, one could read the

following in their official organ, the "Sozialdemokratischer Pressedienst":

"The new Reichs government has received its mandate from an 'indisputable' majority. It is perfectly obvious that it holds power lawfully. Moderation and wisdom are therefore necessary, both in foreign policy and in home policy."

After this open declaration of loyalty to the Hitler government, the same social democratic organ wrote on 9th March (four days after the terror had set in):

"Communism means Bolshevism, and with Bolshevism the organisation of the German (reformist) trade unions has nothing in common. **Our socialism is a German affair.**"

Leipart, the general secretary of the German reformist trade unions, secured the assistance of General Schleicher by agreeing to the condition "that in no case would the trade unions join in a united front with the Communists."

The German social democratic leaders turn to Hindenburg and Hitler. They tolerate Hitler, and in return expect from him a humiliating protection fatal to the enslaved workers. If the national socialists drag these labour leaders into war, they will declare themselves ready, together with Hitler, to defend "the unity and freedom of Germany." As the main pledge of their servile submission the reformist leaders assure Schleicher, Hindenburg, Hitler and Goehring that they never have and never will set up the united front with the Communists.

We are convinced that the great mass of the social democratic workers will not assent to this disastrous policy. Neither in Germany nor in France, nor anywhere else will the class-conscious workers capitulate. They are everywhere preparing for the fight which is necessary, no matter how hard it may be.

* * *

While the C.P. continues its undaunted fight against the fascist murder gangs, the socialists are voluntarily giving up every resistance. Not only that the "Iron Front" has disbanded of its own accord, even the "Reichsbanner" has now decided to disband.

At the last meeting of the parliamentary fraction of the socialist M.P.'s a resolution was submitted that socialist members should no longer take part in the parliamentary sessions. It is reported from Saxony that numerous locals of the S.D. party have decided to disband. The members declared that they will cease all political activity. Thousands of socialist functionaries, town councillors, magistrates and so on have laid down their functions and left the party.

On the Way to the Fasciation of the Reformist Trade Unions

(Letter from Berlin)

What are the plans of German fascism in regard to the trade unions? This question is being very much discussed at the present time and forms one of the most important questions of fascist home policy. The national socialist plans aim at the formation of a uniform trade union centre which will of course be under national socialist leadership. Following the Italian model, a "Reichs Commissioner" for trade unions shall determine trade union policy in the sense of the government. The German nationalists and the Stahlhelm are against these national socialist plans because they rightly see in them a further strengthening of the Hitler party as against its coalition partners. The German nationalist "Werkvereine" (up to the present of very little importance) and the factory groups of the Stahlhelm would be reduced to naught in the trade union centre under national socialist leadership. The German nationalists and the Stahlhelm would thus lose the meagre basis which they possess in the factories, and the national socialists would win a very big and strong mass basis in the works and factories. The German nationalists therefore advocate the plans propagated by the big industrialists for a new class collaboration centre, which would bind the trade union policy not so much to a government party as immediately to the leading capitalist groups. The head of the big electrical concern, von Siemens, has openly submitted this plan for discussion. The Christian trade unions immediately declared themselves to be in favour of it, and the same thing can be said of the Hirsch-Duncker trade unions. The decision, however, rests with the reformist trade unions. The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" wrote on 18th March:

"We are informed that the free trade unions have approached the Reichs-Chancellor in order to discuss with him the possibility of their collaboration."

Leipart, Grassmann and Co. have thus seized the initiative in order to incorporate the free trade unions, which probably still have four million members, in the fascist system. How strong these tendencies already are is best seen from an article which appeared in the organ of the reformist miners' union, the "Bergbauindustrie," of 18th March, which states:

"Our union is against any party and any government which injures or neglects the interests of the miners. It is thus for any party or any government which supports and fulfils its demands."

That is a plain invitation to fascism to subjugate the trade unions. This article, published by the organ of the reformist miners' union, is all the more important as 8 days previously the leaders of the union, Husemann, Martmoeller, Bittner and Zimmer were placed under preventive arrest and the headquarters of the union were occupied by Nazi storm troops. These attacks therefore, far from arousing resistance on the part of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, have rendered them more subservient to fascism.

The A.D.G.B.'s approachment to Hitler and the attitude of the reformist miners' union show most plainly in what direction Leipart and company are steering. It is true, up to now there are counter-forces within the trade union bureaucracy which cling to the social democracy and adopt the "oppositional", attitude of the social democratic party also in the trade unions while as far as the great masses of the trade union members are concerned it can be said that they are averse to such an incorporation in the fascist system. But the passivity of these social democratic trade union leaders, their policy of capitulation, their fear of all mass actions, their monstrous cowardice, would suffice to secure the victory of the open fascist wing centred round Leipart, if the led trade union opposition and the C.P. of Germany do not succeed in bringing the working masses in the factories and in the reformist trade unions themselves into action against this fascist policy of Leipart. It is the first task of the Communists to concentrate their work on the factories and trade unions.

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Berlin, 24th March, 1933.

The central committee of the German general federation of trade unions has, through its president, the social democrat Leipart, submitted a declaration to Reichs-Chancellor Hitler, in which it is stated:

"The trade unions were called into life as the organised self-help of the workers, and in the course of their history they have, through natural reasons, become more and more coalesced with the state itself. The social tasks of the trade unions must be fulfilled no matter what the nature of the state regime is. . . . The trade unions are quite prepared to enter into permanent co-operation with the employers' organisations even beyond the sphere of wages and working conditions. A state supervision of such joint work of the free organisations of economy [the trade unions and employers' federations—Ed.] could, under certain circumstances, serve to promote this work, increase its value and facilitate its carrying out. The trade unions do not make any claim immediately to influence the policy of the state. In this respect their task can only be to voice the justified wishes of the workers in regard to social and economic-political measures of the government and legislation, as well as to help the government and parliament with their knowledge and experience in this sphere."

The "free" trade unions offer the fascist government their "knowledge and experience" in deceiving the working masses. They want to make out to the workers that even under Hitler it is possible, step by step "to grow into socialism."

Fighting Demands of the German Reichstag Fraction for All Toilers

Berlin, 17th March, 1933.

On behalf of the working people we submit to the Reichstag the following demands, and shall exert all our forces in order to realise these demands in spite of the terror and the lying propaganda of the Hitler government.

1. Immediate release of all persons arrested by the fascist regime, abolition of warrants for preventive arrest of members of parliament, municipal councillors and functionaries of proletarian organisations, cancellation of all decrees for gagging the press, abolition of the prohibition of demonstrations and meetings.

2. Restoration of all property of workers' organisations (printing works, party and trade union premises, etc.), robbed or confiscated as well as the money stolen by storm detachments from workers' dwellings.

3. Immediate dissolution of the auxiliary police and complete disarming of the storm detachments, storm troops and Stahlhelm.

4. Immediate cessation of subventions to banks, commerce and industry and big landowners. Payment back of the East Elbian subventions by the big landowners, the sums so restored to be used for supplying the small peasants with cheap fertilisers, seedcorn and machines.

5. Expropriation without compensation of all enterprises subventioned by public means, expropriation of the big landed estates and distribution of the land among the small peasants and for settlement purposes.

6. Immediate annulment of all wage cuts decreed by emergency order for all workers, employees and lower officials. Reduction of the salaries and pensions of higher civil servants to 6000 marks a year. Prevention of the setting up of commissions for trade unions.

7. Abolition of all cuts imposed by emergency order in unemployment benefit, welfare benefit, pensions and social services. Unemployment benefit to be granted to all unemployed during the whole period of unemployment. The grain stored up in the elevators to be immediately made into bread and distributed among the unemployed as supplementary relief. Eviction of working-class tenants from their dwellings to be prohibited. The big empty dwellings shall be apportioned to those families who have no shelter.

8. Immediate carrying out of large-scale relief measures for the toiling youth (setting up of homes and day shelters with free meals, school dinners, free vocational training, establishment of professional schools, appropriate measures for providing work, etc.) Prohibition of all efforts to carry out compulsory labour service, abolition of the so-called voluntary labour service.

9. Progressive taxation of the incomes and fortunes of the big capitalists, introduction of taxes for millionaires, abolition of taxes on wages, exemption of small traders and small peasants

whose income is not above 3000 marks from all taxes, and cancellation of all arrears of taxes owing by them.

10. Annulment of the Versailles Treaty and all agreements based on it, in particular the Lausanne Tribute Pact. Cessation of all tribute payments concealed as private debts, which at present amount to more than 2000 million marks per year. The frontier customs relations set up by the Versailles Treaty to be declared invalid.

The Wave of Fascist Terror

Eye-Witnesses' Reports on the Bloody Orgies of the Hitler Bands

Prague, 20th March.

The well-known revolutionary writer **Egon Erwin Kisch**, who after the fire in the Reichstag was arrested, conveyed to the Spandau prison and afterwards released, has arrived in Prague.

In an interview with a newspaper correspondent he declared that he had been held under arrest in Spandau together with leading Left writers and deputies. Those who had been arrested by the auxiliary police were in a terrible condition. Most of them had been brutally beaten, whilst their homes were completely demolished. They were mishandled in their homes and while being conveyed to prison.

The chairman of the German League for Human Rights, **Lehman-Russbuel**, was thrown into a dark cell and placed in chains at the police presidium because he refused to give a token of respect to the new police president. The same treatment was meted out to many other leading writers.

Kisch was brought back from the prison to the police headquarters, where he was placed in a common cell with 62 workers. All these workers had been held under arrest for four or five days in the Nazi barracks. The appearance of these workers was indescribable. Not one of them had a sound spot on his whole body. Their sadistic fascist tormentors had struck them in the eyes, broken their jaw bones, beaten them over the whole body, trampled on their sex organs, torn their hair out, burnt the hair on their genital organs with candles, and branded the swastika sign on them with hot irons. They were marched bare-footed through the streets and were compelled at the same time to keep their hands raised above their heads. An old worker who was no longer able to stand this torture, threw himself under a motor-bus, which ran over both his feet. The workers were given castor oil to drink and were compelled to shout altogether, "Hail Hitler!" The Nazis jeered and mocked at the workers, saying: "Your wives and sisters have had more pleasure from us; in nine months' time they will all be bringing young fascists into the world." The sound of shots was constantly heard from the cellars of the Nazi barracks. There is no doubt that numerous workers have been murdered there. The dead who have been brought out from the barracks, and of whom the public has learned, will certainly not be the only victims.

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Prague, 21st March, 1933.

In the night of 16th March, seven dead were brought away from a Nazi barracks in No. 242 Friedrichstrasse, Berlin; the police refused to give any information regarding the identity of the murdered. On 15th March, a Catholic Youth Hostel in the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin was attacked and completely destroyed by armed fascist storm troops. The superintendent of the hostel was taken away by the Nazis.

In **Leipzig-Golis**, in the night of 16th March, the Nazi storm troops carried out a systematic hunt for political opponents. Fifty persons were seized and three were shot. One of the dead is a foreigner, whose name is being kept secret by the police.

The social-democratic chairman of the **Kreuzberg** town council in Berlin was forced to march at the head of a big fascist procession bearing a placard with the inscription: "I am the Jew Herz, the man without a heart" ["Herz" is the German word for heart.—Ed.] After this he was compelled to eat out of horse's manger which had been filled with urine, excrement and hot peas.

The social democratic chairman of the Wedding (Berlin) municipal council was ordered by Nazis to deliver a fascist speech. When he refused to do so, the Hitler bravos seized him

by the feet and dragged him from the third story down the stone steps into the street. He sustained such severe injuries as a result that he died in hospital the next day.

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Goehring is Lying

Berlin, 27th March.

Goehring, the fascist Home Secretary of Germany, invited the foreign journalists last Saturday to a press conference, where he asked them to put a stop to the reports about fascist atrocities in the foreign press. He declared that for more than a week not a single case had occurred in all Germany.

Against this impudent lie of Goehring, it suffices to refer to the "**Vossische Zeitung**," a Berlin bourgeois paper, which reported on 24th March that in Gladbach-Rheydt a woman Communist had been shot by special police, while another Communist had been seriously wounded. On the same day Comrade **Erich Lange** was shot by special police at Gelsenkirchen. On 22nd March, the "**Vossische Zeitung**" reports the following cases: The workman **Walter Broeger** has been shot by special police in Loebau (Saxony); the Communist **Wilhelm Wenzel** has been shot by special police at Essen. The Communist labourer **Drescher** of Dyrotz, near Nauen, was found shot in his flat. All these cases occurred in the week from 19th—25th March, when, according to Goehring, "no outrages whatever occurred."

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Meanwhile the police raids are continuing throughout Germany. In **Stuttgart** 270 Communists were arrested, in **Leipzig** 300. In Leipzig the total number of arrests now reaches 1700.

Ludwig Renn Assassinated?

Prague, 26th March

"**Narodni Osvozeni**" the organ of the Czechoslovak legionaries, publishes a report from Berlin that **Ludwig Renn**, the well-known revolutionary writer "has died." If this report is true, Renn's death is to due the terrible ill-treatment he suffered at the hands of the fascist gangsters.

HITLER OUT TO DESTROY THE WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVES

Berlin, 25th March, 1933.

The national socialists have posted up placards in Leipzig calling on the working population to leave the workers' co-operatives by 31st March at the latest and to withdraw their shares and deposits from the co-operative saving banks, as otherwise they will lose their money. It is quite obvious that the fight against the big multiple stores, which has been stopped, is now being transferred to the workers' co-operatives.

In Wittenberg, Merseberg and Halle (Central Germany), the motor lorries belonging to the co-operatives have been confiscated, the reason given being that these motor lorries could be used for the transport of weapons. As a result of intervention on the part of bourgeois creditors of the consumers' co-operatives, the motor lorries were given back again on condition that a policeman should always accompany the driver. This concession, however, has been again withdrawn, it being asserted that the policemen would be murdered by the drivers. In the Schwarzenberg district all the branch managers of the consumers' co-operatives have been placed under preventive arrest.

Goehring is Bribing the Socialists

Berlin, 26th March.

The Berlin representative of the Copenhagen daily "**Politiken**," reports that a conference has taken place between Goehring and several socialist leaders. Goehring suggested that the ban on the "**Vorwaerts**" (the central organ of the S.D.) should be lifted immediately, if the socialists would send special couriers abroad to prevent foreign socialist newspapers from further criticising fascist rule in Germany. It is reported that the socialists unhesitatingly agreed to this suggestion.

The Resistance of the Proletariat

The "Rote Fahne" Appears Again

Berlin, 27th March.

The bloody terror and the mass arrests have not prevented the heroic C.P. of Germany from organising its resistance against fascism. The fascist government is alarmed at the steady flood of leaflets which are circulated illegally, mainly in the workers' quarters.

Berlin workers enthusiastically greeted the reappearance of the "**Rote Fahne**," which is to be published regularly once a week. The first number, printed on four pages, contained a leading article: "Has Ernst Thaelmann been Assassinated?" another article dealt with the cowardly and treacherous attitude of the social democratic party, especially the visit of Wels and Leipart to Hitler. Several columns of the "**Rote Fahne**" were filled with details of the atrocities perpetrated on class-conscious workers. Several big factories sent reports from worker correspondents on how the fight against fascist terror is developing in the workshops.

The street nuclei, especially in the workers' quarters, are issuing their own papers, which are circulated in thousands of copies.

Strikes in Germany

Berlin, 27th March.

In the **Koenigsberg** repair works of the German railways, several shop stewards were arrested. The workers at once struck work, thus enforcing the release of their comrades.

In the **Berlin** repair works the fascists hoisted the Hitler flag. This enraged the workers so much that they sent a deputation to the management, demanding that the Hitler rag should be hauled down, threatening to strike unless their demand was fulfilled. The Hitler flag disappeared immediately.

In the cigarette factory "Yenidze" in **Dresden**, the management intended to employ a well-known "Nazi" as foreman. As soon as the workers got to know of this, they decided to strike. When the new foreman entered the factory all hands struck work. A deputation was sent to the management demanding the immediate removal of the fascist foreman. After a two hours' strike the workers gained a complete victory—the fascist foreman disappeared.

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Anti-Fascist Demonstrations in Brunswick

Berlin, 28th March.

Thousands of workers demonstrated in Brunswick yesterday under revolutionary leadership against the fascist government. Taking the opportunity of a parade of the Steel Helmets, which took place on the same day, the workers assembled in great masses and shouted: "Down with the Hitler government! Long live the Communist Party." The greater part of the "Steel Helmets" joined the demonstrators in these shouts against Hitler. The government at once mobilised all the Nazi storm troops of the Brunswick district. Fighting occurred in the streets. The population of the whole town was extremely excited. After fighting lasting for hours, the police and the storm troops arrested 200 members of the Steel Helmets and 1000 "Marxists."

The police ordered the steel helmet organisation of the state of Brunswick to disband, because "it is completely infested by Marxists." Numerous locals consist in their majority of Communist and socialist workers, who are trying to continue their illegal activity under the protection of the Steel Helmets. The leader of the Steel Helmets, Minister Seldte, has issued a declaration bearing on the Brunswick incidents in which he tries to bridge over the big differences between Steel Helmets and Nazi storm troops.

These incidents and the mutiny of the storm troops in **Ludwigshafen** (Bavaria) are symptomatic of the increasing dissatisfaction of the semi-proletarian and proletarian elements in the fascist organisations.

Conference of the Berlin Anti-Fascist League.

Berlin, 21st March, 1933.

A Conference of the Berlin League of Struggle against fascism and other organisations of revolutionary workers took place the day before yesterday in a garden colony in the neighbourhood of Berlin. The Conference was attacked by Nazis. The workers taking part in the Conference, however, defended themselves so vigorously that the Nazis were put to flight. Before they were able to bring up reinforcements the Conference had been transferred to another place.

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Berlin, 21st March.

In the night of 19th March, the swastika sign was cut out of the fascist flag which has been hoisted over the Karl Liebknecht House, leaving only the red ground of the flag waving over the house.

International Solidarity with the Toilers of Germany

German Relief Committee for the Victims of Fascism

As a result of the initiative of numerous intellectuals, a German Relief Committee has been set up at the Central Committee of the Workers, International Relief. The Committee has been entrusted with the systematic organisation and holding of meetings and demonstrations for the victims of German fascism and organising support for the revolutionary fight of the German working class. The Committee further intends to issue leaflets and pamphlets giving the facts of fascist terror in Germany. In particular, it is intended to publish a memorandum, containing a compilation of all terrorist acts committed against Communist, social democratic, pacifist and Jewish organisations and persons. The Committee will further grant material aid to the families of the arrested and emigrant German revolutionaries out of means collected by it.

The Committee calls upon all persons and organisations ready to support its work, and those in need of its aid, to get into immediate contact with it.

The address of the Committee is : German Relief Committee at the Central Committee of the Workers' International Relief, Amsterdam, Elandsstraat 33.

France

Paris, 21st March, 1933.

A group of soldiers of the 153rd French infantry regiment of the Bitsch garrison (Lorraine) adopted a resolution of solidarity and support of the German working class in its fight against fascism. This resolution states: "We declare ourselves ready to support this fight with all means, and in pursuance of the guiding lines given to the workers by Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg."

Paris, 25th March, 1933.

In Amiens 600 railway workers demonstrated for the release of Comrade Thaelmann.

Resolutions of solidarity with the fighting German working class have been adopted at all election meetings in Boulogne.

The German Ambassador in Paris, after six days delay, has informed M. Bergery, the leader of the protest delegation, that according to a declaration of Goehring, "Thaelmann is alive and enjoying the best of health."

Mulhouse, 26th March.

About a thousand workers, following the appeal of the C.P., demonstrated against the fascist terror in Germany. After the demonstration, a big mass meeting took place. Speeches were delivered by a German Communist, a Swiss worker and a representative of the French Communist Party.

The Unemployed Committee in **Alfortville**, in the name of 1500 unemployed, has sent a telegram to the German Ambassador protesting against the terrorist fascist regime in Germany.

In **Cannes**, a meeting attended by 400 persons adopted a resolution of solidarity with the German working class. 600 francs were collected for the anti-fascist struggle.

The municipal council of **St. Denis** has protested on behalf of the whole population of St. Denis against the terror in Germany, and demanded exact information regarding the fate of the arrested workers' functionaries.

Protest Demonstration of Revolutionary French Writers and Artists

Paris, 23rd March.

Yesterday evening there took place a protest meeting against the fascist terror in Germany, convened by the League of Revolutionary Artists. The hall was filled to its utmost capacity and over a thousand people waited outside in the vain hope of admission. There were present many intellectuals who hitherto had kept aloof from demonstrations of revolutionary writers.

The well-known French writer **Andre Gide** scathingly denounced the reign of terror in Germany as a reversion to the dark ages, and called upon all thinking people throughout the world to unite against Hitlerite barbarism.

The writers **Dabit, Guehenne, Lecache, Eluard, Malraux**. Professors **Vallon** and **Brenant** likewise called for solidarity with the German people, whilst they at the same time emphasised the necessity of fighting against French imperialism.

The demonstration has made a great impression among the circles of intellectuals in view of the eminent writers and scholars who took part in it.

United States

New York, 25th March, 1933.

Under the auspices of the C.P. of the U.S.A. 25,000 workers demonstrated at the German Consulate, demanding the ending of terrorism and the release of the prisoners. Police with drawn revolvers and submachine guns guarded the German Consul. 300 policemen were posted outside the building. The demonstrators marched for two hours to Union Square, 30,000 workers met and adopted the protest resolution. Similar demonstrations took place throughout the country, at which protest resolutions against the fascist terror in Germany were adopted.

Switzerland

Zuerich, 20th March, 1933.

The Cantonal Conference of the C.P. of Switzerland has decided to carry out protest demonstrations against the bloody Hitler-fascism in Germany. The Conference, which expressed the solidarity of the Swiss militant workers with the German working class, demanded the immediate release of all anti-fascists prisoners and leaders of the German proletariat. The Conference finally called for the setting up of the united front for the defence of the standards of living of the Swiss workers, for the fight against fascism, for the election of delegates to the European Anti-fascist Congress in Copenhagen, and the election of anti-fascist unity committees in the factories and workers' organisations.

Swiss Red Aid Organises Solidarity Action

Zurich, 23rd March.

The Swiss section of the International Red Aid has commenced a large-scale organisation of proletarian solidarity with the fighting German workers. A leaflet is being distributed in huge quantities calling upon the workers to contribute an hour's wages for the victims of German fascism, to fight for the right of asylum for political emigrants and to organise demonstrations against fascism.

Belgium

Brussels, 25th March.

The "Verdinaso" (Union of German National Socialists) intended to hold a mass meeting at **Ghent**. More than 1000 workers surrounded the hall where this meeting was to have taken place. The fascists brought up reinforcements from the surrounding villages, and the police tried to disperse the protesting workers. A free fight ensued which lasted for half an hour. Two women and the Communist town councillor Minnaert were wounded. Several policemen were pulled off their horses. But in spite of the brutal police attacks the fascist meeting could not take place.

Denmark

Copenhagen, 25th March, 1933.

A mass meeting convened by the C.P. of Denmark in the Idraetshus, one of the biggest halls in Copenhagen, took place to-day and was attended by numerous social democratic workers. A German worker reported on his experiences in fascist Germany. The meeting adopted a resolution protesting against the bloody rule in Germany and demanding the release of the arrested workers.

Sweden

Stockholm, 15th March, 1933.

More than 100 sailors in full uniform attended a meeting in Karlskrona, convened by the C.P. of Sweden against the cut in the pay of the men in the navy, which the social democratic government intends to carry out. The meeting, which was followed by a demonstration, adopted a resolution expressing full solidarity with the fighting German workers.

Stockholm, 23rd March.

Yesterday, several thousand workers marched to the German Embassy in Stockholm, headed by a workers' delegation bringing with them a written protest against the bloody terror against the workers in Germany, which they intended to hand to the German Ambassador. The police, who are under the control of the social democratic minister of the Interior, broke up the demonstration and prevented the delegation from entering the Embassy.

Holland

Big Demonstration in Amsterdam against Hitler-Fascism

Amsterdam, 21st March.

The German fascist film "Morgenrot" (The Dawn), which was shown for a number of days in the Amsterdam cinemas, had to be withdrawn owing to the stormy demonstrations of workers inside and in front of the cinemas, who shouted in unison: "Down with Hitler! Down with Fascism! Down with Nazi Propaganda in Holland!" Many social democratic and syndicalist workers took part in the protest demonstrations.

On Monday evening there took place in the largest hall in Amsterdam a protest demonstration against the Hitler terror, which was attended by 3500 workers. The meeting, which was convened by the Red Aid and the Amsterdam Anti-War Committee, expressed amidst great enthusiasm its solidarity with the German workers, and demanded in a protest telegram to the Hitler government the immediate release of Comrades Thaelmann and Torgler and all proletarian political prisoners in Germany.

On the day of the opening of the Reichstag, several hundred workers, in spite of all the efforts of the police to disperse them, demonstrated for hours in front of the German Consulate which had hoisted the fascist flag. In two other places in the town, Communist and social democratic workers pulled down the fascist flags which had been hoisted by Germans living there.

Also in Rotterdam and the Hague there were stormy protest demonstrations during the showing of the fascist film "Morgenrot."

Spain

Madrid, 20th March.

The day before yesterday, in the evening, a demonstration procession numbering three thousand marched through the main streets of Madrid with cries of "Down with Fascism! Down with Hitler!"

Barcelona, 24th March.

Several hundred workers stormed the fascist school at Barcelona, where the Italian fascists living in Barcelona intended to celebrate the 14th anniversary of the March on Rome. The iron gate of the school was smashed, the windows broken and several fascists got a good hiding.

Madrid, 26th March.

Several hundred workers demonstrated in **Vigo** in front of the German consulate, where all the windows were smashed. The demonstrators then marched to the Italian and to the Portuguese consulates.

Fight Against Fascism

United Front Proposals of the Communist Parties

United Front Offer of the C.P. of Germany To the Party Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The militant united front of all toilers must be set up against the unheard-of terror exercised by the Hitler-Hugenberg-Papen government and the storm detachments of the Hitler party against the toiling masses, in particular against the Communists and also the social democrats. Immediate fighting action must commence in the factories and at the labour exchanges. The working class must take up the fight against this terror by active struggles of various kinds and their co-ordination and development into powerful mass strikes.

The leader of our Party, Comrade **Thaelmann**, and also leaders of the social democratic party, and in particular thousands of Communist and social democratic workers are pining in the prisons, delivered over to fascist murder terror. All Communist papers and a great part of the social democratic papers are suppressed. Trade union premises and workers' dwellings have been raided and demolished by the fascists. Shooting of workers "while attempting to escape" has started already on a large scale. By means of this terror the toiling masses are to be crushed in order to enable the ruling classes to carry out the big capitalist and big agrarian economic programme against the toiling masses.

We therefore propose to you to issue a common appeal calling upon the toiling masses, in particular to the Communists and the social democrats.

Communists and social democrats to start at once the organising and carrying out of defence against the attacks of fascist reaction upon the workers' organisations; for the immediate **release of all arrested workers and workers' leaders**, for the withdrawal of warrants for preventive arrest of all Communist members of Parliament and functionaries of the labour organisations, for the **cancellation of the emergency orders regarding the suppression of papers and the prohibition of demonstrations as well as the introduction of the auxiliary police.**

Communists and social democrats shall organise the common defence against the armed attacks of the fascist bands and auxiliary police, by means of **mass protests, mass demonstrations, political mass strikes, mass self-defence.**

Communists and social democrats shall organise **committees of action** in the factories, at the labour exchanges and in the workers' quarters and organise **self-defence groups** for the protection of workers' lives and workers' property.

Communists and social democrats shall immediately commence, by means of protest actions, meetings, demonstrations and strikes, to take up the fight against all **wage cuts**, against any worsening of working conditions, against the attacks on **social insurance**, the cutting down of **unemployment benefit**, against **dismissals** in the factories, for the defence of the **workers' functionaries** in the factories and for the **removal of police and auxiliary police** from the factory entrances.

Provided these fighting tasks are accepted and carried out in practice the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany, in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, pledges itself to refrain from any attack on the social democracy during the period of the common fight against capital and fascism.

In view of the seriousness of the situation, which calls for immediate fighting action of the working class against the fascist terror, we consider it necessary that all Communists, social democrats, Reichsbanner workers and trade union members, without waiting for the result of negotiations between the central bodies, should immediately commence with the organising of common fighting actions and the election of joint fighting committees.

Berlin, 14th March, 1933

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

United Front Offer of the C.P. of Austria

On 14th March the Communist Party of Austria submitted a **united front offer** in the form of an Open Letter to the social democratic and trade union workers and to the party executive of the social democratic party and the national executive of the free trade unions of Austria. The attacks upon the rights of the working class shall be repelled by means of the proletarian united front. The Communist Party proposes to enforce the cancellation of the emergency decrees by employing the sharpest trade union fighting means.

In addition, the struggle of the proletarian united front shall aim at the disarming and dissolution of the Nazi storm detachments and the Heimwehr, the withdrawal of the military from Vienna, the reinstatement of the victimised railway workers; it shall be directed against the cuts in wages, pensions and unemployment benefit, against the dictatorial powers of the social welfare minister, against the capitalist government, etc.

Should the party executive of the S.P. of Austria declare its agreement with this proposal the Communist Party will refrain from any attacks upon the social democrats during the period of common action.

The Open Letter also calls for the setting up everywhere of common fighting committees of the social democratic and Communist workers.

United Front Offer of the C.P. of Belgium

Brussels, 20th March, 1933.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Belgium has addressed an Open Letter to the social democratic workers and the general council of the Belgium socialist labour party, in which the following proposals are put forward as a basis for the setting up of the united front of all workers.

1. Fight against any cut in the wages and salaries of the workers and employees, for a general increase in wages and salaries, which is justified in view of the new taxes, customs duties and increase in the cost of living.

2. Fight against the Means Test, against any reduction of unemployment benefit, and for an increase in unemployment benefit, for payment of relief to the unemployed who do not receive any unemployment benefit.

We propose that you participate in the hunger march taking place on 29th March, which has been organised by a preparatory committee set up on the initiative of the Brussels unemployed committee, and that you do everything to make this march the first great mobilisation of the united front of the social democratic and Communist workers.

3. Fight for reduction of house rents for the working population by 50 per cent., for reduction of farm rents and support of the peasants, the artisans and the small traders out of a crisis fund.

The following measures are proposed as means of struggle: meetings and street demonstrations, setting up of united front committees in the factories, workers' quarters and labour exchanges, for the purpose of launching and organising workers' struggles.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Belgium further proposes: "The organisation of a broad campaign of solidarity (meetings and street demonstrations) for the German proletariat and against fascism, which will render it possible to co-ordinate the fight of the proletarians of Belgium, Germany and France against the Versailles system, to counteract the militarist and chauvinist feeling which the Belgian bourgeoisie is endeavouring to stir up."

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Brussels, 23rd March, 1933.

The general council of the Belgium socialist labour party has rejected the united front offer of the C.P. of Belgium without any discussion. **Vandervelde** justified this rejection on the ground of the decisions adopted by the executive of the socialist and

labour international in Zuerich on 18th and 19th March, according to which all sections should "refrain" from entering into direct negotiations with individual Communist Parties.

On the other hand, Vandervelde advised the executive of the trade union federation not to reject any offer for common actions emanating "from other organisations," i.e., the christian trade unions. It is reported that such official negotiations have already commenced, before all in Charleroi, where during the strike in July, 1932 a socialist-christian committee was set up in order to break the strike.

In spite of this the idea of the militant united front is gaining ground. It is to be recorded that not only the organisation of the Brussels Young Socialists has affiliated to the Amsterdam Anti-War Committee, but hundreds of social democratic workers have taken part in the meetings and demonstrations convened in preparation for the hunger march of the Brussels unemployed. In **Wasmes (Borinage)**, in spite of the sabotage and provocation of the social democratic mayor and of the young socialist guards, a unity committee, consisting of social democratic and Communist workers, has been set up, which has already dispersed a provocative meeting of the "Anti-Bolshevist League." In **Ghent**, as well as in **Antwerp**, the social democratic and Marxist students have set up the united front against the Flemish fascists. This proves that the united front of the workers will be realised over the heads of the social democratic leaders.

United Front Offer of the C.P. of Spain

Madrid, 20th March, 1933.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Spain, as well as the Spanish Revolutionary Trade Union Federation, have addressed an Open Letter to the socialist party of Spain and the reformist and anarchist trade union federations, in which they propose to organise the united front for the fight against fascism under the following slogans:

1. Creation of anti-fascist fighting committees in the factories and in the villages, consisting of representatives of all tendencies. Creation of a uniform anti-fascist workers' and peasants' militia.
2. Fight for the disarming and dissolution of the Civil Guard and the storm troops. Closing of all monarchist and fascist institutions. Arrest of the reactionary leaders.
3. Immediate amnesty for all political prisoners, complete freedom of press, combination, etc.
4. Immediate occupation and parcelling out of the big landed estates among the peasants and agricultural workers.
5. Organisation of a common fight against the capitalist offensive, for the 40-hour week with no wage reduction, State support for the unemployed.

Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia

An important meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia was held from 11th to 13th of March. The Central Committee recorded that the stormy events of recent times completely confirm the diagnosis of the Comintern regarding the end of capitalist stabilisation and the approaching new cycles of revolutions and wars. The C.C. emphasised that the events in Germany confront the workers in Czechoslovakia with the great task of solidarity with the German proletariat and a broad fight against the fascist danger. The session of the Central Committee was dominated by the big struggle for uniting the working class for the fight against fascism, against the offensive of the capitalists and against the war danger.

The main report was delivered by Comrade **Guttman**, who, speaking of the upheaval in Germany, pointed out that Hitler's coming into power in a period marking the end of capitalist stabilisation is not the expression of strength but of the weakness of the capitalist regime, is not the expression of a fresh consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie, but the culmination of the crisis of its rule.

He further pointed to the war pact of the Little Entente, which is the expression of the imperialist and counter-revolutionary tendencies in Central Europe. The C.C. was able to record with great satisfaction the growing resistance of the

toiling population of Czechoslovakia under the leadership of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia. The Central Committee expressed its complete agreement with the appeal of the Comintern.

Twenty-seven comrades participated in the discussion on Comrade Guttman's report. The discussion proved the complete unanimity of the C.C. on all political questions. The theses on the report of Comrade Guttman, the united front offer to the socialist parties and the letter of greeting to the C.P. of Germany were adopted unanimously.

The Labour Movement

Growing Strike Movement in Poland

The growing strike movement in Poland is causing anxiety to the Polish bourgeoisie. This anxiety has increased still more in connection with the two days' strike of the miners and the present strike of the textile workers.

The "Polonia" writes:

"Spring is coming and the Polish worker is faced with despair. Many people in Poland fail to realise that the whole of our life consists of ferment, unrest and struggle. . . . The miners in our coalfields went on strike for two days against wage reductions. On 7th March, the textile workers of Lodz and the neighbourhood went on strike; the municipal workers of Warsaw are also on strike because the municipal authorities are always greatly in arrears with payment of salaries. We do not speak of the local movements, of the occupation of works and factories by workers, of the demonstrations and bloody collisions with the police. We merely point out that there are very many such cases, and that they are taking place in all parts of Poland. . . . When events assume a serious character, when it comes to bloodshed, the blame is usually laid on the Communists. The well-fed bourgeois believes that the only remedy is police truncheons, bullets and prisons."

The complaining tone adopted by the "Polonia," the organ of Upper Silesian heavy industry, is not due to the fact that workers have been killed in collisions with the police, but that the police actions no longer suffice to check the powerful wave of the revolutionary workers' movement. A wave of strikes is sweeping over the whole of Poland. Ever fresh categories of workers are joining in the fight. In the year 1932 there were 450,000 workers employed in Poland. The number of strikers exceeded a million, so that every worker went on strike at least twice in the course of the year. From strikes in individual factories the workers are going over to mass strikes, from economic struggles to political struggles. Under the leadership of the Communists and in spite of the bloody fascist terror, the working class of Poland is more and more frequently beating back the offensive of the capitalists. It is this fact that disturbs the industrial magnates and causes them to shed crocodile tears.

The indignation aroused among the miners by the attacks on their wages was so strong that all attempts of the reformist and other trade union bureaucrats to hold the workers back from the struggle failed. At the delegate conferences of the reformist and other trade unions, the delegates almost unanimously supported the slogan of immediate general strike of the miners, put forward by the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition. The strike embraced about 90,000 miners in Upper Silesia, the Dombrova coalfields and the Cracow coalfield, but was throttled on the third day by the reformist leaders. The arbitration court set up by the government left unchanged only the wages of the Upper Silesian miners. In the Dombrova coalfield and the Cracow coalfield the mine-owners put through a wage cut of 15 per cent. Aroused to indignation by the insolent attack of the employers and by the treachery of the reformist leaders, the miners are already preparing for a fresh struggle. The miners in the "Klimontov" pit have already gone on strike, as have also the miners in the "Helena" pit.

The "Polonia" reports that:

"The majority of the workers are in favour of a fresh strike. One must reckon on a general strike of the miners."

Following the example of the miners, the **textile workers** began to strike. The textile workers in the Lodz district have been very severely affected by unemployment. No less than one-half of the industrial workers of this district are completely unemployed, whilst the majority of those still in employment are working only one to three days a week.

"The average weekly wage for six working days," writes the "Illustrovany Kurjer Codzienny," "varies between 12 and 25 zloty (8 to 17 shillings) in big industry and 7 and 8 zloty in the medium and small industry."

It is no wonder, therefore, that the number of strikes and strikers is highest in the Lodz district. The slogan of the Communist Party and the Red Trade Union Opposition that new collective agreements should be concluded restoring the conditions obtaining in 1928 has been taken up by the broad masses, which means a fight for winning back the former wages.

The reformist leaders are simply unable to stop the fight of the textile workers, which has been prepared by the former strike. The delegate conference, which was attended by 600 representatives from the Lodz mills, decided on a general strike. The strike has embraced all the textile mills in Lodz and has rapidly spread to other textile towns in the district, and also the textile mills in Czenstochovo, Petrikau, Warsaw and Bialystok. The fight has everywhere assumed fierce forms; demonstrations and collisions are occurring every day.

The fight of 100,000 miners, the strike of 120,000 textile workers and of 10,000 Warsaw municipal workers have in the course of a week embraced one-half of the employed workers in Poland. The fight of the Lodz textile workers is being supported by the textile workers in other towns; the tramway workers and the workers in other enterprises are making preparations for a strike. The Lodz strike has become a fight of the whole of the textile workers of Poland. Thus the conditions are ripening for a general strike of the entire Polish proletariat.

* * *

Lodz, 26th March, 1933.

On 23rd March there commenced in Lodz a general solidarity strike in support of the striking textile workers. All the enterprises in Lodz, including the municipal street cars, ceased running.

A resolution adopted by representatives of 35 trade unions states that if the 24-hour general strike does not compel the employers to fulfil the demands of the strikers, the general strike will be continued.

In Pabjance it came to fresh serious collisions between the police and the striking textile workers. The textile workers marched in a procession from Lodz to Pabjance in order to pay their last respects to five workers killed by the police in a collision. On this occasion fresh collisions occurred between the police and the workers, who demonstrated in spite of the police prohibition. In all 18,000 workers demonstrated in the cemetery.

Numerous factories in Czenstochau and the neighbourhood had carried out short strikes of solidarity with the striking Lodz textile workers.

Collections for the striking textile workers are being held in Lodz and in the whole of Poland.

Against Colonial Oppression

Rescue the Indo-Chinese Revolutionaries

During the debate which recently took place in the French Chamber of Deputies on the Amnesty Bill, Maurice Thorez, a Communist deputy, delivered a big speech in favour of the revolutionaries imprisoned in the colonies, in the first place the persecuted Indo-Chinese toilers.

Comrade Thorez described in scathing terms the monstrous campaign of suppression in Indo-China. In support of his statements he quoted a circular letter sent out by Pasquier, the Governor-General of Indo-China, in which he demanded immediate punishment without trial of all toilers suspected of Communism. Thorez dealt in detail with the programme of the C.P. of Indo-China and proclaimed the complete solidarity of the French proletariat with the C.P. of Indo-China, as well as the unconditional support by the C.P. of France of the emancipation of Indo-China.

Comrade Thorez' speech called forth howls of fury from all benches in the Chamber. Both the Minister for Colonies and the socialist Moutet were unanimous in their condemnation of this speech. This fact cannot surprise us when we remember that in the year 1931 the social democratic party of Indo-China published an appeal, in which it demanded the severest repressive

measures against the insurgent Annamites. The Chamber decided by an overwhelming majority that the Amnesty Bill should not apply to the colonies.

The whole Bill was then passed unanimously. It is only a sham amnesty, as the condemned worker correspondents are not released, it being stated that they have carried on industrial espionage, whilst the order for the arrest of Comrade Marty has also not been withdrawn. The Communist Chamber fraction voted for the Bill after having exposed all its shortcomings. It should be mentioned that the reporter on this Bill in the Chamber who most violently opposed all the amendments put forward by the Communists was the social democrat Albertin.

Fight Against Versailles

Against the Enslavement of South Tyrol!

Appeal of the Communist Parties of Germany, Austria, Italy and Czechoslovakia.

To the Workers and Toilers of Germany, Austria, Italy and Czechoslovakia!

To the Workers of the whole world!

For more than 14 years the German population of South Tyrol has been pining under the alien imperialist rule of Italy. The German South Tyrolese, who for decades have courageously and self-sacrificingly fought for their freedom, are enslaved and bloodily suppressed by Italian fascism. The ten years of fascist rule in Italy have been ten years of bloody sacrifices of the population of South Tyrol. The hands of the Italian fascists are stained with the blood of the foully murdered sons of South Tyrol.

In brotherly solidarity with the population of South Tyrol, we raise our voice in accusation against the bloody rule of Italian fascism. We accuse the ruling class of Germany, Austria and Hungary, and in the first place the German Hitler fascists, who have treacherously allied themselves with the stranglers of the German population in South Tyrol of supporting this bloody rule.

Even before taking over government power in Germany, Hitler and his party concluded a secret treaty with Mussolini in which they unconditionally delivered over the German portion of South Tyrol to the Italian conquerors. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Italian fascism, Hitler sent a delegation of 30 Nazis to Bozen, who greeted the bloody suppressor of South Tyrol on the steps of the monument of victory.

Now, as Reichs Chancellor, Hitler has extended and consolidated the alliance with the suppressors and hangmen of the South Tyrolian population.

In order to satisfy the greed for conquest of Italian fascism, and because German fascism needs the alliance of Italian fascism for the consolidation of its bloody rule, the German toilers are to shed their blood on the battlefields of Europe.

Europe is to-day on the eve of a new imperialist war.

In order to secure the shameful Versailles system, France and her vassals are enormously piling up armaments. A war alliance has been set up under the leadership of Italian imperialism, which is hankering after the mastery of the Adriatic Sea, the conquest of Dalmatia and the domination over South-East Europe. German and Hungarian fascism have already joined this war alliance, and also Austria is being enticed to join it. Huge consignments of arms are smuggled through Austrian territory. Every day brings news of fresh war preparations.

A consolidation of the fascist dictatorship in Germany would mean not only the enslavement of the German proletariat, but also a tremendous increase of the war danger in Europe and the danger of an attack on the socialist fatherland.

In this serious hour we call upon the toilers of Germany, Austria, Italy and Czechoslovakia, upon the peoples of the whole of Europe, to take up a determined fight against the fascist oppressors and war-mongers, the fight against the Versailles system and its imperialist gendarmes.

The toilers of Germany, Italy and Hungary must not shed their blood in order to enable the Italian capitalists to seize

Dalmatia and Croatia, to enable the German capitalists again to exploit colonies and other peoples. The German, Italian and Hungarian toilers wish to fight for their emancipation from the yoke of fascist oppression, of social and national bondage.

The toilers of France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania have no desire to shed their blood for the maintenance of the Versailles system; side by side with their German, Austrian and Hungarian brothers they are fighting for the annihilation of the imperialist robber-treaties of 1919. They are fighting against the cruel fascist rule of blood which the capitalists of the Balkan countries have established over the toilers. In their fight against the capitalist war-mongers in their own countries, the toilers of France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania fraternise with their brothers on the other side of the frontiers.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Marxism in Practice

1. The Land Where there is no Crisis and no Unemployment

(By Our Special Correspondent in Moscow)

The fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, the great founder of scientific socialism, occurs at a time of struggle against Marxism unprecedented in history. The acuter the class antagonisms become and the more threatening the rising revolutionary wave becomes for the bourgeoisie, the more savage and ruthless becomes their fight against Marxism, the more aggressive their attacks on the working class, and the more unscrupulous their lying incitement against the Soviet Union, the only country in which Marxism-Leninism has become a living fact. It is therefore not by chance that precisely at the present time, the most "eminent" defenders of the capitalist system, of exploitation, not to mention their numerous understrappers, are engaging in attacks on the Soviet Union. Karl Kautsky, whom the chairman of the Second International addresses as "revered Master," in the "Left" Austro-Marxist journal, "Der Kampf," recently sounded the war-cry, "The enemy is in Moscow." Some time later he was joined by the fascist chancellor of Germany and "Marxist-slayer," Adolf Hitler, who declared in a broadcast speech delivered on 2nd March:

"Marxism in practice has proved to be the best refutation of Marxism in theory. I should like to see it where it has been 100 per cent. victorious, where it holds undivided sway."

This would, in fact, be very useful! Such an examination would, it is true, yield quite different results than those announced to us by Hitler, the capitalist hireling and leader of the brown shirts. In his speech Hitler repeated all the old anti-Bolshevist lies that have been put into circulation during the past 15 years, but he was careful not to say a single word about the actual conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union the periodical crises, the most frightful scourge of the working masses under capitalism, have been finally and completely done away with. **The Soviet Union is the only country where there is no crisis.** Whilst the world's industrial output has fallen by more than 40 per cent. since 1929 and—taking into account the increased population—is 11 per cent. below the pre-war level, the output of the census industry of the Soviet Union, i.e., the most important industries, has increased 334.5 per cent. as compared with 1928, i.e., precisely in the period of the world economic crisis. Whilst fascist Italy has fallen back from the sixth to the seventh place in the industrial output of the world, the Soviet Union has **overtaken** the most advanced capitalist countries (England, Germany, France) and has moved up from the fifth to the second place, immediately behind the United States. In the Soviet Union there are no idle factories. In the course of the Five-Year Plan alone, 1300 new works were set going. Including the newly-constructed works since 1925, the number of new enterprises amounts to more than 2500.

In addition to abolishing crises, the Soviet Union has also finally done away with unemployment. It is not only the only country where there is no crisis, but it is also **the only country without unemployment.** It may be that there are tremendous difficulties to overcome in the Soviet Union, it may be that people stand in queues outside of the provisioning shops, at the newspaper stalls and at the tramway stopping places, but one

South Tyrol is a warning example proving that Hitler fascism is not fighting for the national emancipation of the German people but for its enslavement, for its cruel suppression, whilst it is likewise perpetuating the enslavement of the South Tyrolian population. We call upon those who wish to throw off the Versailles chains, to fight with all their might for the overthrow of German Hitler fascism and to support the fight of the German proletariat in every way.

We call upon the workers and toilers of all countries to take up the common fight against all oppressors and war-mongers of the two imperialist groupings, for the social and national emancipation of the peoples of Europe, for the victory under the banner of proletarian internationalism, for the victory of Socialism.

will seek in vain for people queuing up outside the workshops and the labour exchanges in search of work.

"The Five-Year Plan has completely done away with unemployment," says Comrade **Norlow**, the manager of the Moscow Labour Exchange. "In the year 1928 we still had 241,765 unemployed in Moscow, but this figure rapidly declined with the realisation of the great Plan. At our Labour Exchange we felt the direct effect of the work of **economic construction.** We no longer saw the familiar faces of expert workers at the Labour Exchanges. Instead of the city workers, there came peasants from the villages, swept along by the mighty movement of construction. But these, too, became less and less. The applicants for work became fewer and fewer. At the beginning of 1930 we had only 45,552 unemployed, mainly unskilled workers. In a few months they too were absorbed in industry and we had **nothing more to do.** In the summer, 1930, the Labour Exchange was closed down, as it had become superfluous."

And the Labour Exchange clerks were without jobs?

"Oh no, we had our hands absolutely full trying to satisfy the constantly growing demand for workers. In the place of the Labour Exchange for workers, we organised the present labour office for procuring labour for industry. Let us take any month you please, for instance, May, 1932. For Moscow alone 33,417 workers and employees were required, and all we could supply was 6619. The various works and factories were continually telephoning us to send along, if not skilled, at least unskilled workers. But from where were we to obtain them? We could no longer just sit in our offices; our clerks were obliged themselves to travel to the various villages and seek workers. We set up offices at all the railway stations and posted up placards calling for workers for industry."

But that was the case nine months ago, perhaps only six months ago. In the meantime there have been considerable changes! An order was issued according to which the staffs in the offices of the central administrative authorities should be reduced. In some factories too the number of workers is to be reduced. The whole of the anti-Soviet press is now declaring that there are already again many unemployed in the Soviet Union; but they are not registered and do not receive any unemployment benefit so that therefore their lot is much worse than that of the unemployed in the capitalist countries. Is there perhaps some truth in this?

"If that were the case," said Comrade Norlow, "we should have an abundance of workers applying for jobs. But the exact contrary is the case. Just see for yourself!"

The Labour Exchange register furnishes clear information on this point: in the months of December, 1932, and January, 1933, there was a demand at the Labour Exchange for 50,435 workers, but it was only possible to supply 40,529. To the shortage of 10,000 workers there was added in February, new demands for workers amounting in all to 128,612, including 16,400 lumbermen for the coal district situated near Moscow, 8000 miners for the Don Basin, 26,000 workers for industrial enterprises in the Urals. Moscow's demands included 1000

workers and employees for the central telegraph office, 1000 workers for the "Krasnyi Bogatyr" (Red Hero) rubber shoe factory, 2000 workers for the Moscow Garment Manufacturing Trust. The Moscow Street Car Administration demanded, already in January, 3000 workers; at the beginning of March only 700 had been sent. . . . And that is the situation in the whole country. In fact, in those districts where big new construction work is being carried on there is a still greater shortage of workers. In Magnitogorsk last autumn, 35,000 workers were required, but only a few thousand could be obtained.

Occasional reductions of the number of workers and clerks in some works and offices have nothing in common with the wholesale dismissals in the undertakings in the capitalist countries. They mean nothing else but a systematic regulation and distribution of the available labour power to those places where it is most needed.

At a time when, in the capitalist world, there are 40 million unemployed and the number of out-of-works is increasing every day, the Soviet Union has completely abolished unemployment. This is an indisputable, a tremendous success of socialist planned economy, which is possible only under the rule of the working class and the toiling peasantry. That is a victory of world historical importance, a victory of Marxism in practice, where it is 100 per cent. victorious!

The Socialist Way of Farming

By N. Buchwald (Moscow)

In the spacious refreshment room of the Great Opera House, during the fifteen-minute recess period of the morning session of the **First Collective Farmers' Congress**, I made an attempt to interview one of the delegates. But the interview was a complete failure. The crack farmer from the Ukraine would rather ask questions than answer them. He had read in the papers some queer things about the conditions of poor farmers in America, and he wanted to know whether it was all really true. Not that he doubted the papers, but he couldn't figure out why the American government wanted lower crops or why farmers were complaining when they had much produce for the market. I tried as best I could to explain to this Soviet farmer the crazy logic of capitalism, with its market prices and its governments seeking to protect the market rather than the people who produce for the market.

The Ukrainian farmer was an intelligent young fellow. He knew in a general way a good deal about capitalism, but concretely he could not conceive of a situation where a good crop was a disadvantage, and where destroying the products of human toil was seriously proposed as a way out of poverty and ruin.

My interview was completely ruined, and I thought I might as well use up the remaining few minutes of the recess for a talk on farming in the United States. Between sips of tea we discussed the proposal of the American government to plough under every third row of cotton, the ruin of hundreds of thousands of small farmers, despite excellent crops and efficient farming, the huge "surplus" of agricultural products and the millions of people who were in dire need of these very products.

The bell rang and we returned to the auditorium. I had failed in obtaining an interview about actual conditions on a particular Soviet farm, but in a way the talk with the young Ukrainian was profitable; it put into sharper focus the contrast between the insane "farm policy" of capitalist governments and the sound common-sense Soviet policy. Comrade **L.M. Kaganovitch**, head of the Agricultural Department of the Communist Party, resumed his survey of the farm policy of the Soviet government. He spoke of the development of collective farming in the Soviet Union. He showed how the Soviet government had been bending every effort to improve farming, to introduce the extensive use of modern agricultural machinery, to raise the productivity of the soil and, above all, to better the lot of the millions of peasants who till the soil. The Soviet government in the last four years alone had invested about 16,000 million roubles (8000 million dollars) in agriculture! This money was spent not for the purpose of maintaining artificial market prices for the benefit of rich wheat gamblers, nor for the purpose of limiting agricultural output or assuring the rule of bankers over farmers, but for the purpose of enabling the Soviet peasants to produce more and to have more. In the course of the so-called Five-Year Plan the Soviet government gave its

peasants 120,000 new tractors, 175,000 tractor-ploughs, 104,000 tractor-drawn sowing machines, and enormous quantities of 130 various types of agricultural machine and implements.

One need not be a farm expert to appreciate the advantages of mechanised farming. Every American farmer knows what a tractor is, and how much easier it is to ride on the tractor perch than to walk behind the plough. Yet in the United States only 18 out of every 100 farmers use tractors. Why? For one thing, because tractors are expensive and only wealthy farmers can afford them; for another, because millions of farmers in the United States (or in any capitalist country for that matter) own small plots of land that could not profitably be cultivated by the use of expensive machinery. The very nature of scientific mechanised agriculture calls for large-scale farming.

The Soviet way of consolidating small farms into large ones has been entirely different from the farm consolidations in capitalist countries. In the **United States**, for instance, large-scale farm production exists side by side with small-scale farming. Naturally the small farmer cannot compete with the big landowner, for the latter has the advantages of agricultural machinery, the use of diversified crops and other scientific methods of farming that increase the yield and decrease the cost per acre. Tens of thousands of farmers annually go down in defeat in this unequal competition with big capital and large-scale farming. It is precisely upon these ruined farmers that the American land barons fatten. Through foreclosures, forced sales and forfeitures the rural capitalists in the United States and in other countries grab up the small holdings of poor farmers and consolidate them into large estates.

In other words, large-scale farming in capitalist countries develops at the expense of and brings ruin to millions of poor farmers, who are compelled to become mere farm hands or to abandon the countryside and join the ranks of the industrial proletariat in the cities. Large-scale farming is no more of a solution to the poor farmers in the United States than large-scale automobile production is a solution to the workers in the automobile industry. In either case it means profits and wealth for the owners of the large enterprises, and insecurity and want for the workers and farm hands.

The Soviet Union, too, was faced with the problem of passing from small to large-scale farming. Only three years ago small-scale farming was the predominant type throughout the Soviet Union. To-day large-scale farming embraces four-fifths of the total sowing area of the country. Since 1929 14 million small peasant holdings have been consolidated into 200,000 huge farm estates.

But the consolidation of small farms in the Soviet Union has been achieved along lines entirely different from those prevailing in capitalist countries. One of the first measures carried out by the Soviet government after the successful Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was the socialisation of land. The large estates of the landed aristocracy and gentry were confiscated and declared public property. These lands were placed at the disposal of the peasants. Every toiling peasant received as much land as he could cultivate. Tens of millions of former farm hands who had no land of their own were thus given an opportunity to cultivate the fields for their own benefit and not for the benefit of landowners. Buying or selling of land was forbidden. The peasants were masters of their plots as long as they used their land productively. Since every peasant family received only as much land as it could cultivate, the holdings were naturally small and small-scale farming continued to be the predominant type.

Here and there the government consolidated some of the confiscated lands and introduced large-scale farming along modern lines. These state farms, known in Russian as **Sovhozes**, played an important part in the early stages of the Soviet regime as model farms and as agricultural experimental stations, but in the total economy of the country their role was almost negligible. Another type of large-scale farming, which is now the prevailing type, made its appearance during the first years following the Revolution; this was the type of so-called **Collective Farms** or, as they are now called in Russian, **Colhozes**. The essential feature of this type of large-scale farming consists in pooling the land, the draught animals and the inventory of a number of individual holdings into one large estate. With it naturally goes the pooling of the labour-power of such a farm corporation, and the system of collective marketing of the farm output. Though the Soviet government from the very beginning gave

every encouragement and assistance to such co-operative or collective farms, their development was at first very slow indeed. While the pooling of resources of many small peasant holdings offered obvious advantages, these resources were limited to land, draught animals and primitive farm implements.

The production of modern **agricultural machinery** was still in its beginnings, and the financial stringency of the Soviet Republic, in view of the hostility of the capitalist countries, did not permit importation of farm machinery on as large a scale as was necessary and as might have been accomplished if the capitalist countries had extended the Soviet Republic normal credit facilities. In a general way, then, the extension of the system of collective farms was limited to the feeble condition of the farm machinery industry and of Soviet industry generally.

Only in 1929, with the inauguration of the vast programme of industrialisation known as the **Five-Year Plan**, was the work of collectivising the small peasant holdings into large-scale colхозes and the establishment of large state-owned farms (sovхозes) begun in real earnest. Here the success of the Five-Year Plan has been as phenomenal as in the upbuilding of large-scale industries. Instead of 400,000 peasant holdings merged into collectives in 1928, 14,500,000 holdings were consolidated into colхозes by the end of 1932.

The process of consolidation was accompanied by a good deal of hardships and by fierce resistance on the part of the rich peasants, the **kulaks**, who under the collective system could no longer practice their extortion, usury and exploitation at the expense of the poor peasants. The resistance of the kulaks was successfully overcome, the peasants in every community having forced these parasitic elements off their holdings. Only with the elimination of the kulaks as a controlling element in agriculture was the complete liberation of the peasant masses really achieved.

Having successfully carried out the programme of consolidation of the small farms into large-scale colхозes, the Soviet Union is now facing the next big task of perfecting the administration of the 200,000-odd colхозes, raising their efficiency and making them a source of ample food supply for the industrial population and of prosperity for the millions of peasants.

That a considerable degree of success in this direction had already been achieved was evidenced by this First All-Union Congress of model colхозes represented by efficient champion farmers or udarniks. The problems tackled by these farm udarniks are well worth the attention of farmers and workers in other countries.

The New Collective Agreements for the Year 1933

The carrying out of the first Five-Year Plan has resulted, in a great improvement in the material and cultural position of the working class in the Soviet Union. Unemployment has been completely liquidated, the number of workers has doubled 90 per cent. of the workers have been placed on the seven-hour working day, wages have risen by 67 per cent., 70 per cent. of the workers are catered for by public feeding, etc.

The most important tasks of the economic plan for 1933 are doubtlessly the **increase of labour productivity by 14 per cent., the lowering of prime costs by 3.9 per cent. and the perceptible improvement in the quality of production.**

Proceeding from these tasks the People's Commissaries for heavy industry, light industry, food industry and forest industry, the People's Commissary for Transport, the Commissary for Economic Planning, the People's Commissary for the Soviet estates and the All-Union Trade Union Council **adopted a decision according to which all economic and trade union organisations of the Soviet Union are instructed to make the collective agreements for 1933 an effective lever for realising the above-mentioned tasks.**

The following directives are given in this decision :

The economic and trade union organisations have to work out a proper relation between wages and labour productivity, to see to it that the greatest discipline prevails in regard to the expenditure of the wages fund, to see that an appropriate utilisation

is made of men and machinery, and to reduce the production of waste to a minimum.

It is proposed to increase wages in 1933 by 6.8 per cent., and for industrial workers by 9.3 per cent.

In addition to the increase in money wages, the standard of living of the working masses is to be further raised by the development of housing construction, extension of the municipal services and development of the cultural and sanitary institutions, the expenditure on which is estimated at 3,248 million roubles, 125 million roubles have been ear-marked for labour protection and safeguarding against accidents. The People's Commissaries and the All-Union Central Council of the Trade Unions and the economic and trade union organs have accordingly been instructed to adopt a number of measures to this end when concluding new collective agreements.

In the sphere of **productivity of labour**, special attention is to be paid to the better utilisation of machines, factory mechanism, raw material, fuel, instruments and by-products. The correct utilisation of labour power in accordance with its qualifications is of the greatest importance in regard to increasing the productivity of labour.

The number of workers and employees must correspond to the tasks of the plan. In order to be able to reduce the number of workers and employees to the necessary minimum, it is urgently necessary to overcome idling and slacking and absence from work without reason.

Last, but not least, order and cleanliness in the workshops and the whole of the factory premises are a precondition for increasing the productivity of labour.

In setting up the **standards of work** it must be borne in mind that the present norms are to a great extent obsolete. The new norms must be fixed by the 1st April and in accordance with the production plans.

Wages are of decisive importance in regard to carrying out plans. An end must be put to the arbitrary expenditure from the wages fund. Whilst, on the one hand, tariff wages must be guaranteed, payment must not be made beyond the legally fixed sum for idle shifts and waste production. One of the fundamental tasks of the collective treaties in fixing wages is to secure the further fight against the remnants of an old evil, namely, against the lack of personal responsibility. This is to be achieved by paying the leading professions, as well as the workers who are working under particularly difficult conditions (in trades injurious to health), correspondingly higher wages. It is important to take into account the quality of the work performed and to fix the time necessary for cleaning machines.

The fundamental principle to be observed in remunerating the workers is payment **according to work performed**, at the same time **taking into account the quality of the work.** The new collective agreements must aim at an increase in the number of workers who are being paid according to work performed. Overtime is to be avoided as far as possible.

The same principles apply also to the engineers and technicians in the factories. In their case also the work performed, their qualification and position in production are to be taken into account. In the wages fund fixed by the industrial and financial plan of the factory in question a special fund for premiums is to be set up.

In regard to the **housing question, the cultural and living conditions of the workers, protection of labour and supplies to the workers**, the following is to be observed: the collective agreements must contain concrete measures and calculations for insuring supplies to the workers. One of the means of improving the food supplies to the workers is for the factories to extend their own food bases (pig breeding, rabbit breeding, fisheries, dairy farms, poultry farms, vegetable gardens). Supplies are to be improved in the interest of production, especially with a view to increasing the productivity of labour.

In allocating the new dwellings, first preference is to be given to the shock-brigade workers.

The workers make numerous proposals for avoiding accidents and improving safety devices. The economic and trade union organs must give the greatest heed to these proposals, and in particular direct their attention to the dangerous trades and industries.

The campaign for the conclusion of the collective agreements for the year 1933 must also deal with the question of raising the qualification of the workers, engineers and technicians, and the new collective agreements must also contain a concrete maximum programme in this connection.

The People's Commissaries and the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, in addition to these general directions, issue special concrete instructions for the heavy industry, the light industry, the food industry, etc.

The organisational questions of the campaign for the conclusion of the new collective agreements are dealt with in detail. The trade unions conclude definite agreements with the economic organs on wages funds and quotas for the various categories of workers, on the fixing of aims in regard to the productivity of labour, amount of the total expenditure for cultural purposes, supplies and labour protection. These agreements must be concluded in all the factories by 1st April, and be valid from March, 1933 to March, 1934. All trade union organisations must mobilise their staffs of functionaries for the duration of the campaign for the conclusion of new collective agreements, and the staffs must regard and conduct this work as an economic-political mass campaign. The trade unions must see that broad masses of the workers, in particular the shock-brigade workers, are drawn into this campaign.

The Soviet Union Unintimidated by English Threats

Moscow, 24th March, 1933.

The "Izvestia" publishes a report of an interview its representative had with the Public Prosecutor of the Republic, Comrade Vyshinski, who stated that the case of the arrested Russian engineers and a number of employees of the English firm "Metropolitan Vickers" had been submitted to the Public Prosecution. At present a number of the accused, both Soviet engineers and English engineers, have been examined on account of their being involved in a number of cases of active and passive bribery, wilful damages to power stations and other crimes.

The examination will last 10 to 15 days and the whole of the evidence will be handed over the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union to be dealt with in a special session.

The Public Prosecutor emphatically denied all the rumours that any pressure had been exerted on the accused. Such methods as are practised in some countries and are described as "third degree" examinations, are quite unknown in our juridical procedure. The examination is being conducted in strict accordance with the rates of our penal code. Our only enemies, who are endeavouring with all means to worsen our relations with other States, can spread such insane rumours regarding any departure from the usual legal procedure.

As regards the fate of the accused, and in particular that of the English engineers, it is not out of the question that as a result of the examination the measures adopted against them will be modified. There exists the possibility of releasing on bail three of the English engineers, whose examination will soon be completed.

In reply to a question regarding the defence, Comrade Vyshinsky declared that both the English engineers as well as the other accused in this matter are entitled to nominate as their defender any Soviet lawyer chosen by them, or any person among those specified in the law for this purpose. According to our laws, and also according to the laws of most other countries, it is not possible for foreign lawyers to act as defenders. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility of their being present at the trial.

The trial will be held in public at the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, probably at the beginning of April.

SIMPLIFICATION OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STATE APPARATUS

Moscow, 19th March.

The Soviet press publishes reports of the big successes achieved in simplifying the political and economic State apparatus. Up to the present the personnel of the State apparatus has been reduced by 150,000, i.e., by 21 per cent. while at the same time an improvement in its functioning has been achieved. This success is all the more important in view of the fact that there is a big shortage of trained office employees, especially in the new centres of industry and in the provinces, so that the workers released can be at once absorbed in the enterprises and offices, where there is an urgent need of clerks and office workers.

Considerable successes are also to be recorded in connection with the action for improving the supplies to the factory workers. This action aimed before all at ridding the system for supplying the factories of elements which have no connection with the factories but nevertheless are supplied through them. The result is seen already in a considerable improvement of the supplies of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the factory workers.

The anti-Soviet press is endeavouring to represent these measures as an indication of the existence of unemployment. In reality the exact contrary is the case. A considerable shortage of workers is to be recorded in various districts and branches of industry. This is to be seen from the numerous advertisements in the Soviet press, in which thousands of jobs are offered every day. This shortage is one of the main reasons for a rational distribution of the available workers and for the measures taken to prevent persons obtaining their supplies through the factories and at the cost of the factory staff without performing any work in return.

The reports of bourgeois newspaper correspondents regarding alleged unemployment aim solely at diverting attention from and obscuring the fact that the Soviet Union is the only country, in which there is no unemployment, where everybody can find work who really wishes to work at building socialism. For the fact that there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union has an extraordinary effect on millions of starving unemployed in the capitalist countries, which effect the correspondents of the bourgeois papers are vainly endeavouring to weaken.

MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE SOVIET FARMS AND MACHINE AND TRACTOR STATIONS

Moscow, 23rd March.

A big meeting of members of the Political Departments of the Soviet Farms and M.T.S. (Machine and Tractor Sections) recently appointed by the Central Committee has just been held in the Moscow Trade Union House.

Comrade Kaganovitch, in a speech which was received with great applause, pointed out that the chief task of the Political Departments consisted in becoming that Bolshevik cohort which organises all honest and devoted workers on the Soviet Farms and at the Machine and Tractor Stations, and converts them into firm Bolshevik cadres.

There is to be recorded in the villages a tremendous activity of the organised masses of peasants, who are no longer split up and scattered in individual farms, but are united in collective farms. The kulaks as a class are practically liquidated in the most important agricultural districts. There still, however, exist remnants which are attempting to undermine the collective farms.

The most important thing in our work is to recognise the class enemy wherever he is hiding, and to frustrate his changing tactics.

The meeting adopted a message of greetings to Comrade Stalin, in which it pledged itself, in accordance with the Party directives and the instructions of Comrade Stalin, to carry out the spring sowing with Bolshevik thoroughness.

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