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After the Verdict

By L. BOROSS (Moscow).

After a trial lasting for six days the Supreme Court of the Proletarian State has pronounced its verdict. This verdict and the sentences pronounced against the class enemies in the dock, are so mild in comparison with the crimes committed, that only a State conscious of its whole unshakable power could venture to pronounce them. All the more heavy, therefore, is the blow which the verdict and sentences deliver to those class enemies who are neither in the dock nor within the confines of the Soviet Union.

What did the class enemy wish to achieve? He wanted in the first place, to quote the words of the Public Prosecutor, to oppose to the socialist Five-Year Plan a saboteurs' Five-Year Plan. He no longer hoped to destroy Soviet economy from within. He set himself more modest aims in this respect: To “limit” socialist construction, as one of the accused admitted.

What has the class enemy achieved? During the holding of the trial, Soviet economy celebrated an important victory: for the first time in the history of the Soviet smelting industry, the daily output of pig-iron has exceeded 20,000 tons. Whilst the accused, in their savage hatred against the Russian workers, destroyed some turbines, these Gusevs and Sokolovs, these Kotliarevskys and Suchorutchkins did not notice that the enthusiasm of the many millions of builders of Socialism has created with heroic labour a number of new giant power works and many hundreds of huge socialist works and factories. Therefore the verdict pronounced on the Thorntons and Gusevs is only

a reflection of that verdict which the victory of the Five-Year Plan has passed on the remnants of the class enemy at home.

Whilst the counter-revolutionary forces in the Soviet Union are rolling in the dust which is raised by the victorious marching columns of the army, numbering millions, which is building up Socialism, one reads in the counter-revolutionary press, from the “Daily Express” to the Vienna “Arbeiter-Zeitung,” that the trial “has been staged” in order to divert attention from the failures of socialist construction! Do these gentlemen wish to come forward with this threadbare story to-day? These gentlemen have, through the frightened panicky comments they made on Stalin's January speech on the results of the Five-Year Plan, given the lie to themselves beforehand. They have been hoisted with their own petard.

The miserable despicableness of the present-day remnants of the inner class enemy distinguishes this trial from those trials in which large-scale wreckers of the type of the Shakhty heroes, of the type of Ramsin or Gromann were the defendants. What, however, connects this trial with former trials is the fact that also to-day the condemned wreckers did not rely on their own forces but on reactionary capitalist circles abroad.

The Gusevs and Sokolovs have no longer any deep roots in Soviet soil. Just like the Ramsins and Gromanns, they are a sort

of "coloured legion" of the imperialist army of intervention. To prepare the ground for this intervention army was the aim and hope of the Gusevs and Sokolovs, of the Suchorutchkins and Zorins and their principals.

What have they actually achieved? Firstly, after their exposure and arrest, the Gusevs and Sokolovs and the British lieutenants of this coloured legion have only succeeded in drawing the British imperialists into an adventure. But here again they have been hoisted with their own petard.

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On the 12th of March the British Ambassador, *Sir Esmond Ovey*, commenced to bombard the British Foreign Office with cipher telegrams: "Innocent" Englishmen arrested. The British government must immediately exert its whole authority in order to bring about their release, etc.

On the next day, one of the arrested innocent heroes, *Thornton*, wrote with his own hand and signed a complete confession. If lies have short legs, this lie about the innocence of Thornton and Monkhouse, Macdonald and Cushy came into the world with no legs at all. This protocol was of course not included in the English White Paper, but instead of this, attempts were made by threats and the passing of a "Russian Goods Import and Prohibition Act," to intimidate the Soviet Union in order thereby to get it to abandon the open trial of the exposed agents of the British Intelligence Service. What have they achieved?

They have not only not prevented the trial from taking place, but the British Government has been placed in such a tragicomic situation that it will have to make serious endeavours to escape from it. The Macdonalds, Gusevs and Kutusova, the tools of British imperialism, have this time, by their open confessions, destroyed not the Soviet motors, but the motors of the Diehards' action. By a strange trick of history, the verdict was announced on the very same day on which the import embargo Act came into force.

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Will the British Government, after this verdict, venture to apply this Act which is so disastrous to it? If it does not, then it will admit that it has committed a big blunder. If it does, then it will thereby before the whole world tear its "moral" mask (which has already been worn thin by the trial itself) from its face and openly show its true countenance. It would hardly be well-becoming for British imperialism thus to expose itself before the working masses of its own and other countries. British imperialism has landed itself in this quandary by its adventurist attempt to blackmail the proletarian State.

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The trial had commenced, Macdonald's first confession had been made public, when the old lies were served up in the British press and, on Deterding's orders, also in the German fascist press, about "Horrors of the G.P.U.," "Extorted confessions," etc. For this purpose attempts were also made to influence those of the accused in the trial who were released on bail. *Monkhouse*, who was the mouthpiece of the higher British authorities, attempted at the trial, by fairy stories about being interrogated for 18 hours, and by referring to "moral pressure" during the interrogation, to supply material for the campaign of incitement. What have these gentlemen achieved? The horrors of the G.P.U. became "excellent, correct treatment" (declaration of the accused Nordwall). The "moral pressure," "excellent meals at a table with the investigating judge" (declaration of the accused Monkhouse). Thus it would appear, by the way, that the investigating judge also partook of those "potent drugs" which, according to the "Daily Mail," the O.G.P.U. makes use of in order to compel victims to make confessions. The 18 hours' cross-examination was reduced to 12 hours with intervals for dinner and supper.

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Defeat of the machinations of the class enemy within and outside the Soviet Union. That is the result of the six days' public trial. The trial will induce the Soviet proletariat to maintain undiminished vigilance in face of the remnants of the defeated class enemy. The trial will act as a summons to the international proletariat to be still more on the alert against the war machinations of the imperialist governments. In this sense the verdict is not only a model of proletarian judgment, but also a document of the proletarian class struggle.

Politics

The Austrian Counter-Revolution

By Oesterreicher (Vienna)

The word "counter-revolution" as characterising the present policy of the Austrian government emanates from **Vaugoin**, the Minister for War, and is therefore an authentic designation of what Dollfuss is aiming at. Of course, it is quite wrong—and at the same time a piece of ingratitude on the part of Dollfuss to his great predecessors **Seipel** and **Schober**—to say that this "counter-revolution" commenced only four weeks ago, for the idea of "getting rid of the revolutionary rubbish," as Seipel used to express it, dates back to 1918. Dollfuss wants to complete that which the social democratic-Christian coalition government, which came into power after the collapse of the monarchy, commenced.

Dollfuss began with the abolition of the freedom of the press. He then destroyed the freedom of combination and assembly by empowering the police to dissolve any meeting. The partial abolition of the trial by jury was the next blow. This was followed by the dissolution of the *Schutzbund* (Republican Defence Corps), an organisation which united in its ranks the most revolutionary social-democratic workers. What will be the further steps of the Dollfuss government?

It is now announced in the christian socialist press, and by ministers at christian socialist meetings, that the government can no longer tolerate the magnificent gothic building of the Vienna Town Hall being misused for the purposes of the dictatorship of a party. This is a direct threat to the self-administration of Vienna.

Vienna represents the strongest position of the Austrian social democracy in the State apparatus. It was precisely because the social democrats, supported by the votes of two-thirds of the population of Vienna, had in their hands the administration of the largest and most important province, and at the same time the capital of Austria, that no government has hitherto been able to ignore them. Vienna was the basis of the fourteen years of open or concealed policy of coalition. Now there exist differences between the Government and the social democracy in foreign politics on the question of relying on the Italian or on the French bloc, and in home politics on the question of whether the reduction of the standard of living of the masses should be effected by violent or reformist means. In order to force the social democracy to agree to its standpoint, the government intend to remove it from all its positions in the State apparatus. In pursuance of this policy, the government intend to dissolve the Vienna municipal council and Diet and set up a government commissioner for this town. The next days will show in what form the government will realise its intentions in Vienna.

The government are preparing emergency orders with immediate tangible and practical benefit for the employers in regard to the right of combination. The Minister for Social Legislation, **Kerber**, recently announced to a press representative that it is intended to issue emergency orders prohibiting strikes out of "political motives," and at the same time these emergency orders shall secure the employers the right to claim damages of the trade unions in the event of strikes. This would of course mean the destruction of the workers' right of combination. In addition, there are very plain threats on the part of the government to worsen the social insurance by means of emergency decrees.

In order to ensure this comprehensive attack on the working class, the government have for weeks past been carrying out systematic searches for weapons in the working-class quarters. When Dollfuss adjourned parliament, the social-democratic party, at the meetings of its functionaries, decided on drastic measures of resistance. There is no doubt that at that time preparations for nothing less than a general strike were made. But the order to the workers to down tools was never given.

Why? The "**Arbeiter-Zeitung**" of April 9 gave the answer. It explained the tactics of the social democracy by means of a military example. It said: Here are two armies, a red and a black, confronting one another. On the flank of the red army a strong allied army has just been defeated. In addition, there is a third, a brown army, waiting to intervene "the moment the

red and black armies are engaged in conflict in order to decide the battle for itself."

Therefore the leaders of the red army must not give the order to repel the attacks of the black army along the whole front.

Thus we again have the celebrated "lesser evil." The working class must not venture on a decisive battle with Dollfuss, because he is the "lesser evil" compared with the Nazis.

In pursuance of this same policy the social-democratic party rejected all the united front offers of the Communist Party.

The workers, it is true, are showing increasing disagreement with this policy. It must be recorded that never since the existence of the Austrian Republic have there been such numerous, such powerful mass demonstrations of fighting solidarity in all parts of the country as there has been in the last few days under the regime of the prohibition of meetings and preliminary censorship for proletarian newspapers. Demonstrations have taken place in all the industrial centres of Austria. These demonstrations are directed against the robbery of unemployment benefit, the dissolution of the Republican Schutzbund and the continual search for weapons in the working-class quarters. The social-democratic party has not issued a single fighting slogan against these government measures. The masses of workers, social democrats and Communists, went spontaneously on to the streets.

The most important tactical question of the proletarian fight in Austria is the question of the leadership of these spontaneous mass actions. In many places the social-democratic functionaries have retained in their hands the leadership of the masses who went on the streets. In other and very important places, however, such as **Wiener Neustadt** and **Neukirchen**, the leadership passed into the hands of the Communists and was directed partly against the social-democratic leaders.

Thus the Dollfuss counter-revolution has led to a profound revolutionisation of the working class.

Growing Political Tension in Poland

By G. HENRYKOWSKI.

The development of political events in Poland should be followed with the closest attention by the international proletariat.

The big strike of nearly the whole of the textile workers of Poland, the two days' general strike in the whole of the mining industry, the miners' strike in the Dombrov coalfield, the occupation of the "Klimontov" and "Mortimer" pits by the dismissed miners, fresh symptoms of disintegration in the government camp and also in the camp of the bourgeois-social fascist Sejm opposition—all the events rapidly following one another proclaim a new stage in the development of the revolutionary upsurge.

The struggle of the miners developed at the same time as the textile workers in Lodz and in the whole of the Lodz region took up the fight against wage cuts and for a collective agreement on the 1928 basis.

For nearly two years there have been no collective wage agreements in the textile industry. The employers hoped that by this means they would succeed in forcing a wage cut and further rationalisation measures in each factory separately. It is thanks to the many struggles, the numerous partial strikes, that in a number of undertakings the attacks of the bourgeoisie met with no success. In the second half of January the Red Trade Union Opposition succeeded in getting a decision for a general strike carried at a delegate Conference of the reformist union. The Conference also decided to convene in the near future a Congress of the textile workers of the whole of the Lodz region, which should decide the date of the strike.

The short-term protest strikes carried out by the C.P. of Poland on February 22 and 23 against the introduction of the new fascist law on health insurance and other social achievements of the proletariat, were also of importance. These protest strikes, which were participated in by 13 enterprises, compelled the reformist leaders to convene the congress of the textile workers on March 5. At this Congress, which was attended by over 800 delegates, of whom 30 per cent. belonged to the opposition, it was decided to commence a general strike on March 6, and a strike committee of 100 members was elected. Not a single social fascist leader was elected on to this strike committee. The overwhelming majority of the strike committee were non-party workers. On March 6, a number of small and middle-sized works went on strike. On the afternoon of the same day the Red Trade Union

Opposition succeeded in bringing the workers in the big textile mill Vidzevska Manufaktura into the strike. During the course of the 6th and 7th March the R.T.U.O. succeeded in getting strike decisions passed and strike committees elected in nearly all the big undertakings. On March 8 the whole of the Lodz textile industry was paralysed. The only mill which did not go on strike at first was the big Posnanski mill, in which the positions of the R.T.U.O. were very weak. A demonstration of over 1,000 strikers succeeded in bringing out the workers also in this mill. The same thing happened in the Horak mill in Ruds Pabjanicka near Lodz, where over 2,000 workers drove the strike-breakers out of the mill. The strikers held demonstrations in the streets of Lodz and other textile districts almost every day. Many of these demonstrations were participated in by six to seven thousand workers and had a stormy character. On March 12 the workers in nearly all the small and middle-sized mills and the building, leather and garment workers were on strike.

The vacillations in the Central Strike Committee compelled the R.T.U.O. to unite the factory strike committees into one body in order by this means to secure the revolutionary leadership of the strike and to render it impossible for the reformist trade union leaders to undertake any surprise action.

The political intensification of the strike struggle was most plainly expressed in the demonstration of 10,000 workers in Pabjanicka near Lodz on March 16. It came to a fierce fight with the police, in the course of which several workers were killed. The demonstrations during the funeral of these victims, especially the mass demonstration of the Lodz workers to Pabjanicka, were examples of the greatest heroism and self-sacrifice. During the Lodz struggle the fascist government resorted to the same manoeuvres as it did in the strike of the miners. After the events in Pabjanicka, but mainly as a result of the second strike of the miners, the government issued a declaration in which they stated they would support the textile workers in their struggle for the conclusion of a collective agreement. They were compelled to take this step in view of the fact that the strike had spread to other textile centres (Zyrardov, Belchatov, Bialystok and Warsaw). The summons of the reformist traitors to break off the strike was not followed by a single worker in Lodz. Over 10,000 workers were present at the delegate Conference on March 30. The speeches of the Communist deputy Rosenberg and Comrade Ignazias, who demanded the rejection of the agreement which had been concluded, met with enthusiastic applause. It was unanimously decided to continue the strike. A demonstration of thousands of workers marched from the Congress Hall through the streets of Lodz. The demonstration was dispersed by the police. In the afternoon the workers came together for a second time. When they attempted to organise a procession they were attacked by a large body of mounted police, who killed a 17-year-old mill girl named **Yadwiga Wojciechowska** and seriously wounded many workers. Two police inspectors and a number of police were also wounded. The funeral of the murdered mill girl, which took place on March 31, was an imposing anti-fascist demonstration participated in by thousands and thousands of Lodz workers. The police attacked the demonstrators. It came to a fierce fight in which ten police were wounded, five of them seriously. It was only after a long fight that the police, who were reinforced, succeeded in dispersing the demonstrating workers.

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The intensification of the class struggles within the country and the events on an international scale, especially the events in Germany, have placed the question of the united front in the forefront of the whole political activity of the C.P. of Poland and the revolutionary trade union movement. On the basis of the developing struggles and in accordance with the appeal of the Comintern of March 5, the C.P. of Poland approached the central committees of the socialist parties in Poland with the proposal to set up a united front with the social-democratic workers through the medium of the socialist parties. As was to be expected, the social fascists rejected the Communist proposal for concrete actions, suggesting instead a "non-aggression pact" and insisting on the necessity of negotiations between the two Internationals.

Poland is immediately confronted with a revolutionary crisis. It must be remembered, however, that the difficulties which the revolutionary movement of Poland has to overcome in connection with the international situation and with the manoeuvres of fascism and social fascism are very considerable.

Germany

What is Happening in Germany?

By Fritz Heckert (Member of the C.C. of the C.P.G.)

The bourgeoisie has let loose the civil war against the proletariat, and in doing so it has given the signal for a new wave of world-reaction and attacks on the part of capitalism. It was the first to shoot and thereby it is intensifying all class conflicts to the highest pitch, shattering the social-democratic illusions as to the possibility of peaceful evolution, and proving once again that violence is the chief "argument" of the bourgeoisie. The events in Germany are an extremely important stage on the road towards the ripening of the revolutionary crisis in the very centre of Europe, on the road towards the approach of the decisive struggles between labour and capital.

What is happening in Germany to-day shows clearly with what means the bourgeoisie will fight in the moment when the question of proletarian revolution is the order of the day, and with what means the proletariat will have to fight against the bourgeoisie and its watch-dogs.

The events in Germany demonstrate, at the same time, what kind of picture the capitalist world will present in the event of a new imperialist war and particularly in the event of a war against the Soviet Union, what position social democracy, which has now gone over to the side of the fascists in Germany, will take up, and why the Communists have for the last three years been designating the social democrats as social fascists.

Finally, the events in Germany assume an even greater significance in so far as the seizure of power by Hitler opens up for the capitalist world a period of new imperialist wars.

The entire international proletariat is looking on spellbound at the events in Germany, and the class-conscious workers in every country are being stirred up by the same questions.

- Why has Fascism succeeded in attaining to power in Germany?
- What are the prospects of further developments in Germany?
- Was the policy of the Communist Party in Germany correct?

1. Why has Fascism Succeeded in Attaining to Power in Germany?

It is impossible to answer this question unless a sober analysis is carried out of the relation of the class forces in Germany.

What, then, is the relation of the class forces in Germany, and what is the nature of the role which the social-democratic party has played in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship?

First and foremost, with regard to the **proletariat**.

In Germany the resistance of the proletariat against fascism was weakened owing to the fact that a part of the proletariat, the greater part of it, was betrayed by the social democrats and followed the lead of social democracy, while social democracy waged an untiring fight, in alliance with the bourgeoisie, against the other, smaller, part of the proletariat, against the Communist part of the proletariat, which formed **the only active and militant force in opposition to fascism**. The more the influence of the Communist Party and its organising forces grew, the more furious became the attempts of social democracy to isolate the C.P.G., and in this way to disarm even the masses of the workers with regard to the onslaughts of fascism.

The fact that social democracy has succeeded in Germany in splitting the revolutionary unity of the proletariat, paralysed and is paralysing the successful warding-off of fascism by the working class. By carrying out the social demands of the bourgeoisie social democracy has divided the proletariat with the very object of weakening its capacity for fighting. In the course of the fourteen years of its participation in the government of Prussia, social democracy, which had at its disposal the machinery of the State and, above all, of the police, persecuted to the utmost and indefatigably the Communist vanguard; in doing this it knew that it was weakening the proletariat in its entirety, assuring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and preparing the ground for fascism. At the same time social democracy, sup-

ported by the apparatus of the bourgeois state, strove to consolidate its influence on the working class and to prevent the revolutionary unity of the proletariat as a class. After the shooting of workers on May 1, 1929, by the Berlin police president Zörgiebel, the social democrats banned the R.F.B. (Red Front Fighters' League) and at the same time assured for the Stahlhelm (Steel Helmets) and the S.A. (Storm Troops) complete freedom to organise. They delivered up all the armed forces of the state to the absolute control of the feudal-monarchistic Reichswehr officers. The police selected by Severing now served fascism as loyally as they had served the Prussian government of the social democrat Braun in its fight against the class movement of the proletariat.

Side by side with this so-to-speak military disarming of the proletariat the social democrats also disarmed the proletariat politically by lulling to sleep its vigilance by means of phrases about "the State that stands above classes," and by surrendering step by step all the gains that the proletariat had wrested for themselves in the revolution of 1918-1919. After social democracy had, at one stage, drowned the proletarian revolution in blood by the agency of Noske, after it had, in the second stage, consolidated the position of the bourgeoisie by supporting capitalist rationalisation, and after it had, again, put all the burden of the consequences of the crisis on the backs of the workers in the form of its policy of "toleration" towards the Brüning government and of its policy of "the lesser evil" in the period of the economic crisis, it prepared the ground for fascism and has now ended by **openly going over to it**.

What effect did this policy of social democracy have on the other front—in the **bourgeois camp**? It is well known that in the 1918-1919 revolution the social democrats attacked the privileges neither of the bourgeoisie nor of the Junkers, who openly supported monarchist reaction in Germany. The bourgeois republic of Weimar was established by the social democrats on fundamentally the same social and economic basis as that on which the Hohenzollern monarchy rested. This circumstance alone served to make the bourgeois democracy of November very unstable, and paved the way for the growth of chauvinism and fascism. The entire post-war policy of the social democrats, moreover, also fostered the consolidation of the economic and political positions of the bourgeoisie.

In the economic sphere this was shown on the one hand in the fact that the social democrats supported the systematic plundering of the working class by the bourgeoisie (lowering of wages, cutting down of social services, raising of taxes); on the other hand in the fact that they supported the policy of direct financial assistance to the big industrialists and the agrarians.

In the political sphere the social democrats systematically established, in the course of the whole post-war period, the power of the capitalist state (the police, the Reichswehr, the building of cruisers, growing terror against the working class). This policy of the social democrats facilitated the welding of the forces of the big capitalists, who in the moment of the sharpest crisis have found in the fascist dictatorship the most concentrated form for the state apparatus of terror and violence against the working class and all toilers.

Here lies the key to the understanding of the reasons why the bourgeoisie at first "co-operated" with social democracy, and why it has now decided to go over to the open forms of fascist dictatorship in Germany.

I shall now pass to the question of the **urban petty-bourgeoisie** and of the **peasantry**.

Had the proletariat not been weakened and split by the criminal policy of class-collaboration of social democracy with the bourgeoisie, its revolutionary influence on the urban petty-bourgeoisie and on the peasantry, who have been ruined by the crisis and driven to fight against the violence of trust capital, could have been assured.

What has social democracy, as the ruling party, given these intermediate classes, which vacillated between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat? The Weimar Republic? But the Weimar Republic meant the preservation of the capitalist system in the period of its decay, with its severe crisis and terrible exploitation, with increasing and chronic unemployment; the preservation of the capitalist system, which entailed the ever-spreading ruin of the peasantry and the impoverishment of the petty-bourgeoisie. The Weimar Republic was the "political superstructure" of German capitalism in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, whose wounds found their embodiment in the eyes of the masses, in the political system created by German social democracy as the result of their betrayal of the proletarian revolution. Finally, the Weimar Republic—the republic which grew up on the basis of Germany's defeat in the world war—and this is particularly important when the petty-bourgeoisie is being considered—appeared to the masses to be the embodiment of the yoke of Versailles and of the enslavement of the German people by world imperialism.

The illusions of the petty-bourgeois masses with regard to this republic were dispelled as the result of their concrete experience of it, for it appeared to them to be more and more inimical to the interests of the people. The policy of social democracy was criminal in that it set up this bourgeois democracy, which was becoming fascist, as a social ideal. The policy of the social democrats brought the masses more and more to the point of disillusionment with regard to bourgeois democracy and robbed them at the same time, as a result of the malicious slanders of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, of all revolutionary prospects of a way out of their hunger and misery.

The masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, in despair about the gloomy present and without hope for the future, clung, as a result of the traitorous policy of social democracy, to the dreams of the past, of pre-war capitalism of the period of the Hohenzollerns in which German imperialism advanced into China, Africa and towards Bagdad and subjected the Balkans to its influence. At the same time the yoke of Versailles nourished and kindled the nationalist passions on which fascism was speculating. The wave of fascism took hold not only of the petty-bourgeois masses, but also of a certain section of the proletariat. It was demonstrated that the proletariat, divided as it was by the policy of social democracy, was not in a position to overcome the wave of nationalism by its opposite—a wave of internationalism. This fact made it possible for the bourgeoisie, which was frightened by the militancy of the Communist section of the proletariat, to consolidate its position and to hand over its power to the party most hostile to the working class, the national socialists. The present German nationalism is an offshoot of Versailles, and French bourgeois democracy—the prop of the Versailles system—has produced Hitler.

In this position of the class forces, answers must be sought, firstly to the question as to why the C.P.G. was unable in the conditions of to-day to raise before the broad masses of the proletariat the question of the seizure of power; secondly to the question as to why the C.P.G., which calculated that it would be able to drag the social democratic workers in its wake, was unable to organise, on January 30, in the moment of Hitler's seizure of power, a decisive political strike.

Such a strike on January 30 would have been no ordinary strike of protest. Had it been successfully carried out such a strike would have mobilised not only all the forces of the proletariat, but would also have caused the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry, who were adhering to fascism, to vacillate and would have in this way been turned into the starting point for revolutionary mass action against the fascist dictatorship. It is precisely for this reason that the A.D.G.B. (F.U.C. of Germany) and the S.P.D. (Social Democratic Party) refused to support the appeal of the Communists for a strike and thwarted it.

The XIIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. pointed out two lines of the development of fascism; in one group of countries—the line of declining fascism (Yugoslavia, Poland, Italy); in the other group—the line of rising fascism—Germany was counted amongst this latter group of countries. But even this line of rising fascism in Germany exhibited considerable oscillations, symptoms of the internal crisis of German fascism (the breaking-off of the group of Otto Strasser, the quarrel with the group of Gregor Strasser,

the disbanding of certain Storm Troop sections, the loss of votes at elections, etc.)

Had the A.D.G.B. and the S.P.D. accepted the proposals of the C.P.G. for a united front before and on January 30, and had they carried through in co-operation with us a political mass strike, the process of internal crisis within German fascism would have been hastened. The betrayal of social democracy, however, gave events another turn.

The fact that the Communists succeeded in this situation in organising isolated strikes was a real victory for the Communists. But as a result of the betrayal of social democracy they did not succeed in organising a decisive mass political strike on January 30. It is therefore clear that with the then relation of class forces the German Communists could not raise the question of the seizure of power by the proletariat. We German Communists had not, as had the Russian Bolsheviks in October, 1917, an overwhelming majority of the toilers, but we had not even a majority of the proletariat, on our side. A substantial part of the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie have not yet overcome their illusions with regard to nationalism. The entire armed forces of the Reichswehr, the police, the Stahlhelm, the Storm Troops, were drawn up against the unarmed proletariat. The Russian Bolsheviks, however, had on their side, as is well known, not only armed workers, but also a substantial part of the army and enjoyed the benevolent neutrality of another part of the army.

This position of the class forces determined the temporary defeat of the proletariat.

Does this mean the end of the wave of revolution in Germany, the end of the matured revolutionary crisis in Germany?

No, it does not mean that.

In spite of the terrible fascist Terror the German proletariat has not yet come to terms with the bourgeoisie. It has not capitulated and will not capitulate in spite of the moral bankruptcy and the betrayal of Wels and Leipart, who have capitulated and pleaded for the mercy of Hitler. The German proletariat is carrying on, in hundreds of places, partial struggles for its positions and its organisations. The working class of Germany is evincing class determination and at the same time perseverance and the capacity to manoeuvre—a quality that is necessary in order to avoid, in spite of every kind of provocation and betrayal, entering upon the decisive struggle in a situation that is favourable for the enemy.

As regards the **Communist Party**, it is not allowing itself to be isolated from the masses, despite the Terror and the provocative action of Hitler and Göring. Never has the C.P.G. had so much moral prestige amongst the working masses as now, when the social-democratic leaders are licking the boots of Hitler, while the Communists are unfurling the flag of implacable struggle against bloody fascism. The talk of the alleged defeat and political death of the C.P.G. is the philistine chattering of stupid and ignorant people. No one can shatter and kill the party of the working class, unless it brings about its own death by a false anti-revolutionary policy. Social democracy has been annihilated as a party not because Hitler proved himself the stronger; social democracy has been annihilated, because it brought about its own moral and political death when it renounced the fight against fascism, when it stooped to serve fascism. The Communist Party is strong and unconquerable, because it has never retreated, because it is not retreating from its revolutionary battle lines, because it did not capitulate and will not capitulate before the enemies of the proletariat and their bloody agent, fascism. It holds the flag of implacable struggle against fascism ever in its hands and always will. This also explains the fact that the C.P.G. knows nothing of the moral illness and political faintness that is now devouring social democracy. This explains, furthermore, why the C.P.G. enjoys a moral authority, such it has never enjoyed before, amongst the millions of masses of the proletarians of Germany who are not prepared to yield to bloody fascism.

That is why I believe that the present position of the German bourgeoisie is not at all consolidated, that the proletarian revolution in Germany must be victorious, that fascism in Germany must be vanquished, and will be vanquished.

Only fools can believe that the bourgeoisie could establish a stable hegemony over the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie under the conditions of the present crisis over a period of years. Critical periods similar to the present period in

Germany have been signalised precisely by the fact that days and weeks replace years and centuries of ordinary times. Who would dare to maintain that a period of economic boom has arrived in Germany, and that the bourgeoisie will succeed in solving the internal and external conflicts of Germany capitalism?

German fascism cannot be compared with Italian fascism. Italian fascism came to power at the beginning of the period of capitalist stabilisation—German fascism at the end of this period. Italian fascism made use of the decline in the wave of revolution, German fascism has come into power during the rise of this wave. Italian fascism was that of a country that had been victorious in the world war, it was a participator and active supporter of the Versailles system; German fascism is the passive object of that system, and at the very first steps of its existence is encountering growing international difficulties. Italian fascism came to power at a moment when the Treaty of Versailles had determined the stability of international relations for a number of years. German fascism has seized power at a moment when the relations created by Versailles are breaking up. The German proletariat is more numerous, it has the school of a proletarian revolution (1918/1919) behind it, unsuccessful as that revolution was. The German proletariat has created the strongest Communist Party after that of the Soviet Union, whereas the Italian proletariat has not possessed such a party since the split of Livorno.

Is the German bourgeoisie capable of solving even one of the internal and external contradictions of German capitalism under the conditions of the world crisis? Can it liquidate unemployment, improve the extraordinarily serious position of the workers, put a stop to the impoverishment of the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie, set the works and factories in motion once again, assure the stability of the currency, conquer the external markets necessary for German industry, make an end to the Versailles yoke? No, it cannot do that. In the present world economic and political situation the fascist government is incapable of solving even one of these problems. What is taking place in Germany to-day is the convulsion of capitalism, not its "stabilisation."

Only a petty-bourgeois can believe that the road of the German revolution will lead, from one victory of the Communist Party in the elections to another without the bourgeoisie, with its experience of the Russian October revolution, waging a bitter fight against the proletarian revolution. It will fight not only in Germany, but also in all the capitalist countries as soon as the question of power becomes acute. To win over the majority of the working class the Communist Parties are passing through bloody battles and will pass through bloody battles.

II. The Prospects of the Fascist Dictatorship

What are the prospects of fascism in Germany?

The collapse of the fascist regime in Germany depends first and foremost on the unity of the proletariat as a class on the road to the gaining of a proletarian majority by the C.P.G., and the liquidation of the influence of reactionary social democracy, which hitherto had the majority of the proletariat behind it. The unity of the proletariat as a revolutionary fighting class will alone hasten the process of estrangement from fascism of those sections of the peasantry and of the urban petty-bourgeoisie which hitherto supported it. Both these factors, which react upon one another and increase the fighting activity of the masses, will bring in their wake on the one hand the crisis of "the leading groups" in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and on the other hand the disruption from below of the fascist machinery of terror and dictatorship.

In the economic sphere fascism has set up the principle of capitalist autarchy. Apart from the fact that capitalist autarchy is nonsense in the economic sense, German capitalism, with its fascist policy of autarchy, which rests upon a strict control of imports, is faced with two insoluble and contradictory problems; first, the necessity for creating a home market capable of absorbing production, and, secondly, the forcing of exports. But how can the fascist regime extend the home market when there are nine million unemployed in the country, when the wages bill has sunk, during the years of crisis, to one half, when the income from agriculture, in spite of the introduction of a protective duty and of the subsidies, has during the last three years declined by more than 30 per cent., when large-scale bankruptcies are ruining millions of small savers, and, finally, when two-thirds of the productive machinery is lying idle? The establishment of a strict quota in international trade presupposes for each capitalist country not only a dwindling of imports, but causes also a

shrinkage of exports. The German bourgeoisie cannot count upon being allowed to shut its home market against imports and at the same time maintain or extend its industrial exports. The decline in exports is a danger for the German mark. By now the gold-cover in Germany, according to the statement of Schacht, has dwindled from 3.3 milliards of marks down to a ninth part of that figure. The severe decline of a favourable balance of trade in Germany, in the years of the crisis, from three milliards of marks almost down to one milliard, reflected the uninterrupted and precipitous process of the decline of German exports. In January and February German exports declined on an average to one-fourth of the monthly averages of the previous year. The danger for the stability of the German mark becomes all the greater in so far as, as a result of its bank crashes, the U.S.A. has actually taken the path towards the abolition of the gold standard, and has thereby heightened its ability to compete in foreign markets. Here again the German bourgeoisie stumbles upon further difficulties; in order to enter into competition in foreign markets with other capitalist countries, it must have recourse to inflation. This, however, unavoidably raises the question of the end of the moratorium that Germany has maintained for her private debts. Those countries which have invested in Germany in the shape of loans of some 17 milliards of marks demand immediate payment. Fascism is faced with financial bankruptcy. The development of the economic crisis in Germany also bodes no good to fascism. In the two months of Hitler's rule a further worsening of market conditions has been observable. In the month of February the production of pig-iron fell by 17.7 per cent., of steel by 14.1 per cent., coal production by 18.1 per cent., and the production of coke by 9.2 per cent. The building industry is completely at a standstill. Machine-construction industry during February further reduced its number of workers as against January. At the same time, in March, 1933, there are 275,000 more unemployed than in December, 1932.

What, in these circumstances, can the fascists offer to the masses? A further lowering of the standard of living of the working class, the liquidation of social insurances, the introduction of conscripted labour at a daily wage of 40 pfennigs, a prison regime in the factories—will Hitler by these means win over the German workers to the "Third Empire"?

The entire social pyramid of capitalism is bearing down with all its weight upon the proletariat. The whole parasitic machinery of the fascist dictatorship, already grown to formidable size and threatening to expand still further, sucks from the class of the six million workers, who are still engaged in production, a substantial part of its surplus value. That is to say that the German bourgeoisie, in order to ensure the maintenance of the average norm of its profits, will exert further pressure on the working class.

By the introduction of higher protective duties on the most important articles of food, fascism has, in fact, granted to the agrarians and big peasants large subsidies, but it has thereby at the same time lowered still further the standard of consumption of the workers and the urban petty-bourgeoisie. With the temporary maintenance of the moratorium for private debts and taxation of agriculture till October 1, fascism will solve neither the question of the indebtedness of the peasantry nor of the taxation burdens which oppress the peasants, nor the question of the impoverishment of the small farmers. Fascism will help the petty-bourgeoisie of the towns neither with pogroms against Jewish businesses nor with attacks on large stores. It cannot make provision for the million petty-bourgeois who would like to be the "rentiers" of the "Third Empire." The Storm Troops and the bandits of the "National Revolution," who have eaten their fill of the state fleshpots, are a heavy burden upon the state budget, which already has to carry a deficit of two and a half milliards.

The disappointment of the masses and their estrangement from fascism are inevitable. And this estrangement from fascism will impede the establishment of the fascist machinery of violence and will hasten its disruption. This disruption will, in all probability, proceed in the shape of an internal struggle between the three forms of the armed forces of fascism: the Storm Troops, the Steel Helmets and the Reichswehr. A disruption will then begin of the "leading groups" in power, who will come forward with their nostrums for the salvation of Germany.

(To be concluded.)

What is Happening in the Reichsbank ?

The declaration of the German Reichsbank that it is prepared to pay back the international rediscount credit of 70 million dollars which the international banks (New York, Paris, London, Basle) placed at the disposal of the Reichsbank at the time of the acute banking crisis in the summer of 1931, has rightly aroused very great excitement. What is behind this policy of the new President of the Reichsbank, **Dr. Schacht**? The reason given in the declaration of the Reichsbank is too flimsy for anybody to believe it. The Bank of France, it is stated, in view of the shakiness of the dollar-currency and the danger of a depreciation of the currency in the U.S.A., has demanded the insertion of a gold clause in the agreement for prolonging the rediscount credit. This may have been a welcome occasion and pretext for Herr Schacht, but it is not a valid reason. The reasons are to be sought elsewhere. By the repayment of the rediscount credits it becomes clear to the whole world, including also the German public, that the real gold cover of the Reichsbank notes is not 26.1 per cent., but only 11.2 per cent. Under Luther's regime this fact was concealed by making use of the rediscount credit in order to cover the Reichsbank notes. Schacht wants to alter this. Why? The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of 6th April, 1933, writes:

"The striking off of the borrowed part of the Note cover is thoroughly calculated to reduce to natural dimensions the idea of what one can reasonably expect and demand of a Note Bank in a situation such as the Reichsbank is in at present."

This can have no other meaning than that the capital reserves of the Reichsbank are so weak that one cannot reasonably demand much of it. This represents in the first place a pressure on the foreign creditors of German capitalism. Following the rapid decline in exports, German capitalism is no longer able to pay the interest on its foreign debts out of its trade balance. The Reichsbank has therefore to render aid here. But its position is so weak that this cannot be demanded of it. And what is to be done with regard to the interest on foreign debts if it can no longer be paid? Postponement, moratorium, or what?

In addition to this pressure on the foreign creditors of Germany, Schacht's policy has another purpose. It is perfectly clear that the enormous expenditure indulged in by the fascist regime cannot go on for long without the Hitler government attempting to obtain the necessary money by some means or other. A foreign loan is quite out of the question. An inland loan is being discussed, but in government circles opinion is very sceptical as to whether the German bourgeoisie, in spite of the "national renaissance," has so much confidence in the firmness of the fascist dictatorship as to subscribe to this loan. If the plan of an inland loan has to be dropped, there remains only one other means: increase in the issue of notes, or in other words, **inflation**. The fascist leaders seem to believe that they can make such an inflation plausible to the people if they declare that it is only a defensive measure against the foreign countries, an emergency measure. Thus they hope to make the plunge into inflation more easy. But it is, of course, a matter of indifference what declaration and what reason fascism gives: the mechanism of inflation will simply run on. Schacht's policy, in spite of all assurances to the contrary, is aiming at this solution. Many German industrialists believe that it will be much easier by this means to effect an indirect reduction of wages than to carry out a direct wage reduction, and that only by drastically reducing wages in this manner and thus lowering the cost of production will it be possible to revive the declining exports. The fascist rulers are obviously not yet bothering their heads about the inner political consequences of such a policy, or they think that the fascist apparatus of oppression is strong enough to permit such a heavy burden being placed on the working masses. Schacht's repayment of the rediscount credits, it must be emphasised, is only a first step. But the first step having been taken, the subsequent steps will be all the easier.

Unfurl the Socialist Banner of Freedom!

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

Flag-waving, torchlight processions, grand parades—these are the means with which Hitler, Hugenberg and Papen announce the inauguration of the "Third Empire." Seventeen million Nazi electors believe that the day of their emancipation from years of misery and slavery has come.

They celebrate the "emancipation of the nation" which has been achieved by the "national revolution." But look around and you will see that **under Hitler's government the nation of the well-fed triumphs over the nation of the starving.**

Hitler has not repealed a single one of Papen's and Brüning's hunger-decrees. Instead of increasing the meagre unemployment benefit, he reduces it still further under the cloak of "reorganising" the unemployment insurance. Work? Yes, for the Nazi bureaucrats, who formerly made such an outcry about the jobs in the State apparatus being given only to members of the social democratic party, but have now secured soft jobs for themselves. New police and government presidents, new mayors and town councillors without end, but for you there is left unpaid forced labour on a diet of potatoes and herring.

Look around you, small shopkeepers and artisans!

No reduction of the unbearable taxes on small businesses, but remission and cancellation of the taxes on luxurious motor cars. Hitler has expressly guaranteed full protection of the big stores. Nothing is done to the rich Jews, but the working-class anti-fascists are mishandled and tortured. Under the fascist flag the number of those who could buy your goods and provide you with work by placing orders with you is becoming ever less, as heavy customs duties are further reducing the purchasing power of the masses.

Look around, working peasants! The agrarian policy of the Hitler government does not benefit you, but only the rich junker, who pockets the enormous profits from the customs duties and the millions provided by the East-Elbian Relief. Who benefits now, when a pound of margarine costs 25 pfennigs more? Not you, and not the worker, but the owners of the big estates.

Your exorbitant ground rents and outgoings remain. The price of fodder is rising.

Acting on the orders of the financiers and trust magnates, the Reichstag has passed an Enabling Act. Not only the national socialists, but also the Centre, the big capitalists in the German People's party and even the coupon-clippers in the State party, have given the Hitler government full powers. The Communist deputies, the only spokesmen of the working people, forcibly removed from all governing bodies, and the S.P.G. a miserable picture of the most shameful capitulation. Has Hitler caused the Enabling Act to be passed in order to fulfil his national and social promises? Did he demand full powers in order to tear up the reparations treaties, to expropriate the kings of the Stock Exchange, to repeal the starvation decrees?

Nothing of the kind, but, instead, Balkanic terror against the only party of freedom, special courts and gallows for sincere anti-fascists, shattering of the trade unions and fighting organisations, destruction of collective agreements and the whole of the social welfare institutions, compulsory labour for the unemployed, gigantic subventions for the capitalists and junkers, insane armaments. It was for this that Hitler obtained full powers.

And this is what they call national emancipation? It is nothing else but an attempt to save dying capitalism from decline, an attempt to bar with blood and iron the only way out from the crisis of capitalist collapse.

Under the swastika flag the people are sighing under the slave-fetters of the Versailles reparations-system. Hitler promises punctual payment of the debts to the foreign capitalists. The proletarian revolution will annul these promises, tear up the tribute pact and break the slave yoke of the German and foreign financial magnates. Under the swastika the junkers cheat the working peasants of the fruits of their labour. The proletarian revolution will expropriate the junkers and give the land to the poor peasants.

Members of the Red Trade Union Opposition, whether prohibited or not, strengthen the R.T.U.O.! Enter the free and christian trade unions in masses in order to develop the mass power of the trade unions against fascism and social reaction!

Workers of Germany, trade unionists!

It is only a few weeks to Red May Day, 1933. At the behest of the capitalists the fascist leaders and their representatives in the factories will attempt to suppress the socialist will to freedom of the German proletariat by bloody terror against the Red May Day, by unbounded demagoguery, by a "holiday" and festivals, to make use of the socialist traditions of the proletariat, for a "German May Day," in order to glorify fascist capitalist exploitation. Prevent the desecration of your fighting day! Form unity committees in preparation for May Day!

Decide to abstain from work as a protest against fascist terror, social reaction; and, in place of the fascist unity of the people with the exploiters, put forward in factory meetings your class-struggle demands for bread and work, against the shameful Versailles-system, and the capitalist exploiters in your own country!

Long live the anti-fascist united front of the German working class for the defence of freedom of organisation, combination and the right to strike!

Long live Socialism!

Long live a Germany without junkers and capitalists, a Germany of emancipated labour, the German workers' and peasants' Republic, the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

Berlin, March 30, 1933.

The Attitude of the C.P. of Germany to the Fascist Persecution of the Jews

The Communists are fighting for the abolition of capitalist exploitation and oppression of the working people, be it by Jewish, "Aryan" or other capitalists. The victory of Communism, as is exemplified by the Soviet Union, emancipates the working people from all capitalist exploitation and enslavement and finally overcomes the misery into which capitalism has plunged the working people. Communism provides work for all toilers, no matter of what race or religion.

Fascism, however, which maintains and defends capitalism, can give neither work nor bread to the toilers. Hence fascism attempts to divert the toiling masses from the class struggle against capitalism and to direct them to a racial struggle against the petty-bourgeois and proletarian strata of the Jews. For the purpose of this manoeuvre fascism takes advantage of the desperate mood of the middle strata and the proletarian intellectuals who have been ruined by capitalism.

The crisis of the capitalist system has tremendously aggravated the misery not only of the working class, but also of the toiling middle strata and members of the free professions. The decline in the income of the working population as a result of wage cuts, cuts in unemployment benefit, new taxes and Customs duties, from 45,000 million in the year 1928 to half that amount at the present time means for hundreds of thousands of small shopkeepers the ruin of their businesses and the basis of their existence. The increasing misery of the masses, who are unable to afford a doctor except in cases of extreme urgency, as well as the restriction of expenditure on all social institutions (sick insurance, etc.) is rendering thousands of physicians unemployed and reducing them to a proletarian standard of living. The impoverishment of all intellectuals (engineers, architects, lawyers, writers, etc.) is due to the same crisis of capitalism.

The persecution of the Jews which fascism is now organising will not in any way ameliorate the misery of the middle classes nor prevent the proletarianisation of the free professions. Of what benefit is it to the small shopkeepers and artisans if they allow themselves to be incited against the Jewish shopkeepers and artisans, whose share in the total trade turnover amounts to not more than 5 per cent., whilst the consuming power of the masses has been reduced by 50 per cent. Of what advantage is it to the doctors, lawyers, engineers and writers, if they allow themselves to be diverted by pogromist incitement against the Jews, when the real cause of their misery is the capitalist economic anarchy?

We tell the middle class followers of Hitler beforehand how they are being deceived:

In a few days, as soon as the fascist boycott of the Jews will have come to an end, you will find that all the big stores are still existing, the Jewish banking capitalists and stock-jobbers still carrying on their business, that no Jewish industrial capitalist has suffered any damage, and that the only result of the persecu-

tion of the Jews is that a few thousand Jewish clerks, doctors, lawyers, and other intellectuals and a few thousand Jewish shopkeepers have been beaten up and perhaps economically ruined. Nothing is being done against capitalism, nothing against the real causes of misery; the middle classes and the proletarian intellectuals derive no benefit whatever from these persecutions of the Jews, but only the greatest harm.

The Communist Party calls upon all toilers: frustrate the deceitful manoeuvres of the fascist rulers; do not let yourselves be diverted from the class struggle against capitalism by a racial struggle against the Jews. Stand by the Communist Party in its fight: for the expropriation of all capitalists, especially the trusts, concerns, multiple stores, big banks and big landed estates!

For the overthrow of capitalism and its fascist protectors!

For the rule of the working people, i.e., for the government of the workers and peasants, for Socialism.

The Communist Party of Germany.

The Wave of Fascist Terror

Communist and Socialist Workers Still Being Murdered in Germany.

Below we publish a further list of fascist murders, taken without exception from bourgeois papers and giving but a small portion of the murders which have been committed in the last few days:

"**Vossische Zeitung**," April 4.

"Near the Spandau Canal this morning a male corpse was found. The right side of the temple shows a wound which might come from a shot." As the paper reports later on, the murdered man was the worker Wilh. Drews.

"**Frankfurter Zeitung**," April 6.

"The Press Service of the Bochum Police reports: 'A Communist who had fled has been caught and brought to the police. Since his state did not permit his preventive arrest, he was transported to a hospital. His body shows a number of wounds from blows. He is in a critical condition. The circumstances under which he was wounded could not be stated up to now, as he is not yet in a position to be interrogated.'

"**Völkischer Beobachter**," April 7.

"Wednesday night in the Humboldt Street of Hamburg a worker was shot from behind during a political debate. The assailant escaped."

(The Press Service of the social democratic party of Switzerland reports that this Marxist worker had been attacked by three Nazis from behind and stabbed in the back, and that, although several persons were eye-witnesses of this cowardly murder, the police pretend not to know anything of the murderers.)

"**Münchener Neueste Nachrichten**," April 4.

Raid at Augsburg. . . . "This morning the rumour was spread that during the raid a man had been killed. This rumour did not correspond to the facts; a lithographer, 40 years of age, had a stroke of apoplexy."

"**Münchener Neueste Nachrichten**," April 11.

"Sunday morning the Jewish cattle dealer Pressburger committed suicide (?) by blowing out his brains. Pressburger was to have been arrested because he was suspected of having spread tales on atrocities against Jews."

"**Berliner Börsen-Zeitung**," April 11.

"At Neukirchen, near Chemnitz, a store of arms was discovered. When the Reichsbanner man Max Rupff heard of this fact he fled. Later on he was found dead in the forest."

Comrade Thälmann to be Brought to the Sonneburg Jail.

Berlin, April 14.

The "**Völkischer Beobachter**" of April 14 reports that Comrade Thälmann is soon to be brought to the concentration camp situated in the former penitentiary of Sonneburg in which there are already 300 political prisoners. This shows that the fascist public prosecutor evidently abandoned the mad attempt to get Comrade Thälmann involved in the Reichstag outrage.

This failure of the attempt of the fascist government to bring Comrade Thälmann to the gallows, is due to the international protest campaign of the toiling masses, a campaign which was joined in the case of Comrades Thälmann and Torgler by numerous bourgeois papers abroad. At the same time it shows that the feverish efforts of the fascist police did not succeed in fabricating the tissue of lies regarding the Reichstag incendiary to the degree they had hoped for.

Bloody Fights Between Workers and Fascists in Breslau.

Berlin, April 9.

In the workers' quarter of Breslau violent fights took place between Communist and social democratic workers on the one hand and fascists on the other. These fights were among the most important fought by workers against fascists since Hitler's coming into power. Even the bourgeois press is forced to give more details than usually.

Three national socialists were killed in these encounters, while the numbers of the wounded national socialists as well as of the killed and wounded workers are not published. The police report that "for the first time several thousand S.A.-men had to bar the streets." After the struggles had lasted from the evening to the next morning, the police cordoned off the quarters inhabited for the most part by Communists. More than 100 Communists were arrested by the fascists with the aid of the police.

This news coincides with reports on violent struggles at Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig and other centres; everywhere S.A.-men have been wounded or killed.

The Fascist Terror in the Factories.

Berlin, April 15.

In the "Kabelwerk Oberspree" at Berlin belonging to the A.E.G. Concern, Tuesday, April 11, seven members of the factory council, some of them belonging to the Communist Party (among them one woman) were arrested by the S.A. Emergency Police. The woman was released in the afternoon, while all the others are still held in "preventive arrest."

In the A.E.G. factory in the Brunnenstrasse at Berlin the chairman of the workers' section of the factory council as well as a woman member of the factory council (member of the R.T.U.O.) have been taken into "preventive arrest."

At the Werner, Ltd. at Berlin-Marienfelde all eight factory council members belonging to the S.P.G. and to the C.P.G. have been arrested on April 4 and are still being kept in prison. The workers collected 175 marks in their favour.

In the Lorenz factory at Berlin-Tempelhof ten workers who had been candidates of the R.T.U.O. at the elections of the factory councils, have been dismissed.

In the "Siemens Kabelwerk," Berlin, two members of the factory councils belonging to the R.T.U.O. have been arrested, two other ones have been dismissed. The members of the factory councils of two other works of Siemens have equally been dismissed.

Dismissals of all (or nearly all) members of the factory councils took place at the "Deutsche Luftfahrt" at Berlin-Adlershof and at a great number of other factories and works of Berlin and numerous other industrial centres in the rest of Germany.

The Resistance of the German Toilers

New Anti-Fascist Actions in the Factories

Berlin, April 9.

In Hanover twelve trade unions voted resolutions against the fascistisation of the trade unions. The workers of the Nitrogen Works of Piesteritz enforced by passive resistance the removal of the emergency police from the works. In the Gummi-Elbe (District of Halle) 200 young female workers carried out a protest strike, lasting half an hour, against the announced dismissal of the chairman of the shop council. At Selle and Eisler, in Berlin, an S.A. man and a member of the emergency police demanded during the working time that two members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition went out with them; the workers ejected the fascists; regular police called into the shop did not proceed to the arrest of the two revolutionary workers.

The Communist Party of Germany in Its Indefatigable Daily Struggle

Berlin, April 10.

In Essen scores of militant Communists had been arrested, in order to break up the Communist Party and its mass organisation; nevertheless, in 25 out of 32 pits the lists of the revolutionary workers for the shop councils' elections could be presented.

In Bielefeld the illegal local paper "Rote Volkswacht" (Red People's Guardian) appeared with ten pages and increased its circulation from 300 to 1,000 copies.

In the agrarian districts of Pomerania numerous small local groups of the Communist Party were arrested to the last member, but the work was continued in spite of this fact. The illegal district paper appeared in several thousands of copies.

In the districts of Hanover and Brunswick the fascist terror, which is particularly savage there, could not prevent the further work of the Party. At Linden, near the town of Hanover, the workers disarmed six S.A. men and hauled down a Nazi flag. At Goslar Communists hauled down the Nazi flag from the Trade Unions House, although the reformist bureaucrats tried to prevent this bold act.

Some Striking Results of Factory Committee Elections in Germany

Berlin, April 11.

In spite of the brutal Nazi terror and the wholesale arrests of Communist militants the great mass of the workers have again voted for the Communist list in the factory committee elections which have taken place during the last few days. We are in a position to-day to give a further list of results:—

Maffei-Schwarzkopf Factory in Berlin:

United list of Communists and social democrats ...	215 votes
Nazis	62 votes

Grünberg Garment Works:

Communist list	57 votes
Reformist list	54 votes
Christian Socialists	42 votes
Nazis	36 votes

(This is the highest number of votes ever polled by our comrades in this establishment.)

Deutsche Tageszeitung:

Reformist list	430 votes, 8 seats
Nazis	54 votes, 1 seat

Voss Pit, near Teuchern (Halle District).—Election took place on March 28. The number of miners employed had increased by 100 as against last year. Of course, no Communists were taken on, and yet our comrades gained an astonishing victory. The result was as follows:—

Communists	111 votes against 75 in 1932
Reformists	131 votes, no change
Nazis	65 votes

Aniline Works at Bitterfeld:

Reformists	5 seats
Communists	4 seats
Nazis and Stahlhelm	3 seats

Wirchow Metal Works at Berlin:

Communists	2 seats
Reformists	3 seats

In the Premak Works, Oberschöneweide, the Communists polled 50 per cent. of the total vote.

Anti-Fascist Aeroplane Over Berlin.

Berlin, April 10.

Saturday, April 8, an anti-fascist aeroplane flew over Berlin and dropped anti-fascist leaflets of the Young Communist League in the early morning hours when the workers walked to the factories. The leaflets, falling down over the factory gates, were picked up and received by the workers with great enthusiasm. The police did not succeed in catching the aeroplane.

Berlin, April 15.

In the Textile Mills Rüssler at Dülken (Rhineland), where a worker had been murdered by the Nazis, the workers carried out a protest strike lasting four hours against this murder and for the release of Ernst Thälmann and of the other political prisoners. The workers organised in the Christian trade union solidly participated in the strike.

At *Solingen* two factories struck one hour and two other ones a quarter of an hour for the release of Comrade Thälmann and the political prisoners.

At *Remscheid* two factories struck half an hour and one factory a quarter of an hour in favour of Ernst Thälmann. At *Wuppertal* there were two protest strikes, at *Gevelsberg* three, at *Schwerte* one, at *Düsseldorf* two (the workers of Conix striking four hours).

Numerous demonstrations and struggles took place in these and other places of Rhineland-Westphalia as well as in other districts of Western Germany.

International Solidarity with the Toilers of Germany

Raise High the Banner of International Solidarity!

The Young Communist Leagues of **Britain, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, and Bulgaria** send hearty revolutionary greeting to the heroic working class and working youth of Germany, and to the leader of their courageous Communist Party and Young Communist League, **Comrade Thaelmann**.

YOUNG EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED WORKERS, AND PEASANTS OF GERMANY!

The bourgeoisie tries to drown in the blood of the proletariat and its best representatives the gigantic struggle of the toilers for socialism. The Hitler bandits—the German counter-revolution, have declared war against the proletariat, and in the few weeks of their reign have put into the shadow the fascist atrocities of countries such as Italy, Poland, Bulgaria and others.

Young workers, what has become of the demagogic promises of Hitler and the National Socialists, which they made at their advent to power? What has Hitler given you? The number of unemployed has grown by 250,000. The price of articles of primary necessity has gone up, the symbol and exponents of the "regeneration of the German people," of the "national educational training of the youth" are jails and barracks, fascist slavery and military drilling of the youth by means of labour service. Your delegates are not admitted to the Reichstag. Your revolutionary organisations are suppressed. The Young Communist League is driven underground. The best champions of the working class are in prison and in concentration camps. To your leader, the transport worker, Comrade Thaelmann, fascism reserves the same fate as was meted out to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Imprisonment and maltreatment, legalised murder and civil war against the proletariat within the country, incitement of Nationalist instincts, rattling of the sword, armament and war—such is the outward appearance of fascism.

The first weeks of fascist dictatorship in Germany have clearly shown to the working youth that Hitler and his demagogic promises are only a screen to hide the brutal face of capitalism which tries to prolong its existence by smashing the revolutionary workers' movement.

By what manner of means could the fascists come into power in your country? Who has weakened the working class? Social-democrats tell you that the working class has been split by the Communists. This is not true! They want to discard hereby the responsibility for their policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Use your own brains! Could the fascists in Germany kill and arrest your best comrades if social-democracy, the trade unions and the Young Socialist Leagues had not rejected the proposal of the Communist Party and R.T.U.O. to carry through a joint General Strike on January 30th? Certainly not! Who has been weakening the working class? They, who, like the Communists, give all their strength to the liberation of the working class, or they, who have supported Brüning, Papen, and Schleicher, who, in paving the way for Hitler, dissolved the League of the Red Front Fighters, persecuted Communists and condoned with impunity the crimes of the fascists? The leaders of German social-democracy and the reformist trade unions, Wels and Leipart have now crowned their policy by bending their knee to fascism, and becoming part of the fascist state machine.

But the working class of Germany is not broken. The last word rests with you, adult and young workers, toilers of town and

country. The guarantee of your final victory over decaying capitalism, of the overthrow of fascist rule and achievement of a socialist social order, is the glorious Communist Party which is at the head of the working class and has gone through the test of numberless struggles.

YOUNG WORKERS OF GERMANY! You do not stand alone in your struggle. The young proletarians and workers of the whole world are organising a big protest campaign against fascism in Germany. We, young Communists of France, Great Britain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, and Bulgaria, welcome the convocation of a European anti-fascist congress. We call upon all young workers to send their delegates on the basis of the united front and struggle for immediate demands in factories, labour exchanges, vocational schools, in rural and urban organisations. In all countries the bourgeoisie prepares the consolidation of dictatorship by fascist terror. In every country social-democracy disrupts the working class, to break its power of resistance to the offensive of the reaction. Bear in mind that the policy of the German social-democrats is the policy of the whole Second International and that of the leaders of social-democratic youth. Be on the alert! Rally round the Communist Party and Young Communist League in the struggle against fascism! Strengthen your revolutionary organisations!

YOUNG WORKERS OF GERMANY AND THE WHOLE WORLD! Strengthen the united front, fight for the free existence of the Communist Party and Young Communist League, for the release of Comrade Thaelmann and all proletarian political prisoners, do not allow fascism to penetrate into the factories, organise mass demonstrations and strikes for your demands.

Young social-democratic workers, respond to the frank and honest call of the Communist and Young Communist Internationals to join the united front, despite the already published refusal of your leaders in Germany, Britain, Czechoslovakia and Belgium. Elect everywhere your united front committees for the struggle for concrete demands. By our mighty international proletarian solidarity we shall help our German brothers and will deal a smashing blow to fascist reaction in our countries.

DOWN WITH FASCIST BARBARITY! WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF COMRADE THAELMANN AND ALL PROLETARIAN PRISONERS FROM THE CAPITALIST DUNGEONS! LONG LIVE THE HEROIC YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF GERMANY! LONG LIVE THE FIGHTING UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND WORKING YOUTH! LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH OUR BROTHERS WHO ARE STRUGGLING IN GERMANY! HAIL THE EUROPEAN ANTI-FASCIST CONGRESS! PREPARE UNDER THESE SLOGANS THE MAY-DAY OF 1933, THE FIGHTING DAY OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT!

The Young Communist Leagues of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, France, Britain, Italy, and Bulgaria.

* * * * *
THE PROTEST WAVE IN FRANCE

Paris, April 12.

At innumerable meetings and demonstrations in all parts of the country the working class of France gives expression to its solidarity with the fighting proletariat of Germany as well as to its readiness to support this struggle in an active manner.

Resolutions of this kind were adopted at a public meeting at Achères with 250 participants, at a demonstration at St. Etienne with 1,500 participants, a meeting at Goussainville, a meeting at Bendy (Seine) with 130 participants, at meetings which took place at Chelles, Villeteuse, Bagnolet, Villeneuve-le-Roi, Fontenay-sous-Bois, at a demonstration at Avignon with 3,000 participants, a demonstration at Arles with 1,800 present, at a demonstration at Miramas with 300 participants, a demonstration at Aix-en-Provence with 500 present, at a demonstration at Beaucuire with 3,000 participants, and further at demonstrations which took place at Denain, in the 20th District of Paris, at Toulon, Nice, Mentone, Grasse, Villefranche, Elbeuf and Angoulême.

Protest resolutions were adopted at demonstrations held at Menerville (300 participants), at Perrégaux (500 participants), at Gérardmer (250 participants), at Trith-St.-Léger (250 participants), at Germont, at Nancy and at Geors (Rhône).

A number of meetings which had been organised by the Friends of the Soviet Union adopted protest resolutions, such as meetings at Tremblay-les-Gonesses, at Arceuil-Cachan, at Sartouville, at Gentilly, at Avion, at Denain, at St. Quentin (500 unemployed), at Ganny, at Follie-Mericourt, at Marmande, etc.

Fight Against Fascism

French Social-Democracy Against the United Front

By Maurice Thorez (Paris).

On March 2 a large meeting, convened by the French social-democrats, was held in Paris on the subject of the events in Germany. At the request of the Politbureau of the C.P.F. Comrade **Duclos** attended this meeting, at which he made a speech with the object of exposing the colossal responsibility of German social-democracy for the rise of the national-socialist movement and the seizure of power by Hitler, and at the same time, however, of appealing to the social-democratic workers to participate in joint action against French imperialism and the Treaty of Versailles—the chief factors which rendered the setting-up of fascism in Germany possible.

On March 6, "**Humanité**," our central organ, published the text of a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the S.P.F. (Socialist Party of France) as well as to its rank and file members, in which the immediate organisation of joint measures for the carrying out of the most urgent demands of the French workers and peasants was proposed: against the wage-cutting offensive of capital, for the raising of the scale of unemployment benefit, for the 40-hour week with an adjustment of wages, for the reduction of the burdens of taxation which are crushing the workers, for the reduction of farm rents, for the retention of two-thirds of the harvest by the small farmers, for a complete amnesty, for the right to organise, freedom of meeting and demonstration, etc., etc. This letter was discussed at a mass meeting in the Salle Bullier.

On the same day the "**Populaire**" announced that, owing to pressure of space, it had been prevented from publishing the two documents mentioned above, but that it would do so later. Since then "**Humanité**" has in every issue repeated this question: "When will the Central Committee of the S.P.F. give an answer to our proposals?" On the 25th March the Central Committee of the C.P.F. addressed itself once again both to the leaders and to the rank and file of the social-democrats, inviting them to co-operate in the organisation of the participation of both parties in the mass anti-fascist demonstrations which had been organised by the French Anti-War Committee for April 9. With regard to all this the "**Populaire**" preserved the strictest silence.

Finally, on March 28, the permanent Administrative Council of the S.P.F. decided to "await the termination of the negotiations initiated by the International before it considered any invitation to joint action with any other bodies."

Up till now the only basis of which we are aware for this negative answer is in the arguments of **Leon Blum**. He accused the Communist International above all of not agreeing to enter into negotiations with the Second International for arriving at a "loyal understanding" between the two central authorities of the working-class movement. But where is the Second International to-day? Is it possible to negotiate seriously for the organisation of anti-fascist action in the absence of German Social-Democracy, the strongest section of the Labour and Socialist International?

But the most important fact to be exposed is the obstinate persistence of the leaders of the S.P.F. in their endeavours to oppose to the immediate organisation of joint mass action against the capitalists and the French State endless negotiations between the leaders of the International and of the national sections; negotiations which have the alleged purpose of their arriving at a basic agreement on at least certain points. We know these methods. In order to arrange for the holding of a joint meeting at which a frank discussion should be possible, endless conversations were necessary, during the course of which fresh conditions were continually being laid down by the social-democrat leaders, for the purpose of delay at a moment when the attack of the Government on the civil servants and the municipal workers was being developed in full force, thanks to the very active support of the social-democrat members of Parliament.

Blum spread himself over more than ten pages of the "**Populaire**" with his philosophising on an abstract unity of the working class, but he has avoided saying what he thinks with regard to the following sentence from the letter of our Central

Committee: "The acceptance of our proposals presupposes renunciation of any kind of policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie." We understand why perfectly well. It is because this is the only policy the S.P.F. is willing to pursue. The Daladier Government is, more than ever, the lesser evil. Its foreign policy is being acclaimed as the one most furthering world peace, and its home policy as the most democratic and the most suited to offering opposition to the wave of pro-fascist sentiment rapidly developing in France. It is impossible to participate actively in the preparations for war and the "strengthening of the authority of the state," and at the same time to co-operate in the uniting of the masses in the struggle against fascism and war. The French section of the Socialist International, which is falling to pieces, in face of the imminence of war, can choose only one of these ways, and it has made its choice.

Its real attitude with regard to united action against fascism and war is demonstrated by the expulsion of two social-democrat officials who had dared to co-operate in the work of the Amsterdam Anti-War Committees. Without doubt other expulsions will follow. The letter of our Central Committee was fully justified in contrasting the policy of the C.P.F., which "is always activated by the endeavour to establish the united action of all workers," with that of the S.P.F., which is directed towards doing everything possible to prevent the realisation of this united action.

The aim of our approach to the social-democratic workers, and of our invitation to them to defend their interests in common with the Communist workers, consists precisely in our firmly implanting these ideas in their ranks. In view of the jeopardisation of their working and living conditions, they cannot wait for the termination of negotiations, since one of the partners to these negotiations is not sincere, and belies his words by his actions. Our local leaders, our cells, and all our members, must immediately get down to the work of bringing our offers of a united front to the knowledge of all the worker and peasant comrades of the social-democratic party, but above all of organising common actions with them as rapidly as possible. Twenty thousand metalworkers are on strike in Paris, amongst them many social-democrat workers; 300,000 miners, of whom the majority are affiliated to the Confédération Générale du Travail, are about to take action. The railway workers are preparing a counter-attack to the offensive of the railway companies. Everywhere the masses are feeling the approach of fascism and war. All this offers unlimited opportunities for the realisation of the militant united front, opportunities which we should not allow to escape us. The disintegration of the Second International, which, amid the storm of the capitalist crisis, is collapsing just as it did beneath the force of the war-tornado of 1914, demands from us greater concentration than ever on the uniting of those workers who had placed their trust in this International.

The Fight for the Proletarian United Front in Czechoslovakia

By Paul Reimann (Prague)

The events in Germany have done far more to destroy the democratic illusions in the ranks of the social-democratic workers than several years of former "calm and peaceful" development. And this is the reason why the appeal of the Comintern of March 5 had such a powerful effect. Thousands of social-democratic workers in Czechoslovakia who, while they are not yet convinced Communists, are already in agreement with the Communists on two decisive questions: (1) that the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie hitherto pursued by the social-democratic leaders is against the interests of the working class; and (2) that the salvation of the working class from fascism is only possible by the working class uniting its forces for the common defensive struggle. It is largely due to the fact that broad strata of the social-democratic workers have arrived at this political conviction that the united front movement experienced such a powerful development immediately after the appeal of the Communist International and the letter from the C.C. of Czechoslovakia to the social-democratic parties and the Czech national Socialists.

The letter from the C.P. of Czechoslovakia had scarcely appeared, when already reports came from various parts of the country of common actions of social-democratic and Communist workers against fascism. A whole number of big factories replied

expressing their approval of the Open Letter. In a whole number of places it immediately came to joint demonstrations of social-democratic and Communist organisations against fascism, to the formation of joint anti-fascist fighting committees, unity organs, etc. This movement is particularly strong in the German districts of Czechoslovakia. The joint anti-fascist demonstrations which took place in Asch, Komotau, Bodenbach, in the Reichenberg district, etc., were so powerful and imposing that the German social-democratic press and also the central committee of the social-democratic party allowed nearly a fortnight to pass before replying in any way to the offer of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia for a common fight. And the reply which finally came rejecting the offer contained only one essential counter-argument: the German social-democratic leaders want direct negotiations between Moscow and Zürich before they can agree to the Communist offer. But this excuse was not very effective. Thus, for instance, in the strongest district organisation of the German social democracy in Karlsbad, a functionaries' conference which was attended by some hundred functionaries was almost unanimously in agreement with the oppositional workers who declared that the rejection of the offer of the Communist Party was unintelligible.

In the Czech districts also the events in Germany have made a profound impression on the social-democratic workers. It is true the Central Committee of the Czech social democrats rejected the Communist offer much more emphatically and brusquely than did the leaders of the German social democracy. In its reply to the C.P. of Czechoslovakia it demanded that the latter should base itself on bourgeois democracy. Nay, more, the "Pravo Lidu," the central organ of the Czech social democracy, commenced a savage campaign against the Soviet Union and asserted that the Soviet Union have betrayed the German proletariat and left it in the lurch.

This social fascism in its purest form is supported by the bourgeois press of all shades, who seize upon the arguments of the social-democratic press in order to back up their demand for the dissolution of the Communist Party and all revolutionary organisations. The Liberal "Prager Tageblatt," in a leading article, has already divulged what is being planned in order to protect democracy: dissolution of the Communist organisations, suppression of the whole of the Communist press, all Communist deputies, municipal councillors, etc., to be deprived of their seats. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that this brutal candour on the part of the Czech social fascist press is a sign of the great political strength of the social democracy. The Ostrau organ of the Czech social democrats finds itself compelled to criticise the policy of the German social democracy—a fact which reflects the profound ferment among the Czech social-democratic workers. In Brünn there is already a group of Left social democrats who for some weeks past have been issuing an oppositional paper, which, although it betrays some political confusion, nevertheless is making strong propaganda for the united front. In Brünn it came to powerful joint anti-fascist demonstrations. In Prague also there is to be seen the commencement of a common anti-fascist fight.

The movement which has arisen among the broad proletarian masses in Czechoslovakia as a result of events in Germany will undoubtedly bring the Czechoslovakian proletariat a big step forward in the fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois class dictatorship.

Fight Against Fascism in Spain

Hitler's seizure of power in Germany has revived the courage of the reactionaries in Spain; they have crept out of their hiding places in order to make an open acknowledgment of fascism. On March 17, on the pretext of commemorating the second anniversary of the death of **Primo de Rivera**, the former Spanish dictator, they held a demonstration in the **Madrid** cemetery, at which the cry was raised: "Long live the king! Long live fascism!" It was intended somewhat later to sell a periodical, "**El Fascio**," organ of the Spanish fascists. A few days later, the police discovered in the concentration camp in **Lerida** several young monarchists in uniform engaged in rifle practice. Some days afterwards uniformed fascists were held up in **Bilbao** on their way to a meeting. In **Madrid** the police came across a nest of Black Shirts. Thus we see that definite attempts are being made to organise a fascist movement in Spain.

A powerful wave of anti-fascism has arisen in the whole of

Spain. Revolutionary workers of all tendencies compelled the fascists at their demonstration in the Madrid cemetery to retreat, and prevented them from selling their organ, "**El Fascio**." Big processions marched through the main streets with cries of "Down with fascism," "Perish Hitler!" On March 19, there took place in Madrid a great anti-fascist meeting convened by the Communist Party, at which more than 7,000 persons were present. Similar demonstrations have taken place throughout Spain. There is no doubt that fascism in Spain at its very inception has encountered the serious resistance of the revolutionary workers. It would be a great mistake, however, to under-estimate the fascist danger in Spain, for it is not confined to the monarchist forces, but is openly in touch with the republican parties, in particular the Radical Party of **Lerroux**.

The Communist Party has, right from the first moment, adopted a clear and plain attitude in face of the fascist danger. In the first place it has issued an appeal to all revolutionary workers to form the **anti-fascist united front**. It addressed the same appeal to the trade unions of all tendencies and to the socialist party. In addition, it has commenced to organise a practical fight against fascism, and in particular to organise anti-fascist Workers' and Peasants' Defence Corps.

The Spanish **anarchists**, whose relations with the Radical Party, which is becoming more and more fascist, have become increasingly suspicious of late, have passed over the Open Letter from the Communist Party, as well as the whole question, in complete silence. Here and there one or the other of them cynically declared that the red dictatorship was much worse than the fascist dictatorship, and that Mussolini and Hitler were only disciples of the "tyrant" Stalin.

The socialists, too, have not replied to the Open Letter from the Communist Party. Like the socialists in other countries, they fight against fascism only in words, but by their deeds smooth the way for it.

In Spain, this role of the socialists is more plainly evident than in other countries. The socialists, who occupy seats in the government together with the republicans, facilitate the advance of fascism by enacting laws like the "Law for the Defence of the Republic," which is directed in the first place against the Communists, and the "Trade Union Act," both of which laws are outspokenly fascist. Further, since they have been in the government, they have helped the fascists by their compliant attitude towards all the reactionary and fascist elements, whilst at the same time they savagely persecute the revolutionary workers and the Communist Party.

The struggle initiated by the Communist Party of Spain against the advance of fascism has called forth a lively response among the workers and peasants. This fight, however, is a fight not only against the open fascist elements, but also against the counter-revolutionary government, and especially against the socialist leaders, who endeavour by their confusing and demagogic campaigns to keep back the workers from the practical fight against fascism, and thereby facilitate its advance.

European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress to be held at Whitsun in Copenhagen

The European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress, originally planned to be held at Easter in Prague, having been prohibited by the Czechoslovakian Government, it has been decided to hold the same on June 4 and 5 (Whitsun) at Copenhagen. The organising bureau for convening the Congress calls upon all the national committees to carry out the preparations for the Congress all the more energetically and on a larger scale.

The campaign is still in full swing in all countries of Europe. The *Polish* national committee for the preparation of the Congress reports that the 120,000 striking textile workers in Lodz have, through their Central Strike Committee, adopted a decision expressing support for the Congress. The miners in Polish Upper Silesia are electing pit delegates.

The election of delegates to the Congress is also reported from *Basle*, by the staff of the big slaughter-house Bell; from *Copenhagen*, by the local union of painters and decorators, half of whom consist of social-democratic workers; from *Saarbruck*, by the staff of the Hirschbach Colliery; and from *Seville*, by the union of dock and transport workers.

Many organisations of intellectuals are expressing their solidarity with the masses of the workers who are fighting against the fascist terror.

The Sabotage and Espionage Trial in the Soviet Union

Moscow, April 12, 1933.

There commenced to-day in the October Hall of the Moscow Trade Union House the trial of 18 engineers and technicians employed until recently on various technical plants in the Soviet Union. Among the defendants are six British subjects, employees of Metropolitan-Vickers, namely, the engineers, Gregory, Macdonald, Thornton, Monkhouse, Cushny and Nordwall. Among the members of the Court are experts who are specially fitted to understand the technical side of the case, namely, Professor Martens, Director of the Diesel Institute; G. Dimitriev, Director of the Thermo-Station Designing Trust; A. Y. Vishinsky leads for the prosecution; the deputy prosecutor is Comrade Roginsky.

The results of the G.P.U. investigation are embodied in a lengthy

INDICTMENT

of which the following is a summary.

Constantly recurring failures at Zuevka, Zlatoust and Cheliabinsk electrical plants were found to be the result of the wrecking activity of a group of counter-revolutionary criminal elements, having as their object espionage, destruction of Soviet electrical plants, disabling of State enterprises, including factories engaged on war production served by these electrical plants. The investigation established the fact of counter-revolutionary activity of this wrecking group, which consisted in damaging equipment for the purpose of weakening the Soviet State and undermining Soviet industry, collecting secret data of military and State importance and using them against the U.S.S.R., bribery and graft.

The indictment dwells in detail on the espionage and wrecking activity of the defendants at a number of electric stations. At Zlatoust the expert commission established that the failures which occurred were due to criminal negligence or evil intent on the part of the personnel. A number of failures resulted in a decrease of the capacity of the plant to one half.

The defendant **Gussev**, the head of the Zlatoust electric power works, confessed his guilt. He said he had been inspired by a strong anti-Soviet feeling. His counter-revolutionary activity commenced in 1929, when Macdonald, a Metro-Vickers engineer, arrived, who proposed to Gussev that he undertake to collect secret data to be used against the U.S.S.R.

Confronted with Gussev, **Macdonald** acknowledged the correctness of Gussev's statements, declaring:

"I told Gussev I needed information regarding the military production of the Zlatoust works."

Macdonald instructed Gussev to collect data regarding the war production at the Zlatoust metallurgical plant, and also data regarding munition shops, the number and types of shells produced and also the output of special steel used for war purposes. **Macdonald** further declared that **Thornton**, the chief engineer of Metro-Vickers, gave him to understand that in addition to commercial activity, their sphere of activity included illicit tasks. **Thornton** soon gave **Macdonald** the task of ascertaining the state of the military works and organising breakdowns at Zlatoust in order to cause interruptions in the activity of the military enterprises. **Macdonald** understood that **Thornton** was acting "in the interests of England."

Gussev's main counter-revolutionary activity was the organising of breakdowns and delays in the work of expanding the Zlatoust power works, with the object of weakening the industrial and military power of the U.S.S.R. **Macdonald** instructed Gussev to cause failures and frustrate the work of munition factories and high-quality steel works.

Sokolov, the assistant to the head of the electric power station, corroborated these statements. They were also confirmed by **Macdonald**, who instructed **Sokolov** to damage the equipment, having come to an agreement on this matter directly with Gussev. On **Macdonald's** instructions he carried out the following acts of sabotage at the Zlatoust metallurgical works: put 1,400 horse-power motor out of order five or six times, allowed the boiler of the Zlatoust electric plant to freeze. **Macdonald** admitted having

instructed Gussev to damage the motors, to put the coal conveyors at the electric plant out of order. **Macdonald** said to Gussev:

"My object was directly to frustrate the electrical supply to the Zlatoust metallurgical plants and hamper the work of the war industry."

Macdonald organised the reduction of the capacity of the electric plants from 12,000 to 6,000 kilowatts. Under these conditions the slightest breakdown would have caused a complete paralysis of the works. According to the findings of the expert commission, **Macdonald** carried out his intentions. The group of wreckers was preparing diversion acts in the event of war. **Macdonald** stated that he had instructed his agents regarding means of undermining the war industries during war-time, "being fully aware that through Gussev others would be causing great injury to military production." Schemes for causing breakdowns in war-time were developed in detail: damage to boilers, the coal-conveying plant, etc.

Macdonald paid the Russian engineers various sums, amounting to about 4,000 roubles, for counter-revolutionary wrecking and espionage activity.

Thornton, confronted with Gussev and **Macdonald**, confirmed their statements. He declared that **Macdonald** was collecting data on his instructions, that he drew **Macdonald** into espionage work in 1930 and that Gussev was drawn into this work by **Macdonald**. **Thornton** confirmed Gussev's and **Macdonald's** statements regarding a meeting at Khartsisk station, where Gussev reported on wrecking activity. **Thornton** stated that he gave **Macdonald** money to pay persons for carrying on espionage work. Some defendants declared that **Thornton's** "influence" at the Cheliabinsk electrical plant was great. Thus there were a number of breakdowns which, as the expert commission established, "could not possibly have occurred accidentally." Having arrived at Cheliabinsk, **Thornton** came into contact with **Vitvitzky**, chief engineer of the Cheliabinsk plant.

Vitvitzky had definite anti-Soviet views. **Thornton** suggested to **Vitvitzky** that he should operate machinery in such a manner as to accelerate the wear and tear, in return for which he promised him a large remuneration. **Vitvitzky** received 6,900 roubles. **Thornton** instructed him to transmit information to him through **Macdonald**. **Vitvitzky** handed over to **Thornton** the summary of a plan for wrecking and diversion in the event of war.

The chief task of the Cheliabinsk group of wreckers was to disorganise the development of the plant and cause interruptions and breakdowns. All this was realised. The wreckers elaborated a programme of actions in the event of war. An investigation of the breakdowns at the Zuevka electric plant convinced the expert commission that they were "the result of criminal negligence on the part of the erecting staff," and also "the result of obviously dishonest attitude of persons doing erection work."

Macdonald himself said that while working on the Zuevka electric plant he made it his object to cause lasting damage to the works. **Kotliarevsky**, the head of the turbine department, confessed to wrecking activity along with **Macdonald**. **Macdonald** stated he paid **Kotliarevsky** about 1,000 roubles as a remuneration for his wrecking activity.

The enquiry also established that the acts of damage at the Ivanovo-Vosnessensk electric plant were performed by the counter-revolutionary group of wreckers with the assistance of **Nordwall**, employed by Metro-Vickers. **Nordwall** proposed to **Lobanov**, a counter-revolutionary-minded engineer, that he cause deliberate damage to the equipment. He promised **Lobanov** that he and his accomplices would be remunerated, and demanded that the systematic wrecking work should be carried out in such a manner that the responsibility would not fall on the firm of Metro-Vickers. **Nordwall** demanded systematic damage to equipment for the purpose of stopping the power supply to industry. He suggested to **Sievert** that he sabotage the erection of transformers transmitting electric power to the peatfields. **Sievert** fulfilled these instructions, thereby causing considerable damage to the enterprise. A number of failures occurred at the Baku

electric plant with Metro-Vickers' turbogenerators. The Baku engineer **Oleinik** stated that Thornton told him that this breakdown of the turbines which had been organised by the English engineer **Cushny**, was a model example of sabotage work. **Oleinik** said this when face to face with **Cushny**. In addition, **Cushny** also engaged in espionage.

Macdonald stated: "The espionage activity carried on in the U.S.S.R. under cover of Metro-Vickers was managed by Thornton."

Monkhouse, head of the Moscow branch of Metro-Vickers, also participated in illicit activity. Thornton's travelling agent was the engineer **Cushny**, who likewise took part in espionage. Thornton and **Cushny** admitted that the information collected by the latter served not only the business interests of the firm, but could also be utilised for certain political purposes.

The indictment then deals with the sabotage work in the Moscow electric power system by the engineers **Sukhoruckhin**, **Krashennikov**, and **Zorin**, who acted jointly with employees of Metro-Vickers. **Sukhoruckhin** confessed that he personally connected the lead coating of the single phase cables of the generators with iron bars. It was only due to the vigilance of the workers that the generator was not rendered perfectly useless as a result. In 1930, **Sukhoruckhin** and Thornton discussed diversion acts in the event of war.

Similar crimes were committed by **Krashennikov**. At first he concealed defects in equipment. In 1929 he began working under the instructions of **Oleinik**, who, on behalf of Thornton, gave him 5,000 roubles and informed him that Thornton expected him, **Krashennikov**, to continue his activity.

The engineer **Zorin** furnished data regarding the programme of development of the Moscow electric power station, and later helped to conceal defects in equipment furnished by Metro-Vickers. Thornton gave **Zorin** money at different times. **Oleinik**, who worked for Metro-Vickers for twenty years, carried out wrecking work and was connected with the wrecking group.

The indictment emphasised the particular role played by **Kutusova**, the secretary of the Moscow branch of Metropolitan Vickers, who lived in the same country house as the British employees of Metro-Vickers. **Kutusova** stated to the investigating authorities:—

"Already in 1930 I began to notice that Thornton, **Cushny**, **Macdonald** and **Monkhouse**, in addition to business affairs, engaged in some illegal work, held secret conversations and carried on secret correspondence. Thornton told me that he and other British engineers were collecting data of a political-economic nature, which they obtained from Russian engineers and technicians, paying them money in return."

Kutusova took part in the paying out of moneys to the wreckers and spies, and gave the investigating authorities the names of a number of persons who worked under Thornton's instructions. According to the statement of **Kutusova**, Thornton and his associates conveyed the secret information to the head of the export department of Metro-Vickers, **Richards**. During the latter's stay in the Soviet Union secret negotiations took place. Thornton and **Monkhouse** mentioned this name during their secret talks.

Monkhouse confirmed that **Richards** was receiving information from him. This information related not only to the activity of Metro-Vickers, but also to the general position of the U.S.S.R. and the state of the large construction jobs. **Monkhouse** further admitted the existence of serious defects in the equipment supplied, which resulted in serious breakdowns of machinery installed by the Metro-Vickers' staff. There were a number of electric light plants in the U.S.S.R. where espionage and wrecking organisations connected with Metro-Vickers' employees were active. He denied, however, taking part in collecting information regarding State and military secrets or participating in bribing persons to conceal defects in machines delivered by his firm. He also denied participation in acts of sabotage in the power works. His denials, however, are contradicted by all the facts established at the enquiry. Thornton stated, for example: "On the orders of **Richards**, employees of Metro-Vickers in various districts of the Soviet Union collected information on the political situation, which was verbally conveyed to **Richards** by **Monkhouse** or myself." **Monkhouse**, however, acknowledges having bribed **Dolgov** as a person able to help

the interests of the firm in placing orders for equipment or in the event of reclamations against the firm in connection with defects discovered in equipment supplied.

According to Thornton, the English engineer **Gregory** also engaged in bribery. It was established by the enquiry that **Monkhouse** had lived for a long time in Tsarist Russia as an engineer employed by an English firm. After the October revolution **Monkhouse** left for Vladivostok, from where he proceeded to London. In the summer of 1918 he was a captain in a corps of engineers attached to the British intervention troops in Archangel. **Richards** was a captain in the Intelligence Service of the same expedition. **Monkhouse** left Archangel when the English troops evacuated this town and returned to London. **Monkhouse** himself admitted that he had been on terms of friendship with **Richards** over a long period of years. **Monkhouse** further declared that in the spring of 1918 **Richards** was in Moscow, having secretly crossed the Finnish frontier. In 1923 **Richards** was appointed manager of the export department of Metropolitan-Vickers. **Monkhouse** arrived in the U.S.S.R. in the autumn of 1924 as representative of the firm of Metro-Vickers, and worked directly under **Richards**.

Thornton, the son of a big cloth manufacturer, was born in Russia. In 1911 he arrived in Moscow, where he worked for the same firm as **Monkhouse**. In 1918 he left for England via Vladivostok together with **Monkhouse**. Thornton returned to the Soviet Union in November, 1924, being appointed to a position in Metro-Vickers by **Richards**, who had in mind to make use of him specially for work in the U.S.S.R.

The indictment accuses the defendants of crimes under various points of paragraph 58 of the Criminal Code, namely, forming or participating in counter-revolutionary groups having as their object espionage and wrecking activity by destroying equipment, causing breakdowns of machinery, concealing defects in machines supplied by the firm of Metropolitan-Vickers, undermining Soviet industry, weakening of the Soviet State by disorganising the electric power supply, preparing extensive "diversional" activity in the event of war.

After the reading of the indictment the Court adopted the motion of the Prosecution, without opposition from the Defence, as to the order in which the counts are to be considered.

The counts in the indictment with regard to the Zlatoust power station are to be taken first, then the counts in relation to other power stations, and finally the counts concerning the Moscow branch of Metropolitan-Vickers.

The President of the Court asked the defendants individually what plea they entered. Thirteen defendants, including **Macdonald**, pleaded guilty to all counts of the indictment. Thornton, **Gregory**, **Monkhouse**, **Nordwall** and **Cushny** pleaded "Not guilty." The Court thereupon adjourned till the evening.

The Evidence of the Accused

Gusev's Evidence

The first accused to be examined was **Vassilij Gusev**, the manager of the Zlatoust power station. The chief Prosecutor, **Vishinsky**, asked him to give an account of his career. **Gusev** informed the Court that he joined **Koltchak's** army in 1918 as a volunteer, because he was opposed to the October revolution. He took part in the fighting near Zlatoust and Ufa, was then declared unfit for military service, and obtained work in a factory in Zlatoust. After the advance of the Red Army he, along with the whole of the factory, withdrew to Tomsk, where he again served in the armoured-car division of the White Army. When the situation became hopeless he deserted. On his return he obtained a position as engineer in the Zlatoust power works, where he associated with the wreckers convicted in a former trial.

Vishinsky asked him when his convictions found expression in active counter-revolutionary deeds.

Gusev: "In the year 1929 I made the acquaintance of **Macdonald**; at first my relations with him were of a purely business character. The later conversations aspired a more and more political character. **Macdonald** expressed the opinion, with which I agreed, that the Soviet Union did not need a machine industry of its own.

"Later on **Macdonald** asked me to give him information regarding the supply of current and the whole situation of the Zlatoust works. He was interested in the first place in the munition factories and aviation. I was then instructed to collect

material regarding the quantity, the types and the production of shells. I supplied the required information."

Shortly afterwards, Gusev added, Macdonald proposed that a plan be prepared for the damaging of power-station equipment and also of the power units at the Zlatoust steel works.

This plan, he declared, was drawn up by himself, Sokolov and Macdonald. It was later approved by Thornton at a meeting held in Gusev's office in the winter of 1931.

The plan was immediately put into operation; it aimed at disabling the fuel unit of the power station. Gusev accordingly ordered certain portions of the unit to be dismantled, on false technical grounds. These remained dismantled at the time of Gusev's arrest in January last.

Likewise two boilers were rendered useless, one by not emptying it of water in freezing weather, and the other by overheating. A 1,400 horse-power motor furnishing power to the rolling-mill of the steel works was also wrecked.

Gusev declared that his fundamental motive was his hatred of the Soviet regime, and that monetary considerations were only secondary. He admitted receiving 3,000 roubles from Macdonald for his services.

In reply to questions Macdonald admitted giving money to Gusev. He stated that the sum was actually 3,500 roubles; the extra amount went to Gusev's assistants, Sokolov and Vitvitski.

After further admitting that he was the contact between Macdonald and the other wreckers, Gusev described two visits that Thornton paid to Zlatoust in July, 1930, and in the winter of 1931.

On both occasions, said Gusev, he met Thornton. On the first visit he was introduced by Macdonald as "the kind of fellow we can trust."

This was the time when Gusev began collecting information regarding the industrial plants at Zlatoust, particularly those manufacturing war materials and dependent on the power-station for their power.

On Thornton's second visit, Gusev went on, they discussed the plan that he and Thornton had prepared, which aimed not only at disabling the power-station, but also the factories depending on it for power.

By this time, Gusev admitted in reply to questions from Vishinsky, the earlier espionage activities had been combined with plans for sabotage and wrecking on a large scale.

Thornton, it was stated, expressed his approval of the plan and then raised the question of the role of the Zlatoust power-station in the event of war.

"Did you discuss sabotage in war-time?" asked the prosecutor. "Yes," replied Gusev, adding that the full capacity of the station was 12,000 kilowatts, and the aim was to reduce this by one half, thus halving the production in the factories dependent on the power-station.

There was discussion, Gusev declared, as to whether in the event of any collapse or mishap at Zlatoust power could not be relayed from the Cheliabinsk power-station.

Thornton was said to have replied that that need not cause any alarm, for "we have influence there, too."

The prosecutor questioned Gusev about his relations with persons at Cheliabinsk, and Gusev admitted his long-standing friendship and great intimacy with Vitvitski, the chief engineer at Cheliabinsk, who fully shared his anti-Soviet views.

Vitvitski was a former active White Guard, who took part in the counter-revolutionary rising at Kronstadt in 1921.

Regarding the method of paying Gusev, the question of the parcel sent to him by the defendant Kutuzova (the secretary of the Moscow office of Metropolitan-Vickers), was raised.

Kutuzova declared that she sent the parcel with a false name and address of sender, because Macdonald had told her that neither his name nor that of the firm should ever be used in correspondence with Gusev.

At this point Vishinsky intervened to ask Gusev if they always used false names and addresses. To this Gusev replied that a number of such names and addresses were used not only for persons, but for things.

There was laughter in court when he mentioned that the frequent references to tinned goods in the correspondence really referred to shells.

Gusev explained that at a later date Macdonald was transferred to the mining town of Zuevka, in the Donbas, but he maintained regular contact with Gusev, who visited Zuevka, where he again met Thornton.

In conversation with Thornton at Zuevka, Gusev was told that his job was to reduce the capacity of the power station and to engineer breakdowns, not only in the power station itself, but in the neighbouring works producing shells and high-grade steel.

Vishinsky interposed to ask Gusev if Thornton knew that he supplied Macdonald with information; the reply was "Thornton knew that I was engaged in espionage work for Macdonald."

Thornton's Evidence

Vishinsky then turned to question Thornton, who agreed that he met Gusev at Zuevka, but denied that the conversation was of the nature described, and further denied any knowledge of relations between Macdonald and Gusev of the nature alleged.

Thornton was asked to explain the statement he made during the preliminary investigations regarding conversations about the military position in the Soviet Union. He tried to deny the accuracy of the shorthand notes of his statement.

The prosecutor then read a section of the notes in which Macdonald states that Thornton obtained information on the military position of the Soviet Union, which statement was confirmed by Thornton.

Thornton now denied the accuracy of this statement, but did not deny that he himself had previously confirmed it. Questioned regarding a sum of 2,000 roubles paid to Macdonald, Thornton declared that this was to cover debts owed by Macdonald. Macdonald had received advanced payments, and Thornton had helped him as a friend.

Thornton proceeded to declare that the information he had asked for was of a purely business and technical character. Later, however, he admitted that it might be "a bit wider."

Later evidence showed that Thornton had paid an electrician, Miron, 300 to 400 roubles for the repair of minor damages to Vickers machinery, without the knowledge of the manager of the plant. At the preliminary examination, Thornton had declared that he had paid Miron to prevent the latter from informing the manager about defects in the electrical equipment.

Thornton now declared that this interpretation of his words was too strong. "Who made it too strong?" asked the Prosecutor. "I, myself," replied Thornton.

Regarding his statement at the preliminary examination, that he paid Soviet technicians to conceal defects, Thornton said this applied to only one engineer, and in that case the money was only loaned.

Asked who was the engineer, Thornton replied it was Dolgov, who holds a post in Electroimport, the State Trust concerned with the import of electrical machinery into the Soviet Union.

The assistant Prosecutor, Roginsky, then read a portion of the proceedings during the investigation, in which Thornton stated that Gusev had instructions to collect, and had in fact systematically collected information regarding the work of military factories, the capacity of the shell works, and the types of shells made and information on the extension of military factories, and their power supply.

Thornton admitted this statement, and also the statement that the breakdowns at the Zlatoust Power Station were the result of his initiative, on the ground that this damaged the Soviet Union and held up the production of shells.

Thornton was then questioned concerning the statement of his guilt, made during the examination, and covering the following points:—

- (1) That he engaged in military and industrial espionage.
- (2) That he drew Soviet engineers into similar activities.
- (3) That with Macdonald and others he systematically bribed Soviet engineers.
- (4) That he created breakdowns in power stations with the assistance of Soviet engineers.

He objected, he said, to the word "espionage." Vishinsky agreed that it was an unpleasant word and offered to formulate his questions differently.

It transpired that during his examination on March 15 Thornton, when confronted with Gusev, admitted that he knew the latter was supplying Macdonald with various reports relating to the Zlatoust power-station and also that there was a man with whom they were in contact at Cheliabinsk power-station.

Asked whether he recalled admitting guilt, excepting on the fourth point of the indictment, Thornton replied, "In this document I admit it."

Prosecution reminded Thornton of the statement made in the

preliminary examination, which states: "I engaged in espionage work, involving Russian engineers," Thornton replied, "I said it."

Thornton further confirmed the admission by him as to the money payments, but declared that these admissions had been untrue, although in his own handwriting.

On March 15 Thornton had written and signed a further statement which he now declared to be true. He denied that this statement was made under any pressure.

The judge intervened with a request for an explanation of the extraordinary rapidity of these changes of mind.

Thornton declared he had signed an untrue document because he wanted it discussed in court, which created laughter.

Judge: "You said these things in order to come to the court and contradict them?"

Thornton: "I was frightened."

Asked of what he was frightened, Thornton said: "Not because of my arrest. I was afraid, but I don't know why."

The prosecutor, Vishinsky, asked the defendant to describe the conditions of examination.

Thornton admitted the report of the examination was not distorted or changed.

Vishinsky read Thornton's answer when confronted by Gusev on March 15, when he said he was aware that Gusev had supplied Macdonald with detailed information on Zlatoust district. Thornton admitted he had so stated.

Vishinsky continued reading from the report of the examination. Thornton replied, "I believe it's so."

To the question, "Do you admit the engineer, Gusev, in Zlatoust was the resident contact of yourself and Macdonald?" Thornton admitted the accuracy of the report, as a statement by himself, but denied its truth.

The following dialogue ensued:—

Vishinsky: Your verbal statement is true, then?

Thornton: Yes.

Vishinsky: Did you speak the truth or untruth at the preliminary examination?

Thornton: In that case untruth.

Vishinsky: In general, did you speak the truth?

Thornton: In this given case an untruth. I was excited.

Vishinsky: When excited you speak untruths?

Thornton: Yes.

Vishinsky: Are you excited now?

Thornton: I am not.

Vishinsky: Now you are speaking the truth?

Thornton: I am speaking the truth now.

Vishinsky: Why did you write "I believe it's so"? Being excited, why do you believe this is not something else?

A shrug of the shoulders was the only answer.

Vishinsky then put the following questions:—

"Were you forced to say anything?"

Thornton: No.

Vishinsky: You said it voluntarily?

Thornton: Yes.

Vishinsky: Maybe special methods were applied to you?

Thornton: No.

Vishinsky: Were you tortured?

Thornton: No.

Vishinsky: Third degree?

Thornton: No.

Dramatically, Vishinsky sat down, saying: "I have no more questions."

In answer to a series of questions from defending counsel, Gusev declared that during 1932 he grew nervous and thought of abandoning his practices. Asked why he had not done so, he averred that he had gone too far to retreat, and referred to veiled threats made by Macdonald and Thornton.

Gusev declared that he now fully recognised the significance of the crimes he had committed. He said:—

"The Soviet power gave me the opportunity for technical education and advancement, and I replied with sabotage, with espionage, with efforts to undermine industry and to hinder the defensive capacities of my country.

"My crimes are terrible and intolerable. I admit my guilt. I confess all, without any concealment.

"If my life is granted me I shall devote its every remaining

moment to endeavouring to erase my guilt, in working for the Soviet power."

This closed the examination of Gusev.

Macdonald's Evidence

During Thursday morning's session **Macdonald** created a sensation by withdrawing his plea of guilty. And later he again astonished the court by once more admitting his guilt.

This statement was made during the examination of the witness **Sokolov**, Gusev's assistant at the Zlatoust power station.

Sokolov stated that if he had not been incited by Vitvitsky, he might have remained inactive in the matter of counter-revolutionary work.

He told of a meeting with Macdonald, to whom he was introduced by Gusev. Afterwards he had frequent conversations on anti-Soviet activities with Macdonald.

They also discussed the alleged bad treatment of technicians in the Soviet Union, and spoke with contempt of the huge construction programme of the Five-Year Plan.

At a later period, **Sokolov** discussed with Macdonald the possibility of intervention and the necessity of making preparations for this event.

They then made preparations for carrying on wrecking at the power plant. Macdonald, Gusev and **Sokolov** took part in this plan. Macdonald assigned the various tasks, and instructed **Sokolov** how to obtain secret information regarding the plant.

The information was sometimes given direct to Macdonald, but usually through Gusev. At this point Macdonald was questioned regarding the truth of **Sokolov's** evidence. Macdonald replied that it was untrue in so far as it affected him.

The Prosecuting Counsel produced Macdonald's own statement at the preliminary examination, where he declared **Sokolov's** evidence to be true. Macdonald admitted that this statement was in his own handwriting, but now declared that the information was untrue.

The Prosecutor asked whether the statement had been made voluntarily. "Yes," replied Macdonald. In reply to the question whether any force had been applied to get the statement, he replied that none had been used.

A number of questions concerning sums of money paid to **Sokolov** and Gusev then followed, to which Macdonald made astonishing replies. The money, he stated, was paid for overtime work. It was additional to their ordinary wages.

Asked where the money came from, Macdonald replied that part of it was his own, and the remainder he obtained from Thornton. In reply to the question, whether he considered it plausible that he should personally pay for overtime, he said "Yes." At this reply, the Court rang with laughter, in which the judges and the defendants joined.

Questioned further, Macdonald stated that he did not remember how much money was thus paid out, but probably it was between 600 and 700 roubles. One thousand five hundred, he stated, had been given to him by Thornton.

In reply to the question whether he was recompensed by Metro-Vickers for these payments, Macdonald stated "No."

Here the prosecution produced another statement made earlier by Macdonald, and admitted by him as his own, which declared that he was interested in obtaining information on political, economic and military matters concerning the Soviet Union, and that he used Gusev and **Sokolov** to obtain such information.

Moscow, April 14.

An immense sensation was caused by the reading by one of the judges, **Martens**, of the written testimony of Thornton regarding the British espionage organisation in the U.S.S.R.

The statement, which was given in Thornton's own handwriting on March 13, was read in English as follows:—

"All our spying operations in the U.S.S.R. are directed by the British Intelligence Service through the agent, **C. S. Richards**, who occupies the position of managing director of Metro-Vickers Export Company, Ltd.

"The spying operations on the territory of the U.S.S.R. were directed by myself and Monkhouse, representatives of the above-mentioned British firm, who are contractors, by official agreements, for the Soviet Government, for the supply of turbines and electrical equipment and the furnishing of technical aid.

"On the instructions of C. S. Richards, given to me to this

end, British personnel were gradually drawn to the spying organisation after their arrival on U.S.S.R. territory and instructed as to the information required.

"During the whole period of our presence on U.S.S.R. territory from the total of British staff employed 27 men were engaged in spying operations. Of the above, 14 men, which included Monkhouse, Cox, Thornton, Teasel, Shutters, Burke, Riddle, Macdonald, A. H. Shipley, Pollitt, Waters, Nordwall and Clarke, were engaged in political and economic spying.

"On March 11, 1933, the following men were engaged in spying operations:—

"**Nordwall**, economic, political and defence, and offence investigation;

"**Gregory**, economic and political;

"**Pollitt**, economic and political defence and offence investigation;

"**Whatmough**, economic and political;

"**Riddle**, economic and political, defence and offence investigation;

"**Thornton**, economic and political, defence and offence investigation;

"**Monkhouse**, economic and political, defence and offence investigation;

"**Cushny**, economic and political.

"The facts about the activities of the above mentioned who were under my direction, I shall give in a further protocol. (Signed) Leslie C. E. Thornton, March 13, 1933."

A picture of an extensive spying organisation, whose ramifications extend far beyond the circle of the defendants in the trial now proceeding, was unfolded during the further examination of the engineer, **Thornton**, on Thursday evening, April 13.

Thornton again began with stubborn denials, but step by step this pompous business man was forced to make the admissions that he tried so hard to avoid.

However, he admitted collecting information regarding the political mood of the workers, the strength of the Soviet power, and (this in a very low voice) "on the production of munitions."

Nevertheless, he claimed that this was not espionage, but mere "common gossip." Thornton further admitted having transmitted information to Richards. The following interrogation was then conducted by the Prosecutor:—

"What and who is Richards?" Thornton pretends to be stupid, and merely says: "Richards is simply the export director of the firm of Metro-Vickers."

"Was Richards often in the Soviet Union?"—"Since 1923, nearly every year."

"And before?"—"1911."

"This is not interesting. But how about 1917 and 1918?"—"Yes, he was."

"Where?"—"Moscow and Leningrad."

"And Archangel?"—"There, too."

"What did he do there?"—"He was with the English expedition."

"What kind of expedition?"—No reply.

"Presumably the expedition which led the intervention against the Soviet Union?"—"Yes."

"What was Richards' position there?"—"I wasn't there."

"But you know?"—"Intelligence Officer."

"What is that?"—"A military position."

At this point Thornton declared that his Russian was inadequate and demanded an interpreter. Only after a dozen further questions did he admit the fact that Richards was an espionage officer on the General Staff of the Army of Intervention. The examination continued as follows:—

"Is it true that Richards in 1918 crossed the Soviet frontier illegally?"—"No, not illegally."

"Did he have a passport?"—"Yes, but he crossed the frontier secretly." (Sensation in Court.)

Vishinsky, the Prosecutor, handed Thornton the record of the preliminary examination and asked him if he recognised the document. Thornton examined it uneasily for some minutes and then hesitatingly answered, "Yes, it is my own handwriting and signature to a statement made at the preliminary examination."

Martens, one of the judges, then proceeded to read the document in English.

Asked by the Prosecutor whether he confirms this document, Thornton answers, "I wrote it, but it is untrue. I was then confused, and what I wrote was immaterial."

A detailed analysis of the document, however, established the fact that Thornton was so little confused that he remembered the exact number and names of all the 27 persons engaged in espionage.

"Why did you make a false statement?" asked the Prosecutor.

"I was asked to make a confession, and I fulfilled the request," replied Thornton.

This reply created a further sensation.

Kutuzova, the woman secretary of the Metro-Vickers organisation in Moscow, also one of the accused, was then called and emphatically confirmed the statement that Thornton participated in wrecking and espionage.

Entries regarding the funds for bribery of the Russian engineers were written in small notebooks in order to avoid book-keeping. Thornton took these notebooks to London in 1932.

The prosecution then proceeded to establish the chronological sequence of the statements made by Thornton and Macdonald. Thornton also admitted making the statement that he had sought military information, but now denied the truth of this.

Asked why he had made the statement, he said it was because he was under arrest, and was influenced by the statements made by other defendants, including Macdonald.

Resuming the examination of Macdonald, the Prosecutor asked whether he had received information from Gusev regarding shells manufactured at Zlatoust. Macdonald admitted this, and replied in the negative to the question whether this information was of any legitimate use to Metro-Vickers.

Further pressed as to the reason for his inquiries, he replied that they had been made out of personal curiosity.

Following the examination of Macdonald, **Sokolov** was re-examined. He admitted giving military information under the direction of Thornton.

Later, Macdonald again confirmed the statement made in the preliminary investigation, that he had instructed Gusev to bring about the breakdown of a 14 hundred h.p. motor.

Thornton was then questioned regarding the statement that Macdonald had collected military information on his instructions. Asked whether he had talked to Macdonald regarding the motors at the "Bolshevik" works, Thornton failed to remember.

Regarding inquiries about aeroplane engines he could only remember that he had lived near the aeroplane works and that the engines were "very noisy."

Macdonald, however, confirmed his statements regarding conversations with Thornton on which the latter's memory had failed him. Regarding a conversation in Leningrad, before Macdonald's departure for Zlatoust, Thornton's memory was again weak. He said he did not know where Macdonald was going.

Macdonald, however, declared emphatically, "I knew where I was going and they all knew."

Asked whether the word "all" included Thornton, Macdonald replied, "Yes."

Cross-examined by the lawyers for the defence concerning his education and technical qualifications, **Macdonald** stated that he was not formally qualified, but considered himself fully qualified to hold responsible posts in the electrical industry. He stated that whilst in the Soviet Union he was paid £12 a week, five of which was paid in sterling into a London bank, and the remainder was paid in roubles. In addition, the rent of his flat and lighting expenses were paid by the Russian authorities. Questioned concerning the reasons for his indebtedness, Macdonald replied that it was partly due to spending too much on himself and partly through payments to Gusev. Asked whether he received information regarding sabotage from Monkhouse, Macdonald replied in the negative. Asked whether Monkhouse participated in espionage, Macdonald again replied in the negative. He admitted having previously said he "supposed" Monkhouse participated in espionage.

Nordwall's Evidence

Nordwall, another English defendant, entered the limelight to-day during the examination of the Russian defendant, **Lubanov**.

Lubanov, who is avowedly anti-Soviet, longed for return of the old regime, where his father and brother owned flour mills and kept provision shops. His anti-Soviet feeling was intensified by the fact that many of his friends were shot for their participation in the Yaroslavl counter-revolutionary uprising shortly after he left school in 1918.

Nordwall, when visiting the Ivanovo Power Station, where

Lubanov was manager of the heating department, found in the latter a congenial companion. Their conversation drifted from a recital of the latter's grievances to concrete proposals for wrecking.

Lubanov said he was astonished when the proposals were first made, and also nervous, fearing the affair might have unpleasant repercussions for him.

Vishinsky interposed grimly: "It has."

Nordwall said to Lubanov: "If you are dissatisfied with the conditions and want to improve them, get down to business and stop talking."

The specific task given to Lubanov was the damaging of imported machinery in order, as Nordwall said, "to drain the Soviet Union of valuta." Nordwall amiably added that Lubanov might damage Metro-Vickers' machines as well, providing he took precautions to see that the responsibility could not be laid at the firm's door.

Nordwall, when examined, made a denial of this evidence and claimed that he tried to persuade Lubanov to work for the success of the Five-Year Plan. He declared that the fur coat which passed from him to Lubanov was not given but lent, with a view to sale on behalf of a friend. Lubanov denied that any question of money had been raised.

Monkhouse's Evidence

The fourth day's session opened with the demand of **Monkhouse** to be allowed to address the Court concerning the evidence given by the defendant, Soukorochnik.

Given permission from the Court, he takes the stand and commences to make general remarks concerning the trial. The presiding Judge points out that later Monkhouse will have ample opportunity in giving his testimony to make such remarks he pleases, but now he must confine himself to the preceding evidence.

Nevertheless Monkhouse continues defiantly to make a pronouncement that the evidence of Soukorochnik and others has convinced him that the trial is "a frame-up against the firm of Metro-Vickers based on the evidence of terrorised people," adding remarks concerning the length of time he had been questioned in the preliminary investigation.

The presiding judge again reminds him that ample opportunity for any desired statement will be afforded him later, during which Monkhouse interrupts him to finish his remarks.

From the moment the defendants entered the court it was obvious from the jaunty bearing of the four English defendants, Monkhouse, Gregory, Nordwall and Cushny, who were released on bail, that a new plan of campaign had been decided upon.

It was clear that the defendants, realising the damning nature of the evidence against them and their hopeless position, had decided on aggressive tactics for the purposes of propaganda in Britain, to counteract the confessions of Thornton and Macdonald and the unconvincing lying indulged in by all the English defendants since the case started.

Signs of similar tactics were given by the defendant **Cushny** who, throughout the examination on the witness stand, adopted a blustering attitude and refused to give straightforward answers. Shrugging his shoulders, Cushny said he had talked politics. Asked what kind of politics, he answered, "The price of bread," and refused to add any more.

With Thornton he had discussed the political mood of the workers, how the workers lived, their attitude to the Soviet Power, etc. He refused to be more specific.

Asked where he obtained his information on these subjects, he replied:

"I used my eyes and ears."

"Who supplied your ears?" asked Vishinsky.

Cushny answered that he picked up information casually. Cushny, during the three years of his work in Baku, had become sufficiently intimate with a number of Russian mechanics to visit them frequently and entertain them with parties and visit them in their homes.

Questioned concerning the sums of money alleged to have been paid by him concerning the breakdown of the Baku station, Cushny would only agree that he had made small loans.

The turbine erection mechanic, **Olenik**, was the next defendant to be questioned. He worked in Baku during the breakdown in 1928 and declared that later Thornton informed him that the breakdown had not been an accident, but engineered by Cushny and that **Cushny was an expert in organising these affairs.**

Questioned as to whether he confirmed Olenik's statement, Cushny shouted: "He lies!"

Cushny then asked to make a declaration, but was informed that he must wait until his closing speech.

Olenik then took the witness stand and testified to being employed by Metro-Vickers since 1926. Since knowing Thornton, Olenik testified that his work had been to hide defects in the equipment of supplies to the Soviet Union, to collect information and espionage, to organise breakdowns in electric stations, and to organise groups of saboteurs. This had been going on since 1928.

Thornton helped him to undertake illegal currency transactions, and warned him in 1931 that there was danger of a raid on Metro-Vickers' Moscow office. On Olenik's asking why, Thornton replied that it should be obvious from the dangerous nature of the work undertaken.

Olenik admitted to organising breakdowns at Sterovka and Belovka Stations, and the recruiting of gangs of wreckers in Moscow.

Instructions were received mainly from Thornton, he declared, but Monkhouse knew everything.

Shortly before his arrest Olenik was instructed by Thornton to collect all the military information he could.

Monkhouse gave his evidence on the evening of the fourth day. Facts were brought out concerning his service with the interventionist army in Archangel for more than a year, where he had frequently met Richards, the head of the counter-espionage unit of the intervention army.

Monkhouse admitted that Richards was directing the work of capturing the Bolshevik propagandists.

Monkhouse came to Russia first in 1911. He remained till 1918.

After the interventionists were compelled to retire, Monkhouse returned to Moscow in 1924 as erecting engineer for Metropolitan Vickers.

Monkhouse admitted the reception of regular reports mainly from Thornton and Cushny concerning the conditions of the Soviet Union. He admitted knowing the existence of many grave defects in Metro-Vick equipment in several plants and that these defects were responsible for a series of breakdowns.

Monkhouse attempted to absolve the firm from blame when Vishinsky significantly remarked: "We are not trying the firm, we are trying you."

Monkhouse concluded his testimony by confirmation of his earlier admission of having sold here certain equipment of quality that he himself would never purchase.

Earlier in the evening session the defendant **Olenik** was recalled to the witness stand to conclude his testimony. Questioned by the lawyers for the defence, he stated that his wrecking activities commenced only in 1929. He stated that he received from Nordwall no definite assignments about spying, but Nordwall asked and received his aid in carrying out illegal work.

He particularly sought introductions to Soviet engineers from whom he might obtain information concerning the military production plant at Makeyevka.

"Nordwall impressed me as an experienced spy," stated Olenik.

Nordwall's activities in Makeyevka included the bribery of workers for the purpose of disorganising work at the power station.

The evening session of the fourth day concluded sensationally with the complete exploding of the central myth of the hysterical propaganda of the English die-hards in connection with the trial.

Throughout the Press, in Parliament, in the White Papers, and this morning in Monkhouse's own declaration it has been stated that Monkhouse's preliminary examination before the Ogpu occupied continuously 18 hours.

Rising blandly this evening, Vishinsky, the Public Prosecutor, asked the permission of the court to make a statement concerning a matter in which slanderous and untrue statements had been made by the foreign Press, namely, the length of the Ogpu interrogations.

For this purpose he asked permission to produce the Ogpu records, which showed that the longest single interrogation of any prisoner was that of Monkhouse.

In this case, although Monkhouse wrote his own statement in long hand at his leisure, and one hour was allowed for a good dinner and a similar period for his supper, the total time occupied was not more than 12 hours.

Monkhouse rose and stated that he had no watch, therefore he

was unable to be sure. Vishinsky then queried how he knew it was 18 hours.

Monkhouse could only reply that he thought it was, but as he appeared to have made a mistake he apologised.

Thus has another lying invention been exposed.

Immediately prior to this sensational denouement, the defendant Thornton had again repudiated his earlier testimony.

Vishinsky rose sternly in his place and declared with the utmost deliberation:—

"I ask you which of the Englishmen in Moscow instructed you to persist in telling untruths?"

Thornton did not answer.

Vishinsky's Speech for the Prosecution

Moscow, April 17.

At the evening session of the fifth day of the trial, after the experts had answered Monkhouse's questions, **Vishinsky** began his speech for the prosecution, which was followed with the closest attention by the large audience which packed the hall.

"This trial," he said, "is of extraordinary international significance.

"The whole world, the toilers of our country, and of all countries, all nations and races, all friends, but also all those enemies, who, blinded by class rage, forgot all the proprieties established by international relations and the sovereignty of our State—their attention is riveted on this trial.

"Enemies have tried hysterically to bring moral pressure to bear on this trial, but have naturally received the setback they deserved.

"They will likewise receive a further decisive setback unless they will understand that this land of the great October Revolution, this land of the triumphant Five-Year Plan, this grandest work of the creative forces of the toilers, this land which fifteen years ago overthrew the capitalists and the landlords and now is building a new social order, will take no account of demands opposed to the interests of the workers, the proletarian revolution and the State of the proletarian dictatorship.

"Certain imperialist circles, in their dislike of the fact that the Soviet Court protects the toilers' interests against oppressors and exploiters, attempt, from their narrow-minded, vulgar and inhuman viewpoint to slander the Soviet Court, alleging that there is no justice here."

Vishinsky quoted different speeches made in the British House of Commons, in many cases demonstrating how "justice" was practised in capitalist countries (months of detention without presenting charges, etc.).

He quoted a British journal which characterised the Meerut trial as the greatest disgrace in the history of trials throughout the whole world.

This outrageous trial, Vishinsky pointed out, dragged on for four years.

"Capitalist so-called justice," he said, "applies Third Degree methods of questioning, inhuman treatment, all kinds of physical and moral coercion. The defenders of this 'justice' dare to accuse the only really free land, the Soviet Court, the only real judicial procedure in the world where the wishes of the proletariat are carried out.

"Karl Marx says of English courts that there is one law for the poor and another for the rich."

Some defendants like Monkhouse and Thornton in this Court follow a line ordered from outside—a line which is also given expression to in the "White Paper."

Thornton's fairy tales about moral pressure, Monkhouse's fairy tales about 18-hour questioning have been exposed as harmful lies.

Vishinsky quoted from the White Paper which claims that within two days Monkhouse was questioned for 36 hours, on the first day alone for 19 hours, and by three successive shifts of examining judges, two in each shift.

Vishinsky repeated that the official documents presented on the previous day proved that the questioning of Monkhouse only lasted for 12 hours, with hours of intervals with plentiful meals.

Monkhouse's lie was picked up by interested circles and by official British documents. When Monkhouse apologised yesterday for his "mistake," it appeared that he apologised not to this Court, but to the British public opinion misled by himself.

"I think," he said, "he must really have been apologising to the British public for misleading them and putting an abrupt

end to charges intended to discredit us in the eyes of the world."

Vishinsky then proceeded to analyse the crimes committed, which he divided into three groups: Wrecking work, Espionage, and Bribing of Officials.

With special severity he emphasised the guilt of the employees of the Soviet State who, in discharge of the office entrusted to them by the people, committed treason.

On the charge of bribery Monkhouse had called Dolgov's 3,000 roubles "a present, not a bribe."

"Certainly," Vishinsky stated, "bribes and thefts are very different here and in bourgeois circles. We must fight mercilessly against bribery, and you, Messrs. Englishmen, are in our land.

"Let Monkhouse and Thornton not dare to hide behind the word 'presents' when they disarm our employees by bribing them.

"In Soviet Russia it is bribery, and even under English laws Monkhouse and Thornton know they can be severely punished for bribery."

Vishinsky then read extensively from the English bribery laws.

"That is what the laws of your country are. Bribery is a very serious crime from the Soviet viewpoint."

Vishinsky continued his speech until midnight, then the next session was fixed for the morning of the sixth day (the 17th), when he would conclude his prosecution speech.

Moscow, April 17.

Vishinsky, the Soviet Public Prosecutor, continued his address to the court this morning.

It is expected that he will ask for sentence of death to be passed on the Russians accused, as to-day he described the death penalty as "The highest means of social defence," particularly in the case of Russians hailing from the capitalist class. "I regard their crimes as being dictated by their class attitude," he declared.

For Gusev in particular he demanded the death penalty.

Vishinsky, in the course of his speech, made an apparent reference to A. W. Gregory, when he said, "One defendant here I am prepared to say is guiltless."

Vishinsky went on to say, "Macdonald is more courageous than the brave Mesopotamian soldier [this is believed to be a reference to Thornton, who served in the British Army in Mesopotamia]. In my presence Macdonald testified truthfully, courageously and conscientiously."

Vishinsky next gave details of wreckage causing accidents to electric power stations at Moscow, Baku, Cheliabinsk, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk and Zlatoust, and as he did so he detailed what he called the contributions of the various defendants to this alleged wreckage.

Vishinsky's speech is likely to have a powerful effect on the result of the trial, and the eyes of the accused were fixed on him as he continued his address and hammered home his various points.

Vishinsky himself seemed to concentrate his gaze on Thornton, who was sitting in the front row of the dock.

The Soviet prosecutor next dealt with the Soviet witnesses Suchorichkin, Kotliarevsky and Gusev. He said their evidence was a cold-blooded recital untouched by the struggles of the Soviet working-class and its successes.

Vishinsky claimed that the evidence was sufficient to convict Nordwall, and in this connection he pointed to Lobanov's testimony as to providing military information which the prosecution alleged was to be passed on to Thornton.

There was also Thornton's confession, naming Nordwall as among the military spies, and the overcoat which Nordwall gave as a bribe.

Vishinsky recommended the acquittal of Zivert who, he said, was guilty, but whose activities had been limited, and who had already expiated his offences by his confinement and trial.

Gregory's name was hardly mentioned by Vishinsky. Macdonald he merely considered as a "trusted go-between" of Thornton and Monkhouse.

Vishinsky adduced the fact that Lebedev was once a non-commissioned officer as proof of his view that Thornton preferred to have ex-soldiers as henchmen because of the use he could make of their self-discipline and training in case of war.

Vishinsky, as was expected, cited extensively from the report of the Experts' Commission, which stated that the accidents to plant were due to deliberate wrecking or possibly culpable carelessness.

He analysed successive accidents and claimed that they were carried out according to plans formulated by Thornton with the active assistance of Macdonald.

He recalled the use of assumed names in the correspondence between Thornton and Gusev, which he said had been acknowledged by Thornton, and the burning of letters by Macdonald.

He further recalled the parties given frequently by Cushny to Russian engineers and technicians and described him as an intermediary for Thornton in the collection of military secrets, sabotage of machinery and the distribution of bribes.

Macdonald, he went on, conducted his defence shrewdly and admitted only that which he couldn't deny.

He was caught red-handed in a chain of espionage which included himself, Sokolov, Gusev and Thornton, and which was forged for the purpose of collecting information with regard to the manufacture of shells.

"And not only information about shells (Vishinsky added), but also about high quality steel and offensive and defensive armaments."

Referring to what he described as contradictory evidence given by the British accused, he said: "Perhaps they will meet after the verdict has been announced and disentangle these contradictions before they start writing their memoirs."

Vishinsky demanded that severe punishment should be inflicted on Monkhouse, who, he said, had admitted having a special bribery fund by which, through Thornton's agency, he gave bribes euphemistically called presents. Monkhouse had gathered secrets of the State.

Speeches for the Defence

Moscow, April 18.

The trial was resumed this morning with speeches for the defence of the British accused, opening with **Ilya Braude** on behalf of Thornton.

Braude has been one of the most distinguished Russian criminal lawyers for over 25 years. He was known before the Revolution, and is famous to-day.

To-day he made one of his most brilliant oratorical efforts in an attempt to overcome the very obvious weakness of his case.

He opened by admitting his difficulties because "against Thornton evidence had been given by the majority of the prisoners—friends, enemies, Russians, English, engineers and mechanics.

"His own office employees give evidence against him. In his own handwriting there is evidence, given by himself, at the preliminary examination. Against him there is a chain of damning evidence, nevertheless he puts forward a denial of his guilt, despite the adverse circumstances."

Counsel proceeded to argue that Thornton was not the evil genius of the other defendants. The most terrible of the charges against Thornton, he said, was that of sabotage.

"It is terrible to think of a person contracting to aid us in the work of construction while actually he is engaged in destruction.

"I can understand Thornton rejecting this accusation with horror, and that instinctively he shudders at it."

Braude proceeded to emphasise that although Thornton had confessed to everything at the preliminary examination, he had not admitted to sabotage.

He continued by reminding the Court of Vishinsky's statement that in the Soviet Union mere testimony against an individual must be combined with factual evidence. He declared that this had been applied to Gregory's case. He admitted, however, that the testimony against Thornton was much stronger, but proceeded to examine the nature of those who had testified against him.

He claimed that all the defendants had been attempting to hide behind Thornton. Braude instanced numerous sabotage trials—of the Industrial Party, the Mensheviks, etc.

"The G.P.U., aided by the masses, was able to discover all these plots of the remnants of the wrecking organisations which exist.

"It is no accident that many of the defendants were compelled to admit close friendship with those condemned in these earlier trials, nor is it an accident that many of them are of bourgeois origin and admittedly hostile anti-Soviet elements.

"The sharpening class fight of our country has given a stimulus to these enemy elements to renew hostilities."

Braude continued to examine the record of Sokolov, and

Gusev, who had fought voluntarily with Koltchak, and of Zorin, whom he described as a "mature type of counter-revolutionary."

"Are people such as these," he asked, "incapable of committing crimes, such as those with which they are charged, without meeting Thornton, and without coming under his influence? One must come to the conclusion that they are certainly 'capable.'"

Those who committed such crimes, Braude added, have a great temptation to hide behind someone else—and they chose Thornton.

Regarding military espionage, Braude contended that although the English laws in this direction are severe, nevertheless the Soviet laws are different owing to the social ownership of the means of production. Hence Thornton conceivably collected illegal information unwittingly.

Regarding economic espionage, Braude stated that in England it was a common practice for one firm to try and steal another firm's secrets; that was the usual competitive practice.

With regard to bribery also, the English laws, Braude contended, applied only in State affairs and bribery was a common method in English commercial and industrial practice.

What could be said against Thornton and the other Englishmen, he contended, was that "they have brought capitalist corruption into our country and have regarded the State merely as a private employer."

Braude admitted that money had been paid for the information, but asked the Court to believe that bribery was unintentional.

Braude's speech was listened to very attentively throughout, as it afforded a brilliant example of making the utmost out of the poorest possible material.

Prior to his speech, speculation had been rife as to what possible defence, or even extenuating circumstances, could be produced in favour of Thornton, following the thorough exposure by Vishinsky yesterday and Thornton's sorry show throughout the trial.

At the evening session yesterday four of the eight counsel for the defence addressed the Court.

Kaznachayev is defending Gusev, Oleinik and Sokolof; Schwartz is defending Sukhoruchlein, Krashennikov and Zorin; Pines is defending Lobanov, Sievert and Lebedev.

They did not question the monstrosity of the crimes committed by their clients. They urged that their sincere confessions should be considered, and also with regard to some of the defendants, their youth and inexperience.

They appealed to the spirit of Soviet justice—not for revenge, but for social protection.

In view of the strength of the Soviet power, and also the incapacity of the enemy forces to cause any serious damage, as demonstrated in this trial, as well as the defendants' repentance, they urged that the Court render the mildest verdict.

Macdonald's defending counsel, **Smirnov**, claimed that the prosecution exaggerated Macdonald's guilt.

Macdonald, a son of working parents, was not a class enemy. He came to Zlatoust as an inexperienced man, misinformed by the capitalist Press about the Soviet Union, and accustomed to obey his superiors.

Here he received ideas about the Soviet Union from such "Soviet people" as Gusev and Sokolov. In this sense Macdonald was not a "seducer," but had been seduced.

In this connection Macdonald was obedient to his superiors, personified by Thornton, and made a frank and courageous confession, which the prosecuting Attorney also specially emphasised.

This confession is of greater significance than some of the other confessions, because Macdonald, by this confession, risked his entire career. Smirnov hoped that the Court would enable Macdonald, by honest work, to expiate his crime.

Moscow, April 18.

The defence counsel concluded their speeches to-day.

The defence counsel were drawn from among the most brilliant members of the Soviet bar, and without exception they made the greatest possible use of all opportunities to defend those against whom the evidence was so overwhelming.

Following Braude's speech for Thornton, **Dalmatovsky** spoke for Nordwall, and **Lidoff** for Cushny.

Examining the nature of the evidence against Cushny, Lidoff attempted to show that most of the evidence consisted purely of testimony which Vishinsky had said was not acceptable unless sup-

ported by material facts and that the remainder was of an indirect character, giving grounds maybe for the supposition of guilt and affording no concrete proof of guilt.

Lidoff dismissed the espionage charges against his client on the grounds of natural interest on the part of a foreigner, newly in the Soviet Union, in everything around him.

Cushny was well within his rights, counsel maintained, in reporting to his superiors about conditions in the localities where he went to work, and also about the political sentiments of the workers.

Claiming a verdict of not guilty, Lidoff said it would once again prove that the Soviet Government did not convict where reasonable doubt could be said to exist. The line taken in the defence of Nordwall was similar in all essentials.

Vishinsky, the Public Prosecutor, waived his right to intervene, declaring that the defence had not altered the case he had put forward.

The witness stand was then taken by the defendants. The Russian defendants once again admitted their guilt and gave assurance that if given the opportunity they would become good citizens.

Typical of the statements was the short one by **Krashennikov**: "The crime I did was very grave, and I have already admitted it. I shall try with all my power to justify clemency if this court sees fit to extend it to me."

Kutuzova, the woman defendant, in her final words, afforded final conviction to all that her earlier testimony had been sincerely given.

She said: "I gave my word not to expose this spying organisation. Hitherto I have always kept my word. I do not want the praise of the Public Prosecutor for having broken it on this occasion."

There was no doubt in her sincerity. Nor can her sincerity be doubted in her final statement that she fully recognised her guilt and would in future work for the Soviet power.

The Verdict.

Moscow, April 19.

The verdict of the Court and the sentences on the British accused were announced at an early hour this morning as follows:—
William Macdonald, two years.

L. C. Thornton, three years. Thornton, who has been on bail, is to be arrested immediately.

Allan Monkhouse, banished and expelled.

C. Nordwall, banished and expelled.

A. W. Gregory, acquitted.

J. Cushny, banished and expelled.

The sentences on the Soviet accused were:—

Gusev, ten years; Sukorchkin, ten years; Kutuzova, one and half years; Sokolov, eight years; Lobanov, ten years.

Lebedev, two years; Zorin, eight years; Kotliarevsky, eight years; Zievert, acquitted; Olenik, three years; Krashennikov, five years.

The White Terror

Strengthen the Movement to Save the Scottsboro' Boys!

Decatur, Alabama, April 18.

The sentence of death passed on April 10 upon Heywood Patterson, the first of the Scottsboro' boys to be re-tried, has been suspended by the judge pending the hearing of an appeal.

Patterson was to have been electrocuted on June 16, but the International Labour Defence lawyers gave notice of appeal to the Alabama Supreme Court. The execution of the sentence is therefore suspended pro tem.

The trial of Charlie Weems, the second of the Scottsboro' boys now being re-tried on a charge of criminally assaulting two white girls, who were prostitutes and one of whom has completely repudiated her previous testimony, extorted from her by capitalist police methods, has been indefinitely postponed.

The reason, according to the judge, for the postponement is the local bitterness against the chief counsel for the defence for alleged aspersions on the local citizens, which "would make a fair trial impossible at this time."

The real reason for the postponement is the mass pressure which has been brought to bear both in the U.S.A. and in all countries through the International Labour Defence organisation.

The lives of the Scottsboro' Negro boys are still in danger. American class justice has not abandoned its intention to bring them to the electric chair. The fight for their release must now acquire a fresh impetus. Millions of toilers throughout the world must raise their voices and exert their powerful influence on behalf of their Negro comrades. Mass protests, the pressure of the toiling masses can and must rescue these victims of capitalist and racial oppression from the clutches of the executioner and secure their unconditional release.

The First Sentences Against the Mutineers of "Zeven Provincien"

Amsterdam, April 13.

The Naval Military Council pronounced yesterday the sentences against four of the accused in the trial of the mutineers of the "Zeven Provincien."

All of the defendants were Dutch. They were sentenced to four, five, six and ten months' imprisonment respectively and to dismissal from military service. The proceedings were secret.

The Court seems to be pursuing the tactic of pronouncing mild sentences against the Dutch defendants, in order to pronounce later on very severe ones against the native mutineers. This obliges the international working class to launch beforehand a mighty protest campaign in order to save the victims of the justice of Dutch colonial imperialism.

Although after the mutiny all soldiers and sailors received the order not to remain members of revolutionary and social democratic organisations and were forbidden to read papers published by these organisations, the Dutch social democracy denounces the mutineers in the most shameful manner.

At an election meeting of the Dutch social democracy at Rotterdam the social democrat Duys declared:

"The mutiny of the 'Zeven Provincien' is quite inadmissible, and even a Socialist minister would not have tolerated it. A government which took another stand against such a revolt would be indulging in madness."

The World Economic Crisis

The Barter and Scrip Movement in the U.S.A.

By M. Lind (New York)

A plan fostered by the capitalists and their economists in order to avoid the basic problem of providing relief to the unemployed, i.e., unemployment insurance, is the barter movement. Barter and emergency exchange associations sponsored by local committees and by the unemployed themselves have become increasingly numerous. The basic cause for the barter movement is the need to find an outlet for surplus goods and surplus man-power without the necessity of cash transactions. The scarcity of cash-paid work has resulted in large and small swap or barter organisations where surplus commodities can be traded for other goods or for labour. Scrip is used as a medium of exchange.

A memorandum prepared by Professor **J. D. Brown**, of Princeton University, outlines the purpose of these barter organisations or, as he calls them, "Emergency Exchanges for the alleviation of unemployment." This memorandum is signed by leading economists and relief workers in the country. It states:

"It has been urged by many that large numbers of those now unemployed can be set to work producing goods and services for their own consumption through the establishment of emergency exchanges for such goods and services. Many believe that such measures would provide work almost immediately for large numbers of unemployed . . ." that such projects could be initiated within the framework of our existing economic structure and without such disturbance to prevent relationship as would constitute a bar to the acceptance of the plan."

The memorandum urges that the state governments "investigate the possibilities of facilitating the interchange of goods and services among unemployed workers by means of a system of

emergency exchanges." That the Reconstruction Finance Corporation consider the desirability to raise restricted part of the loans granted by the Corporation for unemployment relief to make advances to properly established emergency exchanges.

"The value of the plan (i.e., barter exchanges—M.L.) is that it provides for the elimination of the complications of money exchanges in this time of emergency. Price re-adjustment is too slow, and the barter exchange system provides a way for labour to get what it can in exchange for its services without waiting for business concerns to start up employment for them."

The reversion to primitive methods of exchange and barter is evidence of the collapse of the economic structure of capitalism. The liberal *New Republic*, Jan. 14, 1933, sees this barter movement as becoming "more and more important as a potential bridge over confusion."

Stuart Chase, chief proponent of planning for American capitalism, hopes that "operating on a national scale, they (i.e., barter exchanges) might even **prime the pump to start the economic mechanism moving upward**. If scrip enters into really wide circulation its effect should be to supplement the purchasing power of legal money, stimulate business, raise prices and thus hasten the circulation of money." ("*New York Times*," January 15, 1933.) Thus, Chase, like the Technocrats, discusses exchange as completely separated from production. For Chase it is not the capitalist method of production which "forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum" (Engels), and is responsible for the poverty of the masses, which causes crises. Like other bourgeois economists Chase can only see something wrong with the exchange system, i.e., lack of money, prices, etc., and is blind to the basic cause of the crisis.

According to the latest survey on the barter movement, made by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce, there are 300 barter organisations and at least 100 unemployed groups involving some 500,000-1,000,000 people. The movement is under way in 31 states. Most of these organisations use scrip as a medium of exchange for goods and services. The organisation of the unemployed into a barter group involves the following steps:—

1. Establishment of a council of 5 to 15 or more members of the unemployed.
2. Selecting an advisory committee of 15-30 members representing business and professional elements of the community to advise the barter group on such matters as marketing, merchandising and accounting.
3. Selection of exchange headquarter.
4. Acquisition of certain "capital goods" such as lumber, buildings, paint, paper, trucks, etc.
5. Selection of a merchandising manager.
6. Products to be handled.
7. Method of exchange—arrangements with outside organisations.
8. Kind of scrip and its usefulness.

New York City has four mutual exchanges under the direction of the Emergency Exchange Association. Some of the directors are John Carmody, Stuart Chase, Frank D. Graham, professor at Princeton University. There are about 450 members in the four New York City mutual exchanges. Each gives his labour for goods and services that he receives as directed by the management. These organisations issue credit tokens or scrip for labour performed or goods bought. A number of merchants accept these credit tokens within limits as payment for goods and can demand services from the exchange in return.

In **Minneapolis**, Minnesota, the Organised Unemployed, Inc., runs a retail store, shoe repair shop, restaurant, clothing factory, sauerkraut plant, and a canning department. Fruits and vegetables are preserved to feed members during the winter. Fruits and vegetables are obtained by barter methods, in payment for farm labour by members of the organisation. The organisation has issued 120,000 dollars in scrip money. It runs a bank of its own where the scrip is handled, several outside stores accept the "unemployed scrip" at its face value, later using it for purchasing goods manufactured by the Organised Employed, Inc. More than 4,000 families have received part-time work using scrip and have been able to carry on without charity aid.

The national Development Association has seven branches in Salt Lake City, Utah, five in Idaho, and others in California and Arizona. In seven months in 1932 it paid 175,000 dollars in scrip wages, the scrip turning over several times before returning. There are about 10,000 persons involved in the Association. It has a barber shop, tailor shop and tannery. It has a store which does an average daily business of 2,500 dollars. It has a branch at Oakland, California, from where fruits and vegetables are imported.

The Dayton Association of Co-operative Production contains nine units totalling 700 families. In six months the units have produced 27,000 dollars worth of goods with a cash outlay of 800 dollars. The association produces the following commodities: flour, canned goods, poultry and dairy products, shirts, coats and dresses, shoes, etc.

The Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle, Washington, contains 50,000 members organised into twenty locals. This league has considerable influence in local and state politics. It has outlined a legislative programme, with emphasis on unemployment insurance, free gas, light and no evictions.

The Unemployed Co-operative Relief Association of Los Angeles is composed of 32 units. It co-operates with the State Food Administration in exchanges between various counties. Exchanges of several counties swap goods or services between themselves.

The Midwest Exchange Inc. of Yellow Springs, Ohio, is an organisation for working out an exchange of products and services for a group of manufacturers in Ohio. The exchange acts as a clearing house among its members, who may be firms and farmers. The originator of the plan believes that it will be possible for the producers to have steadier markets through this form of barter and the farmers will be able to get practically everything they want by trading their crops through the exchanges.

The purpose of the self-help barter scheme among the unemployed is to relieve the bosses and the State of providing adequate relief for the starving 17 millions of unemployed and to shift the entire burden on to these workers. In this plan, the liberal organ, the "*New Republic*," imagines the possibility that "the exchange movement is a rough foreshadow of the co-operative commonwealth (sic!) coming in the back door unannounced."

The "way out" of the crisis via barter leads to an unprecedented lowering of the standard of living and to increased misery of the population. As against this plan of debasement of the American workers' life, the Communist Party and Unemployed Councils demand adequate relief for the unemployed and part-time workers and unemployment insurance at the expense of the State and capitalists.

In the barter exchanges scrip is used to facilitate the swapping of goods for goods, or labour for goods. In addition to this kind of scrip there are several others in use. Municipal scrip is issued by cities and towns in need of funds, e.g., to pay wages to city employees. In the present banking crisis, scrip is being issued by banks as a substitute for money. Some industrial plants also are paying scrip wages to their workers. There is another kind of scrip, which it is claimed, if used under certain conditions, "will immediately start the wheels of industry turning again." This is stamped scrip. Professor Irving Fisher, Yale economist, believes that stamped scrip "might bring us substantially out of the depression if properly applied in a few weeks." Stamped scrip needs no gold reserve. It is called stamped because on the back side of the scrip there is space for 36 three cent stamps. A three cent stamp is to be fixed on the reverse side of the bill each week. This will make it circulate with greater velocity, as every person holding the bill will try to pass it on before another stamp is due. Fisher's idea is to use stamped scrip as a lever in directing controlled inflation towards the raising of prices.

Professor Fisher is supporting a movement of the Evanston (Illinois) Independent Retail Merchants' Association for government managed national self-liquidating certificates (i.e., stamped scrip M.L.) to end the depression. Under the proposed plan the U.S. Treasury would issue "prosperity certificates" of credit in denominations of one dollar to be distributed in allotments of about 150 dollars each, to each person unemployed or in need. When these certificates are presented bearing fifty stamps on the back side, they can be redeemed for real money. Sponsors of this plan assert that it would "raise wages, increase standard of living, save 80 per cent. of business now insolvent, restore

solvency to local and state governments, help the farmers and put money into circulation into the hands of the public without interfering with the monetary value of the U.S. currency or destroying the gold standard." Evidently this is in answer to Fisher's prayer that what we need just now is "what stamped scrip can give us and give us faster than any other means in sight."

Stamped scrip is another term for inflation. The idea is to put more money into circulation and raise prices. A pyramid of argument and economic theory have been presented to show that falling prices is the cause of the crisis and that therefore in order to overcome the crisis attempts should be made to raise the price level.

An extract from a statement by a group of 150 American economists to President Roosevelt urging "immediate and vigorous action looking to increase in the general price level" as the spearhead of a drive against the depression reads as follows: "There is also general agreement that only if commodity prices rise materially can industry, and particularly agriculture, be extricated from present difficulties . . ."

But what these shallow economists fail to see is that the state of falling prices is only an indication of a crisis of over-production. The fundamental factor is not the change in the price level, but the development of productive forces beyond the capacity of the market. The development of productive forces is accompanied by increased misery of the masses of workers who cannot buy back the products produced.

Inflation followed by a rise in prices will widen this breach between productive capacity and restricted purchasing power. Inflation will act as a wage cut on the already decreased wages of the workers by raising prices in the essential products which the workers need to live.

Fight Against Imperialist War

The Saar Proletariat in the Fight Against French and German Imperialism

The Communist press of the Saar district has repeatedly stigmatised the furious incitement of the bourgeois press of France, which is calling for a fresh occupation of the Saar district by the French military. In the last few weeks the imperialist press of France has made use of the foreign and home policy of the Hitler Germany in order to propagate these annexationist tendencies, whilst on the other hand the French annexationist tendencies are serving the German and Saar press of the national socialists as a pretext for increasing the nationalist incitement of the German and Saar population.

It suffices to quote the following passage from an article by Abbé Ritz in the "Lorraine" in order to characterise the Saar government, which has been set up by the League of Nations:—

" . . . The Saar government is entitled . . . to have disposal of the troops of the nearest garrison in order to safeguard the liberties guaranteed to the population of the Saar district. . . ."

Thus the Saar government, this executive organ of foreign rule in this district, is only "guaranteeing the freedom of the Saar population." The Hitler bandits make the same assertion. They also practise their criminal provocations "only for the sake of the freedom of the Saar population." But precisely from the example of the Saar district it can be proved that the proletariat is most enslaved when the reaction shouts the loudest about "guaranteed freedom." The "freedom" enjoyed by the toiling Saar population is best illustrated by the fact that in the year 1932 wages were cut by 40 per cent., whilst output in the Saar mining industry (the main industry of the district) was increased by 16 per cent.

To the present exploitation and national oppression there is added the danger of a fresh Franco-German war. Both in Germany and in France the bourgeoisie is stirring up chauvinist feeling among the proletariat in order to divert it from the fight against its exploitation and misery.

The cunning extension of the girdle of fortresses in the immediate neighbourhood of the Saar frontiers leaves no doubt that in such a war the Saar district will become a place d'armes, and the working population of this district will be exposed to all the horrors of a modern war. Near the Saar frontiers, in **Bitch**, the

French imperialists are concentrating troops for manoeuvres, and fresh garrisons are being established in former workers' settlements.

But the fascist regime in Germany is also making feverish war preparations. Provocations on the part of Storm detachments have taken place on the French frontier, which have aroused disquieting comments in the French press and Chamber of Deputies. The war is thus being prepared both by Germany and France.

The population of the Saar district has nothing to expect from the national socialists. The terrorist provocations and the terrorist acts of the fascist criminals, the lying reports in the Nazi press regarding alleged "Communist secret orders for the Saar district," supply the French imperialists with the argument that the "insecurity" of the Saar district renders necessary its re-occupation by French troops. The attitude of the national socialists is completely in accord with Hitler's national policy. The Saar district is not the first German country which Hitler has played into the hands of foreign exploiters and abandoned for ever. One needs only call to mind Hitler's shameful attitude on the question of South Tyrol.

The revolutionary working class of the Saar district has long adopted a clear attitude to the imperialist struggle for the domination of the Saar district, which is of such economic and military-strategic importance. The various elections held during the last years have plainly shown to France that the population of the Saar district has no desire to come under French rule. The French imperialists, and the separatists in their pay, expected that as a result of the fascist terror wave in Germany there would come about a change in the feeling of the population of the Saar district. But the Saarbrücken "**Arbeiterzeitung**" destroyed these hopes when it wrote:

"We are and remain in the Saar district a part of the German proletariat, and we fight for the abolition of the frontiers and the return to our class brothers. We are not frightened by the fascist terror, we are strengthened by the pledge of millions of German workers for the revolution and the will to fight for a free socialist Soviet Germany. . . . We shall support the fight of the German workers against fascism with all the means at our disposal, and ruthlessly fight the fascists in the Saar district, as well as the German and French exploiters, by mobilising the masses."

In regard to the question of war, the revolutionary proletariat in the Saar district adopts the standpoint of "proletarian internationalism."

Japan Preparing a Coup de Main on the Chinese Eastern Railway

Japanese imperialism, having extended its robber-campaign from Manchuria to China proper and, thanks to the treacherous policy of the Kuomintang, having been able to win easy victories and acquire considerable stretches of territory, appears now to be preparing for a further stroke. It is aiming first at seizing possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and then to advance against Vladivostok.

The plan has been long in preparation. As a first step, traffic was interrupted at both ends of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Then the Manchukuo vassals of Japan submitted a demand, practically amounting to an ultimatum, that 100 locomotives and 500 waggons which had been sent to the Soviet Union to be repaired, should be immediately brought back to the Chinese Eastern Railway, although there is more rolling stock from the Soviet Union in Manchuria than Chinese Eastern Railway rolling stock in the Soviet Union. In order to emphasise this demand, they have interrupted the transit traffic and arrested Soviet citizens. But this is only the beginning. It is reported from reliable sources that large-scale white-guardist outrages are to be organised in April, or at latest at the beginning of May; bridges and pumping stations are to be blown up in order to provoke the intervention of Japan. Everything else will then proceed of itself.

We are therefore confronted with a serious sharpening of the situation in the Far East. General *Tanaka* seems to think the moment to have come in order to provoke war with the Soviet Union, before the commencement of the spring sowing in Siberia, in order by this means to weaken the Soviet Union. The "*Vosroshdenje*," a white-guardist paper appearing in Paris, has already for some time past been expressing its satisfaction that

at last the moment has come when the Soviet power will be driven to Lake Baikal; a "Russian" territory would then be formed (it is true under Japanese rule), where a new field of activity would be opened for the Russian white guardists. Professor *Zechlin* of Marburg, who recently paid a visit to the Far East, and had long conversations with leaders of Japanese imperialism, is now making propaganda in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" for the contemplated Japanese advance, which, he declares, must not be regarded as a campaign of conquest but as the establishment of an oriental peace (*pax orientalis*), which is the actual mission of Japan.

The joy of the white-guardists and fascists, therefore, shows to the revolutionary proletariat the danger which will threaten the workers' fatherland. The Soviet Union, which has hitherto done everything in order to maintain peace, will undoubtedly continue to do everything in order to prevent Japanese imperialism from carrying out its criminal intentions. But the voice of the international proletariat must also be heard. In this situation, which is pregnant with war preparations, war against the Soviet Union on one front can easily lead to a general war of intervention, which would be chosen by all imperialists as a sort of lightning conductor; instead of mutually throttling each other, they wish to unite against the Soviet Union. The fight of the international proletariat against imperialist war and against intervention must be increased to the utmost.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Progress in the Reform of the Food Distribution for the Workers in the Soviet Union

As is known, by virtue of decrees of the Council of People's Commissars and the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. of the 4th and 19th December, 1932, the rights of the managements of works and factories with regard to the feeding of the workers were considerably extended. In connection with this the methods were laid down by which the feeding of the workers could be improved and reorganised in accordance with the interests of the works.

The C.C. of the C.P.S.U. has now made an examination of and collated the first results of the reorganisation of the feeding of the workers. In 262 large works belonging to group A, the factory stores and the economic apparatus of the consumers' co-operatives were handed over to the factory managements, and departments for the feeding of the workers were organised as part of the factory managements.

The C.C. as a result of its control of the carrying out of the decrees of the 4th and 5th of December established the fact that this reform had in general been carried out in the prescribed period of time and had been received with warm approval by the workers.

In **Dnepropetrovsk**, for example, discussions of the decrees of the Council of People's Commissars and the C.C. took place amongst the workers in all the works, and in addition 520 concrete proposals were made for the improvement of the feeding of the workers.

It must be regarded as a positive result that the new system of distribution of food tickets has done away with the "dead souls," that is, that those workers who are no longer in the works receive no food tickets.

In the Moscow factory, **Dynamo**, for example, the number of people supplied with food tickets in January had decreased by 9,000 in comparison with the number in December. These 9,000 people obtained food tickets in December without any justification.

At the construction works of **Nijni Tagil**, 10,000 were struck off the list of those who receive food tickets, as they had nothing directly to do with the building. In the foundry of **Petrovski** an examination has shown that 5,463 people have the right to be fed from the works. The positive results of the reorganisation of the feeding of the workers are shown in the fact that in the largest and most important factories (group A) the workers are already obtaining their full normal rations. In several works, moreover, a decentralising of the system of making purchases and provisioning has been carried out; for example, in the automobile factory **Stalin** (Amo). In several works a relatively increased turnover of goods was noticeable, for example, in the automobile factory **Stalin**, where there was a turnover of goods to the value of 1,746,000 roubles in December and 1,000,000 roubles in January (when 10,000 less people received their ration tickets from the factory).

The reorganisation, however, is far from being completed. There are still a number of works which supplied food in January and even in February to people who have no right to receive ration tickets from the works. For example, in the **Baltic** factory in **Leningrad** 3,500 people procured ration tickets who were no longer working at the factory.

The reorganisation should, moreover, combat, not least of all, idling and inexcusable neglect of work. Success in this direction has not yet been fully achieved. In February idlers were still being fed to the same extent as shock-brigaders in the **Voroshilov** factory at **Altshevsk**.

The apparatus of the works consumers' co-operatives has in many places remained unchanged and simply been renamed managerial departments for the feeding of the workers. But this apparatus does not correspond to the tasks which were envisaged by the decrees of the C.C. and the Council of People's Commissars. For this reason the C.C. emphasises the fact that factory directors should exploit to a greater degree the powers and rights given them to make more economical use of their supplies of foodstuffs, to put down idleness and to raise the authority of the works management in the works.

As a number of departments for feeding the workers complain of a lack of financial resources and of financial difficulties, the C.C. has made proposals to the appropriate People's Commissariats that they should carry out in all works a control of the balances for 1932 and of the financial plans of the departments for agreements with workers for 1933.

The C.C. makes a series of proposals: the Trades Unions should provide 25 million roubles for horticulture and stock-breeding at the works, and 40 millions for the departments for feeding the workers.

The central managements for the feeding of the workers in the People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry and the People's Commissariat for Light Industry must organise within a month definite relations with the departments for the feeding of the workers in the works, in order that they may receive all their grievances and complaints, and give them advice and assistance. The C.C. by virtue of its experience and the good results achieved by the reorganisation of the feeding of the workers in large-scale undertakings, issued a special decree with regard to the feeding of the workers in those works which possess no consumers' co-operatives. In all these works and also in the Higher Teaching Institutes and Soviet Institutions special consumers' co-operatives are to be established. These newly-organised consumers' co-operatives will be empowered to make their purchases and do their provisioning must be the same person as the director of the works, or the institution.

A special decree envisages the transformation of the workers' co-operatives of the Soviet farms after the pattern of the industrial concerns.

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