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CONTENTS

Politics

- What is Happening in Geneva? 457
The Results of the Parliamentary Elections in Holland ... 457

Germany

- F. Brand: Hitler's "First Year Programme" 459
Hugenberg Approaching Downfall 460
National Socialists Take Over the German Trade Unions ... 460
Nicholas: The I.L.D. and the Defence of the Victims of
White Terror in Germany 462

Imperialist War Preparations

- A. G. Bosse: Roosevelt Prepares for War 463

First of May

- The "Pravda" on the First of May, 1933 464

The Labour Movement

- Bénier: The End of the Strike of the Citroen Workers ... 466
E. P. Greene: The Revolutionary Upsurge in Cuba 468

In the Camp of Social Democracy

- Knorin: The Crisis of the Second International 467

The White Terror

- A. G. B.: Why the Scottsboro Cases have been Post-
poned 469

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

- The Party Cleansing in the C.P. of the Soviet Union ... 463

In the International

- Chavaroché: The Chief Tasks of the Communist Party at
the Present Stage of the Revolution in Spain 470

Hic Rhodus, Hic Salta!

In a Greek city a braggart once boasted to a credulous audience, that on the Isle of Rhodes, before the eyes of hundreds of people, he made a huge leap. Someone in the crowd then called out: If you can leap so far, do it here! Hic Rhodus, hic salta! (*Here is Rhodes, leap here!*)

—From Æsop's Fables.

German national socialism is still reporting fresh victories. Having compelled the Stahlhelm to submit to its dictates, having simply robbed the workers of their trade unions, it is now proceeding to exclude the German nationalists from the Reich Government. When the process of disintegration in the German social-democratic party has made sufficient progress, the Nazis will probably formally dissolve it. It is also possible that the Centre will have to surrender. The huge organisation of the Evangelical Church will likewise be converted into an auxiliary organ of Hitler, who is a catholic. If one views events from their outward aspect, therefore, one has to come to the conclusion that German national socialism has many successes in front of it. If, however, we examine things more thoroughly, it will be seen that the situation of German fascism is somewhat different.

The national socialist party has now awakened *new* masses, numbering millions, to political life in order, allegedly, to create a government which shall satisfy all the wishes of all sections of the population. Hitler will make Germany strong and prosperous, make it a power in the world, and prosperous at home. This was the brief formula that was hammered into the heads of the supporters of national socialism. What indications are there, however, of any prospect of this programme being realised? Up to the present none at all. In fact quite the contrary. Everything

indicates that as regards power and prosperity, things are becoming not better but worse every day.

To begin with Germany's position as a world power. Everyone knows that the foreign-political situation of Germany was never so bad as it is now, after three months of Hitler's rule. After seizing power, Hitler wisely avoided proclaiming the oft-promised tearing up of the Versailles Treaty. He criticised it, but he took care not to take up any definite attitude regarding it. Last week there appeared an official communiqué that the Reich-Chancellor had declared to the Polish Ambassador:

"The government has the firm intention to keep its attitude and actions strictly within the bounds of the existing Treaties."

Commenting on this government declaration, the "*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*" wrote:

"The declaration of the Reich-Chancellor is a further proof of the thesis which the D.A.Z. has always maintained, namely, that the stronger the national government we have, the more reserved German foreign policy can be."

This means that the Entente Powers can be reconciled with Hitler, for neither Brüning nor Stresemann went so far in the policy of fulfilment of the peace treaty as Hitler. Have the masses, however, supported the national government in order that this government shall be more "reserved" towards France and Poland than, say, Herman Müller was?

Did not Hitler, on January 30, solemnly declare to Hindenburg, Papen and Hugenberg that no alteration would be made in the national government after the elections? Did he not declare



that no Jew in Germany would be in any way molested? Why should he not also declare that he will "keep strictly within the bounds of the treaties"? The constantly worsening foreign-political situation of Germany, the prospect of a war in the near future, before Germany is sufficiently armed, rendered it necessary to make such a statement. In the meantime, Germany will feverishly arm and then, when the time has come, Hitler will proceed to act!

Such assurances could produce some effect upon the Nazis, for they know what value is to be attached to Hitler's public utterances. The trouble is that the foreign Powers know him equally well. And because they know him, they will insist upon deeds and not words.

It is true that Hitler, in return for Germany's being permitted to arm, would be prepared not only to recognise Versailles, but also to place Germany in the service of the Entente in the event of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. On the day when the Protocol on the renewal of the Treaty with the Soviet Union was made public, Hitler, the gentleman, declared to a representative of the London "Daily Telegraph," that his world-political plans were directed not overseas but against the East; and at the same time Rosenberg, his emissary in London, requested the English politicians to intermeddle with Poland in order that it should give up the Corridor in exchange for the Ukraine. Poland should give up what it has in its hands, and in return get something which it can only conquer, if at all, after hard and fierce fights. And then not for itself, but for Hitler. For as he himself says, his claims are against the East, which in the national socialist jargon means the conversion of the Ukraine into a German colony. Lies are part of the stock-in-trade of diplomats, but never has lying been so shamelessly carried on as Hitler is doing at the present time. Hitler will therefore not profit much in the event of an intervention. For just as a disarmed Germany is the best guarantee for England against any threats to its colonies by Germany, so a disarmed Germany is best suited to serve as a jumping-off ground in the event of intervention against the Soviet Union.

Of course, there still remains another course open to Hitler: to plunge into war before Germany has completed its armaments, with a proletariat roused to the utmost at the front and at home. This will only hasten his downfall.

All in all, that which before his seizure of power was Hitler's main trump, namely, Germany's foreign position, now recoils against him.

In the past few weeks, however, the economic policy of the Hitler government has been plainly revealed. The declaration of the Reichs government, published on May 5, states:

"The Reichs Government has every interest in economic life becoming inwardly peaceful. All rigorous interference must and will be avoided. The economy is in a position to embark immediately on economic projects and plan a long way ahead, as the stabilisation of conditions offer the necessary guarantee. Economy can therefore begin to plan on a

large scale. Those who commence quickly can be assured of the warmest moral support of the Reich government. Any nervousness in economic circles is out of place. Now that the trade union action has been carried out, a consolidation of conditions has become apparent in economic life."

Thus we have in black and white what we, of course, knew already. This means, however, that very narrow limits are set to national socialist demagoguery in the factories. If the workers were formerly chastised with whips, they will now be chastised with scorpions. It is very significant that Hitler, in his interview with the representative of the "Daily Telegraph," made use of the well-known phrase, which, however, has not been heard for some time, about the "demoralising effect of the unemployment dole." Thus the unemployed too must know what they have to expect.

That which Hitler has done up to the present for his closest followers has not been achieved by creating fresh opportunities of work, but simply by taking the bread out of the mouths of others and giving it to his own people. He has thereby at the same time increased the cost of the administration by giving jobs to incapable people simply because they happen to be members of the national socialist party. But even so, he has not by a long way provided positions for all his immediate followers. His plans to rescue the middle class are reactionary measures, such as the prohibition of the opening of new shops, etc., which brings no relief to the suffering and robs many clerks and employees, who are out of work and wished to start a small business, even of this possibility of earning a living. The increase in the price of fats for the benefit of the big peasants and landowners has placed a tremendously heavy burden on the urban population and seriously injured Germany's export trade, as is shown by the disastrous decline in exports for the month of March.

Hitler's great ally before he seized power, namely, the misery of the perishing middle classes, the misery of the working masses, has not only remained but is growing from day to day, with the result that this former ally now becomes Hitler's greatest enemy.

It would, of course, be wrong to assume that national socialism will collapse of itself, automatically, so to speak. A government with such power behind it as the present German government has enormous means at its disposal for deceiving the people and misleading the masses of its followers. But the actual facts supply the Communist Party with the best agitation material, which it can skilfully make use of in order not only to strengthen the opponents of the government, but also to enlighten the masses of the government followers and to convince them that they have been misled. By persistent and patient agitation, it will be possible to convince these masses that they have been deceived by Hitler's demagoguery. The spirits which Hitler has called up must turn against him.

National socialism still possesses enormous power. We know how this power has arisen, and we know that it must go. We see the present rulers, but we see also the power which will take their place. The preconditions for a wholesale recovery from national socialist intoxication are increasing every day. It is the task of the Communist Party to hasten this process.

Our Slogan is: Not Fascism and Not Democracy of the Rich, But Workers' and Peasants' Government, Soviet Democracy!

Extract from the Speech of Comrade Gottwald, delivered in the Czecho-Slovakian Parliament on April 27, 1933

Our first word from this tribune is addressed to the German proletariat and its Party, the Communist Party of Germany. We greet the German Communists, we admire their heroic and self-sacrificing fight against the bloody Hitler regime, and express our complete solidarity with them. At the same time we also greet the social democratic workers, who, abandoned and betrayed by their leaders, are heroically fighting shoulder to shoulder with their Communist fellow workers. Our revolutionary greeting goes to Comrade Thälmann, the leader of the German proletariat, and to the other tens of thousands of proletarians who have been cast into the prisons and concentration camps by Hitler's bandits. We express our utter contempt for the bloody hangmen who are governing Germany to-day. We protest most sharply against the

bestialities of the Hitler regime and pledge ourselves, together with the proletariat of the whole world, to help the German workers to the utmost of our power to shake off the barbarous yoke of fascism and of the bourgeoisie.

The German example is a lesson for the workers of the whole world of what they have to expect from their bourgeoisie; it is at the same time, however, a lesson for the workers how they have to fight against their bourgeoisie.

The answer to the question why fascism has come into power in Germany is of extraordinary importance also for the working class of this State.

After the world war German capitalism had collapsed. The Hohenzollern monarchy crumbled away like a rotten beam; its

whole State apparatus collapsed like a house of cards. At the same time, under the influence of the Russian revolution, Soviets, workers' and soldiers' councils—these germs of the new power, germs and organs of the proletarian power, grew up in the country like mushrooms after rain. At the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, when the German proletariat had weapons in its hands, when the German bourgeoisie stood helpless, when its apparatus of power was disorganised, when Soviets began to spring up spontaneously over the whole country, there was no power in Germany which would have been capable even of attempting to prevent the realisation of the slogan: All power to the Soviets! Or more correctly stated, the bourgeoisie itself had not this power at that time.

But the German social democracy hastened to its aid. By means of the butts of rifles, machine-guns and hand grenades, the German social democracy destroyed the unity of the German proletariat, dragged its majority into the service of the bourgeoisie, and launched a campaign of extermination against the revolutionary minority. And in the summer of 1919 the German bourgeoisie produced at Weimar the newly-restored bourgeois power in the form of the Weimar Republic. The foundation stone of fascism was thereby already laid. The cradle of Hitler stood beside the coffins of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It was placed there by those who caused Karl and Rosa to be murdered, namely the social democracy. And the same people were also the midwife of fascism.

They then proceeded, often with fire and sword, against the only anti-bourgeois and anti-fascist force, against Communism. In 1921 the revolt in Central Germany was crushed; in 1923 the social democratic Reich's President, Ebert, caused the socialist-Communist governments in Saxony and Thuringia to be dispersed and suppressed the revolt in Hamburg. In May, 1929, the social democratic police president, Zörgiebel, carried out a blood-bath against the Berlin revolutionary workers. And in June, 1932, the social democracy arranged a massacre of the Altona workers who demonstrated against the provocations of the fascists.

With the active aid of the social fascists the Weimar "Democratic" Republic became more and more fascist, until the bourgeoisie resorted to open forms of fascist dictatorship. **The German social democracy, by its whole policy in the last 15 years, prepared the way for the present fascist dictatorship.**

This does not complete the list of the shameful deeds committed by the German social democracy. We are only now witnessing the most revolting spectacle: **the German social democracy is openly going over to Hitler, to the camp of fascism.** For years the social democratic leaders fooled the German workers by declaring that the bulwark against fascism was the bourgeois democratic parties of the Weimar coalition. To-day all these parties are kowtowing to Hitler. For a long time they persuaded the German workers that Hindenburg protected them from Hitler. To-day Hitler is Hindenburg's Reichs-chancellor. But that is not all. When the social democratic workers insistently demanded that the fight be taken up against fascism, the social democracy with a great set-out created the "Iron Front" and represented this as the firmest bulwark against Hitlerism. To-day, when Hitler is in power, this "Iron Front" dissolves of itself. It is said to have done its work and has no further tasks. This is actually true; it kept the workers back from the fight against Hitler, smoothed the way for him, and when Hitler came into power the mission of the "Iron Front" was at an end. Further, Wels, the leader of the German social democracy, proclaimed that the Hitler government was a legal government and resigned from the Executive Committee of the Second International, because this International adopted a resolution against Hitler. The same Wels openly announced in Parliament that the foreign press was acting wrongly in publishing "exaggerated reports" about Germany, and openly assured Hitler that the German social democracy would take action against this. The social democrats in Potsdam presented Hitler with the freedom of the city. Further, the social democratic co-operative organisations assured Hitler of their loyalty and offered him their collaboration.

The leaders of the social democracy in this country conceal as long as possible from our social democratic workers the cowardly capitulation of the German social democracy, and shoot their poisoned arrows all the more furiously at the German Communists. The Communists, they allege, are not fighting against Hitler. This is an insolent, shameless lie, the object of which is to create a feeling of helplessness and impotency among the social democratic workers. In reality the German Communists are the only force which has not for a single moment ceased the fight against the Hitler dictatorship. Under the fearfully hard conditions of bloody

terror, risking their lives, the German Communists are re-forming the broken ranks of the German proletariat and organising its resistance.

The German working class is undergoing a remarkable process. The present policy of the official social democracy means a blow against the social democratic workers. This fact will accelerate their going over to the revolutionary front, which, under the leadership of the Communists, by means of a number of fights and aided by the objective factors will finally undermine the basis of the Hitler regime. The German bourgeoisie has fired the first shots, but the last shots will be fired by the German proletariat.

At present, however, Hitler's victory in Germany is calling forth fresh fascist attacks by the bourgeoisie and a fresh wave of fascist danger in all capitalist countries, including Czechoslovakia. The bourgeoisie of all tendencies and nations in Czechoslovakia were overjoyed at Hitler's dictatorship. It is true, they criticise some of his measures, but on one thing they are in full agreement with him: in the way in which he "settled" the Communists and the whole of the revolutionary movement.

We have heard many hollow phrases about "democracy." If it is at all possible to gather any meaning from these words, it is the fact that the Czech bourgeoisie is thoroughly united in introducing the fascist methods under the signboard of "democracy," that the Czech proletariat also is immediately threatened with the fearful danger of fascism.

The German example has called forth quite another response from the Czech workers. The socialist workers have now seen at close hand the shameful collapse of German social democracy, the party which their leaders represented to them as a model and a protection against fascism. They perceive with horror whither the policy of the "lesser evil" and the constant retreat in face of the impudent bourgeoisie is leading. They have now realised what bestialities this bourgeoisie is capable of in its fight against the proletariat. And we hear among the working class of Czechoslovakia only one voice: Enough! An end must be put to collaboration with the bourgeoisie!

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has submitted to those parties which call themselves socialist, the offer of a common struggle against hunger, fascism and war and for the most urgent demands of the whole of the working people. The so-called socialist parties, however, rejected our offer. Whilst the rank and file are demanding unity in order to fight against the bourgeoisie, the leaders wish to shatter and split the working class still more. They are even going farther than any of the socialist workers would have believed: they wish to destroy the legal rights of the revolutionary workers, they wish to drive the party of the proletariat numbering three-quarters of a million, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, into illegality.

The Minister-socialists tell the workers that fascism is incompatible in principle with bourgeois democracy. But this is by no means the case. Fascism is one form of the rule of the bourgeoisie, just as bourgeois democracy is another form of the rule of this same class. Fascism is the offspring of bourgeois democracy, which is the form of the concealed fascist dictatorship. The open fascist dictatorship is born and developed in the womb of bourgeois democracy, which becomes more and more openly fascist, until the moment of the "sudden" change arrives, when, in accordance with the dialectical law, quantity is converted into quality. Such was the "development" of German "democracy." From Ebert to Hindenburg, from Hermann Müller via Brüning, Papen, and Schleicher to Hitler. From this it inevitably follows that it is impossible to fight against fascism in a united front with the bourgeoisie; that "fight" against fascism together with the bourgeoisie means to drive out the devil with the aid of Beelzebub; that a real fight against fascism means a fight against the bourgeoisie and also against the "democratic" form of the bourgeois government; that a fight against fascism means a fight for the government of the workers and peasants, for Soviet democracy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Seen in this light the tactics which the government socialists are recommending to the Czech workers are nothing short of criminal. They reject the united front with the Communists and proclaim that the best defence against fascism is their united front with the bourgeoisie. It is they, however, who are preparing the way for fascism.

Our "democratic" pharisees turn up the whites of their eyes and ask: Is there really no difference between Severing and Göring? We reply to this: Of course there is a difference, in that the Severings have prepared the way for Göring and Hitler and now crawl on

their bellies before them. In other words, it means that to oppose the democracy of the type of Severing and Meissner does not mean to be in favour of the dictatorship of Hitler and Stribny. There exists something far better for the proletariat: **the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet democracy.** Hence our slogan is: Not fascism and, also, not democracy of the rich, but the workers' and peasants' government, Soviet democracy.

The social democratic and Czech socialist leaders are endeavouring to excuse themselves to the workers for their campaign against the Communists by declaring that they are at the same time fighting against the fascists. That is a fraud. They point to the fact that they have arrested Gayda. It is true, Gayda is imprisoned, but Stribny is going about quite freely. Are there not fascists in the Sokol organisation, in Orel, in the rifle associations, in the national guards and similar organisations? Are there not fascist wings in all bourgeois parties? Is not the whole State apparatus permeated with fascism?

They point to the fact that they persecute the German Nazis. But they do this not because they are a fascist party, but because they are a **German** party, i.e., a national competitor of the Czech bourgeoisie. For the rest we have witnessed in Germany this sort of "fight against the Right." Only gestures are made against the "right," in order to reconcile the social democratic workers to the real blows against the Left, against the revolutionary movement and against the Communists. They wish to get rid of us in order to rob the unemployed of their benefit and to drive them into compulsory labour; in order to reduce the wages of the workers in the factories and to be able to dismiss them in greater numbers; in order to reduce the sick benefit and to do away with the insurance for the miners; in order to do away with the protection of the tenants and to increase rent; in order by high customs duties to increase the price of all articles of food and daily necessity; in order to impose fresh tax burdens upon the small peasants and small shopkeepers; in order to enable the capitalists to rake in larger profits. The Communists oppose and fight against all this, and therefore the rulers wish to get rid of us. This is the reason of their campaign against the Communists.

Be on guard, workers, look at the example of Germany! In our country, too, provocations are being prepared against us. That which your leaders are preparing against the Communists is a blow against you, against the whole working class, in short, it is preparation for the fascist regime which will oppress the whole toiling population without distinction.

And therefore we say to all workers, to all honest anti-fascist fighters in Czechoslovakia: If you wish to fight seriously against the fascist danger in Czechoslovakia, then you must raise your protest against the pogrom that is commencing against the Communist Party, you must defend its legal existence in the consciousness that you are defending the political rights of the whole of the toiling population. You must rally in a united front round the Communist Party and realise that this is the only active fighting force against the abominable rule of the bourgeoisie. You must join us in our fight not for the maintenance of this rule, but for the government of the workers and peasants. And this the more so, because the rule of the bourgeoisie means not only hunger and fascist terror for the working people, but also new battlefields of a fresh imperialist war.

The declaration of Minister Benes which we just heard, is a fresh proof of how dangerously near we are to the abyss of a fresh imperialist war. One of those who announced a "hundred years of peace" is rattling the sabre. One of the most rabid supporters of the League of Nations is appealing to force of arms and war pacts. They have come to the end which we predicted, and which must inevitably come so long as the bourgeoisie rules. Fifteen years after the end of the bloody world war we are faced with a new cycle of imperialist wars. I repeat: So long as the bourgeoisie rules there is no other way possible.

The world economic crisis is accelerating the fight for the redistribution of the world. This fight has already developed into an open war. At one end of the world this redistribution is already being settled by the sword. I refer to Japan's war against China.

The revisionist movement in Europe is a part of the general imperialist fight for the redistribution of the world; it places the question of fresh bloody collisions in Europe on the agenda. Parallel with these tendencies another tendency is to be seen: the increasing provocation of the Soviet Union by Japan,

England's aggressive attitude towards the Soviets and the actual trade war between England and the Soviet Union, the insolent provocation by Hitler of Soviet trade organs in Germany. All these things are an expression of the endeavour to postpone the settlement of differences in the imperialist camp for the moment and to solve the problem of redistribution of the world at the cost of the Soviet Union.

We Communists are against the Versailles Treaty and all other imperialist peace treaties, because they are unjust treaties imposed by force. But we are equally opposed to a revision such as Hitler, Mussolini and Horthy propose. But the German, Italian and Hungarian Communists are likewise combating the imperialist policy of their governments.

Benes said something here about the fight of European democracy against despotism. This is just as true as in the year 1914, when Tsarist Russia, the bloody gendarme of Europe, took its place in the front of "democracy" against the monarchies in Central Europe. These same "democrats," the fascist and militarist dictators in Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland, are the present allies of Benes. The case is similar with regard to Benes' assertion that his imperialist bloc, the Little Entente, is fighting for the freedom of the nations. The Czech worker and the Czech peasant have no interest in King Alexander's being able to suppress the Croats and the Slovenes, in King Carol's suppressing the Ukrainians and the Hungarians, in Pilsudski's crushing the Ukrainians, White Russians and Germans; but they also have no interest in seeing other nations suppressed in our country.

As long as capitalism exists in Central Europe, so long will certain nations or parts of them be suppressed, so long the national freedom of the small nations will not be assured. Only when the capitalist regime has been overthrown, when the right of self-determination of the nations is actually realised, only then will the national independence of the small nations be completely assured. By fighting against capitalism and imperialism and for the right of self-determination of every nation, we show to the Czech nation the path on which it can secure its national independence in a brotherly alliance with other free nations, whilst you, by continuing your imperialist policy, are driving the people into a disastrous war.

The socialist workers must draw the consequences from this. It would be fatal for them to wait until their leaders "improve," come to their senses. The workers' salvation lies in their own hands. To combine in a united front, to fight for bread and work, for the political rights, to rally round the Communist Party, to defend with all their forces the legality of this, their party, against fascism and the whole bourgeois regime, clearly to perceive that the only way out for the working people is the setting up of governments of the workers and peasants, the setting up of Soviet democracy—this to-day is the most urgent task for every worker.

The bourgeoisie believes that it will be able to save its shaken rule by prohibiting the Communist Party. Vain hopes, gentlemen! You can imprison us and slay us, but fresh thousands will come forward in our place. You can gag our press, but we shall continue to issue it in spite of all prohibitions. You can forbid our meetings, but we shall make propaganda from man to man, from family to family. We shall not surrender, we shall not abandon for a moment the fight against your accursed system and for the government of the workers and peasants.

Eight Million Unemployed in Germany

Hamburg, May 7.

The Nazis had organised a parade of their Sleswig-Holstein storm troops in Kiel yesterday. Hitler was present. He went to Kiel because there had been numerous strikes there recently, among others at the Germania Wharves, at the Deutsche Werft and in the electric power station. Hitler remembers that the breakdown of the old Empire started at Kiel. In his speech he said: Those eight million unemployed, men without work and wages, are living witnesses of the socialist republic of 1918. . . . Comrades, we are facing a difficult period, a period of patience and waiting. Your life will be one continuous fight. Do not hope for peace to-day or to-morrow. . . . The future will be grave. . . .

Nice outlook for the enthusiasts of the Third Reich!

Politics

What is Happening in Geneva?

All signs indicate that the so-called Disarmament Conference is facing a serious crisis. Whilst right from the first it was not a conference which was intended seriously to tackle the question of disarmament, but rather a place where the disputes between the imperialist Powers were still carried on, the discussions and deliberations at the conference were bound to assume a fighting character as soon as the "National Government" came into power in Germany and revealed to the whole world its preparations for a war of revenge. Last week, after some preliminary skirmishes, it came to a regular battle.

The first move was made by **France**. In a technical sub-commission where the strength of the various armies was discussed, it brought forward the motion that the German Schupo (Defence Police) should be regarded as a military force. As a counter-move Herr **Nadolny**, the **German** representative, brought forward a motion at the conference to shelve the English proposal to unify the armies to which Germany had already agreed in principle. In the meantime the technical commission had agreed to the French proposal and declared the 45,000 Schupos to be part of Germany's military forces. This was a success for France, because the military arming of the Schupo can be interpreted as a violation of the Treaty of Versailles. Following this decision, the German representative insisted still more on his proposal.

What is meant by the unification of the armies, and why will Germany have nothing to do with it?

According to this proposal, professional armies such as the Reichswehr are to be done away with and permanent armies introduced on the basis of universal compulsory service with a short period of service. Hitler-Germany, however, absolutely rejects the idea of an army the majority of which would be recruited from the ranks of the workers. It does not wish to place any weapons in the hands of the workers.

The Reichswehr, plus the Schupo (whose military training is almost equal to that of the Reichswehr), plus the millions of militarily-trained youths in the various fascist bodies—this represents a very big military force for a "disarmed" country. Germany is thus not far behind the armed countries. Why should it therefore give up the Reichswehr? Finally, there is another reason. The Reichswehr is still in the hands of generals who support Hindenburg and the Junkers. It is the only armed force in Germany which is not completely in the hands of the Nazis. The present rulers in Germany say to themselves: Why should we place still more troops under the command of these generals? One can understand why the German representative at Geneva fights so persistently against the unification of the armies.

A whole number of official, semi-official and even private conversations have taken place in Geneva in order to induce the German representative to abandon his standpoint. But all in vain. In fact, Herr Nadolny has now taken up the defensive on other new fields. The unification of the army was a **British** proposal. Great Britain also proposed to prohibit air-bombing, but only in the so-called mother countries; in the fight against the colonial slaves any kind of bomb can be thrown. Herr Nadolny has now proposed (and he could do this with a light heart) that bomb-dropping from aeroplanes be prohibited altogether. Not only that. The weapons of naval warfare play a relatively subordinate role at the Disarmament Conference. For the fleet is something sacrosanct not only to Italy, France, and England, but also to "pacifist" America. It is only intended to scrap the older units in order to acquire better, more up-to-date and more powerful weapons of naval warfare. Nadolny made a move also in regard to this question. He demanded that the most modern naval weapons should be prohibited! This was followed by a great outcry in the English press. The "Times" sounded the alarm in its leading article of May 8, in which it stated:

"The question has to be asked, are the German government determined to destroy the Draft Convention which they have already accepted in principle? They are trying to shelve one of its essential clauses, without the acceptance of which it must be impossible to make any progress with the others. Herr Hitler has repeatedly declared that he wishes to drill the young men of the country as a means to save

them from despondency, to restore their manhood and instil discipline into them. Yet one of his lieutenants has clearly indicated that the ultimate sequel to training in Labour Corps is to be military training. Does Germany then intend to have her whole population trained to arms in addition to possessing what is, within its limitations, one of the best professional armies in the world?"

Of course, that is what Hitler wants. And it is this that constitutes the big question at the Disarmament Conference, where not disarmament but so-called security against Hitler-Germany is to be achieved, which by its voracious greed for conquests not only threatens the spoils of the victor Powers, but in addition wants to place militarist Germany of Wilhelm II. in the shade.

Discussions in Geneva have been broken off for the time being. A compromise is being sought. Whether this will be found or not, whether the conference will break up or adjourn further, the victor Powers must at any rate succeed in obtaining far-reaching disarmament of Hitler-Germany in order at least to secure their booty.

The Results of the Parliamentary Elections in Holland

On April 26 there took place the election to the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament.

The elections were very greatly influenced by the tense international situation, especially by the events in Indonesia and by the setting up of the open fascist dictatorship in Germany. The government ordered the dissolution of the former Parliament because it wished to make use of these events in order to strengthen the fascist policy of the bourgeoisie. It wanted by large-scale nationalist incitement to bring about a considerable strengthening of the fascist wing in Parliament. It has not achieved this aim.

The former Prime Minister *Colyn*, who was connected for many years with Dutch oil capital in Indonesia, played a leading part in this nationalist campaign. He advocated a "national" government which should have the task of crushing every revolutionary movement in Holland and in the colonies, preparing for war, especially in the Pacific, cutting down wages and unemployment benefit, and covering the enormous deficit in the budget at the cost of the working population.

The Communist Party of Holland made the fight for the emancipation of Indonesia the main point in its election campaign; it placed on its list as first candidate, Comrade *De Visser*; as second, the Indonesian Comrade *Alimin*; as third, *Wynkoop*; and as fourth *Sardjono*, the former chairman of the C.P. of Indonesia, who has already been in exile for seven years in the hell of the notorious Digul camp.

The social democracy, which has compromised itself in the eyes of the workers by its treachery towards the seamen of the "Zeven Provincien" and by the capitulation of the social democratic party of Germany to Hitler, tried to escape from its unenviable situation by accusing the Comintern and the Soviet Union of having "left the German workers in the lurch," and by declaring that the Communist International has collapsed. In this they were zealously supported by the Left socialists, including the O.S.P. (Independent Socialist Party under the leadership of *Schmidt*) as well as by the R.S.P., the Trozkyist-syndicalist *Sneevliet* group.

The results of the election constitute a victory for the C.P. of Holland. At the Parliamentary elections in 1929 the C.P. of Holland received 37,000 votes and obtained one seat, whilst the *Wynkoop* group, which was independent at that time, received 29,000 votes and also obtained one seat. Two years ago the *Wynkoop* group was liquidated. In the present election the C.P. of Holland polled 180,000 votes and obtained four seats. The candidates elected are: Comrades *De Visser* and *Wynkoop* and the Indonesian comrades *Alimin* and *Sardjono*. In connection with the election of *Sardjono* the Party is demanding his immediate release, the doing away with the Digul camp, and the release of all political prisoners.

The election campaign has shown that the organisation of the C.P. of Holland has become much stronger and the sympathy of the working class towards it much greater. Considerable progress is to be recorded in the most important centres, such as *Amster-*

dam, Rotterdam, and Twente. The Party was also able to obtain a foothold for the first time in the important mining district of Limburg.

The social democracy has suffered a defeat. It now has only 22 seats instead of 24 as formerly. The decline of the social-democratic party is particularly noticeable in the old strongholds of the social democracy, above all in Amsterdam, whilst in the more backward parts of the country, especially in the Catholic provinces in the South, it was able to increase its influence. The O.S.P., which a year ago split away from the social democracy and formed an independent "Left" party and claims to have more than 7,000 members, has been defeated. It polled only 27,000 votes and did not obtain a single seat. It has become evident that this party is as good as isolated from the working masses in the important industrial centres.

The *Sneevliet* group achieved a success, polling 48,000 votes, so that *Sneevliet* has been returned as deputy. This success was largely due to the fact that during the election *Sneevliet* was prosecuted and sentenced to five months' imprisonment on account of a manifesto in connection with the mutiny in Indonesia. The Communist Party must strengthen its fight against the Trotskyist reformist policy among the working class.

The election as a whole has revealed a sharpening of the class antagonisms. The fascist groups, which for the first time put forward a great number of lists, received altogether 60,000 votes and obtained one seat. The counter-revolutionary party of *Colijn* has gained two seats. All the other bourgeois parties, however, suffered a setback. The swing to the Left was shown not only in the progress made by the C.P. of Holland, which gained its seats at the cost of the social democracy, but also in the success of some Catholic and Protestant Left groups, which opposed the policy of the old confessional parties and thus won the votes of many Christian workers and peasants. The revolutionisation of the working class was revealed beyond doubt in this election. The events in Germany have not been able to retard this development in any way; on the contrary, confidence in the Communist Party and in the Communist International has increased.

The bourgeoisie will now intensify their fascist policy. They threaten to hold new elections if Parliament does not comply with *Colijn's* policy. In face of these threats, the social democracy is preparing to pursue the policy of the "lesser evil."

The Communist Party is conscious of its task, which is to organise the fighting, united front of the working class in the fiercest fight against fascism and all its helpers.

The Election Preparations of the Lappo Government in Finland

Even the fascist Lappo government in Finland deems it expedient to mask its bloody capitalist dictatorship behind the mantle of "West-European democracy." Hence, new elections to the impotent "Parliament" are to be held this summer. This contemptible fraud is maintained by all the existing parties, from the open bandit organisation of the Lappo leader *Kosolo* to the social democrats. The social democrats are endeavouring, not only in their own but also in the party press of the Scandinavian countries, to persuade the working masses that a democratic regime exists in Lappo Finland. But this "democracy" does not give the class-conscious workers and peasants any possibility of sending their own representatives to Parliament.

Not only the C.P. but all organisations of the class-conscious workers of Finland, including the trade unions, the big sport and temperance associations, are prohibited; their newspapers and premises are seized by the police and handed over to the small social-democratic minority. According to the law, the revolutionary working masses cannot hand in their own list of candidates, as no party organisation which is more Left than the social democracy is allowed to participate in elections. In addition, the government has issued a new decree according to which all workers belonging to any prohibited organisations are deprived of the right to vote. By this measure alone over 100,000 electors, i.e., about 13 to 14 per cent. of the electorate, are disenfranchised. Another decree provides that all recipients of poor law relief lose the right to vote, and as there is no direct unemployment benefit in Finland, this means that hundreds of thousands of electors, perhaps one-third, are disenfranchised.

But the events of the last few months, the mass demonstrations in Åbo, in the course of which the police were several times

beaten back, as well as the mass demonstrations in Helsingfors on April 23 on the occasion of a funeral of a worker murdered by the police, show that not only the Lappo bandits and their democratic allies, but the revolutionary workers are preparing for struggle too. These struggles will be led and organised by the prohibited Communist Party, which in the course of the past year, in spite of the fiercest police terror, succeeded in doubling its membership.

Fascism—the Last Resort of British Capitalism

"The Economist," the big English Liberal economic-political weekly, in its issue of April 29, examines the possibility of fascist rule being established in Great Britain. It arrives at the conclusion that there exists no fascist danger in England, for the Englishman, "The Economist" declares, has for more than two centuries been a chronic liberal and the only approach to fascism of which he has experience—the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell—did not succeed in arousing any great enthusiasm. Indeed it may be said that in times of crisis, England has the rather curious habit of forming a coalition, which it dislikes, but tolerates for fear of worse to come. Nevertheless the author concludes his article with the following paragraph:—

"Fantastic as it sounds to-day, there is a real but still very remote danger that a growing disrespect for the 'talking shop' may in the end lead to quite unforeseen consequences. Let us imagine, at some distant date, a really violent plunge by the electorate, comparable with that of 1931, but in the opposite direction, and let us suppose that a really Socialist Government, placed not only in office, but in power, were to proceed wholeheartedly on Maxtonian lines to an expropriation policy. Would the British bourgeoisie tolerate such a regime with patient submission? Might it not in the last resort have recourse to violence to protect its property even at the cost of suspending the Constitution? The question is well worth the asking, even if the issue raised seems to-day almost incredibly remote, for slow decay may imperceptibly bring about, like dry rot in the roof, surprising changes."

Thus we see that "The Economist" finally admits the possibility of a fascist government in Great Britain. The putting of the alternative of property or Constitution is only meant to deceive simple workers, because for the bourgeoisie the Constitution exists only in order to secure property, and if it fails then another Constitution has to be set up. "The Economist" accordingly also wrongly represents the development to fascism. It quite rightly distinguishes between a Labour government and a **real socialist government**, between a government in **office** and a government in **power**. But the bourgeoisie will not wait until a real socialist government, as representing the majority of the people, actually seizes power. This fiction is only intended to enable the trade union leaders and the Labour Party to persuade the workers to put their trust in democracy, i.e., to split the workers and render them incapable of preventing the rise of fascism to power when the rule of capitalism is threatened by the proletariat. Only when the proletariat sees through the swindle which is being carried on with "democracy," when it forms its ranks into a **united fighting front** with the plain and definite object of putting an end to its exploitation, only then can it really come into power. Then let the bearers of the capitalist system of exploitation have resort to force if they will; they will no longer be able to wrest power from the workers.

The Two Indonesian Deputies in the Dutch Parliament to be Unseated

Amsterdam, May 5.

The Dutch capitalist press is looking already for pretexts to unseat the two Indonesian deputies who were elected to the Dutch Parliament. Comrade **Sardjono** is now in the internment camp of Boven Digoel (New Guinea). According to the Dutch law this would not justify the unseating of this comrade. But the capitalist press hopes that Sardjono will not be able to send in his written declaration that he will accept his seat in Parliament within the period of four weeks provided by the Dutch law.

The Dutch authorities are trying to rob the other Indonesian deputy, Comrade **Prawiridirdja**, of his Dutch citizenship, because he had to leave Dutch territory as a political emigrant some time ago.

Germany

Hitler's "First Year Programme"

The Fascist Attack on the Free Trade Unions

By F. Brand

Rockets whizzed up into the air with a vast noise, burst into a shower of sparks that blazed for a brief minute against the black night-sky and vanished into nothing, leaving only a few charred bits of cardboard. That was the great firework display on Tempelhof-field, Berlin's air-port, which was the closing event in the May Day show staged by the fascists—fit symbol of the whole "Festival of National Labour" staged for the occasion. Symbolical particularly for the big festival speech delivered by Hitler himself. Rockets which burst into a fine blaze, went out and left nothing at all behind them: there you have the laboured nothings of a speech remarkable only for the wealth of phraseology employed in it.

The only actual and definite point of his "First-Year Programme," which was boosted by the fascist press with such a vast to-do, lay in his compulsory labour service scheme. The introduction of statute-labour for the working masses coupled with suitable drill for the coming war—that was the kernel of Hitler's programme! However well it may be dished up, no amount of propaganda stunts by the fascist regime will prove capable of making this compulsory labour service attractive to the German working class. Even Hitler himself felt this, which was why he directed so much of his attack against the same Marxism which, to-day, is rousing the workers to a sense of the danger threatening in the shape of this modern brand of slave labour.

What Hitler had to say with regard to the fascists' programme for "creating work" was, we need hardly state, very little indeed. The best he could do under the circumstances was to appeal to each individual to assist in the good work of creating employment. Yet Herr Hitler said nothing of how the worker, office employee, civil servant, the impoverished middle-class man and small farmer was going to get the wherewithal in order to "buy now" and so create employment. Surely he couldn't have fancied the prospect of the employers increasing their production to-day in face of the plain fact that the purchasing power of the masses is steadily falling day by day? Actually, the sole concrete instance Hitler could furnish of any move in this direction was that provided by the government, which is going to make a present of some more hundreds of millions of marks to property-owners for the purpose of putting their houses and other buildings into proper repair. But it happens that these millions will have to be squeezed out of the labouring masses, out of the starving men and women for the well-fed parasites. For after all this huge subsidy extracted from the common people who shoulder the whole burden of taxation, is going to provide work at best for a couple of months or so for some two or three thousand men. There is going to be no appreciable reduction in the number of the unemployed as the result. And once again it is the common people who have to pay with their misery and their suffering for this present to the owners of house property.

What Hitler went on to say about the ways and means of producing work whittles down to a plan for building roads which, as he makes out, will "require several milliards of marks." The "Morning Post" was not far wrong when it suggested that a plan of this scope was only likely to be financed as the result of a huge inflation scheme. Is this the promised salvation of the German people, then? Inflation means the open robbery of the small depositors; it means, first and foremost, depreciation of the value of wages, salaries, and social benefits. The working people of Germany is but too well aware of the curse of inflation from its experience of it in the years 1918 to 1923. Yet this is the policy Hitler offers them as a means of "salvation"!!

The final concrete measure submitted in Hitler's programme is the conversion of interest from six to four per cent.! In this way the millions of small farmers and middle-class men who had so credulously hoped that the Nazis would break the chains of high interest rates which tied them hand and foot to their loans and mortgages, are expected to continue paying in Hitler's "third Empire" far higher rates of interest on their borrowed money than obtain in other capitalist countries. So disastrous

is their position that they are incapable of paying this four per cent., still less the old six per cent. rate. They will very soon feel that this loan conversion scheme is not the salvation they had been promised.

It is impossible to conceive of a more miserable plan for running a country than this "First-Year Programme" of Hitler's. It proves how helpless fascism is in face of the far-reaching economic facts it has to tackle. It is in somewhat more subdued tones that the worker, the office employee, the civil servant and the lesser fry of the lower middle classes ask themselves: Is this all, then? Not a word about raising wages and office salaries? Nothing of the advance in wages which the national-socialists have been promising the masses up to now? Nor anything either about raising the rates of benefit and old-age and other pensions with which they have been luring the people? Instead of work and bread, only the poor substitute of fireworks and a welter of words and slave labour at the end of it all!

It was with much beating of the big drum that the fascists now in power attempted on this First of May to distract the working people from any realisation of the utter futility of their programme and its out-and-out reactionary nature. They ran up and down the gamut of the basest tub-thumping demagogy in order to flatter and wheedle the workers. "Honour the worker and you do honour to the German people!" was the bombastic wording on many of the flags and strips of bunting carried in the processions. Is honour being done to the worker, we ask, when you let him starve? It is bread he wants, not empty words. But Hitler cannot give bread. Which is why no amount of skilfully plied fascist demagogy will prevent the workers from awakening in the end and rising up against the fascist dictatorship that means starvation and slavery for them.

From Hitler's speech it is to be clearly seen that the fascists mortally fear communism. Again and again Hitler tried to vilify most damnably the whole conception of the proletarian class struggle and to throw mud at the Communist Party. He senses the enemy who is hard on his heels. He is afraid that the masses are beginning to think. "Hitler leads and we follow!" was what many of the May Day flags announced. Exactly; that is just what they want: the masses are not to ponder things too much, but blindly follow on. For if once they begin to compare what fascism has done for them and what communism can offer them, then fascism has reached its hour of crisis.

Immediately after its First of May celebration fascism prepared to strike another blow at the working class. All over the country during the forenoon of the 2nd of May the premises of the free trade unions were occupied and transferred to the charge of the Nazi Factory Organisation (N.S.B.O.) Leipzig, Grassmann, Wissell, Tarnow and all that crowd of lackeys who had grovelled in the dust before Hitler, begging him to incorporate the millions of free trade unionists into the fascist system as an integral part thereof, were placed under preventive arrest. Meanwhile the national-socialist bureaucrats have taken the places of the social-fascist bureaucrats of yesterday.

The proclamation issued by the fascists states very plainly why this fresh onslaught was launched: "You, the worker; we have not yet got you the full hundred per cent. And it is just you that we do want." Plain enough surely? The servile souls of the national council of the Trade Union Federation (the A.D.G.B.) had expressly called upon their members to participate in the First of May celebrations organised by the fascists. It is at this late hour that they have been made to realise that the May Day celebrations thus staged by the fascist organisation were actually the signal for the conquest by the fascists of the entire machinery of the free trade unions.

For decades before the war the many millions of the German workers carried on their struggle to build up the unions and to make them into instruments for waging the class struggle. It is true that the T.U. bureaucrats at the top converted these

unions into tools for the advancement of their own policy of class collaboration, for promoting coalitions with the ruling classes, and for their policy of toleration of bourgeois governments. None the less, the masses still regarded these organisations as their own after all; and here, at one fell swoop, the fascists have laid their hands on their trade union offices, on their funds, on the money of the workers! That is the grand result of the social-fascist policy pursued by the A.D.G.B. bureaucrats.

However great the fierce hatred and utter contempt of the workers belonging to these same "free trade unions" for the cowardly and treacherous bureaucrats may be, is not this last brutal coup of the fascist hirelings of capital delivered at the T.U. organisations likely to rouse the masses to the defence of their class interests? For weeks past the Communists have been carrying on the struggle under the watchword of "Defend the Unions as Organs of the Class Struggle!" And everywhere the call of the Communists has encountered the hatred of the social-fascist leaders of the unions themselves as well as the terror of the fascists. How has this militant call, however, affected the great mass of the trade union membership? Its effects are now bound to show themselves. Numerous resolutions on the matter go to show that the masses have understood the issue at stake; but to-day the task ahead of them is far greater: the struggle for the trade unions as fighting organs must now be fought as an immediate self-defence struggle by the workers against the fascist dictatorship.

The fascist *coup de main* against the "free trade unions," which was pushed through as a well-calculated plan throughout the whole country at the same hour everywhere, is the best comment that can be offered on the demagoguery indulged in by the fascists on May Day. Neither work, bread, right, nor freedom does Hitler bring the German working class, but hunger, poverty, slavery and a status in which it has no legal rights whatever!

For thirteen weary years the reformist T.U. bureaucracy, together with the social-democratic party and their organisations catering for the masses, have been the main social buttress of the capitalist class of Germany, its strongest bulwark against Communism. In its effort to achieve absolute power in the country national socialism is now destroying these organisations and in doing so is shattering those reserve positions to which the bourgeoisie of Germany might have retreated. Whether such a retreat of the bourgeoisie will be possible at all depends of course upon the struggle of the Communist Party, upon the setting up of the militant united front of the proletariat. Behind the Caesarist gestures of Hitler the more far-sighted of the German bourgeoisie already glimpse the spectre of the Communist Revolution. The overthrow of the fascist dictatorship means the destruction of capitalism in Germany. To bring about the overthrow of fascism is therefore the great task to which the Communist Party now unflinchingly devotes itself.

Hugenberg's Approaching Downfall

I.—Letter from Berlin.

The days of Hugenberg, the leader of the German Nationalists, are numbered. In Berlin his being shortly turned out of the Hitler government is spoken of as a foregone conclusion, and the question is being discussed: "What reason will be given for Hugenberg's arrest?" The answer generally is: "Certainly on account of the corruption in connection with the East-Elbian relief." For that is the method with which the Nazis "settle" not only their opponents but even their allies of yesterday. Count **Kalkreuth**, who was for many years the President of the Land League, has now been removed from his office on the ground of having corrupt dealings with the Grain Trading Company so that his place could be taken by the national socialist "Peasant" leader, **Meinberg**. **Kalkreuth**, who in the last few years had strongly supported Hitler, nevertheless remained a member of the German Nationalist Party. That is the real reason for his removal, and perhaps to-morrow he will share the fate of his former friend, the German National agrarian leader, **von Hippel**, who has likewise been arrested on a charge of corruption. With the removal of **Kalkreuth** the whole Presidium of the Land League has become purely national socialist. That was the aim which Hitler wished to achieve in order to destroy the influence of Hugenberg among the rural population.

We give two examples of how the Nazis are seeking to influence the German nationalist followers. At a peasants' Conference in the Rhineland the Nazi speaker waxed indignant because there was no

adequate protection against the importation of spring potatoes. Such a measure, declared the speaker, would have been adopted long ago, if a certain man had not prevented it. As pre-arranged, at this point there was an interjection: "Hugenberg is the man!" Of course, great indignation followed. What use is it for Hugenberg to insist upon his innocence? He cannot divulge the real reason, namely, the serious differences in the Cabinet! At a meeting of small shopkeepers and traders, the national socialist leader, **von Renteln**, declared that a law for the protection of the middle classes could have been passed long ago if it had not been sabotaged by Hugenberg. The effect was the same as that in the case of the Rhineland peasants. Thus Hugenberg is defamed by the Nazis in the eyes of his former supporters as a saboteur of the "national work of Adolf Hitler," and thus the Nazis are easily winning over the German nationalist followers.

The heaviest blow to Hugenberg in the last few weeks was the open going over of **Seldte** and the "Stahlhelm" into the Hitler camp. It will avail Hugenberg very little that, in order to check this development, at the last meeting of the party committee he changed the name of his party and called it the "German National Fighting Front," which opens its arms wide to all organisations which recognise its principles.

The "Völkische Beobachter," the chief organ of the Nazis, now reports a new serious defeat of Hugenberg. Göring, in his capacity of Prime Minister of Prussia, has decided to hand over the Prussian Ministry for Agriculture, hitherto occupied by Hugenberg, to **Willikens**, the national socialist President of the Land League. Will Hugenberg now draw the consequences, as he said he would a few weeks ago, and resign from all his offices and declare that the Cabinet on which was conferred the powers under the Enabling Act, no longer exists? It is probable that such a step on the part of Hugenberg would be only welcomed by the Nazis, as he would thus save them the further trouble of throwing him out of the government. Hugenberg has lost the game; it is only a question of days when his ministerial career will be at an end.

National Socialists Take Over the German Trade Unions

II.—Letter from Berlin.

After months of deliberation and vacillation as to which way they should proceed in order to capture the trade unions, the national socialists have solved this question in their own manner by occupying the offices of the trade union organisations with their storm troops, placing the trade union leaders under preventive arrest, and taking possession of the whole organisational apparatus. It was clear from the outset that this question would not be confined to the free trade unions, although the leaders of the Nazi party caused it to be announced that they did not intend to undertake similar measures against the other trade union organisations. The subjugation of the "christian" and "Hirsch-Duncker" trade unions resulted inevitably from the situation into which they were forced, and followed promptly within 24 hours. To-day the national socialists have in their hands the apparatus of the whole of the German trade unions. The absorption of the German nationalist ("yellow") unions and the Stahlhelm factory groups does not present any difficulties.

The national socialists designated this trade union action as the commencement of the second stage of their "national revolution." Having captured political power, they wish thereby to create the firm social foundation without which the fascist dictatorship cannot achieve any stability. In doing this they have turned to account the lessons from the past of the German social democracy, whose political power in the post-war period was based on its connection with the free trade unions, which proved to be the strongest dam for saving German capitalism from the advancing revolutionary flood, and also the experiences of the fascist dictatorship in Italy, where Mussolini succeeded by capturing the reformist trade unions in bolstering up his dictatorship.

With the incorporation of the trade unions in the national socialist system of power, the Hitler party commences the decisive attack on the most important sections of the organised working class of Germany, to which hitherto it was unable to approach to any extent. Hitler, Göring and Göbbels realise that whilst it was easy for them to capture the apparatus of the reformist trade unions, it will be very difficult to win the mass of the German working class for fascism. They have arranged meetings and demonstrations in order to influence the working masses and at the

same time threaten ruthlessly to crush any resistance offered them. A "Workers' Congress" is to be held, which shall decide the formation of a uniform trade union organisation.

How was this development possible? The reformist trade unions of Germany, which in the post-war period had a membership of eight million, in the last few years numbered scarcely three million and had to suffer a constant loss of membership. This was the result of the social fascist policy of their social democratic leaders. In order to carry out their policy of coalition and co-operation with capital, the bureaucrats expelled the greater part of the revolutionary workers from the unions. During the period of the **Brüning** government the reformist trade union leaders were the most zealous defenders of the policy of tolerating Brüning and of the "theory of the lesser evil," and helped Brüning to place the enormous burdens of the Emergency Decrees upon the working class, whilst at the same time they carried on a furious fight against the Communists, who with the aid of the Red Trade Union Opposition sought to lead the masses into a fight against the fascist development initiated by Brüning. Under the **Papen** government the reformist trade union leaders continued this toleration policy, even if in a somewhat more disguised form, and at the same time established connections with the national fascist camp, especially with the **Strasser** wing of the Hitler party. With the overthrow of Papen and taking over of the reins of government by General **Schleicher**, the social fascist trade union leaders hoped for a "new era," maintained the closest connection with the "Chancellor General," and dreamed of setting up a trade union front extending from the Strasser wing of the Nazis to the A.D.G.B., and including the christian trade unions, which should provide the military dictatorship of von Schleicher with a social basis somewhat after the model of **Pilsudski's** dictatorship. The sudden overthrow of Schleicher shattered these illusions. As soon as the Hitler government came into power the leaders of the reformist trade unions more and more openly showed their readiness to incorporate the whole organisations of the "free trade unions" in the fascist apparatus of power. The resolution of the Executive Committee of the A.D.B.G. of March 21 and the decision of the "A.F.A." (Federation of Shop Assistants, Clerks, etc.) are among the most shameful documents of social fascist treachery.

Up to the last moment the social fascist trade union leaders were convinced that Hitler would graciously accept their declaration of submission and allow them to place their services at the disposal of the fascist dictatorship. They were completely surprised by the violent action of the national socialists and still more when, in spite of all their slavish capitulation, they were placed under arrest.

The Communist Party attempted to counteract this fascist development within the trade unions. It conducted the fiercest fight against the toleration policy of the trade union bureaucracy; it denounced the negotiations of **Leipart** and **Grassmann** with the Strasser people and with Schleicher; and in the last few months it attempted to mobilise the trade union rank and file against Leipart's policy of submission to fascism. But the forces of the Communist Party of Germany were not sufficient in order to arouse a real mass resistance. This was certainly due in part to the fact that the greater part of the revolutionary workers had been expelled from the trade unions and that the trade unions refused them readmittance. But it was also due to no small extent to the fact that the correct general line of the Party and the united front policy from below was carried out very faultily. It is true, the C.P.G. gave the workers the right slogan: "Defend the trade unions as organs of the class struggle against fascisation," but it did not succeed in leading the masses of the trade union members into the fight.

With the capture of the apparatus of the trade unions by fascism and the formation of a fascist uniform trade union organisation, the Communist Party is confronted with new tasks. The last few weeks have already shown that there exist great possibilities of drawing even the national socialist workers into the fight for their class demands. It has been possible in a whole number of strikes to bring the Nazi proletarians into open antagonism to their leaders. The feeling of resentment of broad sections of social-democratic workers towards the fascist "conquerors" and the growing impatience of the national-socialist workers, who are now expecting that the promises so lavishly made by the Hitler party will be at last fulfilled, provide an enormous field for a determined united front policy of the Communists.

The Wave of Fascist Terror

Driven Like Slaves to the Fascist May Celebration.

Berlin, April 27.

We publish this report, although it was delayed in transit, because it shows what pressure the Nazis exercised to force the workers to march in the fascist May demonstration. The fascist press proclaims that "it is the national duty of everybody to take part in the May demonstration." One worker writes us: "On May Day all the workers of the factory have to join the demonstration. Anyone not taking part in the demonstration will not get his pay. A Nazi Storm Troop will be lined up outside the factory to see if all the workers have joined the demonstrations. Anybody not joining in the demonstration is threatened with instant dismissal."

From another factory the following report has been sent in: All workers have to assemble. Before the demonstration everyone received a stamped card. This card will be stamped again at various points during the march. Only those having all stamps on their card will receive a day's pay. Anybody not taking part or going away from the demonstration is threatened with instant dismissal.

During the last few nights revolutionary workers of Berlin have painted revolutionary slogans on houses in all parts of the town. Slogans were painted in the streets: "Red front on First of May!" "The Communist Party lives!" "Release Thaelmann!" "Down with the murdering fascism!"

Three Thousand Storm Troopers Against Düsseldorf Communists.
Frankfort o/M., May 6.

Various Nazi provocations having met with the determined resistance of the workers in the "Red quarters" of Düsseldorf, and several Nazis having lost their lives in these fights. The Nazis organised a gigantic punitive expedition against the Düsseldorf workers. Three thousand storm troopers and several units of the police were mobilised. On May 5 this army of nearly 4,000 men penetrated the workers' quarters, destroying everything. Many workers' houses were demolished. Several women are among the wounded. Twelve workers have mysteriously disappeared. In the official report it is said that sixty persons were arrested.

Socialist Woman Worker Dies After Being Tortured by Nazis.

Berlin, May 5.

The social-democratic functionary Frau Mary Jankowsky, who had been tortured by the Nazis in one of their murder dens, has now died as a consequence of her terrible injuries. Photographs showing her wounds were published in the workers' press some time ago.

Former Leader of the Reichstag Fraction of the German Nationalists Murdered by Nazis.

Berlin, May 8.

Dr. Oberföhren, for many years leader of the Reichstag fraction of the German Nationalists, has been murdered at his house by Nazis. Some time ago Oberföhren was forced to resign the leadership of the Reichstag fraction, because a police search in his house had disclosed that he collected material about the Reichstag fire. He was always opposed to the alliance with the Hitlerites. It was Dr. Oberföhren who had kept the foreign press supplied with details of the preparation of the Reichstag fire by the Nazis. He had drawn up the famous memorandum, on which the sensational disclosures of the "**Manchester Guardian**" were based. Dr. Oberföhren was a dangerous enemy for the Nazis—that is the reason why they put him out of the way.

Storm Troops Raid Soviet Club in Hamburg.

Hamburg, May 7.

Last night police, together with Nazi Storm Troopers, appeared in the Club of the Soviet Employees and ravaged everything. The police forced the doors, ordered all Soviet functionaries to assemble in one room and put them under arrest. The arrested Soviet citizens were threatened with revolvers and were told that they would be shot. None of them was allowed to ring up the General Consul or the Hamburg branch of the Trade Mission of the Soviet Union. Afterwards the club and the dwellings of the Soviet citizens were searched, the police damaging furniture and walls. After the search it was found that various articles had disappeared. The raid lasted until 7 o'clock a.m.

The Soviet General Consul in Hamburg lodged an energetic protest with the responsible authorities and with the Hamburg Senate.

The Resistance of the German Working Class

Actions of the Young Communist League.

Berlin, May 2.

The Young Communist League in Germany is everywhere organising and leading the fight of the young workers against fascism. We are able to publish reports coming from many German towns.

In **Hamburg** groups of young Communists painted slogans in all parts of the town for the Youth Day. Eighty posters were pasted up in the streets. 10,000 printed leaflets were distributed. On Friday and Saturday short demonstrations were held in several parts of the town. In one of these demonstrations 350 young workers took part, in another about 300, carrying flags and slogans. These demonstrations met with much sympathy from the working population.

In **Elbing** (East Prussia) armed Nazis penetrated the workers' quarters. The Young Communist League organised a defence and drove the brown murder gangs away. The special police was called in, but the Young Communists retired and the Nazis did not dare to follow them. In **Thuringia** nine new factory nuclei were organised by the Young Communists. At eight meetings of young trade unionists, resolutions were passed against fascist dictatorship. The Thuringian Young Communists are conducting a bitter fight against Compulsory Labour Service. Through their initiative three labour camps were dissolved.

In **Weid** a hundred young workers were called together for relief work. When the young workers were assembled a Communist delivered a speech about the purpose of this work. Thereupon the young workers refused to do this work.

In **Borsigwalde** Young Communists disarmed eleven Nazis.

The organ of the Y.C.L., the "**Junge Garde**," is now published by the district organisations on a rotary. There are many instances where the circulation of the "**Junge Garde**" has increased ten and fifteen-fold during fascist dictatorship. The **Bitterfeld** group of the Y.C.L., which was selling only 35 copies of the "**Junge Garde**" in the legal period, last week sold 800 copies within two hours. Similar cases are reported from Brunswick, Hanover and the Lower Rhine district.

The Hitler fascists had hoped to smash the Young Communist League. But our young comrades have already learned how to counter the fascist attack. They are maintaining their positions and in many cases they have strengthened them, as for instance in Berlin, Hamburg, Wittenberg, Thuringia, etc. In the District "**Wasserkante**" (Slesvig-Holstein), one of the factory nuclei has doubled its membership. In Berlin two new factory nuclei were organised last week.

Anti-Fascist Fight in the Factories.

Hamburg, May 2.

In the Oldenburg gas works, all the workers—who had been in the reformist trade unions up to now—were forced by the Nazis to join the National Socialist Factory Organisation. All those that refused to join were dismissed. The Nazis arranged then a factory meeting, at which the factory council was to be elected. The workers agreed. The election was held and the result was as follows:—Red Labour Union, 4 seats; Reformists, 3 seats. The Nazis did not gain a single seat!

In the Margarine Factory Mohr, at **Altona**, the Nazis demanded that the unity list should be withdrawn, otherwise all candidates would be arrested. Of the 20 candidates, 15 withdrew, but the other five upheld their candidatures. In spite of the Nazi terror the result of the election was as follows:—Unity List, 317 votes and 5 seats; Reformists, 276 votes and 4 seats; Nazis, 113 votes, 1 seat. The chairman of the factory council was then arrested, and four other members resigned under Nazi pressure. But the factory cell is continuing its work. The new margarine law, which is to reduce production to 60 per cent., is displeasing even the Nazi workers, many of them are already saying: If Hitler does not help, then only Thälmann can help us.

Socialist Workers Coming Over to the C.P.

Frankfort o/M, May 4.

In the Hanoverian town of W— (for obvious reasons we cannot publish the full name of this town), the socialist local declared its readiness to distribute the illegal Communist papers. They demanded a Communist speaker for their May celebration.

In R— (also in Hanover) the whole local applied for membership of the Communist Party.

These examples show that even in those districts where the socialists were in an overwhelming majority the workers have learnt much from recent events and are now coming over to the Communist Party.

For the Defence of the German Trade Unions.

Berlin, May 1.

Representatives of 27 trade union locals in the most important industrial centres of Germany (the Rhine-Ruhr district, Saxony, Middle Germany and Berlin) have issued an appeal, which is circulated illegally, exhorting the workers to defend their unions.

This appeal accuses the reformist leaders not only of trying to come to a working understanding with the fascists, but of handing over the unions to the present fascist rulers and of going over themselves into the fascist camp. As against this cowardly behaviour of the reformist leaders, the fighting determination of the rank and file is growing every day. The militant functionaries and the local leaderships cannot afford to look on for another hour. All meetings of the locals, all factory meetings must discuss the plans of the fascist government and must adopt fighting decisions. In all local meetings fighting committees for the defence of the unions must be elected. The trade union press, which appeals for submission to the fascist dictatorship, must be boycotted. Demand the expulsion of Leipart, Scheffel, Tarnow, etc. Ask all trade union officials whether they are willing to fight with the masses against the fascist plans. Dismiss them ruthlessly if they support the treacherous reformist leadership. Fight in a comradely, but determined, manner against defeatism in your own ranks, against the refusal to pay trade union dues and against voluntary leaving of the unions. Fight against the tendency to evade Nazi terror by joining the Nazi factory nuclei. In these decisive days and weeks you must persuade the best class-conscious workers to join the ranks of your unions.

Long live the fighting united front of the German working class against fascist dictatorship, for work, bread and freedom, for socialism.

International Solidarity with the German Working Class

The I.L.D. and the Defence of the Victims of White Terror in Germany

By Nicholas

The system of fascist terror at present raging in Germany confronts the International Labour Defence and its various Sections, as well as the working masses and the anti-fascist intellectuals of all countries, with a particularly great and urgent task.

The revolutionary or even simply anti-fascist peasants and intellectuals are being arrested, tortured and murdered in hundreds and thousands. Day after day corpses of workers are discovered who have been murdered by "unknown" persons. Almost every day the papers contain reports that this or that political prisoner has been "shot while attempting to escape." The prisons, concentration camps and storm-troop barracks are filled with "Marxist" prisoners.

Thousands of victims of fascism, in spite of the enormous dangers involved, cross the German frontiers and flee to the neighbouring countries, where new difficulties await them on the part of the bourgeois police. The political emigrants will fall victims of starvation or be expelled if the working class do not immediately develop a broad solidarity action.

But the fascist terror is raging not only against the working masses of Germany. The foreign revolutionary workers who have sought an asylum in Germany are being arrested, expelled, handed over to their jailers and delivered over to class justice, which threatens them with the gallows. This, for instance, is the case with the Bulgarian revolutionaries **Dimitrov, Tannef, and Popov**, as well as the Rumanian woman revolutionary **Jacobovici**.

Incapable of solving the great problems which interest the working masses of Germany, incapable of fulfilling their demagogic promises to give bread and work to the millions of unemployed, the fascist government has given a free hand to its bands of mercenaries to cool their "courage" by beating up defenceless Jewish

artisans, employees and small shopkeepers. The Brown Shirts, who ill-treat all people in humble circumstances who look like Jews, do not venture to penetrate the quarters where the big business and banking houses are situated.

The International Labour Defence, which right from the first moment realised the full seriousness of the situation, immediately mobilised its national sections and functionaries for a defensive action on behalf of the victims of the fascist terror in Germany, against the arbitrary arrests, the tortures, murders, the exceptional courts, the concentration camps for political prisoners, and the regime to which they are subjected there, as well as against the system, so frequently employed by the fascists, of seizing hostages.

The International Labour Defence has also initiated a broad collection campaign in support of the refugees and for securing their right of asylum. The extent of the terror, however, is such that the actions already commenced must be strengthened and fresh actions initiated. The campaign against the fascist terror must be accompanied by a large-scale collection of money, clothing and even food on behalf of the prisoners, the refugees and their families.

The right of asylum has also to be won. Reports of political refugees being "refused admission" to countries adjoining Germany (which means that they are handed over to the fascist authorities), are becoming more and more frequent. Only a broad mass campaign can force the governments to maintain the right of asylum. In the course of this campaign it will be necessary to conduct a fight above all against the conditions upon which the various governments make the right of asylum dependent, namely that the refugees must be in possession of a properly made out passport. Further, simple right of asylum becomes the right to die of starvation so long as the formal right of asylum is not accompanied by the right to work; and the countries in which foreigners are not permitted to work are very numerous. For this reason all Sections of the I.L.D. in the countries of immigration, such as France, England, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria, etc., must by all means—through the press, by meetings, conferences, etc.—develop an energetic campaign for winning the right of asylum. In every town in which German refugees reside, a broad movement of solidarity must be created. Protest demonstrations must be organised and the right of asylum demanded in every concrete case of refusal of admission or arrest.

The I.L.D. Sections, but before all trade unions, factories and even departments of big factories should organise patronages over prisons, concentration camps and political refugees with their families. A revolutionary competition should be organised for this purpose. The refugees must be provided with living quarters and work; the orphans of the murdered workers, as well as the children of the political prisoners, have to be supported.

In order to impart to this campaign the character of a real world campaign which shall draw in the anti-fascist toilers, the middle classes and the intellectuals, the Executive Committee of the I.L.D. has recommended its national Sections to convene unity conferences wherever possible in support of the victims of the white terror in Germany and to draw into this work the Workers' International Relief, the trade unions and other mass organisations.

This large-scale proletarian solidarity action must and shall wrest Torgler, Dimitroff, Jacobovici, the other two Bulgarian revolutionaries as well as ten thousands of victims of white terror from the hands of their fascist hangmen.

Imperialist War Preparations

Roosevelt Prepares for War

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

As soon as Roosevelt took office American imperialism openly stepped up its war preparations. In his inaugural address Roosevelt asked for wartime powers to fight the crisis, the economic one ostensibly, but the imperialist one implied. Every important piece of legislation passed, from the bank act on, has been on the basis of increased dictatorial power for Roosevelt, and with the explanation that an emergency like that of war existed. All legislation proposed or enacted has had the purpose of preparing for war, of putting the various classes of the country in a position of readiness for war. At the same time, naturally, the capitalist class has seen to it, in every measure, that the burden of the economic crisis is put to a steadily increasing extent upon the working class and the petty bourgeoisie.

In his inaugural message Roosevelt stated:

"I shall ask Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad executive power to wage war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe."

Elsewhere in this statement he spoke of "a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife" and of "this great army of the people" to be put to work as in "the emergency of war." One might dismiss this as an attempt to create a hysteria with military phraseology under which Roosevelt could put through his attacks upon the workers. But if one looks at the simultaneous military preparations he will realise that the intention is also to bring about an open extra-Congressional dictatorship by Roosevelt and a condition approximating wartime as closely as is possible. Hundreds of thousands of youths of the class first draftable in case of war are mobilised in semi-military forced labour camps. The railroads are to be reorganised and centralised, with a dictator in charge. Industry is to be openly mobilised for war. And the arguments for each of these measures is couched in warlike language and rushed through with wartime speed.

When Roosevelt was given full power in the banking situation, the Italian fascists greeted this joyously, acclaiming the new addition to the family of dictators. "Il Giornale d'Italia" said Roosevelt's words and methods "may well be defined as Fascism" ("New York Times," March 7), while a "Times" editorial was headed "Italy Hails Our Dictator." At a meeting of the American Political Association, a Prof. Holcombe of Harvard, characterised his present situation as that of "dictator, American-style," while another, Prof. Young of Pennsylvania, urged an out and out dictatorship for Roosevelt, by initiating all legislation, submitting it to Congress only for a limited veto.

Congress gave the president practically dictatorial power to slash war veterans' pensions, and "farm" leaders urged Congress to give him similar power in agricultural and railroad legislation. Congress practically abdicated its powers in passing the banking bill without even reading it, and did the same in passing the farm "relief" bill. In raking up the wartime trading-with-the-enemy act, weeks before he became president and before the banking situation became openly critical, Roosevelt said, "The old war statute of 1917 had not been repealed and we are using it to prevent further withdrawal of gold currency. It was an exceedingly useful instrument."

On April 14 the "Times" carried a headline stating, Roosevelt Advisers Draft Plan to Mobilise Industry; Tariff Dictator Looms; War Powers Proposed; Roosevelt will Ask for Free Hand in Making Trade Treaties." The plan is to mobilise certain types of industry, mainly war branches, just as the War Industries Board ran industry during the war. The government would guarantee them against losses, with wage cuts and increased taxes providing the funds for these subsidies. While industry is being guaranteed its profits, labour is to have its hours cut to 30 per week (the *Black Bill*), with corresponding wage cuts and militarised labour camps. Small, "unnecessary" industries are to be scrapped, and the others centralised still further under the control of the Wall Street bankers and warmongers.

In discussing some of Roosevelt's proposed unemployment legislation, the Washington correspondent of the N.Y. "Times" used the ever-recurring wartime phraseology: "The strategy discussed embraced not only a huge outlay for public works, complemented by governmental stimulation of industrial activity as in wartime . . . (April 15). One of the chief public works projects the government is planning is the Muscle Shoals hydro-electric plant, which would also be used for manufacturing nitrates (ie., war products). It is significant that not the usual Congress committee is handling this bill, but the Military Affairs Committee.

A measure Roosevelt and his secretary of state, Hull, tried to rush through Congress was one of *censorship of the press*, just as in wartime. The excuse was supposed to be that an employee of the decoding section of the intelligence department of the army had written a book on Japanese secret diplomacy, exposing the secret messages relating to war intrigue between Tokyo and Washington. This author, Yardley (who wrote the "American Star Chamber," re his work in the army), was arrested and Hull tried to dissuade him from publishing the new book. Failing in this attempt he rushed through Congress a

drastic censorship bill, by a vote of 299 to 29, with practically no debate, and with no statement by anyone as to the purpose of the measure. Exactly as the banking bill and others were passed, with the country's legislators pretending blissful ignorance and giving Roosevelt full dictatorial powers in these matters. The protests against the bill were so great that within one hour after its passage the Democrats retreated and admitted it would be modified in the Senate. The Senate eliminated many of the censorship provisions, penalising mainly the use of government code messages by federal employees. Roosevelt attempted in this instance to sneak through complete censorship of the press, but the country had not yet been sufficiently propagandised.

A measure to give the president power to declare an *embargo on arms shipment*, which would virtually permit him to declare war without Congress, was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The Republicans are opposing it, declaring, in the words of the "Times," that it means "voting dictatorial powers to the president." (April 15.) Others stated that it was aimed at Japan, and that it was a Wall Street measure ("usurping mammonites are gaining more of a stranglehold" on the Roosevelt regime than they had on Hoover).

Three Senators introduced on April 16 three more "war" measures. Representing the Joint Congressional War Policies Commission which reported its war preparation proposals a year ago, they advocate giving the president, firstly, authority to re-group federal agencies in any way he wished in time of war. Another bill proposes giving Congress authority to control rents, and a third one power to tax war profits up to 95 per cent., in case of war. These latter bills would, of course, actually operate to increase war profits and rents, under the pretence of doing the opposite. Senator Vandenburg, in introducing these bills, stated they "were fostered for a decade by the American Legion." The aim is to allay the suspicions of those becoming increasingly aware of war preparations by a hypocritical gesture at taking the profits out of war. In this connection it should be remembered that the new secretary of the treasury, Woodin, is on the boards of a number of Morgan's munition and railroad equipment companies (the latter could manufacture armaments at short notice). He represents directly Remington Arms (munitions), American Ship and Commerce (shipbuilding), American Locomotive, and ties up with Bethlehem Steel (American section of the international armaments trust), Anaconda Copper, etc., the latter Rockefeller companies. The other members of the cabinet are likewise tied up with Wall Street directly or indirectly.

Congress has appropriated \$700 million for the army, navy, and officers' reserve, and citizens' military training. Purchases of airplanes and construction of warships and armaments are going ahead feverishly. The attempts to militarise the homeless youth were too openly fascist, so the forced labour camps were substituted as an unemployment measure. The War Department is asking for 4,500 more army officers for the labour camps. Technically the purpose of the camps is to offset the "cuts" in the army, made for economy, but the main purpose may be seen in the limitation to applicants unmarried and of the ages of 18 to 25—the first groups to be drafted in case of war. This relief measure is the first step in compulsory military training.

At the same time as fresh cadres are being prepared for the army, the veterans of the last war are told to go to the devil. Their demand for immediate payment of their bonus money, amounting to \$2,400 million, was rejected again, at the very moment an inflation bill was passed. The two measures were linked, but the bonus bill was defeated, even though made discretionary with Roosevelt, who had already stated his opposition to it. Not even a gesture was considered necessary to placate the veterans.

As this is written the press reports the passage by the Senate of the combined inflation-*farm relief bill*, which on the one hand pretends to give relief to the farmers, and on the other may inflate credit to the extent of \$60,000 million. This figure is the estimate of Senator Glass, chief banking expert of the Democrats, who has turned against Roosevelt on this measure. The "Times" says of this legislation that it "clothes President Roosevelt and his assistants with virtually dictatorial powers in his discretion for the regulation of currency and agriculture." (April 29.) The inflation sections will permit the expansion of Federal Reserve credits by \$3,000 million, the issuance of an equal amount of unsecured Treasury notes (printing press money),

the devaluing of the gold content of the dollar up to 50 per cent., and the unlimited coinage of silver (with the acceptance of war debt payment in silver).

At the same time the bill to *control industry* is being drafted, which will brush aside the anti-trust laws and create a national board to "rule output, hours and markets." There still remain railroad reorganisation, the 30-hour bill, and last, but not least, public works construction, and Roosevelt will have the crisis completely settled. Then Congress may adjourn its special session and Roosevelt will assume completely his semi-fascist dictatorship. Thus he more and more assumes the role Wilson played in the last war: elected by a great popular vote to bring about a "new deal" (Wilson's slogan was "the new freedom"), this clever demagogue is the conscious tool of American imperialism to complete the preparations for the inevitable and imminent outbreak of war.

First of May

The "Pravda" on the First of May 1933

Moscow, May 4, 1933.

In its article devoted to the 1st of May celebrations, the "Pravda" writes:

Only in one country in the whole world was May Day freely celebrated. Millions of toilers in the Soviet Union celebrated May Day in their State, in their towns, on their soil. In all the other countries of the world, the proletarians, the poor peasants and the intellectuals, oppressed by misery and enslaved by the ruling classes, celebrated May Day under a hail of bullets, under the blows of police truncheons.

In Vienna the bourgeoisie protected themselves from the demonstrators by means of barbed wire. In Berlin the fascists, with the support of the police, arranged a huge carnival. In London, Paris, and New York, in Chicago, Tokyo, and Warsaw it came to regular battles between the workers and the police.

The May Day celebrations of the workers and toilers in the capitalist countries differed this year from former years by reason of the great attendance at the demonstrations, their fighting character and their unity. The workers and the rest of the toilers of the various nations demonstrated unanimously under the slogan of our Communist brother parties, under the flag of the Communist International. The May Day appeal of the Communist International met with a lively response among the working masses in the capitalist countries. The May Day struggles in the capitalist countries were undoubtedly a great step towards the setting up of the united front, in spite of the sabotage of the Second International and of the social democratic leaders. In spite of the terror and the blackest reaction, the capitalists did not succeed in stemming the forces of the working class, in preventing their mobilisation and preparation for decisive mass struggles.

In the proletarian May Day demonstrations the toilers of the great land of victorious Socialism led the way. The proletarians listened with attention to all that was said regarding the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. These successes are tremendous, and the workers of all countries can be proud of them.

The "Pravda" writes further regarding a number of victories of production in agriculture and in industry, regarding the victories on the cultural front. On May 1 the Red Army, the only army of the toilers of the world, showed its readiness to protect the frontiers of the Soviet Union against all attacks of international reaction. The capitalists fear the First of May. The international counter-revolution looks hopefully to the German fascists, who wished to convert the First of May into their day. The cunning attack of the fascists on the German proletariat by proclaiming the First of May as a national holiday, suffered a fiasco. In spite of the fact that the workers were ordered, under threat of dismissal, to take part in the fascist processions, proletarian Germany inwardly rejected this fascist mummery. The First of May was, and remains, Germany's proletarian holiday.

Over one and a half million proletarians and toilers demonstrated in the capital of the socialist country. In the whole world the May Day demonstrations were a great success for the united front. The proletarians have made a great step towards fighting unity; with united forces, and under the leadership of the Communist International, they will shatter fascism.

Communist May Day Demonstrations in Berlin

In the east of Berlin, in the Strassmann Street, a demonstration was held, led by Communists. While in the adjacent streets the storm troops of the Nazis marched to the Tempelhofer Feld several hundred workers assembled in the Strassmannstrasse.

The crowd quickly increased and started a demonstration, marching in fours, singing the International and shouting:

"Long live the Communist Party of Germany! Long live revolutionary May Day!"

Very soon police appeared in motor cars and ran about wildly waving their truncheons. They could not, however, arrest anybody, because the demonstrators mingled with the public on the pavement.

All over Berlin leaflets were distributed before May Day, appealing to the workers to demonstrate on May Day under revolutionary slogans and to support the Communist Party in their fight against fascism. Thousands of leaflets were thrown from houses in the Frankfurter Allee by class-conscious workers who had climbed the roofs. Unfortunately six comrades were caught by the police.

Similar demonstrations occurred in big department stores, where thousands of leaflets were distributed and eagerly taken up by the shopping crowds.

Leaflets were also distributed in the houses of Neukölln (a Berlin workers' quarter) on May Day. The police were alarmed and made a search of all the houses, but they could not find the "culprits."

In the morning of First of May a demonstration of about 200 workers took place in the Petersburgerstrasse. The workers, who had been walking on the pavement, suddenly formed a demonstration, threw away the fascist badges which they were forced to wear and sang the "International." The demonstration was then quickly dissolved.

A similar demonstration took place in the Humboldthain, where a Communist spoke to the demonstrators.

In the "Rostocker Kietz" hundreds of Communist leaflets were dropped from the roofs, when the Nazi demonstration marched past.

London Demonstration.

One of the outstanding features in the demonstration organised by the Joint Council of the Labour Party, T.U.C. and Co-operative Party on May 7 is the big part taken by the numbers of workers behind the banners of the organisations participating in the **united front**.

Everywhere the Communist Party, National Unemployed Workers' Movement, and Independent Labour Party banners played a very prominent part, and in some cases the majority of the demonstration followed their banners.

There were many slogan boards in the East End contingent, denouncing the embargo, calling for the defence of the Soviet Union, and for the united front against fascism.

A hurricane of applause broke out at the conclusion of **George Lansbury's** speech in Hyde Park May Day demonstration organised by the Labour Party, when he declared that he was in favour of a general strike in the event that there was an attempt to bring into Britain Hitler methods.

Over 50,000 gathered in the Park, despite the threatening weather and slight falls of rain which took place during the afternoon.

At the united front platforms big crowds had gathered to cheer the speakers and the fighting lead which they were putting forward.

The main tone of the speeches was to emphasise the necessity of the struggle against hunger, fascism and war.

Every reference made to support for the German workers and the Soviet Union received very great applause.

The speakers also dealt with the significance of the police report of Lord Trenchard, and pointed out how this was an attempt to militarise the police force in order to use it as a reliable class instrument against the struggling working class.

The break of the Anglo-Russian trade relations and the imposition of the anti-Soviet embargo was strongly denounced by the speakers representing the I.L.P., C.P. and the N.U.W.M. This was whole-heartedly approved of by the large audience.

Rousing cheers were given time and again for the united front of the working-class struggle against the employers' offensive.

May Day in Poland.

To celebrate May Day the workers of several of the most important works downed tools. The central railway repair shops, the State aeroplane works and machine-gun and munition factories were all closed down.

The May Day strikers held meetings and demonstrations in various parts of Warsaw.

The police attacked the workers brutally, but did not succeed in holding back the masses, who marched to the centre of the town and were addressed by the Communist deputy, Rozek.

After this meeting the mounted police charged the crowd and many workers were arrested and mishandled.

In other parts of the town clashes between revolutionary workers and police took place.

In the Genszastreet the police fired at the demonstrators, seriously wounding one worker. At the corner of Niskastreet the police also fired at the workers, wounding a 13-year-old boy.

In spite of the police terror the demonstrations continued until late at night.

In the Dombrowo district nearly all pits and factories were on strike.

In Sosnowitz about 1,000 workers demonstrated and marched to the Theatre Square. On the way they were attacked by the police. The demonstrators broke through the ranks of the police and continued their march.

In Lodz several meetings and two big demonstrations were held.

In Shanghai.

In Shanghai May Day took place amid a "state of siege." These extreme measures have been taken by the Kuomintang authorities before May 1 and they were prolonged to cover May Day.

Nevertheless, the Communist Party had organised a May Day demonstration, which was dispersed by the police.

Many demonstrators were brutally beaten and about 100 workers and students were arrested.

Many flags, leaflets and posters, with slogans appealing for a general strike and for resistance against Japanese imperialism, were confiscated by the police.

The Chinese newspapers did not appear on May 1 because the printers refused to work.

Japan.

Two separate May Day demonstrations took place in Tokyo owing to the refusal of the united front offer by the "Left" trade unions by the social-fascist leadership of the reformist trade unions. Many thousand workers marched in the Communist demonstration.

The police tried to prevent the Communists from speaking to the masses and about 1,000 workers were arrested for distributing Communist literature.

In Osaka (the industrial centre of Japan) 15,000 workers demonstrated for the united front, carrying banners and slogans. The police attacked the transport workers and arrested 220; 450 workers in all were arrested.

Large demonstrations took place in Yokohama and Kobe. For the first time in history the workers of the docks held meetings on the ships lying in the harbour.

In Kavagutsi the workers demonstrated together with their families. This has never happened in Japan before.

In the district of Naingata even the peasants demonstrated on May Day.

May Demonstrations in the Soviet Union.

From all parts of the Soviet Union reports are pouring in of mighty May demonstrations. The proletariat of **Leningrad** celebrated the sixteenth May Day of the Soviet Union by a great demonstration for international proletarian solidarity. The demonstration was a proof of the readiness of the Leningrad workers to defend the Soviet Union. The workers of the Red Putiloff Works demonstrated the first automobiles of the Buyck type, the construction of which had only just been started.

In the centre of the textile industry at Ivanovo the workers celebrated May Day very joyously. The weavers of the "Krupskaja" factory, led by their best shock brigadier (who had received the Union Prime) headed the demonstration. The march past lasted for more than three hours.

In **Rostow**, near Jaroslaw, the workers of the collective farms hastened back to the fields after the demonstration to continue the sowing. In the "Jagoda" works of **Rybinsk** the second Soviet Rotatory machine was completed on May 1. In **Kostroma** all factories had completed the plan 100 per cent. on May Day.

The Labour Movement

The End of the Strike of the Citroen Workers

By Bénier (Paris)

On May 3 the central strike committee of the metal workers of Citroen Works decided on resumption of work by the 18,000 workers who had been on strike since March 30. On May 3 numerous workers had returned to work, in addition to those 5,000 who had resumed work already a week previously. It was therefore necessary to prevent the best fighters from remaining outside and being victimised, and therefore the strike was called off.

Citroen, who had locked out his whole staff on March 30 on account of the numerous cases of passive resistance which had disorganised the whole factory, attempted several times to restart his works, but in vain: the workers had converted the lock-out into a strike. It was only on April 24, when he made another attempt to open the gates of his factory, that 20 per cent. of his staff returned to work. Thanks to the initiative of the Communists, who had returned to work together with the discouraged workers, numerous fighting actions took place in various departments.

Citroen and the authorities adopted every conceivable measure in order to throttle this strike, which lasted longer than any other strike of the Paris metal workers since the end of the war. Picketing was rendered almost impossible owing to the enormous numbers of police called against the strike pickets. Baton charges and arrests of strikers were carried out by the factory police and the police of the "Left" government. Seven members of the central strike committee have been arrested, and long terms of imprisonment probably await them.

Citroen resorted to every conceivable manoeuvre: he addressed personal letters to the strikers in which he threatened them with dismissal if they did not immediately return to work; the newspapers published reports about unemployed being taken on in place of the strikers; promises were made that wages would be only slightly reduced and that the new wage agreement would be valid for six months, etc. The government, which in response to the pressure of the strike delegations and the Communist parliamentary fraction had conceded to the locked-out Citroen workers the right to sign on for unemployment benefit, withdrew this right after Citroen had declared on April 24 that his factory was now open to all who wish to work and thus terminated the lock-out.

All these measures created a certain amount of confusion among the striking workers, many of whom live in the remote suburbs, so that it was difficult for the strike committee to keep in touch with them. In the course of May 3 numerous workers returned to the factory and the most militant members of the staff were arrested at the factory gates in order to prevent any fresh strike within the factory.

The central strike committee therefore adopted the correct decision to recommend the strikers to continue the struggle within the factory and to demand the reinstatement of all strikers. The metal workers, who have displayed a splendid fighting spirit during the last few weeks, have resumed work in the consciousness that they are not defeated.

For the rest, the movement has resulted in considerable achievements: Citroen was compelled to reduce his contemplated wage cuts from 30-35 per cent. to a maximum of 14 per cent.; over 1,200 metal workers of the Citroen works have joined the unitary trade union of the metal workers, which energetically supported this strike movement; the confidence of the metal workers of Paris and environs in the unitary trade union and in the mass strike as a fighting weapon has increased; the workers have received an object lesson regarding the real attitude of the "democratic" government which is supported by the social democrats and which during the struggle mobilised its police against the working class, which fact has dispelled many illusions fostered by the reformist leaders; finally, the workers have now had the experience of a struggle led by a central strike committee capable of manoeuvring in such a skilful manner that Citroen was compelled to negotiate with it and with the leaders of the unitary trade union. The lesson which the working class will draw from this broad and brotherly united front action will bear fruit.

The Revolutionary Upsurge in Cuba

By E. P. Greene (New York).

At the present time there is rapidly developing in Cuba a marked and growing revolutionary upsurge. The position of Machado, who, since assuming power in 1925, has been the most faithful lackey of American imperialism in any of the countries of the Caribbean, is becoming every day more precarious. The crisis of world capitalism has struck with particular force at the economy of Cuba, based on the production of sugar, which comprises 80 per cent. of the exports of the country. From 5,000,000 tons in 1925 the production of sugar in Cuba has dropped to 2,000,000 in 1932-1933. The production of 1931 brought in the world market only one-thirteenth the price of that of 1920. Of the American investments in Cuba, which total \$1,700,000,000, \$800,000,000 is invested in the sugar industry, which is for the most part controlled by the National City Bank. In the past few years Cuban sugar has met with sharp competition from the increasing production of the Philippines, Hawaii and Porto Rico.

The fact that monoculture (one crop production) has been carried to a greater degree in Cuba than in any of the countries of the Caribbean, and that American imperialism, because of its vast investments in the island, has developed a high technique of exploitation, has led to the mass impoverishment of the workers and peasants and to an increased revolutionary upsurge, particularly in the last few months. There are now more than half a million unemployed out of a population of three and a half million.

The police government of Machado is maintained only with the greatest difficulty. Fifty per cent. of the state revenues are used to pay the expenses of the army, the rural guards, the police, and the interest on the foreign debt, which at present amounts to \$110,000,000. The government, with a prospective deficit of \$30,000,000, is facing bankruptcy.

These are the conditions which have led to the new and higher level of the revolutionary struggle in Cuba, which is now for the first time taking place in the basic industry of the country, the sugar industry. Until now the chief shortcoming of the revolutionary movement was that it was not centred in the sugar industry. It is only through this basic industry that a direct struggle can be conducted against American imperialism, a struggle leading to the weakening of the stranglehold which American finance-capital has on Cuba.

At the present time strikes are taking place in ten sugar mills, with more than 20,000 workers involved. The militancy of the workers is on a high level, and many partial victories have already been gained. Not only the workers in the mills, but the agricultural workers and the peasants on the plantations are struggling against the semi-slave conditions of exploitation. The workers have organised their own defence corps. In some regions armed guerilla warfare has broken out. In *Nazabal* the workers seized the sugar mill, hoisted the red flag and drove out the rural guard. In the provinces of *Oriente* and *Santa Clara*, where the struggle has taken on the most revolutionary character, the sugar mills and plantations are patrolled by heavy detachments of the rural guards, who force the workers to work at the point of the bayonet. Many workers who have refused to work under these conditions have been massacred.

The struggles are being led by the recently formed *Sindicato Nacional de los Obreros de las Industria Azucarera* (Sugar workers' Industrial Union). This union is affiliated with the C.N.O.C (Confederacion Nacional Obrera de Cuba), the revolutionary trade union of Cuba; it follows the line of struggle of the C.S.L.A. (Confederacion Sindical Latino-Americana) and of the R.I.L.U.

The government is making frantic attempts to suppress this new revolutionary struggle, led by the *Communist Party of Cuba* and the C.N.O.C., a struggle in which the proletariat has the hegemony. In the Province of *Oriente* 300 workers have been arrested; in *Havana* 300 are in jail; in the Province of *Santa Clara* 80 Communists, leaders of the struggles of the workers and peasants, have been arrested. *Joaquin Ordoqui* and *Jorge Vivo*, two of the foremost leaders of the struggles of the workers and peasants of Cuba against hunger, unemployment and imperialist war, were recently arrested in the Province of *Santa Clara* and lodged in the *Castillo del Principe* prison in *Havana*, from which they have been removed; their whereabouts is now unknown. They are facing assassination at the hands of the butcher,

Machado. *Vivo* has been active as an organiser of the International Red Aid in several of the countries of the Caribbean, and as a secretary of that organisation in Mexico. *Ordoqui* is the leader of the Red Trade Union Opposition in the railway workers' organisation. *Cesar Vilar*, Secretary of the C.N.O.C., has also been arrested.

American imperialism, which has maintained its bloody rule in Cuba for 35 years, is attempting to find a successor to Machado,

who is fast losing control of the situation. Menocal, Mendieta and other representatives of the bourgeois-landlord class, who play the role of sham opposition to the "Liberal" Party of Machado, are attempting to curry favour with American imperialism, and to prove to Wall Street that they will be more efficient guardians of its investments in Cuba. But neither Menocal, Mendieta nor any other lackey of American imperialism will be able to check this rise of a new wave of the revolutionary upsurge in Cuba.

In the Camp of Social Democracy

The Crisis of the Second International

By K n o r i n

As Lenin has pointed out,

"The Second International of pre-war days did its share in the successful work of preparation for the preliminary organisation of the proletarian masses in a lengthy and 'peaceful' epoch of what was the crassest capitalist slavery and the stormiest growth of capitalist progress in the last third of the nineteenth and opening of the twentieth centuries."

In the same passage he then goes on to say:

"In 1914 the Second International collapsed as the result of its own opportunism whose fundamental ideological principles had come to grief on such points as the 'defence of class collaboration, break-away from the ideal of the Socialist Revolution and denial of revolutionary methods of struggle, adaptation of principles to bourgeois nationalism, oblivion of the historic mutability of the boundaries of nationality or fatherland as the case may be, the transformation of bourgeois legality into a very fetish, the repudiation of the class point of view and of the class struggle itself out of fear of repelling the broad masses of the people' (i.e., the petty-bourgeoisie)."

On the ruins of the Second International there arose the Communist International, the historic heir of the First International and the body which has carried on the best traditions of the Second International. It shouldered "the task of organising the forces of the proletariat for the revolutionary onslaught against capitalist domination, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for the winning of political power, and for the victory of Socialism." (Lenin.)

When the world war had come to an end, however, when the Versailles Peace had been concluded and the proletarian revolution in Central Europe had been crushed with the aid of the social democracy, and when the stabilisation of capitalism began on the one hand, and on the other the Soviet Union began to strengthen and to stand more firmly on its feet, the S.D. parties thereupon decided (after having each and all of them fought on the side of their respective bourgeoisies), mutually to forgive each other their war crimes and to set up their international association again. This Second International of the post-war period (constituted for the first time only in the year 1924 at Hamburg), was that association of S.-D. parties who have been advocating, and implementing, the principle of co-operation with the bourgeoisie right to the length of participating as members in reactionary governments, of adapting their principles and policies to the needs of bourgeois nationalism, of organising war against the particular competitors of their respective bourgeoisies and thus repudiating the class struggle of the proletariat, right to the organising of the military and police suppression of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the organising of intervention against the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat—against the Soviet Union.

In the Forefront of the Counter-Revolution.

The essence of the policy followed by the Second International of the post-war may be summed up as follows:

1. Instead of taking revolutionary working-class internationalism as the foundation of its international policy, it pursued the policy of struggle against bolshevism and the co-operation of the different capitalist States within the League of Nations, in the League's International Labour Office, and in the deliberations of its Disarmament Conference. The Second International

has continued its policy of supporting the bourgeoisie during the imperialist war, standing whole-heartedly in favour of defending the Versailles system to the last, and has become a most important weapon of the decaying capitalist order in its fight against the work of socialist construction being carried on in the Soviet Union.

2. As regards what may be called its domestic policies, the Second International has been responsible for the splitting of the labour movement by organising the suppression of the revolutionary movement, by combating the revolutionising influence of the Soviet Union upon the labouring masses, and by spreading illusions among the workers to the effect that capitalism can develop without any dislocations in the shape of war, that the present-day State is a State of and for the people, that capitalism is changing into organised capitalism, and that, finally, the political "democracy" of the present epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution represents the real road towards a peaceful emergence into socialism.

3. In its programme the Second International has still retained a few Marxist theses, but has distorted them, however, robbed them of their meaning, for the purpose of employing the pseudo-Marxist phrases thus left behind to adapt themselves to the Marxist traditions of the working class, to retain the old labour organisations in the grip of their bureaucrats and to transform them into instruments for the maintenance of capitalism and to throttle all initiative on the part of the working masses.

The German social democracy was the foremost, the leading party of the Second International. In the way in which it itself strangled the November Revolution in that country the social-democratic party of Germany created the theory and tactics to be adopted by the whole of the international social democracy. Prussia of the social democrats was the stronghold of the Second International, the basis of the world social democracy, the experimental field in which the feasibility of a peaceful growing into socialism was demonstrated, the spot where the possibility of the "democratic" roads towards socialism were pointed out, roads which were supposed to be far easier than the "Asiatic" road indicated by the Bolsheviks. As things turned out, however, this experimental field yielded not socialism, but fascism as its crop. This amounts to the crushing defeat of the entire international social democracy, the whole of their tactics, all their theories, amounts to the destruction of the basis from which they worked, the loss of their main support.

The development of the present crisis in social democracy has run parallel with the sharpening of the general crisis affecting capitalism, with the development of the world economic crisis and the growth of the antagonisms between the various capitalist States. The outstanding stages of this development were determined by the course of developments in Germany.

The first stage in this crisis was reached when the masses were made to see all too plainly the growing contrast between the countries within the system of capitalism in decline, a system swept by the world economic crisis and between the one country building up socialism to-day, a country which could not be touched by the crisis, this glaring difference becoming most marked when it was further seen that in the Soviet Union the dictatorship of the proletariat was unshakable while the Weimar Republic was already tottering. (1931.)

The second stage in this crisis revealed itself in the second half of 1932 when von Papen succeeded on the 20th of July in

ousting the social-democratic government of Prussia without the slightest resistance being put up by the latter and the broad masses of the workers in all countries were made to see the bankruptcy of all social-democratic theories regarding "democracy" as a road to socialism.

The third stage in the crisis was reached when the German social democracy declined to make any fight against the seizure of power by Hitler on January 30 and February 28, 1933, and more particularly when, on March 24, Wels stated publicly that the social democracy was supporting Hitler's political programme and in particular his foreign programme.

This has led to the **splitting** of the Second International as expressed in the fact that Wels has left the Bureau of the International and in the circumstance that the S.P.G. has, factually, broken away from the Second International. The German social democracy committed **suicide** both morally and politically when it refused to fight fascism and actually surrendered to that movement.

Standing Guard Over the Bourgeois "Fatherland's" Interests.

Since they have tied their fate for better or for worse to that of the bourgeoisie, as far as the social-democratic parties are concerned, there exists no other road, and no other can exist, save that of further collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the defence of the bourgeois fatherland irrespective of the form of the bourgeois dictatorship in that particular fatherland. The more decisive the offensive pushed by fascism the quicker the social democracy of different countries sheds its radical phraseology of former days and prepares the ground for its own capitulation to fascism's dictatorship and for its own destruction. Surrender to fascism and work to prepare for war—there you have the most important aspect in to-day's outlook of the social democracy.

"The social democracy," said Rosa Luxemburg in the autumn of 1914, when the S.P.G. turned down the idea of taking up the struggle against the war and went over to the Hohenzollerns, "has become a stinking corpse." Later, speaking at the foundation conference of the Communist Party of Germany, she said: "History has never known so complete a betrayal as that great betrayal of the German trade union leaders." Yet history has shown since then that there can be even baser betrayals. The circle is now full-closed: the brief day of the Second International has come to its inglorious end. As an international organisation the "Labour and Socialist International," as the official title of the Second International runs, has in actuality ceased to exist.

But the peculiar aspect of the present position lies in the fact that while Germany has become a country of the wildest reaction, of wholesale and brutal terror, of war-mongering movements and of the every-day persecution of the working class, its imperialist opponents are preparing war, an attack all along the line, on the working class and for the fascisation of their machinery of State under the watchword of "democracy"! Under the slogan of fighting the Prussian reaction the assault of that same reaction is sweeping over Europe while concurrently fascism grows with it. Under the banner calling for the defence of "democracy," the social democrats in Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and France have joined forces with the bourgeoisie in a reactionary united front for the purpose of fighting the revolutionary labour movement, defending the Versailles "Peace," and for getting the ground ready for fresh imperialist wars and for intervention by force of arms against the Soviet Union.

Now compelled to criticise the tactics of the S.P.G., the international social democracy is trying to mark these tactics off as specially bound up with the situation in Germany to-day, is blaming the cowardice of the S.P.G. leaders for their failure, and would now throw the blame on to the C.P.G. as well. In this way they hope to hoodwink the masses and to salvage the remnants of their ideology and their united front with the bourgeoisie. Yet the same international social democracy does not feel any too cheerful at the prospect of what it has to tackle. For this reason a theory is being worked out concerning the counter-revolutionary situation which shall justify the other betrayals to come. In fact, the whole position reminds one very much of the state of affairs at the beginning of the imperialist world war when every S.D. party went over to the side of its own bourgeoisie and undertook to defend its particular fatherland.

Then why is it that the French, the Belgian, the Czechoslovakian and the Polish social democracy is in determined opposition to the S.P.G.?

For the simple reason that the entry of the S.P.G. into the camp of fascism and the victory of German fascism itself bring up

the whole question of the revision of the Versailles system and of imperialist war in Europe, that is, of war against their particular "fatherlands."

In those capitalist countries of Europe which are interested in the maintenance of the Versailles system the social democracy now comes out in open hostility against its German comrades and identifies itself with the national united front to fight the imperialist designs of the Germans, doing so, by the way, under the watchword of struggle against the fascist terror, against any war adventures of the fascists and in defence of "democracy."

The process making for the formation of the war fronts is smashing, is destroying the social democracy as an international organisation, is splitting the Second International. To-day, before the launching of the next war, the same thing is happening that happened nineteen years ago at the outbreak of the last war.

(To be concluded.)

Against Colonial Oppression

For Philippine Independence!

Letter from Detroit District of Communist Party of U.S.A. to the Philippine Workers on the Appointment of Frank Murphy.
To all Workers and Peasants of the Philippine Islands:

We were informed of the decision of the Roosevelt-Wall Street government to send to your country as governor general the mayor of Detroit, *Frank Murphy*. In the name of the workers of Detroit, who have had sad experiences under his rule, we want to warn the oppressed workers and peasants of the Philippines against this new agent of the ruling class of the United States, who are robbing you.

The regime of Murphy as mayor of Detroit has been one where workers are starving by the thousands amidst plenty. Under his regime, workers asking for bread have been cruelly beaten by the police, trampled beneath the horses of the mounted police, thrown into jail and shot down.

On March 27, 1932, five workers were brutally slaughtered when they went to the *Ford Plant* to ask for jobs or bread. Murphy sent his police into the city of Dearborn to aid the Ford Motor Co. in his attack on the hungry masses. His whole police force was used to arrest workers in the city of Dearborn and Detroit and turn them over to the city of Dearborn. Even people who picked the wounded from the streets to bring them over to the hospital were arrested by the Detroit police, acting under Murphy's direction. In the hunger march of the unemployed workers, which took place at the Briggs plant, Murphy let loose a wave of police brutality that could hardly be equalled. The toiling population of Detroit suffered under the brutal oppression of this man, who is to be your new governor general.

Especially brutal have the police of Murphy's regime been toward the *Negro* people. During Murphy's administration there have been numerous cases of Negroes who have been shot down by Murphy's police for no reason whatsoever in order to maintain the oppression of the Negro people.

Murphy is a direct agent of the Roosevelt war government, which has called a conference of the European Powers to determine the conditions under which the new world war will be fought against the colonial peoples and the Soviet Union.

Murphy is being sent to the Philippine Islands in order to lull the people to sleep and cover up the feverish preparations for a new world war, which will have the *Pacific Ocean* as its main scene of operation. This means that the Philippine Islands are to become the chief centre around which tremendous battles will be fought, and the sufferers will be the toiling masses of the Philippines. Such a war will only be a struggle between the big imperialist Powers for the domination of the Pacific, with the aim of further enslavement of the Philippine peoples.

Because the movement for freedom in the Philippines is growing, because the workers and peasants show that they no longer want to accept the role of foreign imperialists, and because the American workers are showing a strong support for your movement for unconditional independence, that is why a man like Murphy is being sent to the Philippines as governor general.

Workers and peasants of the Philippines: Be on the alert! Refuse to accept this agent of oppressing Yankee imperialism! Continue the fight for your independence! Strengthen your struggle for the freedom of the working class and toiling peasants!

The workers of Detroit, together with the whole American working class, stand with you in your heroic struggles!

The White Terror

Why the Scottsboro Cases have been Postponed

By A. G. Bosse

On April 17 Judge **Horton** sentenced **Haywood Patterson** to death, in accordance with the finding of the jury. And on April 17, a short time later, Judge Horton postponed the trial of the second Scottsboro' defendant, **Charles Weems**, "indefinitely" (probably until early in July), on the excuse that statements made after the trial by Samuel Leibowitz, trial lawyer, "make impossible any just and impartial verdict to be arrived at at this time. . . . His leading attorney would be a millstone around his neck."

The tremendous campaign of protest demonstrations, the effect of which forced its way even into the capitalist press of the South, compelled the judge to postpone for the time any further attempts to put the legal finishing touches upon the electrocution programme.

Horton denied a motion to set aside the death verdict upon Patterson, sentencing him to die on June 16. The I.L.D. immediately filed notice of an appeal to the Alabama Supreme Court, thus automatically suspending execution of this sentence. In his motion to set the verdict aside, Attorney **Brodsky**, of the I.L.D., gave twenty grounds, including the following: Exclusion of Negroes from the juries, prejudicial errors made in the trial, prejudice and terrorisation of the jury and defence witnesses, incitement to violence by the prosecution, and in general that the verdict was opposed to the weight of evidence. He presented as proof affidavits of counsel, of newspaper men and observers at the trial, etc.

Immediately following this procedure, Brodsky charged tampering with the jury, and had the bailiff, who had the Patterson jury in custody, called in. When the latter came in, Prosecutor **Knight** began to talk privately with him, in violation of every canon of bourgeois law itself, but the judge overruled repeated objections. The bailiff was forced to admit on the witness stand that frequent telephone calls had been made to and from the jurors during their deliberations. Thereupon the judge read his prepared statement, admitting that a fair trial for Weems was impossible and postponing his trial. Brodsky answered Knight's attempted defence of Southern justice by calling for the unity of Negro and white workers against their exploiters. He was stopped at the hysterical demand of Knight and the judge. The defence is again moving for a change of venue to Mobile or Birmingham, industrial cities, but whether they will be successful is debatable.

Horton, upon whom the entire capitalist press centred their applause for his fairness and impartiality, was about as fair as his jury was "highly intelligent." While the prosecutors were inciting the jury and audience to a lynching pitch by attacks upon the defendants, their lawyers, and the I.L.D., based on racial, religious, colour and caste grounds, this paragon of simple, but honest, rural justice viciously overruled all attempts to make him adhere to capitalist court ethics and procedure. But when the defence denounced and exposed the lynch verdict, a fair trial became impossible. Just as the U.S. Supreme Court sent the cases back for re-trial with the advice that legal procedure be somewhat more carefully observed so that the defence would have no technical ground for appeal (right to adequate counsel was the basis for the re-trial), so Judge Horton postpones the trials so that the lynchers will be able to overcome the defects in the Patterson re-trial. They need time to revamp their methods, for even a part of the Southern press was forced to admit the innocence of the boys. "**The Birmingham Post**," a typical southern white paper, said editorially on April 15: "We believe a jury sworn to give the defendant the benefit of every reasonable doubt should not have convicted Haywood Patterson. . . . We feel that due weight should be given to the fact that a dozen responsible newspaper men, four of them representing southern newspapers, felt there was a reasonable doubt of the Negroes' guilt." This last statement happens to be untrue, since these southern reporters did their utmost to propagandise the others against the defence. But the general admission is significant. "**The Montgomery Advertiser**" also notes the fact that southern editorial opinion was to a considerable extent forced to admit the unfairness of the trial.

The masses of workers, black and white, are aroused against the Scottsboro' frame-up as never before in American history.

Demonstrations of protest and denunciation are being held everywhere by the Negro and white masses. In New York 25,000 workers gathered in Union Square to protest against the Patterson verdict, with socialists, liberals, and Communists speaking. A later meeting in a church in the Negro ghetto of New York, Harlem, was attended by 2,500 and addressed by Negro and white journalists, lawyers, and the National Secretary of the I.L.D., William Patterson, also a Negro. The Tammany administration in New York City was forced to participate through its mayor in a meeting of 15,000 in Brooklyn (part of New York City). In Chicago 7,000 paraded and 20,000 cheering workers lined the streets to denounce the trial.

A march of masses of Negro and white workers on **Washington**, to demand of Roosevelt the liberty of the boys, is being organised for April 28, under the auspices of the I.L.D., and with the co-operation of a number of Negro newspapers and Negro and white organisations. A conference of 233 delegates from 65 organisations held in New York formed a national action committee. A million signatures are to be collected and presented to Roosevelt. At the same time a bill will be presented to Congress providing for the strict enforcement of the 13, 14 and 15 Amendments to the Constitution (on the rights of Negroes).

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Party Cleansing in the C.P. of the Soviet Union

(From the leading article of "Pravda," April 30, 1933).

The decision of the C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., published on April 29, regarding the cleansing of the Party which is to commence on June 1, is the outcome of the decision of the C.C. of December 10 last, which was approved by the Joint Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. in January last.

Two general and several district Party purgings have been carried out on the basis of the directives of the Second Congress of the Comintern since the October Revolution. These Party purgings have greatly helped to consolidate the ranks of the Party and enhanced its fighting capacity.

The central political task of the approaching Party purging consists in an all-round consolidation of the C.P.S.U. as the leading force of the proletarian dictatorship, in raising the ideological level of its members and candidates, and in increasing the confidence which the millions of non-party toilers have in the Party. The Party purging will thoroughly examine the activity of every Party organisation, and carefully examine in how far every Communist fulfils the tasks set him in the present stage of the revolution.

The commencement of the second Five-Year Plan does not remove the questions of the class struggle from the order of the day. It suffices to remember the sabotage of the measures of the Soviet Power in North Caucasus last year, and the recently discovered wrecking activity in agriculture and in the power stations of the Soviet Union in order to realise that the class struggle is still very sharp and how deep-seated are the hatred and the hostility of the people of yesterday towards the Soviet Power and against the new forms of economy and culture.

The tasks of the Party are growing, and with them the demands which are made on every Party organisation and on every Communist. As a result of the rapidly increasing political activity of the proletariat and of the peasantry, the Party has increased its membership by 1,400,000 during the last two and a half years and now has 3,200,000 members. Owing to a lack of sufficient control in admitting new members, alien elements have penetrated into the Party, which made use of their membership book for selfish and careerist purposes.

These are the two-tongued opportunists who produce their Party book whilst they preach counter-revolutionary theories regarding the abatement of the class struggle and the weakening of the State Power; it is they who talk about the economic plan being unreal and impossible of execution.

On the other hand there exists in the Party a not inconsiderable number of comrades who are honest and ready to defend the Soviet Power, but owing to inadequate Marxist-Leninist training of the Party members are not firm enough or politically

not sufficiently trained; they do not know the programme, the statutes and the most important decisions of the Party, and are therefore not capable of correctly carrying out the policy of the Party.

If the C.P.S.U. wishes to accomplish the work which has been started, it must be an ideologically united and organisationally strong Party. The purity of the Party must be guarded at all costs. Only sincere, devoted, conscious Communists can be allowed to remain in the Party. The feeling of responsibility of every Communist for the work of the whole Party must be strengthened.

Only thus will the Party fulfil its grandiose task of building up a classless society; only thus will it carry out its historical mission.

At the present time the Communist must more than ever improve himself, study Marxism-Leninism, master the technique of socialist factories, and study and carry out exactly the work entrusted to him. Otherwise the distinction between Communist and non-party workers will disappear. Otherwise the Communists cannot fulfil the role of ideological leaders, of political organisers of the masses.

Therefore the decision regarding the Party cleansing provides that those Party members who, although they have proved their devotion to the cause of the working class, have not acquired the elementary knowledge that members of the Communist Party must possess, shall be transferred to the ranks of candidates of the Party. Those candidates who are found to have insufficient firmness and to lack discipline are to be transferred to the ranks of sympathisers.

The transference of Party members to the ranks of candidates is in no way a punishment, but a means of political training and better preparation in order that these comrades can better cope with the demands which the C.P. makes of its members. In the same way, the transference of candidates to the ranks of sympathisers does not mean that the candidate is at all unworthy to become a member of the Party and that the gates of the Party are closed to him; in the ranks of the sympathisers they shall gradually but carefully prepare themselves to bear the proud name of Communist.

By purging its ranks the Party will become more homogeneous, united and capable of fighting; under the flag of Lenin and under the leadership of the Bolshevik Central Committee, with Comrade Stalin at the head, it will fight for the complete victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, for the victory of the proletarian world revolution.

Decision of the C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. Regarding the Cleansing of the Party

Moscow, May 1, 1933.

The Moscow press publishes the decision of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. regarding the cleansing of the Party.

The decision states inter alia: The Party was guided by the following decision of the Second Congress of the Communist International in June, 1920: In all those countries in which the Communists are working legally, the Communist Parties must carry out a periodical cleansing of the membership of the Party organisations and rid its ranks of petty-bourgeois elements which have crept into the Party.

The January Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. decided to carry out the cleansing in 1933 in such a manner that the iron proletarian discipline of the Party is guaranteed and the Party ranks cleansed from unreliable elements. The task of the Party cleansing consists in raising the ideological level of the Party members, in consolidating the Party in the political and organisational sphere, in further enhancing the confidence which millions of non-party workers have in the Party.

The following are to be excluded from the Party: hostile class elements which have crept into the Party by deceit, two-tongued elements which live by deceiving the Party, violators of the iron Party discipline, degenerate elements which have linked themselves with the bourgeois and kulak elements, careerists and bureaucratic elements, etc.

The cleansing will start on June 1, and be finished at latest by November of the current year.

Comrade *Rudzutak* has been appointed chairman of the Central Commission for carrying out the cleansing.

The Party cleansing will rally still more closely the collective farmers and the working masses round the Party, strengthen the Party organisations and render them more capable of fulfilling the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan.

In the International

The Chief Tasks of the Communist Party at the Present Stage of the Revolution in Spain

By J. Chavarroche

The violent course of revolutionary events in Spain confronts the Communist Party of Spain with several extremely complicated, urgent and important tasks, which are at the present moment the subject of broad discussion within the Party organisations. With the object of facilitating this discussion and ensuring for it the necessary orientation, the "Mundo Obrero" published as early as February the resolution of the Politbureau of the C.C. "with regard to the international position, the position in Spain, and the tasks of the C.P.Sp.

This resolution, comprehensive though it is, has, nevertheless, some serious omissions in it. The most important and immediate problems are not formulated, or, if they are, only abstractly and theoretically. What the Spanish working class needs to-day is a correct valuation of the events in this country that shall be comprehensible to everyone, and clear answers to the following questions:—Whither are events leading? In what sphere lies the most important strategic task of the Party? What must the masses and the party organisations do at the given moment?

In what direction, then, are the revolutionary events leading that are developing with such violence? What is taking place in the country at the present moment? We are witnessing mass strikes and demonstrations on the part of the urban workers, the revolutionary struggle, that is spreading with irresistible force, of the agricultural workers and peasants, who in numerous provinces are spontaneously taking possession of the estates, the livestock, the crops, and the agricultural implements of the big landowners, and the mass demonstrations and "direct action" of the unemployed. As a result of the extreme sharpening of class conflicts almost all "economic" strikes are converted into political strikes and mass demonstrations.

In the towns and in the rural districts the punitive expeditions are raging. The spontaneous efforts of the workers and peasants to reply to the bloody attacks of the authorities with an armed struggle become ever more numerous.

The revolutionary mass struggle of the workers and peasants is developing under the conditions of a continually deepening industrial and agricultural crisis. Unemployment is increasing. Hunger, ruin, and want are attacking ever-widening circles of the toiling population. The arsenal of the demagogic "social" and "agrarian" reforms of the bourgeois-large-peasant government is almost completely exhausted. Ever larger masses are beginning to comprehend the counter-revolutionary, anti-worker and anti-peasant character of the republican-social-democratic government, which represents the interests of the bourgeois-agrarian group. Hence the growing disillusionment of the masses with regard to Parliament, the parties of the republican block, the parties of the radicals, the republicans, the radical-socialists and the social-democrats. Hence the crisis within these parties, from which the masses are beginning to detach themselves. The bankruptcy and the fateful role of the anarchist movement and the anarchist-syndicalist movement are becoming apparent once again, and to a much greater extent than before. In this camp, too, a severe crisis can be observed. A far-reaching re-grouping of the revolutionary forces is, therefore, taking place before our eyes.

At the same time a considerable shifting of forces is occurring in the other camp also, the camp of the counter-revolution. The active forces of the counter-revolution are rallying. A policy of systematic liquidation of all the democratic measures which the republic of the capitalists and agrarians was compelled to carry out under the pressure of the masses has set in. The more the revolutionary upsurge of the masses develops, the more feverishly the republican regime prepares its transformation into an open military and police dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

The workers' and peasants' revolution has not yet developed all its forces. The decisive hour has not yet arrived. The revolution

is developing in the form of waves, one following upon another. A new explosion—mightier than the preceding revolutionary struggles of the workers and peasants—is preparing. It is very probable that, in view of the rapid development of events in Spain and also on an international scale, the next explosion of the revolutionary struggles will mean the beginning of the decisive struggles of the workers and peasants against the counter-revolutionary forces of the landowners for the seizure of power. The Communists should not lose sight of these prospective developments even for a moment. The C.P.Sp. must make them the basis of its activity. Hence there follows the chief task of the party of the proletariat: to **direct** the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge, the revolutionary struggle of the millions of workers and peasants.

The urban and agrarian workers, as well as the peasants, have achieved, and are still achieving, daily miracles of revolutionary heroism. But they lack the consciousness of the common revolutionary objective, as well as the new organisations necessary for the attainment of this objective. The struggling masses of the workers and peasants are not yet conscious of the fact that their strikes, demonstrations, and other forms of struggle, are blows directed against the power of the state. This must be explained to the masses with the greatest care and patience.

The Communists must comprehend that a change has occurred in the development of the Spanish revolution, and that they are entering upon the phase of the (**political and organisational**) **preparation** of the workers and peasants for the seizure of power. The Communists must themselves be conscious of this fact, must untiringly explain it to the broad masses, and point out to them the necessity for preparing themselves for the decisive struggle for power. The beginning of this political and organisational **preparation** of the masses for the seizure of power, the uniting of their forces, the creation of new forms of organisation corresponding to the new forms of struggle, **does not yet mean** that the masses should prepare for the **immediate** direct struggle for power. The moment for **such** an immediate and direct struggle has not yet come. The conditions are not yet ripe for it, the points of support of a mass organisational nature have not yet been created for it. The masses are on the point of going over to the C.P.Sp., but they have not yet completed this process of going over. The masses are shaking themselves free of the social democrats, the radical-socialists, the anarcho-syndicalists, the republicans, and the radicals, but they have not yet completely shaken themselves free.

The urban and agricultural proletariat, and the peasants, are not yet conscious of the necessity for the decisive struggle against the bourgeois-agrarian government. The objective situation is an acutely revolutionary one. The C.P.Sp. and the masses, however, are not yet ready and consequently cannot proceed immediately to the direct struggle for power. The ruling regime, however, is no longer in a position to be able to rule by means of promises and demagoguery. For this reason the government and all the parties of the bourgeois-agrarian counter-revolution have repeatedly provoked the masses and the C.P.Sp. They will, moreover, continue their endeavours to provoke the party and the masses into isolated and premature actions. The party will in the future, as in the past, not respond to such provocation.

Yet in view of the inevitability of unexpected turns of events, which may place the question of the decisive struggle on the order of the day with all clarity, we must proceed to the political and organisational **preparation** of the masses for the seizure of power. When, for example, the agricultural workers and peasants spontaneously seize the estates of the landowners and thus trample under foot the wretched and bureaucratic "agrarian reform," the Party must comprehend the significance of such action and explain to the agricultural workers, the peasants, as well as the entire proletariat, that this seizure of land and agricultural implements can and must be secured by the seizure of power, that the present regime will not give them the land, that the seizure of the land implies its defence against the Civil Guard and the punitive expeditions of the State forces, that the proletariat must create its own power, and take the entire political power into its own hands. The task of the Party then is to unite and organise all revolutionary forces, but above all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, for this purpose. Hence the chief slogan of the entire political agitation and the entire organisational activity of the C.P.Sp. must be: **All power to the workers, the agricultural workers, the peasants and soldiers, all power to the toiling masses!** This slogan no longer represents the general line for theoretical propaganda, but represents **the political task for the decisive moment in the develop-**

ment of the present cycle (which has already begun) **of the revolutionary mass struggle of the workers and peasants.** On this strategic line the tactic of the Party must be built.

The main political and practical slogan consequently, in the present situation, must be: Create **immediately**, throughout the whole country, **workshop committees and peasants' committees** as mass organisations that unite and organise the revolutionary struggles. These committees can and must in the present situation play an enormously great role in preparing the revolution. By means of these organs and through the medium of its workshop and village cells the C.P.Sp. must propagate its correct political lines amongst the masses.

The C.P.Sp., nevertheless, is not carrying out this slogan with the necessary energy. Indeed, what is still worse, the important role of these committees is understood neither by the Party as a whole, nor by the leadership. The existing workshop committees in Seville, Asturia and other provinces are not really functioning as they should. The long resolution of the Politbureau devotes eight whole lines to the workshops' committees, although it is stated in the resolution of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. that the chief task of the C.P.Sp. consists in "the creation of organisational points of support for the mass movement of the toiling masses in the form of workshops' committees." The carrying out of this slogan is at the present moment the link in the chain, the practical measure that must be adopted at the present moment in order to proceed to the preparation (**political** as well as **organisational**) of the proletariat and the peasantry for the revolutionary seizure of power. The creation of workshop committees and peasants' committees is to-day an immediate task of the workers' and peasants' revolution, for the carrying out of which throughout the country all the prerequisites exist.

The workshop committees are **the simplest primitive organs of the class struggle, organs which include all the workers of a factory without exception**, which should organise and direct all the struggles for the enforcement of the demands of the workers of a given factory. The workshop cells formulate the demands of the workers through the agency of the workshop committees. The workshop committees control the engagement and dismissal of the workers as well as the conditions of work. Chosen by all the workers of a given plant, the workshop committee functions as the mouthpiece, the representative of their interests, as a special organ of class struggle from below against the employers. In the same measure as their numerical and organisational strength increases, their rights and functions are automatically extended; they prevent the employers from closing the factories, they will, when the conditions are ripe, go on to the control of the bookkeeping and other operations of a given concern, will organise the self-defence of the workers, etc. . . . And thus the workshop committees will form themselves into a mass organisational point of support and into a mighty lever for the victorious development of the workers' and peasants' revolution. At the present moment the creation of a close network of workshop committees embracing the whole country can and will play a **decisive** role in the political and organisational preparation of the proletariat—the leading class in the workers' and peasants' revolution—for the seizure of power.

The theses of the Politbureau designate as the chief organisational slogan the creation of committees of struggle and regard the workshop committees as some form of these committees of struggle. This is erroneous. The workshop committees are not simple committees of struggle. On the contrary, the most varied committees of struggle must contribute in a revolutionary period towards the creation of workshop committees. The same is true of the peasants' committees. These are not simple committees of struggle for the carrying out of this or that demand of the day or as is stated in the theses of the Politbureau, organs for the propagation of Soviet ideology.

"Peasants' committees signify, to express the matter clearly, an appeal to the peasants to settle their accounts with the officials of the State and the landlords themselves, immediately and directly and with the use of the most energetic measures. The peasants' committees signify an appeal to the people, which is oppressed by the survivals of serfdom and the rule of the police, to sweep away these survivals of the past by 'plebeian' methods, as Marx expressed it." (Lenin.)

The creation of workshop and peasants' committees in Catalonia and Biskaya must be preceded with quite special energy. The Party issued the slogan of the creation of "committees for social and national liberation" for these two provinces and for

Galicia. The role, composition, activities, and tasks of these committees is not clearly shown. What is clear, however, and necessary, what has not yet been done, but must be done, is to set about without delay and with the greatest energy the creation of workshop committees in all the decisive proletarian centres. The difficulties are enormous. The social-democratic and anarchist-syndicalist traditions form a very serious obstacle. But all these are by no means insurmountable difficulties. It would be of great value if the party leadership were to **organise special courses** to explain to the active functionaries the meaning, function and role of the workshop and peasants' committees, and to give them practical directions as to how these committees must be created and directed.

There exists in the C.P. of Spain no clear idea as to how the question of the Soviets is to be put at the present time. What are Soviets? They are special meetings of delegates of all workers, no matter what vocation they have, of organised and unorganised, of men and women, of workers in the factories and of unemployed, of agricultural workers and toiling peasants; they are special meetings of sailors' and soldiers' delegates. But they are not simple ordinary meetings, **but special fighting organs, the broadest and most powerful organs of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, which are leading the immediate fight for power, the revolt of the masses against the ruling system; they are organs which are capable of breaking all the forces of the bourgeoisie, of the big landowners and their State apparatus.** After the workers' and peasants' revolution has gained a victory and defeated the rule of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners and shattered their State apparatus, the Soviets (of the workers, agricultural workers, peasants, soldiers and of all toilers) become the organs of the revolutionary power of the workers and peasants.

Is it possible at present, in view of the existing level of the political consciousness of the proletariat and of the peasant masses, in view of the organisational disunity of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, to proceed immediately to the formation of Soviets? No, that is not possible. The necessary pre-conditions for the immediate setting up of Soviets on a national scale do not yet obtain in Spain. But that does not exclude the possibility that as a result of the intensifying revolutionary situation Soviets or similar organs of the revolutionary mass struggle will be formed spontaneously or semi-spontaneously. The strike, factory and peasants' committees will, in the course of the extreme intensification of the class struggle, be bound to play a decisive role in creating Soviets. It is possible that in various places Soviets will be set up immediately before or simultaneously with the setting up of factory committees. Lenin repeatedly emphasised the role of the Soviets as organisers and leading organs of revolt and from this there follows the difference between Soviets and factory, strike and other fighting committees. Fighting committees, i.e., strike and factory committees, can and must be set up in the present situation. **Soviets can only be set up under definite conditions, and only at the moment when the fight for power has commenced.** The Soviets, led by the Communist Party, combine all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and of the toiling peasantry, lead them in the fight for a common aim, secure the unity of will and action of all the toiling masses, concentrate all functions of fighting leadership in their hands and unite all forms of struggle and actions of all other organisations in order to orientate them to the common goal. Under the leadership of the C.P. the Soviets guide the organisation of self-defence and the arming of the proletariat as well as the various fighting fronts.

One of the most indispensable pre-conditions for creating Soviets, if not throughout the whole country, at any rate in the most decisive centres, is the political isolation of the social democrats and of the anarcho-syndicalists from the masses. Hence, along with our systematic and persistent campaign for propagating the necessity of setting up Soviets, the fire of our criticism (concrete and not abstract) must be directed against the social democrats, the anarchists and the anarcho-syndicalists. From this there follows the necessity of pursuing a correct tactic towards the social democrats and the anarcho-syndicalists. Thanks to their counter-revolutionary governmental activity since 1930, the exposure of

the social democrats is relatively easy. Much more difficult, however, is the exposure of the anarcho-syndicalists. It is not only necessary to stigmatise the cowardice and treachery of certain leaders of anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism and the C.N.T. What makes the position of the working class so tragic is precisely the fact that they are led to defeat by "honest anarchism." The C.P. must criticise the tactics and methods of the anarchists, their method of "making a revolution," their playing at "revolt." On the occasion of the events of January 8 and 12, the C.P. in general adopted a correct attitude to the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists.

One of the most important tasks of the C.P. of Spain in the present situation is work in the trade union sphere. The fact that the committee for trade union unity had 270,000 members in February of this year, i.e., just as many as in July, 1932, when the Madrid Conference for Trade Union Unity was held, cannot be designated as normal. This fact proves that the Party has not yet grasped the process of radicalisation which has seized the workers in the U.G.T. and C.N.T. trade unions, nor the work of the Communists in the trade unions and the great role which the trade unions can and must play in guaranteeing the victory of the workers' and peasants' revolution.

Another important question which must be settled in the discussion is the class-political role of the **Azano-Caballero** government, the appraisal of the class-political role of the present parliament and of the bourgeois parties, the relation of forces and their shiftings within the bourgeois camp in the course of the revolutionary events. In the Party press and in numerous official documents incorrect formulations are employed on these questions, in particular since December. For instance, reference is made to the counter-revolution of the republican government, the monarchist-Jesuitic counter-revolution, which is represented as the inspirer and leader of the former. Such a distinction is perfectly wrong. In the Manifesto of the Secretariat of the C.P. of Spain of January 9, it is stated even in regard to the police provocations, that "it was the monarchists with the connivance of the government" who played the main role in organising these provocations. This view is incorrect. It is a fact that the extreme Right, the reactionary groups of the agrarians and monarchists are displaying increasing political activity. It is also possible that they had a hand in the provocations, e.g., in January. But in the concrete political situation this is not the main political question. The fact is that the main guilt and responsibility for the January events, for the blood bath of Casas Viejas, rests with the actual leader and executor of the counter-revolutionary power. And this power is the parliament, the government and all the parties belonging to or supporting it.

At the head of this real counter-revolutionary government are the Republican party, the social democrats, the radicals and the radical socialists. This government is supported by Lerroux, who considers it to be too moderate, too "Left." The January provocations were organised by the government and the radicals of the Lerroux group for a definite purpose: to smash the railway strike, and crush the growing and threatening revolutionary fight of the workers and peasants. Moreover, the government and the parties supporting it have been conducting a policy of bourgeois and agrarian counter-revolution since April 1931. The counter-revolutionary was able to wrest the power from the hands of the revolutionary people, thanks only to the Republican and social democratic illusions and demagogy. It is a great mistake not to see this.

The present parliament, the former Lerroux-Azano-Caballero government, the present Azano-Caballero government, the future Lerroux-Azano government, or any other similar government and all the parties supporting the government—these are the bulwark of real counter-revolution. This leading real power of counter-revolution is supporting, protecting and fostering the monarchist-clerical Right reaction. This real power is conducting the fight against the revolution of the workers and peasants. It is this power which must be the object of our fiercest criticism and which must and will be overthrown by the workers' and peasants' government.

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