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The British-American Conflict at Geneva, Lausanne and Ottawa.

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

The Hoover "Disarmament" Plan has brought into sharp relief the conflicts in the imperialist camp, and in particular the British-American conflict. Two camps are revealed. On the one side, the United States, Germany and Italy. On the other side, Britain, France and Japan. This alignment agrees with the line of division already shown at the Disarmament Committee in 1930, which revealed the two camps forming, of the Versailles bloc on the one hand, and the anti-Versailles bloc with American support on the other. It further agrees with the line shown in the Far Eastern crisis, where Britain and France have actively collaborated with Japan in opposition to the United States.

This growing intensity of conflict in the imperialist camp, and sharper defining of the major lines of division (despite numerous cross-currents, alternative tendencies, manoeuvres etc.) does not mean that the offensive preparations against the Soviet Union are thereby diminished. On the contrary, it means that the growing intensity of the crisis is driving the imperialist Powers to more aggressive and reckless policies, and therefore sharpens the danger of the combined imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union as the sole common ground

for imperialism to find an outlet from the growing contradictions.

The strategic conflict at Geneva (American "disarmament" offensive against Britain and France) is closely linked up, not only with Lausanne (British-French debts offensive against America), but also with Ottawa (the British offensive to form a world-bloc against the United States), with the Far Eastern situation (Japanese offensive, supported by Britain and France, in opposition to the United States), and the whole world situation of growing trade, tariff and currency conflict. All these manifestations reveal the growing war-character of the crisis; the increasing imperialist conflicts are the inevitable expression of the failure of each Imperialist Power to find a peaceful solution of the crisis within its own state boundaries. This is glaringly evident in relation to the inner situation, not only of the most hard pressed Powers, Japan, Germany and Italy, but also, and even more profoundly, of the still strongest Powers, of America, Britain and France.

Take the position of America. The Hoover Government in America has been the most emphatic in proclaiming its pro-

gramme of the independent solution of the crisis in America, on the basis of American capitalism's own resources, in isolation from the rest of the world. Even as late as last December, Hoover still proclaimed in his Message to Congress:

"If we can put our financial resources to work, I am confident that we can make a large measure of recovery independent of the rest of the world".

(December 8th, 1931.)

The expression of this policy was the successive financial experiments for "reflation", the expansion of credit, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Glass-Steagall Act, etc. But the hopes of speedy recovery on this basis have ended in bankruptcy. The economic crisis has deepened even more rapidly; the collapse in stocks has proceeded headlong to record low levels. The standard Dow-Jones Index of 30 industrial stocks, which stood at 373 at the height of the boom in September, 1929, and had fallen to 73 by December, 1931, fell still further to 44 by May of this year; while the corresponding figure for 20 rails, which had stood at 182 in the boom, fell to 14. Exports for April fell to \$136 millions, against \$245 millions a year before, and \$331 millions two years before. The deficits in the federal, state and municipal finances reached enormous totals. The export of capital has come to a standstill. Once more it was demonstrated that the most abundant cheap credits are of no avail without the conquest of markets. At the same time the approaching elections press on the Hoover Government the need for a more active policy.

Under these conditions, faced with the European debts offensive, faced with the British tariffs and currency offensive, and with the experience of diplomatic isolation in the Far East, American Imperialism turns inevitably to a more active world policy. **The sending of Stimson and Mellon to Europe, the negotiations with Britain for a World Economic Conference in London, and the bombshell of the Hoover proposals at Geneva, are the signs of this renewed intensified activity and aggressive policy of America in the world situation.**

Turn to the position of Britain. The National Government in Britain (the formation of which is already the characteristic signal of a war-emergency situation in British politics) was originally proclaimed as a short-term emergency device for the solution of the immediate financial and economic crisis by the two weapons of, first, the economy drive against the workers, and second, tariffs. To these, when the pound collapsed, was added the third weapon of sterling depreciation as a temporary further weapon, alongside of cuts and tariffs, for the conquest of markets. On this basis confident hopes were expressed of recovery. In the spring, when a very small improvement in the trade figures and unemployment figures was recorded (the latter in fact reflecting mainly the driving of hundreds of thousands of unemployed off benefit), this was universally hailed as the "Turn of the Tide", "National Revival", "National Prosperity Returning" by the leading politicians, economists and the press.

"Signs begin to multiply that the worst of the economic crisis is over, and that the country is about to enter on a period of steady activity in industry."

(Observer 6. 3. 32.)

The falsity of these illusions was soon apparent. By April the recorded figure of unemployment was rising again, despite the cutting off of hundreds of thousands, and to-day is reaching the neighbourhood of three millions for the first time in Britain; while exports for May showed a heavy drop of £4.5 millions on the previous month. The empty optimism gave way to a howl of pessimism, the "wave of hysteria" which Baldwin in the House of Commons on May 25th described as passing through the country. Government Ministers spoke of the possibilities of "complete collapse", "the world is rocking to its centre", "a system crumbling under our feet" etc. The panacea of tariffs passed into the background as "a great experiment", the results of which could not be judged for two or three years. (Baldwin in the House of Commons 23. 6. 32.)

In the face of this failure of the tariff policy to produce any improvement, and of the rapidly deepening crisis, the British National Government concentrates increasingly on an active and aggressive world policy as the secret for the solution of the crisis. The leadership of Lausanne in Europe and of Ottawa outside Europe are the signals of this process. At the same time a new and extreme offensive is launched

against the workers in Britain to meet the immediate worsening economic situation.

Thus British and American Imperialism are led by the growth of the crisis to a new stage of direct and intensified conflict. This conflict underlies the proceedings of Lausanne, Geneva and Ottawa.

The Far Eastern crisis this year already revealed the growing role of Anglo-American antagonism. Only this antagonism made possible the impunity with which Japanese Imperialism could go forward with its plundering expedition and still enjoy its Manchurian spoils, despite all the American threats and invocations of the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact. The direct support of Britain and France to Japan paralysed the American opposition.

But the British offensive advanced to a new stage with **Lausanne**. The permanent British policy since the Balfour Note ten years ago, to build a united European debtors' front against America, reaches its nearest point to success at Lausanne. The position of France is weakened, both by the first serious extension of the economic crisis to France, and by the obvious breakdown of the Versailles tributary system and rising opposition (with British encouragement) in Germany. Through the London Four Power Conference in the beginning of the year the French Danubian project was successfully defeated. Thereupon Britain took the leadership in the organisation of Lausanne, with the aim to secure, utilising the obvious breakdown of the reparations and debt mechanism, a united European front under British leadership, balancing France on the one side and Germany-Italy on the other, against both the Soviet Union and against the United States.

Alongside of the preparation of Lausanne, Britain entered into direct negotiations with the United States, and took the lead in signing a debts agreement, not only for resumption of the full debts payments in December, but also for the additional payment of the Hoover moratorium arrears at 4% interest in ten yearly instalments. In return for this, American agreement was announced to an **International Economic Conference** to be held in London under Anglo-American auspices on monetary and allied questions. What is the meaning of this move? First, to exert pressure on France by the resumption of the debt payments independent of any question of reparations (the agreement was angrily commented on by the "Temps" as "a manoeuvre to force France's hands"). Second, to force the debts question to an issue by raising it in the form of immediate payment of an even larger sum, at a moment when world economic conditions made such payment most impossible. Third, to entangle America in the issues of Lausanne. American official expression insists on the condition that the Conference should have no bearing on debts, reparations or the issues of Lausanne. British official expression describes the Conference as a "second part of Lausanne", and insists that, once discussion begins, it will be impossible to keep out debts, reparations and all other issues. Similar division has appeared on the composition of the Conference, Britain seeking to confine it to the Young Plan Powers, America seeking to widen it and proposing the invitation of the Soviet Union and China.

Parallel to these two lines of negotiation, British Imperialism goes forward with **Ottawa**. The significance of Ottawa is above all a strategic significance in the imperialist conflict of Britain and America, with tariffs as a weapon. The illusory character of the dreams of "empire economic unity", and the conflicting interests of the Dominions capitalists and the British capitalists, have been abundantly exposed. There is no prospect of Britain securing freedom of entry into the Dominions markets, or any important measure of solution of its economic problems through the Ottawa Conference. But British Imperialism will undoubtedly aim, by concessions to the Dominions in the shape of preferences to their foodstuffs and raw materials (paid for by the workers in Britain through higher prices) to draw them closer and away from the growing American dominance. In the words of the Federation of British Industries Memorandum for Ottawa:

"If the nations of the Empire decide, instead of cooperation, to stand alone, each one of them must eventually fall under the domination of some foreign economic group."

(Times 6. 5. 32.)

There is no doubt of the "foreign economic group" here

referred to. And alongside this, Hoover in a recent declaration, with obvious bearing on Ottawa, goes out of his way to denounce "preferential tariff agreements" as

"the very breeding ground for tariff wars" and leading to "international entanglements of the first order".

(Times 13. 5. 32.)

Not only this, but the wider aims of British policy at Ottawa extend to utilising tariffs and currency agreements in order to build a world bloc under British leadership extending beyond the existing Empire, or, in the words of the "Times"

"the formation of an economic unit far beyond the bounds of the political Empire."

(6. 5. 32.)

The Hoover "Disarmament" proposals are the first measure of the American counter-offensive to this British offensive. Through Geneva they strike at Lausanne. The proposals are so framed as to strike at once the French military position and the British naval position. From taking the initiative against the American Shylock, Britain and France are forced on to the defensive as the upholders of armaments, and this, before the issue of the debts is ready to be presented.

At the same time the Lausanne negotiations have shown signs of turning in a direction unintended by Britain.

The French-German negotiations have raised the possibility of an alternative form of bloc, not under British leadership, but with a point directed against Britain. It may be noted that one of the points of the agenda of the Warmbold-Durand conversations at Lausanne specifically covered

"the repercussions upon European Powers of any decisions taken at Ottawa." (Times 24. 6. 32.)

Undoubtedly, American influences have shown themselves encouraging on more than one occasion in the past towards such Franco-German closer economic working.

Under the strain of the existing contradictions, the Lausanne Conference appears likely to be adjourned without solution other than the provisional moratorium "during the Conference". Such adjournment, however, would not mean in this case the usual formal cover for burial. On the contrary, it would mean that the issues have advanced to the more direct stage of conflict, the conflict with America, and the proceedings of Lausanne are held over, solely in subordination to this. Through Lausanne, through Geneva, through Ottawa, and still more through the coming London Economic Conference, if it is held, the Anglo-American antagonism stands out ever more clearly and dominating.

The Fate of the Hoover Plan.

Leading Article of "Pravda" July 2, 1932.

Hoover's Disarmament plan has been shelved. The well-informed Geneva organ of the French imperialists, "**Journal des Nations**" even stated that **it will be impossible to discuss the American plan before October or November.**

The Hoover Plan, which is a caricature of the Soviet Union's disarmament project, was perhaps for this very reason not rejected in every form. But thanks to the efforts of the three chief imperialist opponents of the United States—England, France and Japan—it has been rendered "innocuous".

In the light of the results of the five months activity of the imperialist "peace-makers" at Geneva, the fate of the Hoover Plan at Geneva does not constitute anything unusual. The imperialist Powers convened a conference and postponed the time of its final fiasco, because under the cloak of the Conference it is easier for them to arm. Their whole strategy and tactics at Geneva aim at achieving a military superiority by uninterruptedly raising the level of **their own** forces and at the same time striving to disarm their rivals.

Neither before nor after Geneva has the imperialist world ceased madly to arm for war for a redistribution of the world. The crisis has not brought a standstill to this process, which is natural for imperialism. In spite of the enormous budget deficits, the imperialist States continue to expend enormous sums on armaments.

The crisis only accentuates the inequality of the development of the armed forces of the various imperialist countries, and thereby increases the competition in the sphere of armaments, increases the prerequisites to new wars.

American imperialism is endeavouring to take advantage of this inequality. Hoover's manoeuvre was, therefore, received by France, and especially by its allies, England and Japan, with the point of the bayonet.

The representatives of French imperialism, who have the reputation of being past-masters in the art of sabotaging disarmament, have once again proved themselves worthy of their calling.

In the present case French diplomacy has sought the support of its neighbour on the other side of the Channel and of its ally in Asia. England and Japan have accorded the desired support by strengthening the position of French imperialism at Geneva by their plain refusal to examine the feasibility of the Hoover Plan. Thus the Hoover Plan has been doomed to wander for five months through the labyrinth of Geneva. Here it will land in the hands of "military experts" on the various commissions, on which the whole of the disarmament activity of the Geneva Conference is actually concentrated. And there sufficiently powerful chemical solvents and experienced hands will be found to convert the gorgeous American bouquet into a funeral wreath.

American diplomacy pursued a comprehensive and far-reaching aim: **to carry out the Geneva Conference under the political hegemony of the United States** by pushing aside the

plenipotentiaries of French and English imperialism, who exercise undisputed powers at the Geneva disarmament Conference.

The Hoover Plan pursued at the same time three other chief aims: to test the firmness of the Anglo-French-Japanese collaboration by sowing discord among the English, French and Japanese imperialists; to weaken as far as possible the powers of resistance to American imperialism, and finally, to make a suitable impression on the American electorate.

Up to now American diplomacy has not achieved one of these aims. Mr. Hoover, it is true, has succeeded in ascertaining how strong is the co-operation of the anti-American Powers. He is, however, scarcely satisfied with the results of his test. The Hoover Plan is also directed against submarines and aircraft, and therefore, it would appear, must coincide with the interests of England. England is particularly concerned with protecting the mother country and the connecting routes with the British Empire against submarine and air blockade. But Hoover's plan threatens mainly the chief basis of the British (and also of the Japanese military power)—its sea forces, or more exactly stated, the strongest and best battleship and cruiser fleet in the world. In addition, the Hoover Plan is directed against French imperialism. Therefore Mr. Gibson was able to satisfy himself that, strong as the Anglo-French-Japanese antagonisms may be, they do not yet hinder the fight of these Powers against the United States. This was also the case at Geneva.

Sir John Simon considered it advisable to go to London in order to hear the opinion of the Admiralty. The latter, however, hold very definite views in this connection: **in no case allow the United States to achieve actual naval parity with England**, although this principle was recognised at the Washington and London naval conferences. **And it is perfectly obvious that British diplomacy will not grant any real concessions.**

It is true, British diplomacy, as its representatives say, is "prepared to discuss" the question of tanks, heavy artillery and the numerical strength of the land army. In expressing this readiness British diplomacy follows quite another aim, namely, to remind its neighbour across the straits of Dover of its dependence on London.

The events which have occurred in the last few days at Geneva are, in the main, a reflection of the struggle between the United States and England. The antagonisms between them remain the dominating feature in international relations in the latest post-war epoch of imperialism. And this has once again been fully confirmed at Geneva.

French imperialism is exerting all its efforts and all its skill in order to weld together at Geneva, as well as at Lausanne, a **united front against the United States**, which last on its part is supported by Italy, Germany, the countries of South America etc.

The representatives of only one country, the Soviet Union, are refraining from taking part in this fight of the imperialists for this or that variation of sabotage of disarmament. The Soviet delegation, which has revealed to the workers of the whole world the true state of affairs at the Geneva Conference, which has repeatedly exposed the sabotage projects of the imperialists, goes on its way, which differs fundamentally from the ways of imperialist policy. The only delegation which is really fighting for complete disarmament is the Soviet delegation. **Its task of exposing the imperialists becomes all the more important precisely at the present time, when the results of the five months' activity of the Geneva Conference is a still greater aggravation of imperialist antagonisms.**

The Geneva comedy remains a means for preparing the new imperialist war and anti Soviet intervention, a means of deceiving the working masses. And therefore it still remains the task of these masses ruthlessly to expose the Geneva "peace-makers".

POLITICS

French Imperialism in the Grip of the Crisis.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

French imperialism is conducting a desperate struggle both at Lausanne and Geneva in order to maintain its dominating positions in Europe and the world. Paul Boncour's bitter fight against Hoover's disarmament proposal proves the firm determination of France to preserve its military superiority, cost what it may.

The Radical government of France, which is supported by the French socialist party as being the "lesser evil", has in regard to all the questions constituting the subject of debate in Switzerland used the same nationalist language as Poincaré and Tardieu formerly employed. This has earned Herriot the congratulations and encouragement of the whole of the Right press.

In spite of these facts, the social democratic party continues to declare that it will go on supporting the "Left" Ministry "in the hope that Herriot will remain true to the will of the people". Of all the parties it was only the Communist Party which already before the election stigmatised the pacifist demagogy of the Radicals and pointed out that even if the Radical government intended to pursue a Left policy in the international arena, the general situation in the world and particularly in France would not permit this.

As a matter of fact, the situation of French economy is deteriorating from day to day. In spite of the protective tariff wall, the home market has shrunk considerably, and the French peasantry has also been hit by the world agrarian crisis. The disastrous drop in the prices of raw material has reduced the purchasing power of the colonies to almost nothing. The enormous burden of taxes resulting from the stabilisation of the Franc presses heavily on production, without, however, the budget being balanced. The economic isolation of France has led to a considerable increase in the cost of living, and to such an increase in the cost of production that not only the favourable possibilities of export rapidly disappeared, but France's competitive capacity on the world market has been almost completely destroyed.

The general production index in France has fallen from 144 in July 1930, to 134 in December 1930 and to 111 in December 1931, which means a drop of 22 per cent in 18 months. In April 1932, the general production index had fallen to 95, which represents a drop of 14 per cent since December 1931. The output of cast iron has fallen from the peak level of 901,000 tons in May 1931, to a monthly average output of 685,000 tons in the year 1931 and to 459,000 tons in April 1932, i. e. to 50 per cent of its output capacity. A year ago 133 furnaces were working and 78 had been extinguished, whilst at the present time the figures are reversed and only 78 are working.

The electro industry affords a striking example of the depth of the crisis. The influx of orders in the year 1931 was 55 per cent less than in the year 1929. In the first quarter of 1932 the orders fell a further 45 per cent compared with the average of 1931.

Whilst the number of registered unemployed amounted to 305,000 last March, the present number is about 228,000. But

this result was only achieved by expelling foreign workers from France, who were compelled to starve in their native countries (it is said that 350,000 foreign workers have been expelled since the beginning of 1931). In reality there are close on 1½ million unemployed, whilst at least 50 per cent of the workers in industry are on short time.

The total deficit of the foreign trade balance amounted to 11,778 million in the year 1931 compared with 9,675 millions in 1930. For the first five months of the current year it amounts to 4,169 million; but this "improvement" is based solely on an unprecedented decline of the import trade. Thus in May last the total of foreign trade operations amounted to 3,953 millions—the lowest figure ever recorded—compared with 6,780 million in May 1931, and the total value in gold francs of exports did not amount to even 50 per cent of the monthly exports in the year 1913. The decline in the export of finished goods is disastrous: 187,000 tons in May last compared with 286,000 tons in May 1931 and 359,000 tons in May 1930.

Since the commencement of the crisis the index of the cost of living has remained stationary in France, whilst in the big capitalist countries it has fallen at least 15 per cent. The chief cause of this stabilisation of high prices lies naturally in the prohibitive customs duties on agricultural products. For whilst the price index of industrial products fell from 579 to 353, the wholesale trade index of food stuffs only declined from 523 to 500.

The antagonism of interests has become plainly apparent. The threatened agrarians are demanding the consolidation, in fact even a further extension of the protective tariffs, and they have succeeded in convincing the small peasants of the necessity of this. The industrialists are demanding a reduction of the prices of agricultural goods, which would facilitate the increased attack on wages. It appears that the government must soon decide on a revision of the policy it has adopted since the beginning of the crisis.

It is easy to understand why the French delegation at Lausanne and the French press so strongly emphasise the necessity of maintaining, under one form or another, the reparations payments which constitute a burden on German production. The fear of collapsing under the blows of the commercial competition of a Germany freed from the burden of reparations has become a real nightmare to French capitalism.

It is perfectly obvious that French imperialism, at a moment when its economic positions in Europe are threatened and it sees no possibility of readapting the productive forces of France to the development of world economy, heads more and more energetically for the way out of the crisis which appears it to be easiest, namely war against the Soviet Union.

The Bargaining over the Reparations Payments.

Lausanne, July 4, 1932.

The Conference at Lausanne, after stagnating completely several times, and then passing through a stage of comparative revival, has now fallen into a lagging tempo again.

About the middle of last week, the proposal that years of reparations payment by Germany should be replaced by one final payment was agreed upon in principle. Now tedious negotiations were necessary among the creditor Powers, in order to arrive at an agreement among these Powers themselves as to the amount of this final sum to be demanded from Germany. After this had been finally accomplished, then those difficulties set in which were bound to arise out of the counter-proposals and the general attitude of the German delegation.

One of the main difficulties has been the fact that the German delegation only proved willing to agree to 2,000 million of the 4,000 million marks which had been decided on by the creditor Powers among themselves as the amount of the final payment. Another chief difficulty has been the inability to find any formula on the dependence of the German payments on the coming to an understanding between the inter-allied Powers and that Power to which these are in debt, the United States. All this has had the effect, if not of actually causing a renewed complete stagnation (at least not so far), of throwing negotiations back into their old dragging pace.

The most important features of the events of the last few days may be enumerated chronologically as follows:

On the morning of 1st July, the Reich Chancellor von Papen, the Reich minister of finance von Schwerin-Krosigk, and the secretary of state von Bülow from the foreign office, visited MacDonald, and explained to him that the German delegation could not agree to any solution which was not entirely final, especially if the coming into force of this solution was made dependent on a general settlement of the debts. (This statement represented an express refusal to place the question of Germany's reparations payments in a position of contractual dependence on the solution of the question of the inter-allied debts to the United States.)

Shortly after this, the representatives of the five creditor Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan—met in conference. Herriot was, however, absent from Lausanne on this day.

After Herriot's return from Paris, a four hours' conference took place in the morning of 2nd July, between the prime ministers of Great Britain and France, the chancellors of the exchequer and ministers of commerce of both countries also being present. Herriot advanced the demand that the sum to be required from Germany should be 5,000 million marks. MacDonald advocated a demand of 4,000 million marks. Even greater difficulties were caused by the formulation of the clause referring to the dependence of the solution of the reparations question on the settlement of the question of the inter-allied debts to the United States.

After a fresh conference between the representatives of France and Great Britain, a consultation was held by the representatives of the five creditor Powers under MacDonald's chairmanship. No great progress was made, however, except that it was agreed to fix the sum of the final payment at 4,000 million marks.

The evening of 3rd July brought the reply of the German delegation to the memorandum sent to this delegation by MacDonald on the morning of the same day, containing the demand upon which the five creditor Powers had agreed. The German delegation declared through the State Chancellor that the demand for 4,000 million marks could not be accepted by Germany. The German delegation rejected equally categorically any clause declaring the settlement to be dependent on the question of the inter-allied debts to the United States. The German delegation declared itself agreed to the principle of the fixing of a final lump sum, but on details it differed essentially on many points from the details which had been proposed by the five creditor Powers. As compared with the 4,000 million marks demanded, the German delegation stated that the sum which Germany is able to pay, and willing to pay, is 2,000 million marks.

Negotiations on the demands of the creditor Powers and on the counter-offer of the Germans were carried on throughout the whole of Sunday (4th July) and again on 5th July, without any essential progress being made.

How Elections are Held in "Democratic" Rumania.

By Dinu Prîbeşie (Bucharest).

With a view to restoring a "constitutional state of affairs", the Rumanian bourgeoisie has entrusted the national peasants party with the task of calling new elections. In order to damp down, at least temporarily, the threatening excitement in the country, imperialist France has authorised the Bank of Rumania to pay out to the government in Bucharest 1000 million Lei on account of the stabilisation loan. It is intended by this loan to pay a part of the wages and salaries of the civil servants and government employees for June. The salaries for the preceding months still remain unpaid.

Since it came into power the Voivod government has been indulging in symbolic gestures. We have already mentioned the payment of a part of the salaries. In an order to the authorities containing directions which will remain in force for the period of the elections, the executive organs are instructed by the Minister for the Interior to refrain from any actions calculated to prevent the "will of the people" from being expressed. Attention is also called to the provisions of the law against abuses at elections.

At the same time an offer is made to the social democratic party to run their candidates on the government ticket, in return for which they will be given a number of positions in the Ministry. The social democratic party of Rumania has hesitated up to the last to accept this enticing offer of the

government. The fact is, the social democracy is already largely boycotted by the masses, and fears that such an action might cause it to lose all its followers.

As, however, time is pressing (the elections are to be held on July 17), the government has placed its last cards on the table. The ink with which the beautiful democratic promises were written is hardly dry, and already there are reports from numerous industrial towns of Rumania that workers' delegations who wished to hand in to the local authorities the list of candidates of the workers' and peasants' bloc, have been arrested and thrown into prison and the list of candidates rejected.

In Bucharest itself a delegation of 200 workers were arrested on leaving the court buildings, where they had been to deposit their list of candidates, and conveyed to the police station. Of course, the workers did not submit to this scandalous treatment without offering resistance. The police used this as a pretext for charging most of these workers with resisting the State authority.

It is unnecessary to say that in most of the provincial towns the arrested workers have been subjected to indescribable torture, in order by means of their "depositions" to have a justification for the wholesale arrests throughout the country. The notorious "Siguranza", as is only to be expected, is trying to make out that it has discovered a "conspiracy". It is significant that the "democratic" press publishes the police reports under scare headlines and in full detail. The police have discovered Communist workers and the inevitable "Moscow agents" who, so it is said, have paid out 3 million Lei in the course of one month.

The "democratic" government of the national peasants party has shown once again that it does not wish to lag behind its notorious predecessor, the Yorga-Argetoianu government. This last government deprived the workers' and peasants' bloc of 5 seats which it had won at the elections, and distributed them among the various bourgeois parties, including the social democratic party. The present government rightly fears that in view of the bankruptcy of the existing regime, which delivers the working population over to misery and poverty, a still larger number of Communists will be returned to Parliament. They are therefore doing everything in order to render it impossible for the Communists to take part in the elections. This is the object of the "conspiracy" in Bucharest, the wholesale arrests carried out throughout the country.

But the number of the arrested shows the persistence of the fight being waged by the revolutionary Rumanian workers. The new wave of terror will only strengthen their revolutionary determination.

British Ex-Labour M.P. Confesses His Errors.

John Strachey, ex-Labour M.P. for Aston, and one of those who threw in his lot with Mosley's New Party fascists, resigning from that organisation after three months, has an article in the "Daily Worker" of June 30, after the "New Leader" the organ of the I.L.P. had refused to publish it, in which he makes an open correction of his errors. The article is published with an editorial comment that whilst Strachey is obviously honestly trying to correct his mistakes, and while this is a big advance, it is not enough. "Untiring service in the daily struggle of the working class is the real test which will prove the meaning of the written word and enable Comrade Strachey to win his place as a worker in the revolutionary movement", concludes the editorial comment.

"Some people", says Strachey, "may be inclined to feel that with the break up of the New Party the menace of fascism is over. But that is far from being the case. My own mistakes on this question have taught me that the Fascist threat in Britain is growing and that it will grow greater and greater as the economic crisis deepens. For Mosley's attempt to create a Fascist organisation out of the New Party was only one way, and the crudest way at that, to Fascism in Britain.

"When in March 1931 a small group of Labour M.P.s. of which I was one, finally grasped the bankruptcy of the late Labour Government's policy, we saw the necessity of breaking with the Labour Party. Mosley seemed to take the same view. The New Party was launched with a programme which contained the measures that we thought the Labour Government ought to have undertaken...

"A few months after the New Party had come into being,

Mosley made it clear that he intended to make a fascist organisation out of the New Party. It should have been clear to us from the outset that this was his intention. But soon developments arose that we could not ignore.

"Mosley had determined to make the New Party into a on military lines, about establishing the Corporate State, about loyalty to the Empire, about the Firm Hand in India. Above all he suddenly became extremely anti-Russian. It was clear from that moment that the Communists who from the beginning had warned us that Mosley saw himself as the British Hitler were right.

"Mosley had determined to make the New Party into a British version of Fascism. Young and I and everyone who hated fascism at once broke with him and the New Party was hopelessly split.

"Most people expected that we should return to the Labour Party. I was invited to do so by a leading article in the "Daily Herald", and was sent a message in the lobby to say that no difficulties would be put in the way of my doing so...

"Instead of rejoining the Labour Party I exposed to the best of my ability the utterly hypocritical nature of the Labour Party's Opposition to the National Government in a series of speeches in Parliament. When the election came I determined to contest my seat as an Independent Workers' candidate in order to expose the Labour Party to the maximum number of workers.

"The experiences of the past year have taught me one thing clearly. And that is that Communism or some form of Fascism are the only alternatives before Great Britain. Hence the working-class, enlightened by a revolutionary leadership, is the only bulwark against fascism.

"Now I am bound to say that it appears to me that all the varieties of British Social Democracy, both the **Labour Party**, the **reactionary trade union leaders**, and I must add the **I.L.P.** are paving the way for fascism...

"There is no doubt that whether consciously or unconsciously the I.L.P. leaders are simply acting as safety valves through which the discontented workers can harmlessly blow off steam, instead of becoming revolutionaries and leaving the Labour Party. Thus the I.L.P. leaders' criticism of the Labour Party is really the greatest service they can render it...

"Every other Party than the **Communist Party** panders to the illusions which the British ruling class attempts to foster among the workers. The C.P. alone is prepared to show the workers that the democratic forms of the British constitution are actually now being scrapped by the capitalists; and that as the crisis deepens and war draws nearer, the attempt will be made, if not by one method, then by another, to establish a full fascist dictatorship.

"The C.P. is to-day the only Party which is striving to organise that fighting resistance on the part of the working class which can alone defeat the aims of the British capitalists."

GERMANY

Increasing Misery and Intensified Terror in Germany.

By Steinemann (Berlin).

The new emergency orders issued by the Papen-Schleicher Government, which is supported by Hitler, are at present coming into force. June 29, the day on which disablement benefit is paid out, witnessed the most heart-rending scenes of misery and despair. Persons in receipt of **disablement benefit** are paid six marks a month less than hitherto; the miserable pensions of the widows have been reduced by 5 marks, and those of the orphans by 4 marks. The 8th of July will see the introduction of the **occupation tax**, which means a new wage cut of 1½ per cent. and more. On July 16, the **salt tax** will come into operation, which is to bring in 60 million marks a year and will increase the price of salt by 6 Pfennigs a pound. At the end of July there comes into force the monstrous cut in **unemployment benefit**, which reduces the already exceedingly low rates of unemployment benefit by a further 10, 15 and 25 per cent. and which is bound to result in increased and fearful impoverishment of the working masses. On August 1st there follows the reduction of **war pensions**.

The misery and poverty of the masses are increasing. On the day disablement benefit was reduced there took place in Berlin alone two suicides of disabled persons whom hunger had driven to despair. It is not unseldom now that workers or proletarian women faint from hunger on the streets. The next few weeks, in which the economy measures under the emergency orders come into effect, will witness a further increase of this terrible misery of the masses.

Out of the millions squeezed out of the impoverished workers and the poorest of the poor, **new subventions** are to be granted to the big capitalists. Millions are to be expended on the Reichswehr and the navy. In the budget, which is now dictated by the emergency orders, the expenditure on the Reichswehr and Navy is fixed at not much less than 750 million marks.

Intensified repressive measures are being carried out in order to hold down the exploited masses of workers. Freedom of demonstration is granted practically only to the Nazis. Von Papen has caused the "Vorwärts" to be prohibited for five days: a measure which is intended in the first place to intimidate the social democratic workers, and which signalises a fresh series of actions on the part of Papen and Hitler against the revolutionary workers' organisations, against the Communist press and against the C.P. of Germany.

In addition to the intensification of the antagonisms between the classes, there is also to be observed a considerable increase of the antagonisms within the bourgeoisie. Relations between the Reichs government and the South German State governments have become considerably strained—which fact in turn is an expression of the conflict of interests between the South German industrialists and big agrarians on the one side and the West German industrialists and the East-Elbian junkers on the other side.

The Papen dictatorship has the full support of Hitler. The Nazi party is attempting to deny this fact. It was confirmed, however, by a circular sent out by the Herren club, to which von Gayl, the Minister of the Interior and other Ministers belong, as well as by an accompanying letter from the chairman of the Herrenclub von Gleichen. In this accompanying letter, dated June 6, it is stated:

"The new Cabinet is not only **tolerated by the Nazis**, but has also the **express approval of the leader**.

"The new Cabinet is not a transition Cabinet, as the press falsely reports, but it will be confirmed as it is by the new Reichstag, at least by its prospective strongest party (this means the Nazis B.St.). In return, the **Federated States will be left over to the Nazis**, and there exist also **agreements regarding Prussia**, that is, regarding the appointment of a tried and proved man as Prime Minister or Reichs Commissioner, further re-organisation of the inner administration with the active collaboration of the **national socialist forces**."

It is thus proved again that Hitler is responsible for the emergency orders and also for the agreements concluded by Papen at Lausanne. The "Völkische Beobachter", the chief organ of the Nazis, of July 3 and 4, praises Papen to the skies and approves of his consent to the maintenance of tribute payments under the Versailles Treaty, by seeking to make them palatable to the working people as the "lesser evil". The national socialist party, in whose system of deception the sham fight "against Versailles" plays the chief role, thereby exposes itself more drastically than hitherto as the party of the Versailles enslavement.

The national socialist party is endeavouring by systematically organised murder-attacks by its storm detachments, to divert the attention of its followers from the fact that it supports von Papen's emergency decrees and Von Papen's policy at Lausanne, and at the same time to intimidate the workers in order to facilitate the carrying out of the emergency orders. The Berlin "Angriff" of July 2nd openly called for murder. It wrote: "After the police organs have failed in every respect, the Wedding Storm Detachments will from to-day make use of their legal right of self-defence." That is plain enough.

There has been a tremendous increase in the murder-terror of the storm detachments in the last few days. Not a day passes without workers being murdered, mostly in the most cowardly and brutal manner. In the 24 hours from 30th June to 1st of July, six workers were killed by Nazi storm troops.

In the night of July 2, the Nazis carried out a bloody action in Berlin; they raced at breakneck pace on motor cycles through several working class quarters, stopped suddenly at workers' clubs and premises, opened a rapid fire upon the workers present and then rode off again. In this fashion they attacked 7 taverns in which the workers had their club rooms, killed one young worker, wounded four workers and seriously wounded two working women.

In all parts of the Reich it has come in the last few days to collisions, as for instance in Essen, in Gräfenonna near Gotha, in Gröplingen near Bremen, where the workers erected barricades and drove back the Nazis who tried to carry out a "punitive expedition".

The leaders of the social democratic party and of the Reichsbanner systematically sabotage united action by the workers against the fascists. The central committee of the social democratic party published an open letter on the front page of the "Vorwärts" opposing the proletarian united front.

Nevertheless, the anti-fascist action is gaining ground. It is gradually seizing the factories. Thus the workers at the Kabelwerk-Oberspree in Berlin, on June 30, when the Nazis tried to commence their terrorist actions in front of the factory, instead of going to work, remained at the factory gates. It came to collisions in which the Nazis made the acquaintance of hard proletarian fists, and in spite of the intervention of the police, who arrested the red shop steward, had to abandon the field.

FASCISM IN GERMANY

The National Socialist German Workers' Party

By Hans Jäger (Berlin).

V.

The Social Composition

2. Middle Classes and Proletariat.

The national socialist party has not recruited any masses from the ranks of the bourgeoisie. It derives most of its recruits from the middle classes, just like the Italian fascist party. In spite of the undeniable fact that the Nazis have succeeded in winning considerable elements from among the working class, especially from the ranks of the unemployed, and in spite of their, one might say, dominating influence over two of the most important categories of **salary earners**—the **employees** and **lower officials**—the so-called middle class remains the chief cadre of the party.

The middle class form the bridge which national socialism needs between the employers and the workers in order to set up the "community of the people". Proletarian in mode of living, bourgeois in ideas, striving to avoid falling into the ranks of the proletariat and dreaming of rising to the level of the bourgeoisie, with whom they still feel themselves connected in spite of their empty stomachs, their traditions, their school drill, the lack of political training, lack of understanding of economic things, veneration for big leading personalities, contempt for the "lower orders"—all this renders them ripe for national socialism at a time of fearful crisis of the capitalist system. At present the concentration of capital in Germany results in the bankruptcy of thousands of small business; the small shops are ruined as a result of the heavy burdens of taxes and the declining purchasing power of the masses. The lot of the members of the free professions is no better. Art has become an unattainable luxury beyond the means of the mass of the people. Painters, sculptors, journalists and writers are unable to earn their bread in the German Republic. The same is the case with the German intellectuals, the rising generation, the students, who have no prospect whatever of finding any occupations, the young teachers who have been dismissed by thousands, the clerks, who are dismissed from offices and banks as a result of rationalisation, and the lower officials.

They stand helpless. Communist propaganda has so far only partly succeeded in reaching them. Most of them are being drawn into political life for the first time. The Communists have not yet discovered the right means of approaching them. National socialism demands of them less mental

exertion than does Communist agitation. Hitler promises salvation. Things must become different. He promises bread for all, abolition of the crisis, reduction of taxes! The strong man will help; he is the redeemer, the messiah. But his kingdom is of this world. It lies in the past. It is the unclouded picture of the Bismarck Reich, of the Empire, in which there was business and super-profits, offices and dignities and work for the German worker. This kingdom shall arise as the "Dritte Reich". France is guilty, the reparations, Versailles, the Young Plan. What else? Not, perchance, the capitalist system! The economic order! It functioned alright formerly, under the monarchy, before the Centre and the "Marxists", before the Republic came. Systems cannot be separated in their minds from persons. Hence the talk about the "Brüning system", the "Braun system". What is the meaning of capitalist system? There cannot be anything else. Russia? No, that means murder, religious persecution, starvation "dividing up" of property, reducing everybody to one level. No, they do not want that. Therefore, a change of persons. The economic system shall remain! France is therefore guilty and the Marxists, who delivered us over to France; and the Jews! Hitler will drive out the Marxists who handed over the country to the Jews and the French, who enslaved it to finance capital.

This agitation among the clerks and employees was facilitated by the circumstance that owing to their lack of political education they were for the greater part averse to taking their place in the class front of the proletariat, and their antisemitism was nothing else but a confused class instinct, for in commercial offices and in the banks they have more to do with Jewish employers than do workers in industry.

The case is similar in regard to the middle classes in the country, the peasants, among whom national socialism has achieved successes equally as great as among the middle classes, the employees and intellectuals. This applies equally to the big peasants and to the small peasants. They were pressed by heavy taxes; they suffer as a result of the declining purchasing power of the population. Thousands of forced sales and distraints characterised the ruin of German agriculture. The peasant was everybody's beast of burden. The social democracy paid just as little heed to him as to the handworker. Then came Hitler. His argument that the present governing powers are responsible for everything was crude but illuminating! Marxists, Jews, French! The peasant was easily susceptible to anti-semitism as a result of his experience with corn and cattle dealers. Thus national socialism won the support of the peasants of Eastern Prussia, who were told that the Government would not protect them against Poland and Lithuania; of the peasants of the North, who by terrorist acts (attacks on the tax offices, fight against forced sales, boycott movement) were attempting to defend themselves against expropriation. At the same time the national socialists endeavoured by increasing terror and by a monstrous campaign of lies to frustrate the increased Communist propaganda in the rural districts. The young peasants sons, landworkers and day labourers were drawn into the storm detachments. When necessary, they were also used in the towns on the occasion of big actions or in those cases where they could not sufficiently trust the proletarian members of the storm detachments. If the landworkers did not go willingly, they were victimised, and if a peasant refused to go, he was boycotted.

The Nazis have also achieved great successes among the civil servants, including the upper and lower grades. The repeated wage cuts have simply driven the lower civil servants into the arms of the Nazis, while among the higher grades the incitement of the Nazis against those civil servants who have been given the easiest and most lucrative posts simply because they were members of the social democratic or Centre parties, fell on fruitful soil. After the revolution of 1918, the social democracy maintained intact the whole of the monarchist bureaucratic apparatus, and appointed to positions in it only a number of their own followers. When national socialism grew stronger and had prospects of coming into power, then a whole number of civil servants and officials joined the ranks of the Nazis in order to be able to retain their jobs.

By what means did the Nazis succeed in attracting the unemployed? The motives which brought them to Hitler were various. Some were disappointed in the social democratic party, others in the Centre, some even in the German nationalists, while others were formerly politically indifferent. Among the Nazi **electors** are many who think that Hitler's coming into power will more quickly bring about chaos and collapse. These

elements, however, have remained revolutionary at heart in another sense than the petty bourgeoisie. They see in national socialism a weapon against capital, just as capital sees in national socialism a weapon against the proletariat.

One can understand this grotesque state of affairs only if one grasps the extent of the despair, the hopelessness and impatience which possesses the unemployed, some of whom are receiving only 6 or 8 marks a week. To them Hitler appears as their last hope. This mood of despair has increased rapidly in the last few months. These desperate unemployed join the side of the strongest battalions, whose increased influence promises most speedy success. From 6 million in September 1930, the number of Nazi electors increased to 11 and then 13 million. Perhaps their number will soon even be more. The unemployed who now come to the national socialists think as follows: The Communists have only four million followers. It will therefore take too long before they come into power. Hitler, however, promises them relief from their misery by a certain date: 13th of March, at the Presidential election; 24th of April, at the Prussian Diet elections; 24th of May, opening of the Prussian Diet. Now the great day of deliverance is postponed to October.

But the Nazis do not confine themselves to promises. They have at their disposal vast sums of money, regarding the origin of which the members do not bother their heads. They give boots and clothing to the unemployed storm troops, who formerly went about in rags. They provided them with free meals, cigarettes, beer and pocket money. Is that not Socialism? The young unemployed workers are bought without their knowing it. A part of them are so declassed that they consciously allow themselves to be bought. But this does not apply to all; we must learn to distinguish.

All this would be incomplete if we failed to mention the proletarian followers of the Nazis. Since the commencement of the present year, i. e., since the great accentuation of the crisis, the Nazis have undoubtedly succeeded in gaining many adherents among the ranks of the proletariat. It would be a great mistake to adopt an ostrich-policy in this respect. The fact that national socialism increased mainly at the cost of the bourgeois parties must not be misinterpreted. For it thereby won over considerable number of proletarians who had formerly followed these parties. To deny that the bourgeois parties have large number of proletarians among their followers would be to deny—as the bourgeois parties have the majority—that the proletariat is numerically the strongest class in Germany. A large percentage of the followers of the Nazis consist of young proletarians. Here lies an enormous danger.

It has been rightly said that one must not draw false conclusions from the composition of the storm troops. It is true that there the proletarian elements predominate. But also in the party the number of proletarians runs into many thousands: among the electors the number probably amounts to 2 to 3 millions.

Where do they come from? From the right, as they no longer feel at home in the old bourgeois parties, and partly also from the Christian trade unions, the yellow trade unions and other working class circles. Here we see the effects of the social democratic policy. Workers have lost faith in socialism, in Marxism, in internationalism. Their coming over to national socialism was only a logical result of the actions of Noske and Hörsing. These workers failed to realise that there is still another force which is fighting against this State, namely, the Communist Party of Germany. There came to the Nazis also workers who were on the left of the social democracy. It is no accident that this was the case precisely where Communist opposition groups attempted to damage the Party (Saxony and Thuringia). Brandler and the Trotskyists drove workers into the camp of the Nazis. The suppression of the Red Front Fighters' League by Severing, the social democratic Minister of the Interior, resulted in a part of the politically unschooled red front fighters, who were stolidly bent on conducting an active anti-capitalist fight, thinking their best course was to continue this fight in the ranks of the Nazis, as they no longer had the possibility of waging it in the Red Front Fighters League. Despair, impatience, lack of clarity, unbelief in the revolution caused them to set their hopes in the "Leader"; caused them to believe in the revolutionary aim, the "socialism" of the Nazis and on speedy actions. These elements are a source of trouble in the

storm detachments; they are not loved by the bourgeoisie, they are refractory and infect the others.

That is the composition of the national socialist party: at the head the oppressors, who set up a civil-war army out of the oppressed, and their followers, the desperate elements from the middle classes and proletariat, petty bourgeoisie, peasants, students and workers, unemployed, the hungry and starving.

THE WAR

The Struggle over the Redistribution of Eastern Asia.

By Yobe.

The occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists has raised the whole question of the distribution of imperialist possessions in Eastern Asia. The "balance" between the different European Powers established by the Washington Treaty of 1931, the distribution of spheres of influence, the principles of the open door—all this has again been upset by the fait accompli which Japan has achieved with the occupation of Manchuria. The fight for the redistribution of Eastern Asia is raging on the whole front; and each of the imperialist Powers is endeavouring to improve its situation as far as possible before the approaching final struggle. Precisely in the last few weeks the imperialist antagonisms have again assumed much sharper forms.

In spite of all the attempts to mitigate and plaster over the Japanese-American antagonism, it becomes more and more evident. Not only the revelations regarding the role which the United States played at the evacuation of Shanghai by the Japanese (and which show the means of pressure which imperialist America is capable of employing when its sphere of influence is threatened), but also Stimson's Note regarding the occupation of the most important customs offices in Manchuria by the Japanese puppet government prove the sharpness of this antagonism. Japan is maintaining a tight hold on Manchuria; it is continuing its bloody war there and—partly under the cloak of the independent government and partly by direct means—is setting up there a colonial regime similar to that obtaining in Korea and Formosa. The more difficult and desperate the home situation of Japanese imperialism becomes, the more hopeless the attempts to free itself from the grip of the economic crisis, the more necessary it is for it to gather the first "fruits" of the Manchurian adventure and to accelerate the transformation of the country into a Japanese colony. Hence the decisions of the Japanese Parliament regarding the recognition of the Manchurian Government, and hence also the occupation of the customs offices. Hence also, however, the fresh action of the United States, to whom these measures are a direct blow in the face.

The attempts of the League of Nations Commission, headed by Lord Lytton, to sanction the Japanese robber-campaign are undermined by the fresh intensification of the Japanese-American antagonism. If in addition we take the declaration of Wang-Chin-wei—undoubtedly instigated by the United States—that the Chinese Kuomintang government intend now to conduct an active policy in Manchuria, if we take into account the counter-threats of the Japanese military circles who wish to extend the occupation to Shanghai, Kwang and Peiping, and if we also take into account the new attempts at provocation in the Shanghai district, then we can gain some idea of the extent of the approaching new complications.

In the meantime, the other imperialist Powers are engaged in making use of the situation thereby created. The advance of the Tibetan forces into the province of Szechwan is nothing else but the commencement of an imperialist intervention on the part of Great Britain in Western China. At the same time there is an increasing concentration of French troops on the frontier of Yunnan, and a number of French military authorities are demanding the immediate commencement of armed intervention by the French troops in South China on the pretext that there is to be feared an extension of the Chinese Soviet movement into Indo-Chinese territory.

Not only China and Indo-China, however, but Siam, which lies between these two countries and in which up to now English influence has predominated and whose king was recently supplied with an airfleet by Great Britain, has been seized by the ferment. In connection with the revolt of the seamen and soldiers in Bangkok, voices are already heard demanding direct military intervention in this country.

The arming and fortification of the imperialist military bases are proceeding uninterruptedly along the coast and on the strategically important islands in the Pacific. It is becoming more and more apparent that the imperialist manoeuvres at the Disarmament Conference are only intended to cover up the feverish war-preparations and armaments.

These imperialist manoeuvres and counter-manoevres mean at the same time further increase in the danger of war against the Soviet Union. Harbin is being systematically converted into a military base for intervention. The provocations by the white guardists, whose methods do not differ in any way from those of ordinary bandits, are being continued under the friendly protection of the imperialists. Bargaining is going on behind the scenes regarding treaties of alliance and compensation at the cost of the Soviet Union. The war-mongers in Japan do not cease to dream of fresh laurels, which they hope to achieve by instigating a war against Siberia. The fight for the redistribution of Eastern Asia is thus closely connected with the threat of intervention against the Soviet Union, and calls for the greatest attention on the part of the world proletariat and intensification of the anti-war action.

Persia as a Military Base against the Soviet Union.

By M. N.

The advance of the Tibetan troops, instigated by the British imperialists, is not only a thrust against the Chinese Soviet Republic, but constitutes at the same time support of the Japanese advance against the Far-Eastern frontier of the Soviet Union. The British imperialists are following the events in the Far East with the greatest attention and, supported by their positions in the Near East, are preparing for active intervention against the Soviet Union. It has already been known for a long time that the Caucasian oil fields have been chosen as the chief object of a British attack on the Soviet Union. The territory adjoining the Suez Canal, Palestine, and Iraq in particular, have been systematically developed in order to serve as a base for an attack on the Southern frontiers of the Soviet Union and for air attacks on the Caucasian oil fields.

Since the October revolution, which freed the Persian people from the Tsarist yoke and put an end to the century-old Russo-Persian enmity, the British imperialists have never wearied in their endeavours to drag Persia into the intervention front. Persia is to play for Great Britain the same role as Manchuria plays for Japan.

That the British imperialists are determined to employ force against Persia if it should not voluntarily line up in the intervention-front, is openly stated in "The Aeroplane", a London journal which is in close contact with the War Office and bears a semi-official character. In an article entitled: "The Persian Oil Fields and their Defence" the author, who writes under the pseudonym of "Convoy-Leader", seeks to justify an advance by Great Britain against the Soviet Union from the Persian frontier.

The article begins by pointing to the necessity of maintaining the British oil rights in Iraq and Persia, which, it is alleged, are threatened by the Soviet Government. For what reasons the Soviet Government, which has an immeasurable wealth of oil at its disposal, should want to stretch out its hands after new oil fields the article does not attempt to explain. Contrary to the Iraq Government, the Persian Government is described as unrealistic as regards the interests of the British Empire. The nearness of the Soviet Union, it is said, creates a state of insecurity and threatens the authority of Persia, the oil fields of which the Soviet Government wishes to seize. If the Red Army should occupy the British oil concessions in Persia, the latter would either have to offer armed resistance or make common cause with the Soviet Union.

After having thus assumed an attack by the Red Army, the author declares, that Great Britain would be justified in

invading Persia in order to protect its interests. In this case, of course, it will not be a war of attack but a war "of defence" on the part of Great Britain, whom the League of Nations will have to support.

The anonymous author, who is no doubt connected with the British Air Ministry, does not confine himself to pure theory, but at the same time proposes practical measures in order to be able to conduct the fight against the Soviet Union on the Persian frontier. As the only possible form of defence is **attack**, the British air forces in Iraq must be so strengthened that it shall acquire superiority over the Red Air Fleet and in addition be able to hold up the advance of the Red Army until the arrival of British land forces. The British spy service is given the task of facilitating the rapid advance of the British troops by giving timely warnings in order that the plateau could be reached and a battle line set up against the Red Army.

From the detailed strategic plan set forth in the article it is to be seen that the British forces are to appear first on the scene in Persia in order to be able to commence the fight against the Red Army from air bases and favourable positions. The British air forces are to operate together with the forces of the Iraq Government. The article states that it is very probable that at first the freedom of movement of the British will be hampered by having to wait for the permission of the Persian Government to march into Persia and do there what it is not able to do itself, namely, to defend its neutrality and protect the property of others situated on its territory. This loss of time, the article states, could only be made up for, if at all, by the effectiveness and the mobility of the Royal Air Force.

This means nothing else than that the British imperialists are making all preparations in order to violate the neutrality of Persia in the interest of an armed attack on the Soviet Union. The sole purpose of the stupid invention as to the British oil fields in Persia being threatened by the Red Army is to give the British war-mongers a screen for their annexationist intentions in the Caucasus. It is certainly no accident that the British are considering these plans precisely at the time when Japan has commenced intervention in the Far East.

Terrible Impoverishment of Japanese Peasantry.

Tokio, 5th July 1932.

The newspaper "Transpacific" publishes material concerning the situation of the peasantry in the Kobe and other districts. This material has been supplied by officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and fisheries and is therefore certainly not to be attacked on the score of exaggeration.

According to the statements of the authorities begging and the stealing of food have increased to such an extent that the police are helpless. The impoverishment of the peasant population is so terrible that the sale of children is rapidly increasing. Girls of fifteen years fetch a price of 400 Yen. The peasants are on the verge of starvation, they have eaten their seed corn and are even eating fish remnants which are usually used for dunging purposes. Almost every day petitions are handed in to parliament on behalf of the peasants calling for relief. Similar reports are coming in from all other districts and a high official declared quite frankly recently that any authentic description of the situation in the agricultural districts would be pure communist propaganda. The article in "Transpacific" closes with the words, "The situation in the agricultural districts is simply indescribable".

At the same time it is reported that the police intend to take measures against the "inciters of discontent", or, to put it more clearly, against those persons who organise the petitions to parliament already mentioned. If things go on at this rate it will not be long before the Japanese peasants notice that their petitions to parliament are worth less than nothing unless they are backed up by more solid arguments.

How the First World War was Prepared

Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

**Documents from the Period Preceding the First
Imperialist World War.**

The Balkan War Ended — the World War Can Begin.

The Turco-Bulgarian War.

Sofia, August 17, 1913. The government has instructed its Ambassadors to the big Powers to protest against the advance of the Turks on Gimuldjina. ("Mir.")

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Sofia, August 20, 1913. (Agence Bulgare.) Yesterday the Turkish troops, after a fierce fight with the small Bulgarian garrison, finally occupied Kutchukavak.

Commencement of Peace Negotiations between Bulgaria and Turkey.

Vienna, August 29. The "Neue Freie Presse" publishes a report from Sofia that the Ministerial Council has decided to enter into negotiations with Turkey.

Peace Concluded between Turkey and Bulgaria.

Constantinople, September 29. (Official.) The Turco-Bulgarian Peace Treaty was signed today.

The 20th World Peace Congress at the Hague.

The Hague, August 23. From August 18 to 23, there took place at the Hague the meeting of pacifists known as the 20th World Peace Congress. At the same time the Peace Palace was formally opened.

Austria's Interests in the Balkans.

Aide mémoire of the Austrian Government, sent by the German Ambassador at Vienna, von Tschirschky, to Reichs Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg.

Vienna, August 5, 1913.

Of all the Balkan problems the Serbian question is the most important for Austria-Hungary, and immediately affects their most vital interests.

The antagonism between Austria-Hungary and Serbia consists in the fact that Serbian policy aims at uniting all Serbs and separating all the districts inhabited by Serbians from Austria-Hungary.

This antagonism is permanent and unbridgeable, as the realisation of the Pan-Serbian idea, which is incompatible with the maintenance of the integrity of the monarchy, has become the national ideal of the whole of the Serbian people.

On the other hand, Serbia, for this very reason, will remain for a long time completely under the influence of Russia, whilst Austria-Hungary, in the event of a conflict with Russia, must reckon with aggression on the part of Serbia . . .

In view of the aggressive plans of Serbia the policy of Austria-Hungary must be directed towards restricting as far as possible the expansion of Serbian territory, and in any event keeping it within the bounds determined by ethnographical conditions. Therefore, the monarchy has opposed the extension of Serbia to the Adriatic Sea and the creation of

Albania, and is also endeavouring at present to prevent an excessive extension of Serbia into Macedonia.

In view of the expansion of Serbia to nearly twice its former extent, this offers no adequate guarantee. The peaceful attitude of Austria-Hungary in the recent crisis had as a prerequisite that it succeeded in bringing about a configuration in the Balkans which creates a counterweight to the strengthening of Serbia and secures the monarchy natural allies.

The policy of Austria-Hungary proceeded from the expectation that as a result of a parallelism of interests, Bulgaria was destined to play this role of ally.

Events have confirmed this . . . Therefore the Vienna Cabinet intends to oppose a peace imposing too unfavourable conditions on Bulgaria.

The Vienna Cabinet would attach the greatest value to proceeding here in concert with Germany . . .

In the event of a European conflict, Serbia would be among Germany's enemies. To limit the growth of the power of Serbia and to make Bulgaria from an eventual enemy into a friend, is therefore in the interest of Germany, especially in view of the increased freedom of action of Rumania in favour of the Triple Alliance which would result from the inclusion of Bulgaria.

It would, of course, be desirable to draw Greece into this combination, though this would probably be difficult to achieve at present . . . (The Great Politics, vol. 35, page 346.)

Lengthening of Period of Military Service in Russia.

Statement of the official "Russian Government Gazette" October 23, 1913.

"The War Ministry intends shortly to submit to the legislative bodies a bill providing for the lengthening of the period of service in the army by three months, (i. e. from 1st [14th] January to 1st [14th] April), in connection with the measures adopted by the West-European Powers for increasing the strength of their armies."

The Street Fights in Dublin.

On the 21st or 22nd August, W. M. Murphy, the chairman of the Dublin United Tramways Company, decided to declare war on the Irish transport workers. He dismissed 200 tramway men, who, as members of the Transport Workers Trade Union, wore in their button holes the badge of this organisation, a red hand. The transport workers, of course, refused to submit to this. On August 26th the workers of the Dublin United Tramways Company went on strike. ("Vorwärts", September 5, 1913.)

The Blood Bath.

London, September 1, (Private telegram of the "Vorwärts"). On Saturday and Sunday the police carried out a frightful bloodbath among the population of Dublin. In these two days 45 police and 433 members of the public were wounded. One or two persons were killed. The street fights commenc-

ed yesterday, when Larkin, the leader of the striking tramway workers, appeared in Sackville Street, as he had promised, where a prohibited meeting was to take place.

*

Dublin, September 2. Yesterday a further 111 persons were injured by police truncheons; the disturbances will probably continue today, as the influential leaders are under lock and key.

Lenin: The Class War in Dublin.

In Dublin, the capital of Ireland, with a population of half a million, the class struggle, which permeates the whole life of every capitalist society, has developed into class war. The police are raging furiously . . . Hundreds of wounded (over 400) and two dead workers—these are the victims of this war. All known workers' leaders are arrested. The town resembles an armed camp.

What is happening? How could such a war break out in a peaceful cultured, civilised free State?

Ireland is a sort of English Poland . . . National oppression and Catholic reaction have converted the population of this unhappy country into beggars; the peasants into miserable, ignorant and dull slaves of the priests; the bourgeoisie into a phalanx of capitalists veiled by nationalist phrases—into labour despots; finally, the administration into a band which is accustomed to perform every act of brutality.

The Irish nationalists (i. e. the Irish bourgeoisie) are now victorious; they are buying their land from the English landowners; they receive national self-government (the celebrated Home Rule, over which such a long and obstinate struggle was waged between Ireland and England); now they will freely administer "their" country, together with their Irish priests.

And this nationalist Irish bourgeoisie celebrate their "national" victory with a declaration of war to the knife on the Irish labour movement . . .

The events in Dublin will constitute a turning point in the history of the labour movement and of Socialism in Ireland . . .

"Severnya Pravda" No. 23, September 2 (19th August) 1913.

The Last Party Congress of the German Social Democratic Party Before the War.

The Reichstag fraction of the social democracy voted for the military budget in order to prevent a "greater evil"—heavier taxes on those without means. Rosa Luxemburg at the Jena Party Congress, held from 14th to 20th September in Jena—the last Congress before the world war of 4th August 1914—opposed the attitude of the Reichstag fraction.

Geyer-Luxemburg-Resolution.

The Party Congress declares:

Militarism must be fought to the utmost as being the strongest means of power of the ruling classes.

All Bills for strengthening militarism submitted to the Reichstag, including financial measures introduced for covering the cost of militarism, are to be rejected, no matter whether they provide for direct or indirect taxes.

As regards other taxation measures, the attitude of the social democratic fraction is prescribed by point 10 of the Party programme: existing indirect taxes are to be replaced by direct taxes.

(Protocol of the Proceedings of the Party Congress of the social democratic party of Germany.)

What the "Lesser Evil" is.

Rosa Luxemburg:

. . . An attempt is made to defend the attitude of the majority of the fraction by saying, we were confronted with the choice: either to permit indirect taxes to be introduced, or to vote for direct taxes to meet military expenditure. I am not going into the question whether we were really confronted with this alternative. I will only declare that admittedly it is quite right that of two evils one should choose the least. What, however, for the German social democrats

is the lesser evil: to renounce a small positive position, or to surrender its fundamental attitude? I believe that the latter is under all circumstances the greater evil for the social democrats If you agree to the majority decision of our fraction, then you will find yourselves in a position when war breaks out and we are unable to alter this fact, and when the question is put, whether the costs are to be covered by direct or indirect taxes, you will logically stand for the granting of the war credits. That is a steep slope down which it is impossible to come to a halt. Therefore, we wish by means of our resolution to prevent such deviations and say: thus far and no farther!

(Protocol of the proceedings of the Party Congress of the social democratic party of Germany.)

David's Reply:

Against Doctrinarianism.

Dr. David (in support of resolution 109).

In the speech of Comrade Rosa Luxemburg there was a passage which should be closely examined. For it shows how harmful it would be if we were to adopt such a doctrinaire attitude, on the basis of which she disapproved the action of the fraction.

(Protocol of the proceedings of the Party Congress of the social democratic party of Germany.)

The Bourgeois Press Delighted at the Victory of the Revisionists.

The "Vossische Zeitung" of September 22nd, 1913 wrote:

. . . . Taken in all, the cause of the revisionists has been considerably promoted and their self-confidence and consciousness of victory have been no little strengthened by the Congress at Jena. They will undoubtedly show greater confidence when dealing with questions which were formerly decided against them—the question of voting for the budget, attendance at court functions, avoiding unnecessary demonstrations against the monarchy, and everything else that the revisionists desired . . .

Turco-Greek Peace Negotiations.

The negotiations between Turkey and Greece have made good progress this week . . . There appears to exist on both sides a firm desire to bring about a peaceful settlement of differences.

The situation created by the action of Serbia in Albania has become more serious. The Serbians have not remained content with repelling the Albanian attacks, but in the last few weeks they have occupied considerable parts of Albania, and in some places already set up a Serbian administration . . . ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" October 19.)

Austrian D marche in Belgrade.

Vienna, October 17. For the responsible leaders of Austria-Hungarian foreign policy there arose the necessity of a d marche in Belgrade, as reports from Belgrade, as well as the statements attributed to the Serbian Prime Minister Pasitch regarding an alteration of the old Albanian frontier, which are in striking contradiction to the former declarations of Pasitch, have not been denied, but are reprinted by the organ of the Serbian government itself, and the Serbians are continuing to occupy Albanian territory. A similar d marche was undertaken by the representatives of Italy and Germany . . . ("Fremdenblatt").

Peace between Greece and Turkey.

Athens, November 13. (Official) Peace between Greece and Turkey was signed at midnight.

The Fight for the Mastery of the Sea.

Winston Churchill, on October 18, at Manchester.

"The proposal which I make in the name of the government is quite simple: We shall next year—apart from the Canadian ships or their equivalents, apart from anything that

might be required by any happenings in the Mediterranean—lay down four keels in reply to Germany's two big ships. We now say to Germany: if you wish to postpone the commencement of the building of the two ships for twelve months, we shall loyally postpone commencing to build our four ships for the same period." ("Die Friedens-Warte" 1913. November, page 429).

Churchill Announces Further Big Expenditure on Air and Naval Armaments.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, made use of the occasion of the Lord Mayor's banquet (November 10) in order to announce further big expenditure on armaments by sea and air.

The strength and the uninterrupted development of the German navy, he said, and the circumstance that many big and small Powers were at the same time building big modern warships, would undoubtedly demand of us expenditure and exertions greater than have been imposed on us at any time before in time of peace What, however, is necessary must be done and we should not hesitate a moment in order to apply frankly and freely to Parliament to grant men and money"

("Die Friedens-Warte" 1913, December).

Armaments, Dividends and Financing of Patriotism.

By L. Persius, (retired captain in the German navy).

The firm of Krupp this year pays a dividend of 14 per cent. In 1909/10 the dividend amounted to 8 per cent, in 1910/11 to 10 per cent, and in 1911/12 to 12 per cent.

("Die Friedens-Warte", 1913, December.)

The Preparation of Public Opinion . . . And What It Costs . . .

The Representative of the Russian Ministry of Finance at Paris to the Treasury in St. Petersburg.

Paris, 7th (20th) November, 1913.

In agreement with H. Davidov I send you 27 cheques, amounting together to 100,000 Francs, which were sent to me by the person entrusted with the distribution.

"La Lanterne" has received	42,000 Francs
"L'Aurore" has received	17,000 "
"L'Événement" has received	11,000 "
"L'Action" has received	9,000 "
"La France" has received	11,000 "
"Le Rappel" has received	7,000 "
"Le Gil Blas" has received	2,000 "
"Paris-Journal" has received	1,000 "

All the above papers are of a radical socialist tendency. A. Raffalovitch.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy", vol. 11. page 67/68).

The Centenary Celebrations of the Battle of Leipzig.

Vienna, October 16. The "Wiener Abendpost" expresses words of thanks to the Vienna festival in commemoration of the battle in Leipzig

Our Empire and its brave army had a glorious share in the laurels which crowned the victors. Our festival today culminated in a stirring act of homage by the monarch to the troops of the victorious Field Marshal Schwarzenberg. This homage will serve as a powerful incentive to the whole of the armed forces to do their best also in the future for the emperor and the empire and the honour of the Austrian army." ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", October 18, 1913.)

The German Proletariat and the Centenary Celebrations.

"Völkerschlacht and Völkerbetrug" (Battle of the nations and deception of the people), that was the theme of the

34 public meetings to which the social democratic masses of Greater Berlin gathered on Sunday, the day of celebration of the Battle of Leipzig. Karl Liebknecht and Heinrich Ströbel were among the speakers in Kliems Hall. The speeches of both speakers were loudly applauded. The police officers present threatened several times to dissolve the meetings. ("Vorwärts", October 23, 1913).

If You Want War, Talk Much of Peace.

After the conclusion of the Balkan war, during which the diplomats succeeded in postponing to a later date the great conflict between the two big imperialist groupings, the leading statesmen considered it necessary to throw dust into the eyes of the peoples and to pose as peacemakers. Monarchs and Ministers exchanged visits and continual emphasis was laid on the reciprocal endeavours to ensure peace.

"Like all the great Powers, Russia desires a speedy consolidation of peace in the East Russia, in full agreement with its allies and friends, is devoting all its forces to the cause of peace." (Sasanov's declaration on the occasion of his visit to Paris on October 17, 1913.)

"The cordial agreement among the great Powers which has been achieved through all the vicissitudes of the Eastern crisis is the object of unremitting care." ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of October 20, on the occasion of Sasanov's visit to Berlin.)

The Naval Agreement of the Triple Alliance Comes into Force.

Berlin, November 1, 1913. The naval agreement of the Triple Alliance came into force today, naval reviews took place in Pola, Kiel and Castellamare di Stabia in honour of the occasion.

German Imperialism in Asia Minor.

Von Kühlmann, German Chargé d'Affaires at London, to Bethmann-Hollweg.

London, October 24, 1913. I am informed in strict confidence that the English authorities have of late been dealing especially with the question of oil concessions in Mesopotamia. As Sir Edward Grey definitely hopes that an understanding will be arrived at on the Baghdad railway question, he is of the opinion that there will then remain only the question of the oil concession between the two governments, and therefore it is highly desirable to get this question also out of the way in order to establish complete agreement von Kühlmann.

France and Russia for the "Sovereign Rights of Turkey".

The Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

London, 19th November (2nd December) 1913.

The negotiations between the Cabinets of London and Paris have resulted in both governments deciding to instruct their representatives in Constantinople to enquire of the Porte whether there really exists the intention to place German officers in command of the Turkish troops in Constantinople. Everything further will depend upon the reply of the Porte. Grey and Asquith share Pichon's opinion that in such an event the Ambassadors would be in a very awkward situation and that the sovereign rights of the Sultan and the independence of Turkey would also be involved

Sevastopulo.

("In the darkness of European Secret Diplomacy", vol. 11. page 87.)

"An Intolerable State of Affairs for Russia".

Count von Pourtalès, German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to the Foreign Office.

St. Petersburg, December 6, 1913.

The publication of the Irade concerning the appointment of General Liman von Sanders commander of the army corps in Constantinople has greatly excited M. Sasanov . . . He insists that the command of troops in the Turkish capital by a

German General creates an intolerable state of affairs for Russia, and that if the appointment is allowed to stand he will be compelled, together with France and England, to adopt a very serious tone in Constantinople. The Minister repeatedly expressed his regret that we apparently would not see the eminent political importance of the question, which cannot remain without influence on Russo-German relations.

Pourtalès.

**Freiherr von Wangenheim, German Ambassador
at Constantinople, to the German Foreign Office.**

Constantinople, December 13, 1913.

... The Grand Vizier said to me that if the Entente Powers should officially request him to give information regarding the tasks of the German mission, he would categorically refuse this information, insisting on the sovereignty of Turkey. He would be ready for a personal and confidential talk.

Wangenheim.

**Reichs Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg to Count von Pourtalès,
German Ambassador at Petersburg.**

Berlin, January 15, 1914.

His Majesty the Emperor has conferred on General von Liman the rank of cavalry general. The Porte will cause him to be appointed Marshal, whereby he will automatically cease to be commander of the army corps. We thus consider the matter settled in the sense of the assurances given to M. Kokovzov.

von Bethmann Hollweg.

Wilson Comes on the Scene.

Washington, December 2. In his annual message to the Congress, President Wilson emphasised that we could foresee a period of stable peace. 31 nations had declared themselves ready to enter into negotiations regarding Bryan's arbitration agreements. ("Die Friedens-Warte" 1913, December.)

**Meeting of the International Socialist
Bureau.**

The Russian Question.

At the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau held on 13th and 14th December 1913, a resolution was brought in signed by Kautsky, Ebert and Molkenbuhr on behalf of the German social democracy on the Russian question and recommending all social democratic fractions to adopt measures for the establishment of unity. The International Socialist Bureau should take the necessary steps for summoning an advisory conference. In introducing the resolution Kautsky declared that the old social democratic party in Russia was dead and it was necessary to restore the party. Lenin wrote a whole number of articles against this statement of Kautsky and also against the whole manner in which this unity was to be restored. We publish below an extract from one of these articles.

This meeting of the I.S.B. was attended by Litvinov as representative of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks. Litvinov opposed the idea of a union with the groups abroad, pointing out that only tendencies in Russia—the Bolsheviks and the Liquidators—came into question.

Lenin: A Good Resolution and a Bad Speech.

One must distinguish between Kautsky's resolution, which has become the resolution of the Bureau, and Kautsky's speech, where at one point he uttered monstrous things...

In opposing Rosa Luxemburg Kautsky said that "the old party had disappeared", even if the old names have remained, "which however in the course of years have acquired a new content. One cannot expel old comrades because their party no longer bears the old names."

To Rosa Luxemburg's reply that Kautsky's assertion, the Russian party is dead, was uttered unthinkingly, Kautsky protested that he had not said that the Russian Party is dead, but only that the old forms are broken and that a new form must be created...

The indisputable fact remains that Kautsky had the effrontery to maintain in the Bureau that the Russian Party had disappeared.

How could he bring himself to say such a thing? In order to understand this the Russian workers must know who

informs the German social democratic press regarding Russian affairs. When Germans write on the subject, they usually evade the question of differences of opinion. When Russians write in the German social democratic papers, we witness either the alliance of all foreign groups with the Liquidators in order to indulge in unbounded abuse of the "Leninists" (as in the "Vorwärts" in Spring 1912), or we see the writings of a follower of Tyszka or of the Trotzkyists or some other man from the foreign circles who deliberately obscures the question. For years there has been no single document, no collection of resolutions, no analysis of ideas, not a single attempt to collect actual facts!

The resolution of the Bureau will be carried out in life, Kautsky's speech, however, will remain a sorry curiosity.

"Proletarskaya Pravda" No. 6, 26th (13th) December 1913.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

**The General Strike of the Postal Employees
in China.**

By T. H. (Shanghai).

On May 22, the postal employees of Shanghai commenced a general strike, which was soon joined in by the postal employees of Northern China, including those of the capital Nanking. On May 27, the strike came to an end with a partial success. There has not taken place such a big strike on a national scale since 1927.

The postal employees accused the Kuomintang of having introduced a clique system in the postal service. The Savings Bank Department was separated from the post-office and made a special monopoly for the Kuomintang clique. Millions of dollars were paid out yearly out to the American and German Aviation Company in China, and similar subventions are to be paid out shortly to the British and Belgian Aviation Companies. Thus the Kuomintang has placed the Chinese postal service at the disposal of the imperialists as a source of exploitation. For this reason it declared that the revenues from the postal office are not high enough and wished to double the postal rates. It further intended to rob the employees of their rice allowance and reduce the scale of pay.

The postal employees further charge the Kuomintang with having robbed them of their right of combination by means of the trade union law of October 1929. Since then their trade union has not been recognised, and they were unable to set up a trade union on a national scale. It was only thanks to the national revolutionary war against the Japanese invasion that a national union was finally set up. The postal employees wished by their strike to compel the Kuomintang to legalise the rights which they had already won.

The Kuomintang endeavoured by every means to throttle the strike. The yellow trade unions were bribed, higher postal officials mobilised, some Post Masters arrested and the Chamber of Commerce and the foreign Consulates were given permission to set up their own post offices.

The fights among the Kuomintang cliques also found expression in this strike. Chiang Kai-shek wished to make use of this strike in his fight against Wang Chin-wei.

The yellow trade unions, as usual, shamefully betrayed the strike. After Chiang-Kai-shek and Wang-Chin-wei had arrived at a compromise, they endeavoured to break the strike. The allowance for rice, amounting to 2 dollars, was granted, but the right of combination was not recognised while the rest of the political demands were referred to a committee of enquiry.

The strike, which was conducted with great fighting enthusiasm on the part of the lower postal employees, proved again how weak our opposition work is inside the yellow trade unions, how much we are still suffering from the after effects of the late opportunist leadership of the trade union work. But the strike of the postal employees, which the yellow trade unions attempted to prevent by means of bargaining with the Kuomintang government, broke out as a result of the work of the trade union opposition. It is also due to this work that partial successes have been achieved. In the course of the strike not only has the red trade union opposition in the Shanghai union of postal employees become a strong organisation, but red trade union fractions have been set up in other towns, such as Peking, Tientsin, Tsing-tan etc.

International Fight against War and Intervention

The First of August — International Anti-War Day.

To the Workers of the World!

Class comrades, working men, women and youths in town and country!

In the fourteen years which have passed since the end of the last world war the danger of a new and still greater world war was never so acute as it is at present. Its strongest bulwarks undermined by the world crisis, capitalism is making desperate efforts to find a way out of its internal and external difficulties by means of war.

War at home, that is civil war against the working class!

A capitalist offensive, wage-cuts, cuts in unemployment and other benefits, the destruction of social legislation, the suppression of strikes, capitalist class justice and fascist murder are the methods of attack in the civil war which has already begun against the industrial proletariat and the masses of the working people in general. The struggle of the workers, peasants, commercial employees, young workers and women workers to maintain a bare minimum of existence is being suppressed by the bourgeoisie with all the methods of brutal violence. The capitalist rulers are seeking to drown the shouts of the hungry unemployed in the reports of rifle fire. Fascism, which is already in power and has established its bloody regime in a number of countries, is about attempt to set up its murderous dictatorship against the working masses in a number of other capitalist countries.

War abroad, that is the imperialist war against China, the suppression of the colonial peoples who are fighting for national freedom, above all, that is war provocation against the Soviet Union, the direct preparations for a new imperialist world slaughter! Japanese imperialism is feverishly intensifying its preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union and is sending large masses of troops against the frontiers of the socialist Fatherland of the working class. The whole of Manchuria has already been turned into an armed camp.

The imperialist Powers: France, Great Britain, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the United States of America are supplying Japanese imperialism with weapons of war and munitions in huge quantities for its predatory war against China and in support of its preparations for an armed attack on the Soviet Union. The armament magnates are already doing good business. They are coining gold out of the blood of the slaughtered workers and peasants of China. With the support of the bourgeoisie who have offered them willing hospitality in the capitals of the capitalist countries, the white guardist bands are now openly forming their military units for use against the Soviet Union. The white guardists are the organisers of the bloody provocations and assassinations which have been carried out in various countries in order to cause a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The cynical swindle of "disarmament" and "peace" conferences staged by the capitalist governments is being revealed more and more in the eyes of the workers as shameful trickery. The so-called "disarmament conference" staged by the League of Nations has acted exactly as the communists, and only the communists, prophesied. The really serious disarmament proposals put forward by the Soviet Union were rejected. **Instead of disarming or reducing their armaments all capitalist countries are feverishly increasing their armaments and the final preparations for a new imperialist world slaughter are being made.**

In all capitalist countries the deadly enemies of the working class are joining hands in a reactionary united front against the working masses. **Germany is faced with the immediate establishment of a fascist dictatorship.** In the government of big industrialists, agrarian Junkers and Generals appointed by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, the presidential candidate of the social democracy, are the representatives of the extremest reaction. **With the assistance of the German fascists they are utilising the chauvinist and nationalist incitement of broad masses in order to prepare a new imperialist**

war as quickly as possible as the salvation of the German bourgeoisie from the economic crisis. An accompaniment of this political and military preparation for German participation in a war of intervention is the intensification of the reckless campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union.

The leaders of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International and of the Amsterdam (International Federation of Trade Unions) International are in the front ranks of the campaign of incitement and slander being conducted against the Soviet Union and against the revolutionary working class of all countries. The hypocritical appeal of the Second International in which a quantity of high-sounding phrases are used against the danger of war and intervention, represents in reality nothing but an attempt on the part of Vandervelde, Blum, Adler, Henderson, Wels and their friends to mask their part in the preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

It is not possible to fight against imperialist war whilst at the same time voting the imperialists the means for increasing their armaments! It is not possible to conduct a struggle against the transport of arms and ammunition to Japan for the use of Japanese imperialism, whilst at the same time declaring that "any stoppage of the production of war materials would inevitably intensify the problem of unemployment" (Smethurst in the organ of the British A.E.U.) and holding the workers back from the struggle against imperialist war by putting forward the slogan, "War brings Work!". It is not possible to defend the Soviet Union whilst at the same time declaring that "the Soviet Union is an imperialist Power exactly as China and Japan are imperialist Powers". (The "Vorwärts", on the 10th February 1932.)

This truth must be recognised in the given situation of acute war and intervention danger, and above all the social democratic workers must recognise it.

The struggle against imperialist war cannot be conducted with paper resolutions and solemn but hypocritical declarations in favour of peace. It can only be fought by the revolutionary action of the working class in alliance with the nationally oppressed peoples of the whole world. The strike of the Polish dockers in Gdynia, the strike of the Chinese sailors in Rotterdam and Hamburg, the strike of the chemical workers in Central Germany, the strike of the dockers in Dunkirk, the strike of the German seamen, the revolts of the French soldiers, the mutiny in the English navy, the desperate resistance offered by the Chinese workers and soldiers in Shanghai against the Japanese troops of intervention and the mutinies in the Japanese army are all the signs of a beginning active struggle against imperialist world war.

A victorious struggle against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union categorically demands a revolutionary united front of the working masses. The undersigned Communist Parties appeal to the working masses of all capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries to form this revolutionary united front in defiance of all hindrances. They appeal in particular to the social democratic workers to take part in a joint struggle against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. They call to the social democratic workers:

Class comrades! Toilers in town and country!

When you defend the Soviet Union against the imperialist robbers and against their fascist mercenaries you are defending your own vital interests and fighting most effectively against imperialist war.

The First of August, the International Day against War, must be conducted in the spirit of a victorious revolutionary united front of all the exploited and oppressed in a joint struggle against fascism and reaction, in a joint struggle against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union!

You must unite in all factories, in every trade union, at every labour exchange, in all the urban working class quarters, in all the villages in a revolutionary mass struggle.

Against the capitalist offensive, against strike-breaking and against the attempts to rob you of the right of combination;

Against fascism and against those who have paved the way for fascism, the social democratic and reformist leaders;

Against the imperialist warmongers;

For the vital interests of the working masses; for the social and national emancipation of all oppressed peoples, and in defence of the Soviet Union!

Intensify the mass struggle against the production of war materials, and against the transport of arms and ammunition!

Form the revolutionary united front against hunger and impoverishment, against fascism and war!

Fight for the victory of Socialism!

(Sig.) The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of **Germany, France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Italy, United States of America** (Sections of the Communist International).

INDIA

The Struggle for the Indian Masses under Conditions of Colonial Terror.

By Rathan Singh.

The powerful movement of the Indian masses against imperialist slavery, against servitude to the landlords and the moneylenders, against all relics of barbarism in the social system of the country, is rapidly developing. In spite of the still existing unequal tempo of development, it is more and more taking on an All-Indian character.

British imperialism has unleashed a frenzied attack of terror, bloodshed and oppression. In the last 5 or 6 months alone, over 60,000 persons have been thrown into prison.

Punitive expeditions are operating in Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the North-west Provinces, etc. They shoot down the peasants, forcibly collect taxes and debts, mercilessly crushing the slightest manifestation of protest. Firing at demonstrations of workers, violent crushing of strikes, etc., are everyday occurrences.

However, this system of terror cannot stop or crush the growing revolutionary movement of the worker and peasant masses. The toiling masses are coming out into the streets. There is a growing desire for organisation. Everywhere, local groups and organisations are springing up. This movement of the masses breaks through various channels. The platform of action of the C.P. of India has correctly indicated its line. The Indian Communists correctly show that under the conditions of a terrorist regime it is essential to utilize and take advantage of all legal and illegal possibilities for work among the broad masses of workers and peasants.

The successful mobilisation of the toiling masses, their liberation from the influence of national reformism, the preparations for the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and its victory, can only be achieved if there exists an independent illegal party of the proletariat—the **Communist Party**. A Party which is able to withstand the blows of terror and assure the continuity of its work and the actual carrying out of mass work in mobilising and training the toiling masses; a party which is able to overcome legalist illusions and secure the widest spread of Communist agitation and slogans.

"For the victory of the Indian revolution, it is necessary to have a Communist Party of the proletariat—the leader and organiser of the toiling masses of the country. The creation of a centralised, disciplined, ideologically united, mass, underground Communist Party is at present the chief basic and historically mature task of the revolutionary liberation movement of the proletariat of our country" (Platform of action of the C.P.I.).

This statement in the platform of action of the C.P.I. is absolutely correct. The formation of such a party at the present moment is the primary and the **most essential** task of every Indian Communist.

However, the formation of a mass Communist Party and its becoming the actual leader of the toiling masses can only be accomplished through the energetic participation of the

Communists in all forms of the mass movement. Only by participation in the everyday political and economic struggle of the toiling masses, organising, taking an active part and leading the strikes; energetically and constantly working in the factories and mills, in the trade unions and other mass organisations of the toiling masses, can the Communists speed up and secure the creation of a powerful party and lead the masses to a victorious revolution. Only in this way, utilising legal and illegal forms of work, can the Communists win the confidence of the working masses, increase their ties with the toilers and recruit tens of thousands of class-conscious workers into their ranks; form party organisations throughout the country, train and lead the masses to the decisive struggles and at the same time train, educate and transform the Party into a genuine, staunch leader of the revolutionary people.

The platform of action of the C.P.I. correctly presents this question. The correctness of its statements is confirmed by the experience of all Communist Parties. This experience also shows that a relentless struggle must be waged against all the existing mistakes in the Communist movement. **One type of mistake** follows the line of **neglecting** the work of the formation of an illegal mass Communist Party and carrying on mass illegal activity. Objectively, this leads to the refusal to form a Communist Party, i.e. rejection of Communism, desertion of the Communist movement and the people's revolution. Such a legalistic position aids the government in its struggle against the Communist Party, against the revolutionary proletariat; it weakens the development of the Communist movement. It shows the inability of the Party to lead the working class. Such mistakes objectively aid the disruptive activity of the reformists bent on disorganising the ranks of the workers. **Another type of mistake** is the line of rejecting the use of legal forms of work and organisation, and particularly refusal to carry on everyday work in the trade unions. Such rejection or neglect of work in the legal mass organisations, in the trade unions, in the factories, self-isolation from mass activity, from strikes, makes it easier for the bourgeoisie to strengthen their influence among the working masses, and helps to convert the working class into an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Failure to take advantage of legal forms of work and organisation, refusal to form mass trade unions, etc., amounts to a refusal to form a mass Communist Party, is a rejection of the **revolution**. The refusal to utilize the legal possibilities is usually apparent in those places where a sectarian policy predominates among the Communists, where the Party is replaced by sectarian circles of intellectuals, isolated from the masses.

Neglect and underestimation of mass work, especially in the factories and in the trade unions, strengthens the position of the reformists. This can be observed in many countries, and it is obvious in India. One of the chief reasons why the national-reformists in India have still a stronghold in the workers' movement is the fact that many Communists do not see the need to do mass work. This can be seen in Ahmedabad, Madras, Calcutta, Jemshedpur and a number of other places.

The experience of **Calcutta** illustrates this point very clearly. During the last few years there has been a number of jute strikes in Calcutta, but the revolutionary groups have practically stood aside from the struggle of the jute workers. This has been mentioned even in the Indian proletarian newspapers (see *Workers' Weekly*, middle of 1930).

The same picture is to be seen in the **Bengal** union of jute workers. This union is a top organisation, having very little contact with the masses. The managing committee of the union is not elected at a conference of delegates from the mills, and the majority of the committee is composed of leaders from outside and not the workers in industry. The jute union has not yet overcome old traditions of organisations of leaders, and is no mass organisation of the jute proletariat. No work is carried on in the mills. Under such conditions, Bose and Co. found it possible to carry on their campaign in 1931 and call a series of conferences of jute workers.

The experience of the strikes in Calcutta shows that the national-reformists and even some adventurers—paid agents of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists—are still able to disorganise and defeat the struggle of the working masses, meeting with hardly any resistance from the revolutionary groups.

The railway trade unions, seamen, dockers, etc. are in the hands of the reformists.

All this explains why the bourgeoisie through their agents still maintain their influence among the working masses and are still able to disrupt the struggle of the toiling masses for independence.

And this happened at a time when Calcutta, as an important proletarian centre, should have given assistance to Jemshedpur, the coal districts, the plantation workers and also to the peasantry of the United Provinces, Bengal, Assam, Behar and Orissa and the Northern districts of the Madras Presidency.

In Calcutta there are hundreds and thousands of active workers who have gone through a number of strikes, demonstrations, etc., but who cannot find their way into the Party, because the Communists do not know of them and are not drawing them into the mass organisations. The Communists do very little to develop these active workers, are badly connected with them, are not teaching them Marxism and are not training them to become the organisers of the workers' struggle. The utilisation of legal forms of work, the organisation of mass trade unions, of legal and semi-legal factory committees, of a legal proletarian press, would to a tremendous extent make the task of drawing in these active elements much **easier**, it would give the Party besides its illegal means and illegal forms of work and agitation an additional channel through which it could make thousands of contacts with the working masses and draw thousands of them into the organised revolutionary movement. However, while taking part in the mass movement and building mass organisations, a decisive struggle must be carried on against attempts to form from above paper organisations, i. e. organisations which are not connected with the masses. The tendency to form organisations of leaders (which is still to be observed in the Indian revolutionary movement) is connected with a number of mistakes of a political nature. It arises from insufficiently close contact with the working class, lack of faith in the power of the proletariat and its ability to lead the movement of the people, isolation from the active workers, insufficient differentiation from the „Left“ national-reformism and the insufficiently clear and consistent struggle against it and its manifestations in the ranks of the revolutionary movement. As a result, many revolutionists even at the present time continue to bring with them into the workers' movement the traditions of the bourgeois National Congress (bureaucratic methods of work, artificial division into leaders and patronized masses, the substitution of the initiative and participation of the masses in the work by mechanical bossing from above, etc.).

The workers' and peasants' party which existed in Calcutta is a pretty good example of these methods of work. The workers' and peasants' party of Bengal was an organisation only of the leaders, who instead of developing mass work were ordering from above, and actually did not attempt to draw the mass of workers into their ranks, to start work in the factories, and create a genuine mass movement and organisation. The political programme of this party had traces of national-reformist influence. In actuality such a party objectively hindered the formation of the Communist Party and hindered the liberation of the working masses from the influence of "left" national-reformism.

The traditions of these "top" organisations are deeply hostile to and incompatible with the type of mass organisation for which the Communists are fighting.

Every attempt to found a legal organisation **from above**, claiming the role of a mass organisation but consisting of a small handful of leaders and sympathisers who **replace** the mass organisation, is harmful and leads to isolation from the masses. It hinders the development of the revolutionary movement and hinders the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses. However, the struggle against the traditions of the "top" organisations which are isolated from the working masses does not exclude the possibility when, especially in the initial stage, an organisation though small in numbers is in reality a mass organisation. The decisive characteristics which define the difference are: 1) the existence of close ties of such organisation with the broad masses of the toilers, 2) the existence of a programme which expresses the class interests of the proletariat, 3) participation and organisation in the everyday struggle of the toiling masses, 4) energetic and incessant work in drawing the broad masses of workers into their ranks, 5) the consistent struggle against the imperialist and bourgeois agents in the workers' organisations.

The most suitable form of mass legal activity are unquestionably the trade unions. The trade unions connected with tens and hundreds of thousands of workers, defending their everyday interests ensure the widest possible contact of

the Communists with the working masses. Without participation in the economic struggle of the working class, the C.P. cannot exist and cannot grow.

"The formation of trade unions was a gigantic step forward for the working class... as a transition from the scatteredness and helplessness of the workers to the **beginnings of class unity**... Except through the trade unions, through their mutual influence on the working class together with the Party, the development of the proletariat has never taken place and could not take place anywhere in the world."

(Lenin, "Left Wing Communism".)

And it is here, to the organisation and work in the T.U. that the Indian Communists must first of all direct their attention in the struggle for the working masses and for the utilisation of legal possibilities. There are very many forms of legal and semi-legal work, which should be used in the struggle for the masses. They must be used in accordance with the concrete conditions and circumstances demanding one or another form of mass legal organisation.

Among such forms of work and mass organisations we may mention factory committees, mutual aid societies, Leagues of Militant Workers, cultural societies, schools, evening and day courses, sport organisations, legal papers, clubs of readers and subscribers of our papers, worker correspondents, unemployed committees, etc. The organisations may be of a permanent type like trade unions, etc., or of a temporary character—committees of struggle against the arrest of workers during strikes, committees of action against discrimination of the pariahs, etc.

The Party organisation must be in **constant search** for the most suitable forms of mass activities and the use of various legal and semi-legal possibilities, and use these forms as the situation may demand.

One thing must be absolutely clear — and that is failure to use legal and semi-legal forms of mass activities and organisation leads to the isolation of the Communists from the masses and objectively means the **rejection** of the people's revolution.

Participation in the mass movement, work in the mass organisations (including those mass trade unions which are under the influence of the reformists), the creation of new organisations, demands a simultaneous development and increase of all forms of illegal activity, the strengthening of the illegal Communist Party, which alone is able to assure the correct revolutionary class policy and leadership in such mass organisations. The creation of the C.P. is the main requisite, the rejection of which is the rejection of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat.

The strengthening of the underground organisation and the struggle to secure the leadership of the mass legal and semi-legal organisations demands that the Communists organise Communist fractions in all these mass organisations. So far the importance, the role and the need of Communist fractions has not been, as a matter of fact, recognised by the Indian Communists. **In reality there are still no fractions.** This is one of the reasons why the Communists cannot properly organise and carry on everyday work in the trade unions and have lost their positions and influence in a number of trade unions. In this respect, the experience of Calcutta does not differ from the other districts in the country. However, without organised work of the Communists in the mass organisations, without the creation of Communist fractions it is not only impossible to ensure a single unified political and practical line which all the Communists, working in the various mass organisations must follow—but it is impossible to fight successfully for the hegemony of the proletariat in the general revolutionary movement of the toiling masses.

Taking into consideration all the foregoing, it is interesting to define what should be the position of the Communists in regard to the attempts to form a legal workers' Party, as for example is the case in Calcutta. In spite of the fact that we do not know the programme and the character of this Party, its composition and leadership, and do not know to what extent it carries on a genuine struggle in defence of the interests of the working class and the Indian revolution, we still consider it advisable, however, to discuss a few questions of principle connected with such a problem.

In India, as in any other country, there can only be one real political party of the proletariat, and this is the Communist Party, which under the present conditions in India can

exist and develop only as an underground Party. The struggle for such an All-Indian Communist Party is the central task for all Communists.

Therefore, from the point of view of the Communists, the formation of local legal workers' parties in various provinces of India cannot in any case take the place of the Communist Party. The formation of such local legal workers parties may be considered permissible in principle as **auxiliary mass political organisations**. There sometimes may arise such a situation when, due to the temporary existence of legal possibilities, the creation of a Communist Party can be hastened through a revolutionary legal workers' party even in the absence of a strong Communist Party. However, at the present time under the present concrete circumstances in India (unexampled terror, the sharpening of the struggle against the revolutionary proletarian organisations, the inner situation in the Communist movement, etc.), the Communists must clearly understand the conditions under which such legal local worker parties can be formed and developed (realising of course that a longer existence of such parties will not be permitted by British imperialism if these parties carry on a class policy, take part in the mass struggle and are not reformist organisations).

The creation of a **local legal workers party** (under the present concrete conditions) as a means of leading the struggle for the masses, the winning of legality and the isolation of the reformists, may be considered permissible if the following conditions exist: 1) If an underground Communist movement exists and the united Communist organisation is able to guarantee a correct revolutionary line and the activity of such a party. 2) If such a party is formed as the result and the organised expression of the mass movement of the workers, and if such a party does not take the place of an underground Communist movement and the Communists carry on an energetic struggle against legalist illusions. 3) If with this is connected, before and after the formation of the Party, an energetic, persistent, everyday mass work in the factories and trade unions. 4) If the programme of such a party, containing its demands and taking into account the necessity for its legal existence, at the same time in essence is the class programme of the proletariat. 5) If the Communist organisation, while participating in such a party, takes measures not to expose to and preserve a considerable part of its cadres from destruction by the police, which a legal party is bound to bring, and will not lessen but on the contrary increase its activity in developing the underground Communist movement.

While not refusing to take part in the existing mass legal workers' parties, the Communists must struggle against their transformation into reformist organisations, Roy organisations, etc., which try to divert the workers from the revolutionary struggle and direct them along the path of reformism.

The importance of the above mentioned conditions is absolutely clear, especially in India, with its experience of the workers' and peasants' parties, before we undertake to develop the task of organising such worker's parties.

Some workers' and peasants' parties in the past claimed that they were almost communist. However, experience showed that they were „top“ organisations consisting only of the revolutionary intellectuals who formed a party more or less on paper, elected a C.C. at occasional meetings („conference“) did not even try to draw workers into the party, began to represent the masses from above, and did not completely outlive the ideology of the National Congress.

To follow such a path means to act contrary to the theory and all practice of the international revolutionary movement.

It will be still worse if attempts will be made to form in such a manner an All-Indian Workers' Party. A turn towards mass work, the struggle for legality in various sections of the country or provinces and even for a short period—with the aim of winning over the masses and creating a mass Communist Party—should always be supported, but this desire, this turn to the masses, should be directed by the Communists always along the proper channels, in every case taking into account the changes in the concrete situation.

The platform of action of the C.P.I. and the open letter of the British, German and Chinese Communist Parties to the Indian Communists, are in this sense the fundamental guiding documents which must be followed by all honest adherents of the Indian and the international revolutionary proletariat.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

Capitalist Production Sunk to 19th Century Level.

(International Economic Survey.)

From the Institute for World Economy at the Communist Academy.

The year 1932 has brought a further deepening and intensification of the economic crisis. With the exception of England there is still going on in all capitalist countries a rapid decline of production.

As regards output, the capitalist world is already below the pre-war level. If one takes 100 to represent the index of production in the year 1913, we find that the United States is at present at this level, whilst in France the index has fallen to 95, in England to 83, Germany to 63 and Poland to 46.

Even more remarkable are the figures regarding the level of production in the various branches of industry in the capitalist countries, as is to be seen from the following table, in which the years are given the figures of which correspond to the first quarter of 1932:

	Coal	Pig Iron	Steel	Cotton Consumption
United States . . .	1906	1898	1905	1913
England	1900	1860	1897	1872
Germany	1899	1891	1895	1889

Thus we see that the most important branches of capitalist industry have gone back to the level obtaining 25 to 40 years ago.

One of the factors exercising a very great influence on the further deepening of the crisis in the last few months is the rapid shrinkage of investments in all countries. In the United States the erection of new buildings in 1932 shows an unprecedented decline. In the first four months of 1932, the total value of building contracts amounted to only 408 million dollars as compared with 1476 million dollars and 2482 million in the years 1931 and 1929 respectively. Thus we see, that building activity amounts to only 27 per cent. of that of 1931, which itself was a year of crisis. In Germany, the extent of building activity in the year 1932 declined in value to approximately 2,000 million marks as compared with 4,000 million in 1931 and 7,000 million in 1929.

The last quarterly survey of the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut shows that at the present time the monthly average of investments in all branches of German economy amounts to 275 to 300 million marks, compared with a monthly average of 1,110 million marks in the year 1929. Thus the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut is compelled to record that the worn out means of production are not replaced to the extent necessary to maintain the economic apparatus.

In the United States the disastrous decline of investment activity is to be seen in the unprecedented restriction of all private capital emissions, which in the first five months of 1932 amounted to 156 million dollars as compared with 1049 million and 3753 million dollars in the first five months of 1931 and 1929 respectively. The result is a tremendous falling off in the demand for all the products of heavy industry. This is clearly shown in the statistics regarding the output of pig iron in the first five months of the current year:

	U.S.A.	France	Germany	England
	(In millions of tons)			
1929	18.3	4.3	5.4	2.9
1931	9.6	3.8	2.8	1.7
1932	4.6	2.3	1.7	1.6

It may be of interest to compare these figures with the output of pig iron in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, with a pig iron output of 2,467,000 tons in the first five months of 1932, thus occupies first place in Europe and is also on the way to catching up to the United States.

A further factor deepening the crisis is the growing agricultural crisis, the collapse of prices on the market for agricultural and industrial goods. In the United States, for instance, the index for farm products stood at 56 on May 15 (pre-war

index = 100) as compared with 59 in April last and 86 in May 1931. The purchasing power of farm products on the price basis of other products amounted in the middle of May to 50 per cent. of the pre-war level, whilst last year it stood at 66.

Finally, in the last few months there has been a great falling off in the demand for articles of consumption as a result of the growing unemployment and wage cuts, and the fact that the workers have finally spent all their savings. One of the most outstanding features of the last few months is the unexampled impoverishment of the proletariat and the toiling masses. This in turn intensifies the revolutionary fight of the working class against the capitalist system. And all these circumstances must inevitably lead to a further sharpening of the crisis in the next few months.

Even the Berlin Konjunkturinstitute, in its estimation of the development of the world crisis at the commencement of June of the present year, comes to the conclusion that with the exception of England the position in all countries in the last few months still remains hopeless.

The shrinkage of the home market and the increasing currency crisis confront all capitalist countries with the urgent question of forcing up exports and restricting imports as far as possible. As a result, the fight for markets has become more intense in the last few months. At the same time there is to be recorded a further increase of protectionist measures.

According to the returns of the American Secretary of Commerce, in the period from July 1, 1931, to May 1, 1932, 76 countries increased their customs duties. Of these 76 countries, 36 increased their general tariffs. Further, since last year, 34 countries have introduced import quotas, direct import prohibitions, state monopolies for the import of certain goods etc. Finally, nearly all countries have placed considerable restrictions on foreign exchange operations.

The result of all these measures is a disastrous shrinkage of world trade. According to the calculations of the Berlin Konjunkturinstitute, world exports amounted in the second quarter of 1929 to 29,600 million marks, in the first quarter of 1931 to 18,600 million, in the fourth quarter of 1931 to 16,000 million and in the first quarter of 1932 to only 12,200 million marks. In other words, already in the first quarter of 1932, exports had sunk to 40 per cent. as compared with the period before the crisis.

In April and May world trade had further declined, so that one can reckon on a further intensification of the fights for markets. The protectionist measures resorted to by the various governments called forth increasing dumping tendencies. Thus the London "Economist" recently recorded that foreign firms, in spite of the protectionist measures adopted in England, are offering goods at prices which, including the customs duty, still undercut the English iron producers.

In the middle of June, England replied to increased dumping by raising the duty on pig iron to 33 per cent., a measure which has greatly worsened the position of the German, French and Belgian iron industries and will undoubtedly call forth retaliatory measures on the part of these countries.

The decline of world trade in turn aggravates the crisis by worsening the monetary and financial situation of the capitalist countries. Whilst the financial crisis led in the Summer of 1931 to a deepening of the industrial crisis, at present a deepening of the industrial crisis is bound to have repercussions in the sphere of finance and credit.

At the same time there is to be recorded a striking decline in profits (the profits of the American undertakings in the first quarter of 1932 amount to only 20 per cent. of the profits in the corresponding quarter of 1931). Share quotations continue to show a downward tendency (according to the data of the Berlin Konjunkturinstitute, the shares of American undertakings have fallen 85 per cent. in value since 1929). Bankruptcies are increasing.

The collapse of the Lee Higgings banking concern in the United States was largely a result of the collapse of the Kreuger concern. The "Bergwerkszeitung" of June 4, wrote in a pessimistic article entitled "America faced with disaster"?

"Conditions in the United States threaten to develop into a catastrophe... Behind the crumbling facade of American banking, which is patched up here and there by legislative relief measures, tremendous surprises are developing... There are many indications that the Morgan group is already in serious difficulties."

A considerable deterioration is to be observed in the financial situation of all other countries. The disastrous financial situation of Austria, Hungary, Greece and the other Balkan countries, which are not only unable to pay the interest on their debts but, as a result of the tremendous drainage of gold and foreign bills, are threatened with a complete cessation of all payments abroad, is generally known.

The situation of Germany, whose payments on foreign loans and investments amount in spite of the moratorium to 120 million marks a month, is practically the same as in the above-mentioned countries. The constant decline in exports threatens the trade balance. According to the very optimistic estimates of the Berlin Konjunkturinstitute, up to the end of last year Germany had a favourable payment balance of not more than 100 million marks. Thus it is necessary to meet a part of the debt interests out of the stock of gold and foreign bills of the Reichsbank, which at present amounts to only 990 million marks as compared with 2540 million marks in the middle of May 1931.

Von Papen's statement that Germany might be faced with the necessity of declaring a moratorium also for private debts, is therefore no empty threat.

The growing crisis in Central Europe has particularly serious effects in England, which has large sums invested in these countries. Even of the so-called League of Nations' loan, 48 per cent. was subscribed by England and only 31.1 per cent. by France.

In view of the increasing economic crisis, the improvement of the situation in England observable during the winter could not be other than of a temporary nature. The English First Commissioner of Work, William Ormsby-Gore, was not far wrong when he recently declared: "We are at a new stage of the crisis which will place in the shade everything England has hitherto experienced."

The bourgeoisie are conducting a fierce fight for the capitalist way out of the crisis; they are feverishly seeking measures which might improve the situation. These measures consist in the first place in reducing the cost of production, which is achieved mainly at the expense of the proletariat by means of wage cuts, cutting down of social insurance etc.

The attempts of the bourgeoisie, however, to find a way out of the crisis at the cost of the working class lead to an intensification of the proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The continued price drop, the increase in the stocks of unsold goods, the worsening of market conditions, the fear of fresh bankruptcies keep the banks from financing any enterprise.

The immediate outlook of the capitalists is a further deepening and intensification of the crisis. Thus Lenin's declaration at the 8th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. that our epoch is an epoch of tremendous collapses, wholesale and violent solutions of crises, is confirmed. For the more acute the crisis becomes, the more real becomes the danger of new imperialist wars, before all, however, the danger of a war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. But at the same time the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and toiling masses who are fighting for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, is growing and expanding.

The National Government Cannot Stem the Crisis.

By R. Bishop (London).

On Monday August 24, 1931, the Labour Government resigned and a National Government was immediately formed in its stead, with MacDonald as its head and Snowden, Thomas and Lord Sankey also coming over.

The National Government met Parliament on September 8 and two days later a supplementary Budget was presented. This Budget estimated to "economise" to the tune of £70,032,000, of which £25,800,000 was to come from the unemployed.

The statement was made that the one way to save the nation was to preserve the gold standard and that this could best be done by balancing the Budget and by means of a low revenue tariff. After the Government had been in office for a very short space of time, Britain went off the gold standard and today it is declared that any attempt to return to the Gold Standard would precipitate a worse situation than that which existed last Autumn.

On October 6 the old Parliament was dissolved and on October 27 a General Election was held which resulted in the

National Government being returned with the unprecedented majority of 500. The Government fought the Election on a manifesto issued by MacDonald, appealing for a free hand—"a doctor's mandate" as he called it.

With Britain off the gold standard, tariffs were still persisted with, in ever increasing range. The low revenue tariff was quickly supplanted by a general tariff with high rates of duty. All provisos as to the exemption of foodstuffs etc. were quickly forgotten. And to-day after 10 months of National Government the crisis of British capitalism is more deep-seated than ever.

The Budget was balanced by cutting the "dole", by means of the infamous Means Test and the Anomalies Act (the last legislative fruit of the Labour Government), by means of cuts in the Social Services and in the wages of all Government and municipal employees, by the reduction, almost to vanishing point, of building schemes, by the imposition of new taxes etc.

The new Government was returned with an enormous majority and faced with an "Opposition" whose main purpose is to stifle the mass resistance of the workers and to facilitate the anti-working class drive of the Government. It had its free hand and has used it ruthlessly—but all to no avail. The actions of the Government unleashed the resentment of the workers on a greater scale than ever before. Large masses of black-coated and uniformed workers, hitherto regarded by capitalism as safe for them, were drawn into the struggle. Invergordon decisively marked the fact that the armed forces were no longer to be regarded as something apart from the rest of the working class.

The splendid solidarity of **Invergordon** came as a terrific shock to the capitalists, and in terror they quickly made concessions to the forces, reducing the proposed cuts as far as they were concerned by, in some cases, as much as 50 per cent.

But it was not only the uniformed workers that gave the Government cause to sit up and take notice. Huge demonstrations of teachers, civil servants municipal employees etc., also perturbed them seriously. In the police force serious unrest began to manifest itself and is by no means yet allayed. Great demonstrations of the **unemployed**, to which employed workers have attached themselves in ever greater numbers, added to the discomfort of the Government.

To-day the whole working class is united in opposition to the Means Test, so much so that the Reformists have been compelled to make an attempt to guide this movement into safe constitutional channels by placing themselves at its head, for fear that the mass of the workers would throw themselves behind the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party.

Actually the emergency Budget which aimed to "economise" £25,000,000 at the expense of the unemployed, robbed £34,500,000 from this source and in the Budget which Neville Chamberlain introduced this year, he made it clear that not only were all existing burdens to remain, but further "sacrifices" were to be called for.

After ten months of National Government, there is a steadily rising figure of **unemployment**—it has increased by 200,000 in the last two months. There are 342,000 more people wholly unemployed than there were 12 months ago. There is not the slightest doubt that there are in Britain to-day at least 3,000,000 unemployed, many of whom have been driven to depths of destitution hitherto unknown.

A recent report on conditions in the **East End of London** shows that owing to protracted unemployment, sickness and destitution are very much on the increase. In Poplar where the **infant mortality rate** had been declining for a number of years, it is now showing a rapid rise. According to a statement by the Home Secretary the figures show a big increase in such crimes as robbery with violence, banditry etc. In the industrial areas the number of suicides is rising to unheard of proportions.

The tariffs which were to have cured unemployment have merely aggravated it. The rationalisation which goes hand in hand with the tariff programme of the Government is leading to the closing down of works every week, whilst in the mine-fields, the railways and the docks, the tariff war is making its dire effects felt.

The "optimism" of the General Election is no longer to be heard from the capitalist spokesmen. On the 10th, June the "**Morning Post**" commented on the situation as follows:—

"It is no idle prophecy of gloom to declare that, in the absence of one contingency, and one only, a crash is as inevitable as the succession of night to day."

On the 28th. May the "**Economist**" said:—

"The sands in the hour glass run ominously low."

Churchill in one of his recent speeches declared:—

"We have little to do but to share miseries and face them bravely."

Desperate to save their class rule the National Government are planning still further attacks on the workers. The cuts of last Autumn and the tariffs, piled on at ever-increasing tempo, having proved insufficient, more cuts, more "economies" and more tariffs are the order of the day.

A strong committee of Conservative members of Parliament has been set up to enquire into ways and means of effecting further "economies" to the tune of £60,000,000. The sickness benefit of women has already been cut within the last few days, whilst unemployed—men and women—are to be deprived of it altogether.

The National Government envisages still further attacks on the workless, heavy additional cuts in education and the health services, great reductions in municipal services, and are even contemplating reducing the Old Age pension below its present miserable low level of 10/- per week. In their desperate attempt to right the balance, at whatever cost, the National Government is driving headlong to war. Every day the Anglo-American relations grow more exacerbated, and every day the drive to war against the Soviet Union—the one thing which affords some basis of unity between the rival capitalist powers—becomes intensified.

Desperate as the situation of British capitalism is, no cuts are being made in expenditure on armaments. The Navy estimate actually increased this year. "Economies" were effected in the Army and the Air Force simply at the expense of the wages of the serving soldiers and airmen, and in the cost of their food, clothing etc. Every spokesman of British imperialism is adamant that no further cuts are to be contemplated as far as the Services are concerned.

There is a tremendous drive towards inflation, in Britain as in U.S.A. **Major Elliott**, a member of the Government, replying to a question in the House of Commons on May 9 declared that:

"In order that there might be no mistake I will say that the Government desire to see a rise in wholesale prices in this country and, although not to the same extent, a rise in retail prices."

This is to be effected partly by tariffs, partly by keeping down the £, and partly by the "provision of cheap and abundant supplies of money". The City Editor of the "Times" a month earlier had declared that "the best solution of the world's economic troubles would be to organise a substantial rise in prices" whilst the "Economist" on May 7 declared that a rise of 30 per cent. in wholesale prices was the thing most to be desired.

The Journal of the Westminster Bank, the Labour Party and the I.L.P. complete the capitalist united front on this question.

But the difficulty which confronts the British capitalist class is expressed in the "Times" of May 12, when the City Editor writes:

"Cheap and abundant credit is not enough. It only becomes effective when there is confidence and opportunity to use it profitably."

Without a market all the monetary manipulation schemes are useless. The bank rate at 2½ per cent. supplies cheap money, Britain is off the gold standard—but the crisis deepens instead of disappearing. The monetary and credit way out of the crisis does not lead away from war but to war.

In this situation the **Labour Party** are faithfully fulfilling their role of lackeys. In the face of intense working-class resentment, they criticise the National Government. They accuse it of being undecided, muddle-headed etc., they tell the workers how different it would be if they were in power once again. But at the first sign of organised mass working-class resistance, the Labour Party come out openly as defenders of "law and order".

But while decaying capitalism is driving desperately against the workers at home and towards war on the Soviet Union, the workers themselves are turning towards independent action. In recent weeks there is growing evidence of a tendency to organise independent action. The great task of the **Communist Party of Great Britain** is to harness this tendency to revolutionary leadership, acting with a clear-sighted policy.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Consumers' Co-operatives of the Soviet Union in the First Three Years of the Five-Year Plan.

Report of the Centrosoyus.

The victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union is approaching the completion of the first Five-Year Plan in four years on the basis of the tremendous upsurge of the revolutionary activity of the working population, of the development of socialist competition and of the shock brigades.

On this basis there have also been achieved the tremendous successes in developing the consumers' co-operatives. Some figures will serve to indicate this development:

Growth of the Membership of the Consumers' Co-operatives:

	1913	1928	1929	1930	1931
Workers	—	8,937,000	13,051,000	13,881,000	13,702,000
Toiling Peasants	—	13,719,000	20,378,000	23,925,000	36,311,000
Total	2,000,000	22,656,000	33,429,000	37,806,000	55,013,000

On January 1, 1932, the Soviet co-operatives had 73 million members. The adult working population in industry is organised up to 95.2 per cent. and the adult working population in agriculture up to 63.4 per cent. in the co-operatives.

The chief task of the first Five-Year period in the sphere of goods' circulation was to oust the private middleman. Even if this task was not fully solved in the first three years of the Five-Years' period, nevertheless considerable successes have been achieved in this sphere: the role of the private middleman has been reduced to an insignificant percentage. In the total turnover of goods in the Soviet Union the share of the co-operatives is about 68 per cent., that of State trade about 30 per cent. The retail sales of the co-operatives amounted in 1928/29 to 7,536.7 million roubles, in 1930 to 12,235.9 million roubles, and in 1931 to 17,485.4 million roubles. The total goods' turnover of the consumers' co-operatives amounted in 1931 to 20,885.4 million roubles.

Simultaneously with the growth of the trade turnover the number of shops and stores owned by the consumers' co-operatives has increased from year to year, as is seen from the following figures:

	Jan. 1. 1929	Jan. 1. 1930	Jan. 1. 1931
In the town	40,109	39,883	40,896
In the country	73,100	79,417	97,775
Total	113,209	119,300	138,671

Simultaneously with the growth in the number of members there is also a great increase in the shares held by the members: in the year 1929 the total value of the shares held by the members amounted to 365.8 million roubles, and in the year 1930 to 662.9 million roubles, i. e. an increase of 81.2 per cent. in the course of a year. On October 1, 1931, this sum grew to 1260 million roubles, which means an increase of 90 per cent. in the course of 9 months.

On January 1, 1931, the total capital of the consumers' co-operatives amounted to 2000 million roubles, and on January 1, 1932, to 3000 million roubles.

The rapid socialist industrialisation of the country has confronted the consumers' co-operatives of the Soviet Union with the question of public feeding on a large scale. The task in this sphere consists in embracing to a maximum extent the workers and employees in the enterprises, as well as the students, by means of the public dining halls, and then gradually drawing in the members of working class families, supplying all school children with warm breakfasts, and finally catering for the millions of workers employed in the Soviet agricultural undertakings, at the machine and tractor stations of the collective peasants. All this requires great organisational efforts on the part of the consumers' co-operatives.

In 1930 the consumers' co-operatives had in the towns

over 5308 permanent dining halls, which supplied 4½ million dinners a day. The total turnover in the same year amounted to 1010 million roubles.

On July 1, 1931, the number of public dining rooms had risen to 13,173 including 49 factory kitchens and 286 mechanised dining rooms whose total daily output was 12 million meals.

In the year 1931, 5671 permanent dining halls and 83,723 travelling and field kitchens were organised for the purpose of supplying the workers on the Soviet farms and the machine and tractor stations, as well as the collective peasants during field work; they produce no less than 26 million meals a day.

The plan for 1931 provides for an increase of public feeding in the socialised part of agriculture to 75 million meals a day, of which 37 million fall to the collective farms.

The making of bread occupies one of the foremost places in the productive enterprises of the consumer's co-operatives. The task for the next two years consists in completely ousting the small bakeries in the industrial centres and towns and replacing them by big bread factories, whilst on the Soviet farms and on the big collective farms steps are being taken to organise the manufacture of bread on a factory scale.

There has been set up in the Centrosoyus a federation of the bread-making industry embracing 21 trusts with a total of over 500 enterprises. Of these, 175 are bread factories and mechanised bakeries, the rest half-mechanised and large non-mechanised bakeries.

The rapidly increasing wages of the workers and employees, the growing income of the collective and individual peasants, the constantly increasing number of workers engaged in production, and the improvement in the material position of the whole of the working population, which resulted in an increased demand for all kinds of products, led to a shortage of some agricultural products, especially of fats, vegetables and fruit. The task of the consumers' co-operatives consists in creating supplementary sources for supplying the workers and employees with these products. For this purpose the consumers' co-operatives set up in the year 1931 a large number of their own agricultural undertakings, including vegetable gardens, dairies, pig-breeding farms etc.

In the year 1931, the consumers' co-operatives had at their disposal a total area of over 388,000 hectares for the cultivation of vegetables and 428,000 hectares for the production of fodder. The consumers' co-operatives had on their dairy farms 181,000 milch cows, 4200 bulls and 64,400 calves, and on the pig-breeding farms 118,200 sows.

The Centrosoyus embraces 7 federations of the Republics, 16 regional and provincial federations, 10 big national federations, and 218 big consumers' co-operatives of the industrial workers.

Statement of Sidney and Beatrice Webb on Conditions in the Soviet-Union.

Moscow, June 30.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, who are now visiting the U.S.S.R. made the following statement, which is published in today's "Izvestia":

"After our first 300 kilometres travel in the U.S.S.R. from the Finnish Gulf to the sea of Azow we can only record our first impressions, upon which our considered judgment must be added later.

We are deeply impressed by the universal feeling of hopefulness, now absent in other countries, by the tremendous spirit of energy with which all Soviet Russia is being transformed, and by the high degree of unity in thought and action.

What is new to us is the very great variety of different forms of social organisation in which the vast population is enrolled. Instead of a single bureaucratic governmental army embracing all persons undertaking all functions and services required by the community we find workers in numerous trade unions, shock brigades, shop committees, factory committees, district and all-union conferences each with its plenum and its presidium.

Or, alternatively, they may be members of independent artels formed out of artisan groups and elaborated into powerful federations.

But workers are also consumers, and as consumers they are again organised into gigantic Co-operative societies, the largest and most powerful the world has ever seen.

And the worker, who is also consumer, is likewise a citizen interested in his village, his municipality, his autonomous republic land, finally, the great union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Hence the hierarchy of Soviets, rayons, oblasts and conferences.

Finally, there is the Communist Party, with its Party members and candidates, its youth members, its Pioneers and even its infant Octobrists, all trained to act both as the cement that holds together the whole complex social organisation that constitutes the nation, and as the conscience of a nation itself, watchful and on the defence for its future, no less than its present.

Now the most impressive feature to us is the fact that all different organisations are not, as in other countries, opposing each other, but helping each other. Trade unions trying to make production in their factories come up to the demands of the State Planning Commission. Co-operative Societies endeavouring to help trade union members to be healthy and effective in their work, the Communist Party always stimulating and promoting the utmost efficiency in all.

It is this spirit of unity and mutual helpfulness in the service of the community for the benefit of the whole body of consumers that will, we hope, enable the Soviet system to overcome all difficulties that obstruct the establishment of a completely Socialist State."

Rostov on Don, June 16, 1932.

The "Daily Worker" which published this statement of the Webbs in its issue of July 1st, makes the following comment thereon:

"The publication of this statement of fact is an exposure of such open traitors as Snowden and the concealed traitors in the trade unions and Labour Party, who repeat the anti-Soviet slanders of the capitalist press.

But it must never be forgotten, that however much the Webbs may praise the Soviet Union, they cannot absolve themselves from responsibility for the crisis in Britain and our slowness to achieve what the Russian masses have done already. It is easy and also popular to talk about the successes of the Soviets. But British workers do not forget that among the betrayers of the General Strike were some of the most voluble exponents of the Soviet Union's great progress. Fine words about Russia are often used to cover treachery in Britain."

THE WHITE TERROR

Scottsboro and the Struggle against Imperialism.

By J. Louis Engdahl

The tour of the Scottsboro Negro Mother through eight European countries has emphasized the role of the growing resistance to this persecution as a struggle also against imperialist oppression in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

This was not so clear in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Switzerland, capitalist countries without colonies. Here the broad basis of response to the Scottsboro appeal was to be found in the class solidarity with the workers and the oppressed Negro masses in the United States.

In France, Belgium, Holland and Great Britain, all capitalist homelands with colonial empires, the broader appeal of the Scottsboro struggle was emphasized. Here the Scottsboro Negro Mother became not only a symbol of struggle between the workers of European countries and the United States, but also of the strengthening unity between labour in the capitalist countries and in the lands of colonial oppression.

Thus in France, Scottsboro became a slogan of struggle

against the savage oppression of French imperialism in Madagascar, in the French Negro colonies in Africa, against the bloody tyranny in Indo-China. In Belgium, Scottsboro brought to the front the mass murders of the Negro slaves of the Congo. The tyranny of Dutch imperialism over Negroes in the West Indies and over the brown peoples of Indonesia came into the centre of the Scottsboro campaign. Similarly in England with its far-flung colonies seething with discontent under the lash of British imperialism.

The "Southern Gentlemen", of Scottsboro, Alabama, who last year thought that their judicial lynching of the nine Scottsboro Negro boys would soon "all be over", that they had enough electric current quickly to burn alive these Negro children, did not anticipate the electric storms of protest they were letting loose in all parts of the world. Working class protest paralyzed the hand of judicial lynch law justice that sought to throw the switch that would send fiery bolts of electricity through the youthful bodies of the Scottsboro children.

The colonial peoples witness the white workers in the capitalist homelands fighting for the lives of the Scottsboro boys—Negro working class children—the children of an oppressed race. This lifts to a higher level, therefore, the unity of action between the white workers in the lands of capitalism, and the coloured races in the colonies. Thus, on the basis of the Scottsboro campaign, the white workers overcome their shortcomings in the past in failing to struggle sufficiently against colonial oppression. New life in many of the Scottsboro meetings was given to the League of Struggle Against Imperialism that worked whole-heartedly with the International Red Aid in mobilising the masses for the tour of the Negro Mother.

Negro workers living in the European countries became the organisers of the meetings of the Scottsboro Mother. They were also among the speakers. The police of the Socialist police president, Grzesinski, in Berlin, knew what they were about when they directed their most vicious attacks against the Negro workers present, when they broke up the meeting. In all the meetings in Holland a Negro worker spoke side by side with an Indonesian worker. Workers of other races, especially Chinese, came to the meetings in goodly numbers.

While the tour of the Negro Mother emphasized this phase of the Scottsboro campaign, it must be said that only a beginning has been made. Under pressure of European mass protest, aroused through the tour of the Scottsboro Mother, the United States Supreme Court has decided to review the Scottsboro case and has set October 10, as the day of the hearing. The execution of the Negro boys set for June 24th has therefore been postponed. Evidently the judges of the highest court in the United States will seek to put some highly polished judicial veneer upon the lynch mob actions of the Scottsboro courts, not sufficiently refined to maintain the illusions of "fairness" so necessary for the life of capitalist class justice.

The Scottsboro judicial lynching will be carried through unless the world protest grows during the next three months. There is the danger that the campaign will witness a downward trend if more faith is placed in lawyers' arguments before the tribunals of capitalism than in working class protest. It is clear that the heavy burden of the protest falls on the workers in the capitalist homelands carefully coordinating the Scottsboro campaign with their other struggles against persecution, Amnesty Campaigns, Anti-War struggles, Anti-Fascist movements, with special efforts directed towards building the widest protest on the Sacco-Vanzetti Anniversary, August 22nd, the fifth year since these two workers were burned alive in the electric chair in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1927.

In spite of the fact that labour suffered from the illusion in 1927, especially in the United States, that it was living in a period of so-called "prosperity" that would endure forever, the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign in its seventh year reached tremendous world-wide proportions.

Exactly because the year 1932 sees these illusions shattered, with labour everywhere plunged in the deepest mass misery in all capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries, the Scottsboro Campaign in its second year rapidly approaches the level of the Sacco-Vanzetti struggle, which must be far surpassed. This can be done.

In the International

Clara Zetkin's 75th Birthday.

By Nadeshda Krupskaya.

Clara Zetkin was an active member of the old German social democratic party and spent the most active years of her life in its ranks. At that time many backward views regarding the women's question and the drawing of the working women into the movement prevailed even in the party, and Clara Zetkin had to fight many a hard battle on this front. For us Russian social democrats at that time the activity of the German social democracy was a model. But the legal existence of the party under the capitalist conditions in Germany caused opportunism to rise and flourish.

Right from the beginning Clara Zetkin took her place in the front ranks of the fighters against opportunism, against the followers of Bernstein, against Vollmar. In his work: "One step forward and two steps back", in which he describes the split at the second Party Congress of the Russian social democratic Party, Lenin quotes the words of Zetkin, which she addressed to Bebel in 1895: "It pains me deeply to see you in this company", i.e., in the company of Vollmar and other opportunists.

Vladimir Ilych first met Clara Zetkin in Munich. Later, in 1907, they fought shoulder to shoulder at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress. Lenin wrote two articles on the Stuttgart Congress, in both of which he referred to Clara Zetkin. He described how ably she opposed Plechanov, who advocated the neutrality of the trade unions and thereby adopted the line of the separation of the political from the economic struggle. Lenin also cited Clara Zetkin's article on the resolution on the question of anti-militarism, and stated that it grasped the most striking and important characteristic features of the resolution:

"Here also, said Zetkin, regarding the anti-militarist resolution, the revolutionary energy and the courageous faith of the working class and their fighting capacity has finally triumphed, on the one side, over the pessimistic talk of impotency, over the ossified efforts, not to go beyond the old exclusively Parliamentary method of struggle, and, on the other hand, over the naive anti-militarism of the French semi-anarchists of the type of Hervé."

Lenin also called attention to the work of Clara Zetkin at the first International Socialist Women's Conference, to her fight against the opportunist attitude of the Austrians towards the question of women's suffrage.

When the imperialist war broke out in 1914, our Duma fraction conducted a revolutionary propaganda against the war and the Tsarist government, as a result of which they were arrested and banished to Siberia. In an article written on the situation, Lenin stated:

"Dozens and hundreds of the best socialists of Germany, including also the well-known representative of the working women's movement, Clara Zetkin, have been thrown into prison by the German Government on account of their revolutionary propaganda."

It came to differences of opinion between Lenin and Clara Zetkin regarding the question of the tactics to be pursued at the International Socialist Women's Conference. But they were soon forgotten. When the Bolsheviks seized power the German Left wing came out in their support. Lenin stated at that time:

"Our position is all the more difficult as the Russian revolution was far ahead of all other revolutions; but that we are not alone is shown by the reports which arrive every day, of how the best German social democrats speak in favour of the Bolsheviks, and how in the German legal press Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring defend the cause of the Bolsheviks . . ."

On January 12, 1919 Lenin wrote:

"When the German Spartacus League, headed by such true champions of the working class as Liebknecht or Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, finally broke with the socialists of the type of Scheidemann and Südekum, with these social chauvinists who have covered themselves with everlasting shame by their alliance with

the predatory imperialist German bourgeoisie and with Wilhelm the Second, and adopted the name of the "Communist Party of Germany", then the **founding** of a really proletarian, really international, really revolutionary, the third International, the **Communist International** became a **fact**."

Clara Zetkin accomplished a great work in organising the work of the toiling women. In her speeches, in her writings in the press, she constantly advocated equal electoral rights for man and woman, fought for the inclusion of the working women in the political struggle, exerted all her forces to increase their political consciousness, and was for many years editress of the women's newspaper "**Gleichheit**". There took place simultaneously with the Stuttgart Congress in 1907 the first International Socialist Women's Congress, at which it was decided to set up an International Socialist Women's Secretariat in which every socialist party should have its representative and correspondent. Clara Zetkin was elected secretary of the International Socialist Women's Secretariat. She was not only an excellent propagandist and agitator, but an equally good organiser.

Three years later, in the Summer of 1910, there took place in Copenhagen the second socialist women's conference, at which it was decided to fix March 8 as International Women's Day.

Clara Zetkin's influence on the female proletariat was enormous.

Clara Zetkin was unable to be present at the II. Congress of the Third International. She came to the R.S.F.S.R. somewhat later, at the end of September. At that time the 9th Party Conference was being held in the Swerdlow Hall in the Kremlin, and many comrades can still remember how Ilych heartily embraced Clara Zetkin as she mounted the platform, amidst the stormy applause of the delegates.

Clara Zetkin eagerly received the impressions of the Soviet country, which breathed the spirit of the revolution. Our women delegates,—women workers, peasant women and especially women of the national minorities, came from all corners and ends of the Soviet Union to see Clara.

At the third Congress of the Communist International she was elected member of the E.C.C.I. Presidium and has actively worked throughout all these years in the Communist Party of Germany.

She is still fired with the old revolutionary passion; she still devotes the whole of her forces to the cause of the proletariat. We send her our warmest greetings and wish her health and strength.

Greetings from the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. to Clara Zetkin on her 75th Birthday.

Moscow, July 1, 1932.

Dear Comrade Clara Zetkin!

The Presidium of the Communist International sends you, its revolutionary greetings on the occasion of your 75th birthday. The world proletariat remembers the services you have rendered in the fight for its emancipation; the masses of toiling women see in you one of the best champions of the women's struggle for emancipation and for the victory of Socialism.

On your initiative it was decided to observe International Women's Day, the day on which the masses of toiling women of the whole world demonstrate every year their determination to fight against hunger and misery, against exploitation and war.

The militant spirit which permeates the numerous articles published by you in former years in the "**Gleichheit**", when you first took up the fight for the emancipation of the masses of toiling women, permeates to a still greater extent all the

articles and speeches for the cause of the emancipation of the whole of the proletariat, penned and delivered by you since you entered the ranks of the Communist International.

Today, when the toiling masses of the whole world are threatened to an unprecedented extent with fascism and the danger of a new imperialist war as well as with the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, the Communist International reminds all toilers of the great services rendered by you in the fight against imperialist war. It was thanks to your leadership that the International Women's Conference held at Berne in 1915 assumed the form of an international anti-imperialist demonstration. For decades you conducted in the ranks of the II. International the fight against militarism, imperialism and war.

With Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and many nameless revolutionary Marxists you raised your voice in the ranks of the German social democracy against the betrayal of Socialism by the II. International. Under martial law, in spite of persecution and imprisonment, you exerted all your powers in order to organise the resistance to the war-inciters and their confederates in the camp of international Socialism.

In the midst of the insane war turmoil you, together with the best German proletarians, boldly upheld the banner of revolutionary proletarian Internationalism against the chauvinist social democracy which had gone over to the side of their bourgeoisie. Filled with the same fighting spirit, you are fighting today, along with the whole of the Communist International, against the threatening danger of imperialist war.

You were one of the first among the leaders of the German proletariat who openly proclaimed their allegiance to the great October Revolution, and who accordingly exerted all your powers in order to popularise by word and pen the towering achievements of the October Revolution and the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

The Communist International, on your 75th birthday, expresses the hope that you will still be able to work for many years in full youthful vigour for the emancipation-struggle of the international proletariat.

The Presidium of the Communist International.

Message of Greetings from the International Women's Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. to Clara Zetkin.

Dear Comrade Clara!

The International Women's Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. sends to you its warmest revolutionary greetings on the occasion of your 75th birthday. Your whole life, dear Comrade Zetkin, is an example to the working women of all countries of unswerving devotion to the cause of the proletariat. You have devoted all your powers, your will, your experience, all your revolutionary energy to the fight for the World October.

In fierce struggle against bourgeois feminism, revisionism and chauvinism, you have always energetically defended the principles of revolutionary Marxism. You were the first organiser of the international Communist women's movement, and you are still to-day its leader. You have been and are still today an irreconcilable fighter against imperialism and the imperialist wars. You have always been in the front ranks in the fight against social fascism and fascism.

For millions of working women of the whole world your name has become the symbol of revolutionary fight against the capitalist system and imperialist wars—a symbol of the mobilisation of the masses for the defence of the Soviet Union and socialist construction.

The international proletariat knows and appreciates its heroes, on the roll of which your name is inscribed in letters of gold.

On your 75th birthday we wish you health and strength to continue your work and fight.

Long live the Comintern and its champions!

Long live the world revolution!

International Women's Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

IN THE R.I.L.U.

How and Why We Must Work in the English Trade Unions.

By Losovsky.

The most powerful organisations in England, with traditions stretching back a hundred years, are the British trade unions. In structure, in rules, in the relations between the members, and in their leading organs, they present a variegated picture. Bourgeois political manoeuvres, scatteredness, sectarianism, rivalry among various unions for members, these traditional features of the British trade unions continue to prevail to the present day in the British trade union movement. And the question which we have to face is how to organise the mass resistance of the workers to the offensive of the employers and the government which is going on with respect to wages, unemployment benefit, means tests and other matters. The question is how to rally the workers, rouse them to the struggle against the employers and to create such conditions that the members of the trade unions will take their fate into their own hands. This is the task. How can it be carried out? It cannot be carried out without working in the places where the working masses are to be found, without working in the trade unions where there are to be found about 4 million workers. In some industries, a very large percentage are organised. It is useless to talk of winning over the masses if we do not take up this work in the trade unions practically and concretely.

I have read the resolution of the Balham organisation, which contrasts work in the factory to work in the trade union. This contrasting is not correct. Why is it not correct? Because **one does not exclude the other, but one is a condition for the other.** We cannot successfully work in the midst of the unorganised without carrying on constant and everyday work among the workers organised in the trade unions. If this work is not done, it is impossible under present conditions to draw the workers into the mass struggle against the employers and the bourgeoisie.

Firstly, we must take our stand on the necessity of organising a mass resistance of the workers to the offensive of the employers, and secondly on the fact that some of the strikes in Britain still take place with the participation and under the leadership of the trade unions. (Of course, as far as the leaders participate in this struggle, they do not base themselves on the interest of the working class.) We must also remember the peculiarities and the particular structure of the British trade unions. We must adapt our work to every trade union. As a rule, the British trade unions have no representatives in the factories. In some industries, the members of each trade union working in a factory elect their representative, and the representatives of all the trade unions in the given factory form a committee. There are individual factories where all the workers elect a factory committee which decides conflicting questions between the unions and also questions of wages in the factory, conditions of labour, etc. (Metro Vickers, Manchester). In the mining industry there are not pit committees. The checkweighman, elected by the trade union, plays the role of a connecting link with the union. There are factories where there are collectors of dues. These collectors are elected by the members of the union either at the given factory, or at a meeting of their union branch, etc. This variegated picture makes us raise the question concretely as to the forms and methods of work for each union separately—for the miners' union, the metal workers, chemical workers, railwaymen, etc. It is time to undertake real serious and painstaking work.

What concrete tasks face the revolutionary workers who must understand the importance of winning the millions of trade union members to the side of the class struggle? First of all, it is obvious that in those factories where there is any kind of representative, a factory committee, shop stewards, etc., we must struggle resolutely to get revolutionary workers in these positions. This can only be done if our candidates come out with concrete propositions, understood by the masses, for an organised resistance to wage cuts, rationalisation (Bedeaux system, the 8-10 loom system in the textile industry, etc.), or lengthening of the working day. It can only be done if we put forward effective forms and methods of work, if we advance people who can fulfil the work which has to be done.

The next step is to prepare meetings of the branches. In

this work we must not give way to the repression of the trade union bureaucrats who expel revolutionary minded workers from the unions, but we must carry on extensive work among the members of the union for the struggle for their rights, against expulsions, for democracy in the trade unions. We must fight for regular branch meetings. How can this be done? We must gather the members of one union in the given factory, then another, then a third, carry a resolution of the members, demanding the calling of a general meeting of the union, and come to the general meeting of the local branch prepared, with ready prepared propositions, face the trade union bureaucrats with mass pressure, **organise the calling of trade union meetings by the workers themselves**, if the bureaucrats refuse to call them, etc. Can this be done? It can. It is not correct to put the lower trade union functionaries on the same level as the leaders of the trade unions. Of course, there are traitors also among the lower elected functionaries, but it is harmful not to distinguish between the mass of lower functionaries and the trade union bureaucrats at the head. We can and must work among the lower functionaries. Therefore it is not right to count as a traitor every honest lower functionary who does not yet understand the tasks of his class and who has still illusions about the trade union bureaucrats. The British bourgeoisie have a very cunning system of corrupting the workers. They carry with them millions of proletarians who not only vote for the Labour Party but for the Liberals and Conservatives. But all the same, there are considerable sections of workers and rank and file functionaries in the British trade union movement who do not wish to surrender the positions they have won, and who want to fight.

The Party and the M. M. made a correct decision on the necessity not only of carrying on stubborn work in the trade unions, but of struggling to convert the trade union branches into organs of the class struggle of the workers.

In 1931-32, a number of strikes took place in England without the consent and against the will of the executive committees of the trade unions. The masses struck against the will of the leaders. In the process of the struggle, hundreds of leaders came forward. Why did the adherents of the R.I.L.U. not get into contact with them? Is it not clear that every worker fighting against the bourgeoisie, every activist and striker who is honestly fighting for the interests of the working class and taking an active part in the strike that is going on against the will of the leaders or is being carried on by the union under the pressure of the masses, belongs to those very elements among whom we must work, whom we must win over and on whom we must rely? Why do we talk of work in the trade unions and let slip such excellent possibilities for carrying on this work concretely and practically? We must fight to elect the best revolutionary workers to offices in the branches. We must see that not a single district congress, and not a national congress of the union takes place without our influence and our interference. Still more must we get hold of the leadership of the mass movement. We insist on the necessity of work in the reformist trade unions, not in order to adapt ourselves to the policy of the **corrupted** trade union bureaucracy. We stand for utilising the statutes, the structure and the peculiarities of the unions, **but it is one thing to utilise the peculiarities of a union and another thing to adapt our policy to the policy of the reformist trade union bureaucrats**. This would mean a repudiation of our views and would be a blow in the face of the Leninist tactics in the trade union movement.

Adaptation to the policy of the reformists is still the chief danger, but we must keep in view that under the given circumstances underestimation of the work in the trade unions is a **serious hindrance** in the matter of winning over the masses.

We must commence to form groups of the M.M., first of all inside the trade unions and in the factories. We must develop the work of these groups. We must take hold of the local branches of the unions in an organised way, and not deal in metaphysics which has already led to pitiable results. But we must not think that we are bound to stick the label of the M.M. on to every movement. There may be various forms in various unions, by which the protest and the discontent of the workers makes itself known. Therefore, having formed a revolutionary opposition under various names in various unions, we can and must fuse all this together into one whole.

The main thing is to form a basis in the factories and in the trade unions for the revolutionary trade union movement.

How can we win influence among the workers? Only by showing them that our policy is better and that we know how to fight against the bosses for the vital interests of the workers, that we know how to organise strikes, that we know how to organise demonstrations, that we can do painstaking work in the trade unions and in the factories better than the reformists, that we know how to defend the interests of the unemployed. We have to prove this in practice. The British workers do not believe in words. When the adherents of the R.I.L.U. prove that they are really fighters and that they can lead the mass movement, than the British proletarians, who think concretely and practically, will say: "These are real fighters and not bureaucrats, and I will go with them against the Citrines, the Bevins, these past and present friends of MacDonald and Thomas."

In Britain there are two dangers: One comrade thinks that work in the trade unions demands from us adaptation to trade union policy and denial of our views so as to avoid expulsion from the union. What is meant by such a feeling? It means complete disbelief in the possibility of revolutionising the working class, in the possibility of the growth of our movement, disbelief in the strength of our revolutionary tactics and a complete denial of the views of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. There is another extreme which, at the bottom, arises from the same disbelief but has leftist phraseology. "Why should we work in the trade unions. We can't do anything there. The workers in them are hopeless, etc." This pseudo revolutionariness is in reality permeated with the same spirit of disbelief in the masses and the same base opportunism which saturates the Right opportunists. Both are seeking an excuse to justify their passivity, their incorrect views, their inability and their lack of desire to work. Some members of the Balham group use for their incorrect and harmful views, to which the C.C. of the Party and the M.M. have properly objected, some incorrect and unsuccessful expressions and formulations which came in my concluding remarks at the VIII Session and which were not properly translated, although the whole of the concluding remarks emphasise with the greatest energy the necessity of working in all trade unions, especially in the reformist unions, everywhere where the working masses are to be found.

What is our aim in insisting on work in the trade unions? To win over the working masses, to lead the masses to the fight against the bourgeoisie and their reformist assistants. Why does this task seem incorrect and impossible to some British comrades? It seems to me that the tasks indicated by the Congresses of the R.I.L.U. and the Comintern and the C.P.G.B. are correct and possible. We cannot and must not hand over millions of members of trade unions to the undisputed rule and orders of the T.U. bureaucrats. We must fight for every worker, for every local branch, for every lower T.U. post. We must build up our M.M. groups. We must take such a line that every worker will see in us and only in us the firm fighters for the cause of the workers. Then we shall be able to undermine the influence of the reformist bureaucrats, overcome reformist ideology in the ranks of the British proletariat and win the organised and unorganised workers of Great Britain to the side of the revolutionary class struggle.

Swiss Plumbers Win Part Success.

Zuerich, 4th July 1932.

The strike of the plumbers in **Zuerich** which was fought for seven weeks with great determination and against great odds has now ended. Owing to the combined weight of the police, the authorities and the reformist leaders it was not possible to win a clear victory, but the ten percent wage-cut demanded by the employers will now not be put through. A wage-cut of three percent will come into force this month and a further wage-cut of two percent on the 1st January 1933. The employers then undertake to press for no further wage-cuts throughout the year 1933. As a result of the strike which was led by the revolutionary trade union opposition against the will of the reformist leaders who had already agreed with the employers to accept the ten percent cut immediately, the prestige and strength of the revolutionary trade union opposition have greatly increased.