

nevertheless remains, and cannot but remain, a very limited, a very hypocritical institution, a paradise for the rich and a trap and a delusion for the exploited and for the poor.

(*The Proletarian Revolution, Ch. II.*)

In a thousand ways, with living examples from Britain, France and the United States, he showed the hypocrisy of the supposed "freedom" of the workers under bourgeois democracy, and the reality of the dictatorship of the big capitalists.

The state, Marx had taught, is only "the executive committee of the ruling class." Under capitalism the state is the organ of the capitalist dictatorship. The only alternative is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In capitalist society there can be no middle course between the capitalist dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship. Any dream of a third course is merely the reactionary lament of the lower middle class.

(*Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.*)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is realized by the overthrow of the capitalist state machine, and the establishment of the working class as the ruling class through new organs of workers' rule—the soviets or councils of workers' delegates. Thus is brought into being a new type of democracy, Soviet democracy or proletarian democracy—a thousand times more democratic, as Lenin constantly in-

sisted, than bourgeois democracy, because for the first time drawing the masses directly into the work of administration and executive decision.

Lenin was not anti-democratic, as his enemies and some ignorant bourgeois admirers allege. On the contrary, it was because he was genuinely and profoundly democratic that he fought with such hatred the sham of bourgeois democracy, and fought for proletarian democracy as a very much higher democratic form, and as leading, through the abolition of classes, to the realization for the first time of the real and complete freedom of equality, of classless society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the immense majority against the minority of exploiters. It is the necessary weapon to carry through the class struggle to completion, to destroy the remains of the old order and build the new order.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the fiercest, deepest cutting, most merciless war of the new class against the most powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose power of resistance increases tenfold after its overthrow, even though overthrown in only one country. The power of the bourgeoisie rests not alone upon International Capital, upon the strong international connections of this class, but also upon the *force of habit*, on the force of small industry, of which unfortunately there is plenty left, and which daily, hourly gives birth to capitalism and bourgeoisie spontaneously and upon a large scale. Because of all this the dicta-

torship of the proletariat is indispensable. Victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, persistent, desperate life-and-death struggle, a struggle which requires constancy, discipline, firmness, inflexibility and concerted will-power.

(*Left Communism, Ch. II.*)

And again

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a resolute, persistent struggle against the forces and traditions of the old society; a struggle that is both bloody and unbloody, both violent and peaceful, both military and economic, both educational and administrative. (*Left Communism, Ch. V.*)

But the dictatorship of the proletariat is only a transitional form. As it completes its task, with the final ending of all forms of bourgeois resistance and the abolition of classes, the state as machine of coercion disappears and gives place to communist society, or the equal participation of the masses in economic and social administration and cultural life.

The annihilation of the power of the State is the aim all Socialists have had in view, first and foremost among them Marx. Without the realization of this aim, true democracy, that is, liberty and equality, is unattainable. It can only be achieved by the Soviet or proletarian democracy; for this system prepares at the very outset for the "withering away" of any form of State by bringing forward the mass organizations of the working people into a constant and absolute participation in State administration.

(*Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.*)

# Nazi Plague Spots of Europe

ALBERT ALLEN

(Only a few weeks ago an appeal for a united pan-Aryan front of kindred movements was issued by the Nazis from Berlin through the *Welt Dienst*, a propaganda service published in three languages for private circulation among Aryans throughout the world. Invited to the united front were the Iron Guard of Roumania, the Rozwoj of Poland, the National Association of Greece (E.E.E.), the Awakening Magyars of Hungary, the Lappos of Finland and the pro-Nazi organizations in Switzerland, Latvia and Lithuania.

The following article deals with Nazi activities in these countries and others on the continent wherein Hitlerism has, either by direct propaganda, the power of example or alliance with native Fascists, kindled the fires of reaction.—THE EDITORS.)

## Czechoslovakia

IF AUSTRIA is secured for Germany the waves of National Socialism might easily engulf this land which juts more than half its distance into the Austro-German frontier like a sandbar in an angry ocean.

Just what resistance Czechoslovakia can be expected to offer may, to some extent, be judged by the present laxity of its government in dealing with National Socialism within its borders.

Nazi propaganda has been directed chiefly at counteracting anti-Nazi propaganda emanating from Prague. This is being done through terrorism and espionage among the refugees. The killing of Dr. Theodor Lessing which attracted world attention, was only one of an organized series of kidnappings, beatings and murders by Nazi storm troops, both German and Czech, often with the connivance of the Czech police and frontier guards. A secondary purpose is to win the support of the almost 4,000,000 Germans living in Czechoslovakia to demand *Anschluss* with Germany. Appeals for loyalty to the Fatherland are coupled with economic pressure exerted chiefly upon border folk living in Bohemia, many of whom work or trade in Saxony. Support is put on a business basis. Join with us or lose your living in Saxony, say the Nazis.

Although the government has outlawed the National Socialists party and confiscated its

property, the Nazis continue to operate from within sport clubs, notably the Volkspart, and other German Societies. The government officially professes an attitude of impartiality striking out against the left as well as the right. Actually, however, by suppressing working class self-defense groups, it operates in the interests of Fascism.

This is further borne out by the fact that it has taken no strong action to put down the Fascist movement of General Gadjia, the Nationale Fascisten Gemeinde, which enjoys the support of leading Czech industrialists. Nor for that matter has it taken pains to put down the pro-Hitler National League led by Stribny.

## Roumania

Nazi propaganda has made more headway in Roumania than anywhere else in the Balkans. It has culminated in the assassination of Premier Ion G. Duca by Iron Guardists. And in the opinion of every responsible foreign correspondent, there is no doubt that the greater part of the support of the Iron Guard has come from Germany. The



CHALLENGING THE WORLD

Phil Bard



Voelkischer Beobachter, Hitler's mouthpiece, practically admits responsibility for Duca's death by boasting that that event was intended "as a signal to the Jews and to the French who are manipulating to prevent Roumania from coming into close contact with modern Germany." This admission taken together with the tone with which the Beobachter speaks of Iron Guard plans further implicates the Nazis. It is no wonder then that Zelea Cordanu, Guardist leader, fleeing arrest, should have chosen Germany as a refuge. There he would be most certain to receive a cordial reception as did Stephan Tarterscu before him. Tarterscu had been received by Hitler himself, and had conferred with several Nazi leaders on a line of action to be pursued in Roumania. Nazi leaders are known to have expressed disapproval of the division of Fascist forces in Roumania. So that upon his return, Tarterscu set about to bring the Iron Guard and the Cuzists (he had been connected with both these organizations), and whatever other miscellaneous sympathetic elements there were, into the newly organized Nazi Christian Fascist Party. The unification was not achieved.

The Christian National League of Professor A. C. Cuza is still the largest group and was represented until the recent elections by eleven deputies in the Parliament. After the appointment of Duca, the Cuzists together with the Iron Guard were ordered dissolved and denied the right to participate in the coming elections. The Cuzists wear blue shirts, duplicate the National Socialist lack of program, and sing a national anthem closely resembling the *Horst Wessel* song. They maintain assault battalions which engage in terrorism.

In addition to the three major Fascist organizations there is a National Agrarian Party, headed by Octavian Gorga, who has recently returned from Berlin, and a Christian National Socialist Party known also as the Damians. Both are sympathetic to Hitler and anti-Semitic.

### Greece

Nazis in Greece are constituted in the "E.E.E." otherwise known as the National Association of Hellas. This organization is held responsible for the disastrous fire in the Jewish quarter of Saloniki a few years ago. It is said to number some 10,000 supporters, a substantial part of whom are storm troopers. Chicly uniformed, they wear brown shirts and steel helmets, a sort of fusion of the S.A. and Stahlhelm. Their symbol is the swastika which they brazenly paint on synagogue walls next to the initials "E.E.E." The cross is a second symbol, generally carrying the accompanying legend: "This sign is our salvation."

Too much reliance, however, is not placed in the efficacy of symbol number two. Force is required to hasten salvation and force is encouraged against Jews in the Jew-baiting sheet Makedonia published in Saloniki. Dur-

ing the past year the "E.E.E.", fearing government action, reconstituted itself as a political party and is thus immune. Its chief propaganda organ is Adialaktos, edited by M. Fardis, former editor of Makedonia. Recently an exchange of visits took place between members of the "E.E.E." and German Nazis.

Former Premier Venizelos, war-time dictator of Greece, and leader of the "liberal" party is one of the supporters of the "E.E.E."

### Poland

There are several Nazi and kindred organizations in Poland, and their membership runs into tens of thousands. There are Brown Shirts, Purple Shirts and Yellow Shirts. But there are more than one organization to a shirt. We find German National Socialists, Polish National Socialists, National Democrats, the Obwipol, Rozwoj and other combinations of Hitlerites. The first named are out and out Hitlerites, usually German nationals. The Polish Nazi party enrolls Polish citizens who side with Hitler. It has been dissolved in Kattowice and was entirely outlawed in Polish Upper Silesia by Silesian authorities. It continues to function, nevertheless. Strong measures were also taken by the government against the National Democrats or as they are popularly called Endeks. Its party militia numbering 10,000 has been dissolved by the government. The official organ of the Endeks is the *Gazetta Warszawska*, which advocates the complete elimination of Jews from the professions. Of a similar character is *Bliskowza*, published by Nazis in Kattowice. Authorities have closed down the central office of the anti-Semitic Democratic Mutual Aid Organization, the last of the legalized Endek organizations, which has been responsible for much of the rioting at the universities. The notorious anti-Jewish boycott organization Roswoj has been disbanded as well. A terroristic organization called the National Revolutionary Organization connected with the Obwipol has been banned. In Eastern Galicia, Ukrainian White Guards have joined with Nazis in stirring up the peasantry against the Jews. The result has been a campaign of terror no less widespread or cruel than that prevailing in Germany.

### Switzerland

The avowed purpose of Nazi propaganda in Switzerland is to "free the 2,800,000 Germans living under the Swiss yoke." To that end storm troops have staged military demonstrations along the Swiss frontier and have gone so far as to cross the border and kidnap Swiss residents. The New York Herald Tribune of August 28 described Nazi violation of Swiss soil as a weekly occurrence.

Within Switzerland there is a multiplicity of Hitlerite groups, which fail to agree among themselves. There is the National Front led by Sonderegger, an ex-general in the Swiss army; the Bund Nationale Socialischer

Eidgenosson, which does not conceal its admiration for Hitler yet denies receiving financial support from Germany. Its identity with the Nazi movement is conspicuously evident in its trappings as well as its ideology. It flies the swastika, calls upon Aryans to awake, sings its song to the tune of the *Horst Wessel* and maintains a storm troop division. There are also the Eidgenoessische Front which is outspokenly anti-labor, the Bund Fuer Volk and Heimat, which looks for agrarian support; the Vaterlaendische Front which is Germanophile and the Union Nationale which is Hitlerism in French.

Since the Swiss law permits all citizens of military age to keep arms in their homes for mobilization on an hour's notice, Fascists have been able to arm themselves without difficulty.

### Belgium

Nazis operate in Belgium through the so-called Dinasa movement (an abbreviated term denoting Germanic National Solidarity) and other anti-Semitic organizations. Co-operating with them is the Maximalist Flemish Party, which in contradistinction to the Minimalists, demand absolute Flemish independence from Belgium. The Verdinasos, as they are called, have a program strongly resembling Hitler's. They regard the Dutch and Flemish peoples as of Germanic origin and for that reason are co-operating with Nazis in Holland for ultimate pan-Germanism. Their leader is a literary man named Van Severen, who has a wild hatred of France. He is popularly referred to as "Hitlerke." The movement makes an especial appeal to enlist peasants. Its symbol is a ploughshare, a saw and a wheel, standing for the union of the peasantry, the proletariat and the army. The Verdinasos are particularly active in Eastern Flanders. Recently, to disguise their philo-Germanism, the Verdinasos had their Brown House in Gehnt repainted green.

### Hungary

Although Premier Gombos has assured American Hungarians that he will not tolerate Hitlerism in Hungary, he continues to wink at their activities. The basis for Gombos' friendship with Germany seems to be the desire for German help in revision of Hungary's frontiers. The attitude of the Hungarian government is succinctly put in the statement by former Minister of Justice Magy, who once declared: "If necessary we shall ally ourselves with the devil to obtain our rights."

Nazi activities in Hungary reached a head in widespread rioting in almost every university and high school in the country. In response to pressure, Premier Gombos was compelled to take action against the Nazis. He ordered the confiscation of *Nemzeti Szocialista*, official organ of the Hungarian Nazi party. The Nazi leaders Ladislaus Lengyel, Boeszermenyi, and Olah were ar-

rested. The leader of the party, Deputy Mesko, enjoys parliamentary immunity. Count Alexander Festetic, one of Gomboes' wealthy supporters, resigned from the government party as a result of Gomboes' anti-Nazi acts and announced his intention of devoting his wealth to building a Nazi party. Outstanding Hungarian Nazi leaders, in addition to those already mentioned, are Czillern, Boszermeny and Archduke Albrecht, a Hapsburg, who was at one time a candidate for the Hungarian throne.

### Sweden

Notwithstanding their promise to refrain from propaganda in Sweden the Nazis have been working there ceaselessly. They are divided into two camps—Swedish and German Nazis. But despite the attempt to picture them as mutually antagonistic, there is no essential difference between them. According to Emil Lengyel, the split in the Nazi ranks occurred when Birger Furugaard, Swedish Nazi leader failed to reach an agreement with Premier Goering concerning the delivery of North Sweden to the German Nazis. Goering offered Furugaard subsidies if he would undertake to turn over provinces in North Sweden to German colonization when the Swedish Nazis took power at Stockholm. Furugaard refused and made public his conversation with Goering. The Nazis then divided, Furugaard leading one camp and Goering the other. The official organ of the Swedish Nazis is *Our Struggle*. Edited by Furugaard himself, it is violently anti-Semitic. Supporting him are ex-army men who are eager to shake their uniforms free of camphor balls and bark orders once more. Recently a foreign consultant was reported to have been engaged to put the party over. He is Major Ekstroem, a native of Sweden, until recently in Finland.

The spiritual father of the National-socialistika, *Arbeter Parteit*, is Premier Goering, who having observed Sweden from a cell of a Stockholm lunatic asylum, considers himself competent to direct the Swedish appeal. Late in October he visited Stockholm to accelerate the pace of organization. The Nazis here have a fighting troop patterned after the German S.A. Their banner represents a golden swastika on a blue field with a red border line.

The Swedish government has taken only minimum precautions in the face of Nazi provocations. It has banned political uniforms, tightened somewhat the restrictions on the possession of firearms and just lately closed the Nazi headquarters in Stockholm.

### Finland

The National Patriots work with the German Nazis in Finland toward establishing Fascism here. The Patriots succeeded the Lapua movement of 1929, which had been suspended by the Supreme Court after the

abduction of ex-president Stahlberg. It is intimately connected with the church, has functioning nuclei in every parish, and is demanding greater emphasis on religion and nationalism in the schools. It would restrict citizenship only to those "belonging to the nation, racially, culturally and historically." Lately, Nazi propaganda has been seriously impaired due to the trade war which has sprung up between Finland and Germany.

### Norway

When Nazism reared its head in the Norse country, Norwegian "socialists" promptly met the situation by abandoning their "socialism." Afraid of the fire of the Nazis under Major Vidquin Quisling, leader of the Norwegian Nazis, and at the same time wishing to steal their thunder, the "socialists" changed their color from Marxist pink to monarchical white.

The Nazis are organized into the National Union under the leadership of Quisling. At one time, the Defense Minister Quisling had an intimate knowledge of the Norwegian system of defense which should serve him in good stead in military maneuvers against the government. The Quisling movement came into existence as early as 1931 and was called the "unified Nordic folk movement." It is definitely anti-Marxist, anti-Semitic and outspokenly pro-German. Sometime ago it was reorganized into the present "Norwegian Samnaung," issues a paper called the *A B C*, and has for its symbol a golden cross on a red field. It received as many as 30,000 votes in the last election.

### Baltic States

In the Baltic States the Nazi movement was organized and founded by Alfred Rosenberg, former minister of the Nazi party, a native Estonian and former Russian subject. There is no mistaking his purpose. He would use a consolidated Hitlerite Baltic bloc as a base of operations from which to attack Soviet Russia. Working toward such a combination is a Nazi organization called the Baltic Federation under the leadership of the German military. In addition there are separate Nazi organizations in these states seeking to gain control through "constitutional" means. In Danzig they have already been successful. The free city of Danzig bartered its freedom last June for the Hockenkrentz. Although ostensibly a ward of the League of Nations, Danzig is now ruled by a Nazi senate. Herman Rauchning, president of the senate, is virtual dictator. The High Commissioner, Dr. Rosting, is powerless, having no control over the forces of law and order. Danzig continues to be a point of dissension between Poland and Germany.

### Latvia

Notwithstanding a decision by the Latvian parliament to suppress all Nazi organizations and newspapers throughout the country, the

last few months have seen a rapid development of Nazi forces. Attacks on workers and Jews by the Latvian Nazis or *Perkonkrustnieki* occur almost daily. The boldest stroke the Nazis have attempted was to demand that the government deprive Latvian Jews of the right to vote, to own property, and to receive trade licenses. The Nazis in Riga are constituted into two organizations with but a single purpose. The Liberation League and the significantly named Blue Eagle. The former publishes a paper called the *Jaunakas Sinds*, whose angel, Benjaminosh, has been active in White Guard intrigues against the Soviet Union.

### Holland

On the surface the Dutch government is against the Nazis. It is aware that the Nazis have open designs on the coal mines in South Limburg and ultimately hope to swallow Holland whole. Following disorders in frontier towns by uniformed Nazis, the government forbade all Germans wearing brown shirts and other Nazi emblems to cross the border. A police order in the Heerlen mining district about this time prohibited foreigners living in this section to cross the Dutch frontier and take part in Nazi activities in Germany. Violators were subject to deportation. Konrad Tykfer, regional leader of the Nazis, was expelled from Limburg and now conducts his activities from Aachen on the other side of the border.

There is a hitch to Dutch opposition, however. Of the twenty-odd Fascist groups in Holland, the only one countenanced by the government is the organization led by A. A. Mussert. Ideologically the Mussert organization is close to the Hitler movement and because it enjoys a monopoly of legal protection many Nazis find it more expedient to operate from within that group. There is strong evidence of complicity on the part of Mussert followers with Nazis in the apprehension and deportation of anti-Fascist workers in Holland. It is an open secret, also, that Mussert has tried to get financial subsidies from Berlin and has in all likelihood succeeded. For his paper, *De Deutsche Gedachter*, has recently been enlarged. Also operating in collusion with the Nazis in spying upon and terrorizing anti-Fascists are the Black Shirts led by the Englishman Haighton. The Black Shirts who joined hands with the Nazis at the Schlaegter memorial, are supported by German industrialists and function as a sort of auxiliary body to the Dutch National Socialists.

The central headquarters of the N.S.D.A.P. are in Amsterdam, administered by one Patzig, who also is in charge of an active espionage division. Assisting Patzig in putting Hitler across is Dr. Van Rappard, a Dutchman, who edits a magazine called the *National Socialist*, which advocates an enlarged German empire of which Holland would be a part. Dr. Van Rappard maintains close contact with the Central Propaganda Bureau of Dr. Goebbels and visits Berlin frequently.



# “Like Them Bahlsheviks”

JOHN L. SPIVAK

A BIG MAN with a booming voice and a ready smile for everyone got on the train at Meridian, Miss. When he passed my seat in the smoker he greeted me with a loud and genial “Hi—.”

I put him down mentally as a politician. Subsequently, in a long talk we had together while he munched at an apple, I found that I was right. He was Marion W. Reily, a Meridian lawyer who had once almost been elected Governor of the state.

Reily as the trial lawyer of his firm is constantly traveling about Mississippi. We talked of workers, farmers, business men—what happened to them since the depression, how they felt, what they thought, what he, as one of the leaders in the state, felt and thought.

“You know,” he said in a confidential tone, “there are too many people altogether. What we need is a war. That’ll thin ’em out and start things humming again. The trouble is I can’t seem to get anyone to agree with me.” He shook his head regretfully. “The American Legion boys aren’t saying much, but there isn’t a one who isn’t sorry he went over.”

“Sentiment’s against war?”

“Yes, but that doesn’t mean anything. You know how it is. When the flag waving starts and the band starts playing and everybody’s making speeches about atrocities—everything changes then. It can be whipped up easily.”

The candidate for Governor did not approve of federal relief.

“Just as long as the government keeps pouring money into the state they’re going to keep taking charity. But it’s not this willingness to take charity that’s bothering me so much as everybody talking about imposing higher personal taxes. What scares me is when you get a man like my partner who has more money than I have saying that the government ought to redistribute the wealth of the country. He says it is right, morally and legally, for a government whose people are starving, to confiscate part or all of the wealth in the hands of a few. You’d be surprised how many people are talking like that now, substantial citizens, too, who are ready to have their own money taxed heavily if the same is done to the huge fortunes.

“They think the whole cause of the depression is the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. There’s a good deal of unrest in this state and a lot of sentiment against the rich. They feel that the government has not only allowed, but helped the rich to get richer at the expense of the poor. And feeling the way they do, I tell you I’m afraid to think of what might happen if government money stops coming in here.

“Take Meridian, for instance. More of an industrial town because of the railroad

shops. It’s always been a strong union place and you’d expect that sort of talk, but now you find it in the farming areas. Now these union men were pretty conservative, but you know what happened? They and a lot of unemployed organized themselves and demanded that the C.W.A. money be turned over to them for distribution instead of to public officials. That’s what’s the matter with labor. They just seem to want somebody of their own picking to handle everything. They don’t trust the man in public office any more.

“Well, sir, I tell you it looked like trouble. They were so mad when they were turned down that they were going to smash the C.W.A. office. There was plenty trouble in the air. I had to talk to ’em—I’m a union lawyer, you know, and they know I’m always for the working man—and a couple of other leading citizens talked to ’em and told them to get back of the President. We finally managed to keep that unemployed meeting from breaking up in a riot.”

Reily thinks the solution to the depression is to put men back to work on the land where they can grow their own food.

“If everybody works the land and grows his own vegetables, they’ll have enough to eat.”

“How will they get money for clothes and taxes?”

“Sell their produce.”

“To whom—if everybody works the land?”

He shrugged his shoulders.

“It’s beyond me,” he said finally. “What do you think?”

The puzzled politician left the train in Jackson. A few miles out of the city a farmer got on—a heavy-set, unshaved fellow with a red face and hands hardened by long years of toil. From the window we glimpsed groups of Negroes or whites half hidden by swirls of smoke rising from their burning fields.

“What are they doing?” I asked.

“Burnin’ trash. Gettin’ ready for plowin’. They got to burn last year’s trash because one-horse plows don’t dig deep enough to plow everything under.”

“You own your own land?”

“No, sir. I’m a tenant farmer. Share cropper, some calls it.”

“Things any better for you now the government’s guaranteeing ten cents a pound for cotton and paying the farmer not to plow all of his land?”

He looked at me steadily for a moment.

“Better? The gov’m’t ain’t givin’ the tenant farmer nothin’. Only one’s gettin’ anything out o’ all this here gov’m’t money is the landowner. The gov’m’t ain’t worryin’ about the ‘half-hands’. That’s what share croppers are called, you know. I’m worse off now than before the gov’m’t began to spend

money, because the gov’m’t paid the landowner not to plow so much. Me an’ my family ain’t gettin’ advances no more, either. The boss says he can’t afford it an’ anyway, I kin go to the Red Cross an’ get me some food an’ clothes.”

“What did you used to get in advances?”

“Before things got pretty bad I used to get about twelve dollars between March and August—that was for my whole family. But since things got purty bad I ain’t gettin’ nothin’. I have to get me a sack o’ flour from the Red Cross or the fed’ral emergency relief now.”

“Why don’t you get a C.W.A. job then?”

“Mister, them jobs is given to them that vote.”

“Well, why don’t you vote then?”

“You can’t vote unless you pay your poll tax an’ I ain’t never had enough money to buy me a sack of flour, let alone pay a poll tax.”

“That’s a pretty hopeless situation, isn’t it?”

“It can’t last like this much longer,” he said grimly. “All this talk o’ helpin’ the farmer—that’s just talk. All that’s gettin’ anything out o’ the gov’m’t is the landowner or them millionaires up east. All the politicians just take everything from the poor farmer an’ give it to the millionaires. If this keeps up we’ll just about start a revolution—like them Bahlsheviks.”

Everywhere I went I heard the same grim threats to start a revolution “like them Bahlsheviks,” as they pronounced it. Share croppers in the depths of despair, starving, dependent upon charity show signs of unrest greater even than before federal relief came to quiet things for those who had money enough to pay poll taxes and could thus vote. The government does not specify that you must vote to be eligible for a C.W.A. job but local politicians have control of apportioning the jobs and give them to those with the vote. They are bolstering their political machine with government money. The Negro and the penniless cropper, both being disfranchised, one for color and the other for being poor, are in the main ignored.

The small independent farmer, even with the government’s guarantee of ten cents a pound for cotton and payment for acreage not cultivated are bitter because the government’s scheme to help them turned out to be really a help only for the big landowner and the corporation-owned plantations in the Delta country.

In Lincoln County, which is typical of a cotton county in Mississippi or, for that matter, in the whole deep south, one out of every five independent farmers have lost their farms since the depression—some for inability to pay as low as \$20 in taxes. Those who still