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The Mass Strike in Belgium.

By F. Coenen (Brussels).

For two years the owners of the Belgian coal mines have been carrying on a systematic offensive against the workers. They complain that the coal markets are depressed, that the general economic crisis is crushing them to the ground, that they are running the mines at a loss, and that they are sacrificing themselves for "their" workers. They say nothing about the enormous profits which they have pocketed, especially between 1924 and 1930. Even during the crisis-year of 1931, 102 millions were distributed among the shareholders of 90 companies. To this must be added the reserves accumulated during the fat years, the official reserves laid by in 1931, and the profits secretly set aside or invested in various undertakings.

Still there is one evident fact: The crisis is there and with it poor sales. The stocks of coal accumulate in spite of unemployment and in spite of the import quotas. More than 4 million tons of coal are stored at the pit heads. The financing of these stocks has been organised by financial capital—the "Société Générale" has already more than 50 per cent. of the coal mines under its control—in order that an absolute control over the whole mining industry may be secured. This financing of the stocks represents a capital of 650 million francs ("Bulletin d'information et de documentation de la Banque Nationale").

During the last two years the miners' wages have been reduced by 35 to 40 per cent., this again representing a sum of about 650 Million francs. It may therefore be said that the present coal stocks have been accumulated gratis by the masses of the miners for the handful of capitalists who are exploiting and oppressing them.

And the miner has not only suffered with regard to

wages. He has been made to feel very painfully, in the increased exploitation of his physical powers, the advance of capitalist rationalisation. Between 1914 and 1931 the average output of a miner increased from 3481 kgs. to 4583, equivalent to an increase of more than 31 per cent. These mines have become penal settlements, in which the superintendence and control of the work increase steadily in severity. The output is never admitted to be sufficient, and affords a constant pretext for wage deductions. The managers of the mines and the rest of these prison warders deal out fines and penalties right and left with ever increasing brutality. Workers are dismissed for no reason whatever. Accidents and disasters, caused by the lack of safety measures, follow closely one the other.

Therefore the miners have made diffident attempts, during the last few months, to raise protests by means of dozens of small strikes, in which the workers were brought out as a rule on the initiative of the revolutionary workers. These strikes were nearly all of short duration, and were relentlessly throttled by the "socialist" trade union leaders.

But at the end of May the mine-owners, with the full agreement of the reformist leaders, again announced a 5 percent wage cut, to come into operation on 6th June "according to contract", and in addition a 2-5 per cent cut "outside of contract". The reformist trade union leaders of the Borinage district found themselves obliged, much against their will, to submit the question to a ballot vote. 95 per cent of the organised workers voted for the strike. The results of this ballot vote were kept secret, so that the "negotiations" with the employers might be continued "without rousing bad feeling". At that time the gouverneur and the director of the "Société

Générale", **Francois** and **Galopin**, took an immediate part in the "negotiations" in the prime minister's room. The "satisfactory solution" sought for was found in a carefully arranged—lowering of the costs of living according to the official index figures. The "contractual" cut of 5 per cent, which thus was made to appear justified, was however "not to come into force" until June 19, whilst the "extra-contractual" cuts were to be subjected to further examination, and if imposed to come into force not earlier than July 19.

The intervention of the heads of the "Société Générale", the advice given by their press, and their role as "peacemakers", afforded ample proof that in spite of the pithead accumulations, the mine owners had no desire for the strike which they could see was impending. Hence their reformist lackeys employed every possible means to hold the miners back from the strike. Resolutions adopted by special conferences, threats to apply article 54 of the trade union statutes (newly introduced in 1930 after the strike of the miners in Borinage, who were condemned by the board of arbitration with the joint votes of the employers and social democratic leaders), an article enabling the leaders of the reformist trade union of the miners, Delattre and Co. to repudiate as "illegal" any strike which they do not sanction.

But all this was of no avail. Strikes continued to break out, and were relentlessly combatted by the reformist lackeys **Francois** and **Galopin**, and by their mercenary press. The revolutionary workers, the **revolutionary miners' central**, the **R.T.O.U.**, and the **C.P.**, all did their utmost to aid the struggles to success and to spread them further. During the first three weeks of June there were 15 to 20 thousand miners—sometimes more sometimes less—on strike. But the employers and reformists were still confident of victory. In some of the mines of the **Charleroi** district and of the **Herve** plateau the workers came out on strike on the initiative of the revolutionary miners' central and of the **R.T.O.U.**; but these strikes only lasted a few days. Subsequently the movement in Borinage weakened, but this was only temporary, and it once more increased in strength and intensity.

Delattre and Co. grasped the fact that they would have to make a "left" turn, if they were to get the leadership of the movement into their hands. The miners called for a **general strike in the coalfields and a strike of all the miners in Belgium**. Delattre and Co. skilfully set two conditions: 1. Division of the work among all; 2. stabilisation of the "contractual" wages till October. A flood of demagogy set in. The "People" greeted the "brave champions of Borinage in their struggle against the obdurate and profit-hunting employers".

But precisely on the eve of the general strike in Borinage, the financial capitalists and the government, who had not lost faith in the reformist lackeys, arrived at an agreement with them which was acclaimed by the "People" as a "victory". This victory was a shameful betrayal. The agreement contained the wage cut "according to contract", reductions in sick pay, in coal allowance, and in the family allowances; it also contained clauses providing for expulsion of the old and the foreign workers from the mines (a clause inserted on the pretext of dividing the work—or rather the unemployment—among all Belgians). This "victory" was rejected by the miners even before a vote was taken on it at the meetings. The miners voted by setting up pickets, headed by the women, and by sending delegations to the other districts.

The government and the financial capitalists began to be uneasy. They resorted to the first precautionary measure: Gendarmerie. These "guardians of law and order" were however given instructions to act with reserve, for the hope of throttling the strike with the sole aid of Delattre and Co had not yet been abandoned.

In the course of the week from 2nd till 9th July events took a decisive turn. With lightning rapidity the strike spread to the **Central Belgium** district, carrying along with it the metal and glass workers, whose wages have also been reduced.

This spontaneous mass movement has created its own organisation. With admirable energy the women have placed themselves at the head of all demonstrations, and at the head of the hunts for the few blacklegs and lackeys of the employers. Young workers have been sent in hundreds to the districts in which the movement is fermenting, but has not yet broken out. In this manner the whole **Charleroi** district was won over for the strike at the end of last week, the **Liege** district began to awaken, and the **Walloon** district of **Brabant** has joined the movement.

Meanwhile, the reformist leaders, swept aside by the mass movement, have continued their endeavours to get the leader-

ship. In the course of these efforts they attempt to divert the anger of the masses to the communists, representing these as "splitters". The slogan of: "Death to the communists!", directed against this or that leading functionary, has been openly announced by the social fascist functionaries, especially in **Wasmès** and **Hornu**. But Delattre and Co. no longer have the ear of the masses, and their efforts are no longer sufficient to throttle the strike. Police, gendarmerie, and troops have now to be called in.

On July 9, the order given to the police and gendarmerie, to act with reserve, was withdrawn. In **Charleroi**, **Marchienne**, **Péronne**, and other places, these "guardians of law and order" went over to the attack, fired into the crowds of workers, wounding many of them. In many places the aggressors have met with a very hot reception.

The revolutionary workers, welded together in one united front of struggle with the toiling masses, must unite all their powers to ensure that the spontaneous movement of the heroic proletarian fighters is organised and led, that the struggle may be developed to its fullest extent, and the manoeuvres of the reformist traitors brought to naught.

★

Brussels, July 12, 1932.

The great strike-wave in Belgium has now spread to the hard coal district of **Soignies**. In **Nivelles** (province of **Brabant**) work in all the factories has been brought to a standstill. After a great meeting on July 11, convened by the reformists, and at which the social democratic leaders were driven out, the miners of the mountain district of **Hervé** also came out on strike.

A great demonstration of unemployed took place in **Ghent**. Strikes have also broken out in **Turnhout** (Antwerp district). Serious collisions occurred with the gendarmerie, in the course of which men, women and children were wounded. In the textile district of **Renaix** it also came to collisions.

In the industrial district of **Charleroi** demonstrations of workers are taking place uninterruptedly. In **Marchienne**, troops were sent against the strikers who had erected barricades. Fraternalisation took place between the strikers and the soldiers, in the course of which the working women hoisted the red flag on the army motor lorries. In **Montignies** the soldiers refused to fire on the strikers. In the central mining district the soldiers joined the workers and shouted in chorus with them: "Long live the strike!"

The **General Council of the Socialist Party**, which held a joint meeting with the Trade Union Commission, is continuing to manoeuvre in order to get the movement into its hands and to throttle it after a bloody suppression. The General Council represents the whole movement as being a "provocation of the police and of the Communists", and puts forward the following demands: 1. an end shall be put to the wage cuts; 2. introduction of unemployment insurance; 3. 40-hour week. The General Council of the socialist Party has issued an appeal in which it calls upon the government to fulfil these demands.

"**Standarte**", the organ of the **Catholic group** headed by Minister **Sap** and the Lord Mayor of Antwerp, writes, that the law-abiding citizens approve the tactics of the socialist party to bring the movement into legal channels, and wish the party all success in its endeavours.

The debate which commenced in the Belgian Chamber following on the interpellation of the socialists, clearly reveals the division of labour between the government and the socialists.

Heyman, the Minister for Labour, declared that as regards to the proposals of the reformist miners' leaders, a fundamental agreement had been achieved, just as in regard to a Bill on the 40-hour week submitted to Parliament. The Communist deputy, Comrade **Jacquemotte** designated the Government a government of murderers and declared the solidarity of the Communist Party with the barricade-fighters. Amidst the most violent attacks of the whole Chamber to which he was exposed, Comrade **Jacquemotte** submitted the programme of the demands of the striking workers. The Minister for Labour declared that negotiations between the employers, the trade union leaders and the government would be resumed tomorrow.

According to the latest reports, the workers of the chemical works in the province of **Namur** have gone on strike. Fresh arrests of Communist functionaries have taken place in **Charleroi**, **Hervé** and **Liege**. All public meetings have been prohibited in **Brussels**.

POLITICS

The Lausanne Tribute Agreement at the Cost of the German People.

By Gabriel Péri (Paris).

The Lausanne Tribute Plan has been signed. Leon Blum in the "Populaire" and Pertinax in the "Echo de Paris", are full of admiration. According to the "Populaire", a great obstacle to the economic reconstruction of Europe and of the world has been got out of the way and an end put to the tribute policy. And Pertinax writes in the "Echo de Paris" that M. Herriot has displayed courage and persistence. He emerges as victor from the struggle which commenced some weeks ago. If the "Echo de Paris" can rightly express its delight and congratulate Herriot, then the "Populaire's" fulsome praise of the French Premier is nothing else but miserable deception.

For it is not true that France has abandoned its policy of exacting tribute. The most that can be said is that France has adapted its tribute policy to the present conditions in Europe. What does the Lausanne Agreement actually say? It consists of the following four main parts:

1. A general document which lays down those principles which served as the guiding line of the Conference. Here also an allusion is made to the common attitude of the creditors of Germany towards the United States.

2. The agreement on the German reparations payments.

3. An understanding on the procedure to be followed in liquidating the Eastern reparations and a declaration on the support to be granted to Austria.

4. The decision adopted in Lausanne to hold a new international economic Conference in October next.

It is necessary to make some remarks on these chief points. In the first place it must be stated that the German people are not freed from reparations payments. True, it is said that this tribute will in future bear the designation of "final payment". We are also told that the payments under this title will flow partly into an international fund, partly to the United States. We are further told that the sum to be paid by the German Reich, namely 3,000 million gold marks, which, after a three years' moratorium, is to be paid in 37 annual instalments, is insignificant. That is possible. But the German people are at the end of their strength; the German workers are no longer able to satisfy their hunger. They are weighed down by enormous burdens. To compel them to pay the "final sum" means to squeeze them still more mercilessly. The proletarians of France will also soon feel the consequences of this monstrous exploitation of the working people of Germany.

On the other hand, the persistence displayed by France emphasises the political importance of the French demands. France defends the monstrous treaties of 1919. The "final sum" of 3000 million decided on is to remind the world that the Versailles statute, even if it is shaken, still remains.

Are the German people at least released from the other burdens which weigh them down, and is the Lausanne settlement a final settlement? No. In addition to the "final sum", Germany has to pay the interest on the Young and Dawes loans, redeem the marks which it placed in circulation in Belgium during the war, as well as pay the rest of the American costs of occupation.

Finally, the whole settlement is made dependent on the attitude of the greediest of the imperialist usurers, namely the United States creditor. For the miserable Lausanne compromise will only come into force if the United States renounce the sums owing to them by the European Powers. France endeavoured to set up a front of the European countries indebted to the United States. However, who would venture to maintain that the American creditor will be satisfied with this combination? Up to the present there is no reason to justify such a prophecy. And the communiqués made to the French Ambassador in Washington give no cause for predicting a speedy annulment of war debts.

If, however, the American money lender does not change his attitude, the Young Plan will come into force again. By agreeing to the final payment Von Papen thereby recognised

the right of France to demand the coming into force again of the treaty of 1930.

Will the fetters on the German people be at least loosened? Will the Versailles system continue to oppress the German people? And will disarmed Germany continue to live in a Europe which is armed to the teeth?

To these questions the Conference gave a perfectly clear answer. Von Papen has not received the tip for which he came begging to Lausanne hat in hand, although he offered in return his project of a military alliance against the Soviet Union. In reply to his request Herriot said: "I will not negotiate regarding any quid pro quo. In plain language that means: I want Germany to submit once again to the political conditions of the Versailles Treaty. Germany must take part in the anti-Soviet undertaking within the Versailles system and under French leadership.

It is true the debate on this question is not yet concluded. To-morrow the German bourgeoisie will again bring forward their demands. And to-morrow it will be much more difficult for France to defend the Versailles system than today.

However, fresh proof has been brought that the alleged emancipators of Germany—von Papen, von Gayl and their Nazi friends—share the responsibility for the enslavement of the German people.

There is only one force in Germany which can and will break the iron ring of the slave treaties: it is the organised force of the revolutionary proletariat under the leadership of its Communist Party.

This force, however, must be supported by the working people of all countries. The 2800 delegates from Paris and the neighbourhood who took part in the workers' and peasants' Congress against imperialist war on July 2 and 3, fully understood their duty in this respect. In view of the serious events in Germany and the course of the Lausanne and Geneva Conferences, the Congress adopted decisions proclaiming the solidarity of the French proletariat with the working people of Germany in the common fight against fascism in Germany and against the imperialist war, and gave concrete expression to this solidarity by sending a delegation of eight French workers to Germany in order to render practical support to the German workers.

The New Upsurge of the Revolutionary Movement in Poland.

By Naida (Warsaw).

The economic decay of fascist Poland is still proceeding. Thus according to official statistics production in the key industries, comparing the level of May 1st, 1932, with that of 1926, has declined: in the steel industry by 63 per cent., in coal mining by 35 per cent., in the textile industry by 45 per cent., etc. The official figures, however, do not give a true picture of the state of affairs. Simultaneously with the decline in exports there is to be observed a decline of about 40 to 50 per cent. (in some branches) in home consumption in the year 1932 as compared with 1931.

According to the calculations of the reformist trade unions, the number of unemployed in Poland already exceeds one million, while it should be remarked that only 100,000 unemployed receive any unemployment benefit.

The peasants form the main mass of the population. The deep agrarian crisis, the burden of taxes and the unprecedented indebtedness have completely ruined the Polish village. Last year the total harvest yield had declined by 30 per cent. as compared with 1930. In the current year the area under cultivation even in the richest agricultural district of Poland, in Posen, is 25 to 40 per cent. smaller than last year. But the most appalling conditions prevail in the rural districts in the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, where typhus and famine are raging. According to bourgeois press reports, in some parts of Eastern Galicia the peasants are reduced to a diet of nettles.

As against this fascism can point to a wealth of statistics as to death sentences and executions. The courts martial have been functioning since September last. In the course of the first three months of their activity 39 executions were carried out.

But all the measures of fascist terror as well as the manoeuvres of the social fascists cannot check the rapid development of revolutionary events in Poland. Numerous

facts of late prove that the revolutionary movement is experiencing a new upsurge. Under the leadership of the Communist Party big hunger demonstrations were organised on July 1. The strike wave is again rising in Lodz. In Lovic, factory workers and unemployed stormed the police station and demanded the handing over to them of a police official who had shot an unemployed worker. In Lemberg, bloody collisions occurred between striking building workers and strike-breakers. In the district of Lisko (Western Ukraine) the peasants offered fierce resistance to a punitive expedition and occupied the big landed estates.

This latest event has attracted special attention. The fascist authorities have recently tried, under various pretexts, to introduce compulsory labour, i.e. to compel the peasants to work for the State, e. g. on road making, without receiving any payment. In the Lisko district the authorities had arranged for a "labour festival" on June 24. When, however, representatives of the Government, accompanied by the landowner, Count Potocky, appeared in one village in this district, the peasants arranged a demonstration and declared that they were not willing to perform the work and that they intend to fight energetically against the introduction of serfdom. When an official thereupon fired into the crowd, his weapon was taken away from him and he was driven by blows of sticks out of the village. A few days afterwards a punitive expedition arrived in the Lisko district, but immediately encountered the fiercest resistance of the peasants. Thousands of peasants armed themselves with scythes and cudgels. It came to a whole number of bloody collisions. The peasants seized possession of two big farming estates. Thereupon the punitive expedition sent for reinforcements. Wholesale arrests followed. The official reports state that the peasants revolts which broke out as a result of Communist propaganda, have been suppressed and the troops have taken up their quarters in the villages.

All this throws a vivid light on the present situation in Poland in which the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis are maturing.

At a time when the proletariat of Warsaw comes out into the streets and fights against the fascist regime, when the proletarians in Lodz resume their heroic strike struggle, at the same time the toiling people of the Western Ukraine, the proletarians of Lemberg and the working peasant population are increasing their fighting activity. The united front of the revolutionary fight of the working masses is extending over the whole of Poland.

The Provocation Affair of the Norwegian War Minister.

By R. Tuveson (Oslo).

The Storthing (Norwegian Parliament) has just concluded its investigations and discussions, which lasted for several months, of the anti-Soviet provocations of the War Minister Quisling. Quisling, who had worked for years in the Soviet Union on behalf of the English government, became War Minister on the setting up of the reactionary peasant government, and immediately took advantage of his new post in order to make a furious attack on the Soviet Union.

First he severed trade relations with the Soviet Union, but this "success" was of short duration as the government, under the pressure of broad masses of the people, was compelled to resume relations with the Soviet Union and to conclude a new trade agreement. Norway has for years sold the greater part of its fish as well as various industrial products to the Soviet Union, and a breach with the workers' State would have meant complete disaster and starvation for large sections of the population. As they could not manage without the money of the hated Bolsheviks, these rabid enemies of the workers who are now at the helm of the Norwegian State, were obliged to retreat.

Quisling, however, still persisted in his anti-Soviet machinations. In a speech in the Storthing he made fierce attacks on the Soviet government and accused it of seeking by agents to bring about a revolution in Norway. He impudently asserted that he had information from reliable sources and that he could also prove this. This criminal provocative behaviour on the part of a leading member of the government naturally caused the greatest excitement in the whole country.

Numerous "democratic" and social democratic papers made serious reproaches against the War Minister, accused him of acting irresponsibly, and demanded his resignation. The War Minister now resorted to a manoeuvre in order to restore his damaged prestige. At an opportune moment an attempt was made on his life, and now the allegedly slightly wounded adventurer has become, in the eyes of the hopeless philistines, a martyr of the Communists, "from whom one could not withhold sympathy".

Meanwhile the parliamentary Committee of Enquiry concluded its work. That the Committee did not carry out its investigation very thoroughly is shown by the following facts:

Nearly ten years ago Quisling tried his luck as a spy in the labour movement, where however he proved a miserable failure. He sought out, one after the other, **Tranmael** and **Schefflo**, the most well-known leaders of the Labour Party, which at that time was affiliated to the Comintern, and offered them his services and his knowledge as a military expert. He wanted to organise Red Guards, who should prepare the revolution. Tranmael and Schefflo, as well as another leader **Jacob Friis**, to whom Quisling later made the same offer, informed the Parliamentary Commission of the former provocateur-role of the War Minister, but the Commission simply disregarded this very inculcating fact as being of no importance.

The Commission, however, took quite another view of the "evidence" produced by Quisling, although the Communist press proved that he had fabricated it in the same manner as the notorious anti-Soviet document-forgers in Berlin. Many of these "documents" were taken from labour newspaper published years ago and were long known to the public. He obtained other "evidence" from criminals, whom he had visited for this purpose in different prisons in the country.

Quisling endeavoured to prove by other equally valuable "documents" that the Communist Party had smuggled huge quantities of weapons into the country and possessed huge stores of arms in various parts of Norway. Here even the President of the police of Oslo and also the head of the secret police, both of whom gave evidence before the Commission, were obliged to state that the assertions were "invented" and that "their sources were unreliable".

Quisling had also asserted that the events which occurred in connection with the general lockout in Menstadt last year, when the workers by their mass actions drove away the strike breakers and also the police, had been instigated by the Soviet Union; and this ridiculous assertion was seriously accepted by the majority of the Commission. Here even the Chief Public Prosecutor, who sat on the Commission, was compelled to dismiss the phantastic assertion of the Minister as "unfounded and unreliable". He had, as Public Prosecutor, thoroughly investigated the events in Menstadt and

"had found no evidence whatever showing that Quisling's assertions are in accordance with the facts. The whole affair in Menstadt was an expression of the discontent of the masses on account of the fact that work was continued in a factory the workers of which had gone on strike."

In spite of this annihilating criticism and although all Quisling's assertions were refuted by the evidence of the witnesses, the forged documents produced by the War Minister were accepted as authentic, and the proposal of the minority to introduce proceedings against Quisling was rejected. This motion, it is true, was not seriously meant but was only brought forward in view of the approaching elections, for when it was rejected **the social democrats who introduced it declared that they would vote for the decision of the majority, which was then adopted unanimously.**

This unprecedented attitude of a Commission appointed by one of the most "democratic" Parliaments furnishes further proof that Norway, the Northern-most vassal of English imperialism, is deliberately preparing to participate in a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The attitude of the Labour Party, whose leaders seek to fool the masses with sham radical phrases, shows that this most "left" organisation of the social democracy, in spite of its hypocritical pose as friend of Soviet Russia, is prepared to help in this anti-Soviet war of intervention.

GERMANY

Anti-Fascist Action Spreading Throughout the Country.

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

The economy measures decreed by the Emergency Orders of the Papen-Schleicher dictatorship are now coming into force. The 20 per cent. reduction in relief for over 4 million short-time workers has come into effect. The new increases in the customs duties have led in a few days to a rise of about 10 per cent. in the price of lard and bacon.

But this is only the beginning. The reduction of unemployment benefit and the cutting down of the pensions for war victims decreed by the emergency orders will come into force shortly. Further customs measures have already been carried out or are being prepared. The price of food is to be maintained and forced up still higher by the granting of huge credits and subventions to the big agrarians to enable them to store up corn, and by an import quota on potatoes. The latest measure contemplated is a tax on margarine, which means that thousands of working class families will have nothing to put on their bread.

These starvation measures of the Papen dictatorship have increased the indignation of the workers against the Government, and especially against the Hitler party which is allied with the Government. It is gradually becoming a little difficult for the national socialist party to conceal from their supporters their responsibility for the Papen-Schleicher policy, or to explain it as being tactically necessary in order for them to obtain power. The conclusion of the Tribute Agreement in Lausanne by von Papen has certainly not improved this awkward situation in which the Hitler party find themselves. In this situation the national socialist party are resorting to increased opposition gestures, and especially to increased murder-terror against the workers. By the attacks of the storm-troops, who are making more and more frequent use of their fire arms, Hitler and Göbbels wish to divert the attention of their followers from the national socialist party's support of von Papen, and to intimidate the petty bourgeoisie and a part of the workers.

To what a great extent the attacks of the Nazi bands and the collisions with the workers, who resort to self-defence, are increasing, is to be seen, for example, in the events of last Sunday (July 10). In this one day it came to provocations of the Nazis and serious collisions in many places in the provinces and also in Berlin. In two localities the Nazis attempted to storm the trade union premises; in two other places they attacked a workers' festival. In many cases they attempted to carry out demonstrations in the town or in the country or "punitive expeditions" in working class quarters; frequently they attacked workers from behind and committed bestial murders, as in Gnadenfrei near Breslau, where they seized Comrade **Hentschel**, brought him into the house of a member of the storm-troops, and there hanged him. Nearly everywhere where the police intervened, as in **Hamborn, Immenstadt, Neustadt** on the Hardt, it was only in order to attack the workers. In **Ohlau** in Silesia, the Nazis fetched the police, who in turn fetched the Reichswehr who fired and seriously wounded a Reichsbanner worker. In spite of this, nearly everywhere the Nazis were beaten back by the defence-action of the workers, mostly carried out by Communist, social democratic and Reichsbanner workers and non-party proletarians in a united front.

The social democratic leaders have increased their actions in order to sabotage the proletarian united front. On the occasion of the last Nazi parade in Berlin, the "Vorwärts" with its slogan: "Avoid the streets and close the windows!", wished to leave the streets free to the Nazis. In addition, the social democratic Central Committee is now proceeding openly to proclaim the Papen dictatorship to be the "lesser evil". The first number of the "Vorwärts" which appeared after its prohibition published as its front page article greetings from Severing testifying that, the "Vorwärts" has "always supported the governments of the Reich to its utmost power" and also "recognised in the work of the German nationalist Ministers that which deserved recognition". The "Vorwärts"

of July 10 repeated this grovelling to Papen and "exhorted" the Papen-Schleicher government "not to allow itself to be misused by nationalist circles". The social democratic party Central Committee thus declares its readiness openly to tolerate the Papen-Schleicher dictatorship, which is represented as being the "lesser evil" compared with the "nationalist circles".

But in spite of all the sabotage on the part of the social democratic party leaders, the united front of the workers is being formed not only in the immediate counter-attack against the fascist murderers; cases are increasing in which social democratic workers together with Communist workers form mass self-defence organisations. On July 6, in **Mannheim**, many hundred of social democratic workers demonstrated together with thousands of Communist and non-party workers. The same thing was witnessed in **Hattingen**, where several hundred social democratic and Reichsbanner workers in uniform took part in the demonstration carried out by the Communist Party. In the last few days reports have come from many places of the formation of united front committees. In a number of places there took place as part of the anti-fascist action, demonstrations of unemployed and starving women and children to town halls, as a result of which they in many cases compelled the authorities to pay the weekly relief without reductions, or to distribute bread, potatoes and margarine.

A commencement has already been made to draw the factories into the anti-fascist action. We give one or two cases: The staff of the **Electro Zeit A.G.** in **Frankfort** adopted a resolution brought forward by the factory council, consisting of two members of the Communist Party, two members of the social democratic party and two non-party workers, to take up the fight against hunger and fascism. The staff of the **Heräus** factory in **Hanau** elected an anti-fascist unity committee. In **Hagen** the workers in the **Bäcker and Voorman** electricity works ceased work at three o'clock in the afternoon as a political protest against the national socialist meeting which was to be held on this day.

Of great importance for the anti-fascist action is the meeting which took place on July 8 in the **Karl-Liebknecht House**, the headquarters of the Communist Party. 20 social democratic workers, representing oppositional social democratic workers' groups and anti-fascist military committees came from various parts of the Reich to Berlin in order to discuss with the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, and especially with Comrade Thälmann, the most important questions of the proletarian unity movement. Each of the questions put by the social democratic party workers was plainly, thoroughly and in detail answered by Comrade Thälmann. The consensus of opinion at the Conference can be summed up in the words: what is most important is the common fight of the workers to destroy fascism.

This highly important Conference was followed on July 10 by the Anti-Fascist Unity Congress of Berlin-Brandenburg. There took part in it 1465 delegates, of whom 379 were organised in the Communist Party, 132 in the social democratic party, Reichsbanner, Socialist Labour Party, Socialist Labour Youth and Socialist Youth League, while 945 were non-party. 479 delegates were factory workers. Comrade Thälmann's speech culminated in the declaration, loudly applauded by all delegates, especially by the social democratic delegates:

The red united front is a vital question for the working class. It would be fatal to forget the past of the social democratic leaders and the lessons arising therefrom. That the social democratic workers, with their participation in the anti-fascist action, are prepared to conduct a common fight against fascism—that is the essential thing. The anti-fascist fight demands that the workers fight in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges against cuts in wages and unemployment benefit, that they form mass defence organisations and, citing the Lausanne Tribute Agreement, expose Hitler's demagoguery. The Reichstag election campaign must be dominated by the extra-Parliamentary anti-fascist actions.

FASCISM IN GERMANY

The National Socialist German Workers' Party.

By Hans Jäger.

VI.

The National Socialists and the Youth.

The essence of national socialism—and this cannot be too often emphasised—, consists not only in the fact that it constitutes the most bloody, violent and brutal weapon in the service of the employers against the proletariat, but that at the same time it poses to the discontented and exasperated as the emancipator, whilst, in the most cunning manner, it casts suspicion on the revolutionary aim of the Communists.

In this connection the youth play a big role. They really constitute the cadre of the national socialist movement. Already some years ago there was rightly pointed out the typical difference in the average age of the members of the various parties. The average age is greatest in the German National Party, the Centre and the German People's Party. One could say in a certain sense that between the social democrats and the Communists there is a difference of a generation, for in the social democratic party most of the members are between 40 and 60, and in the Communist Party between 20 and 40. In the case of the national socialists most of the members are between 17 and 35 years of age. The corresponding political organisations of the Nazis are the Hitler Youth, the National Socialist Scholars' League and the National Socialist Students League. The fact that all these three organisations have a relatively small membership (the total membership of all three organisations is still less than 100,000) should not mislead one. For the greatest part of the youth is in the party itself. All the elections have confirmed and shown that the national socialist party has been able to an overwhelming extent to attract the young electors, including a tremendous part of the young proletariat. This is shown most clearly in those cases where the losses of the other parties are smaller than the gains of the national socialists.

The war and the post-war period have greatly contributed to rouse the youth to political activity. At the age of 17 to 18 the youth were already called up to serve as cannon fodder. The economic crisis weighs with particular heaviness on the youth, partly through greatly increased exploitation, partly owing to the impossibility of a great number of them ever finding any employment. The same applies to the rising generation of intellectuals. Various arguments are used in order to rouse the youth to revolt against the superannuated elements in the State, administration and politics.

Before all the bourgeoisie were of course able to win the youth by nationalist propaganda. Young officers, whom the result of the war had deprived of their jobs (but not of their bread!), joined the national socialists in order to serve as leaders. Thus the bourgeoisie acquired reserve forces which they attempted to use, on the one hand, in the sphere of foreign politics for reestablishing their defensive power and Germany's place among the nations, and, on the other hand, as a civil-war army under the slogan: against the Reds who are internationalists. It was the nationalist youth who fought in the Freicorps against the Spartacus League and the Bavarian Soviet Republic; it was the youth who, during the French occupation of the Ruhr district, tried to convert the passive resistance of the workers into active resistance (Schlageter); it was the youth who assassinated Erzberger and Rathenau.

The Nazis, thanks to their social demagogy, exploited the economic misery which affected not only the proletarian youth but also the petty bourgeois, peasant and intellectual youth. They skillfully combined the two factors by representing the foreign political state of affairs as the sole and primary cause of the economic misery; and from there it was only a step to hatred against the Republic (recently described as the "Brüning system"), against the Marxists who fulfilled the Versailles Treaty, supported the emergency decrees and—so it was said of them—persecuted the nationalist movement. Therefore not capitalism is guilty but—owing to the policy of the social democratic party—Marxism.

In this connection the Nazis achieved the best results among the youths, as these lacked political training and tradition. The sons of supporters of the People's party and German nationalists, of the Democrats and the Centre were won over to Hitler, who, with the cult of "leader", flags and banners, badges and parades, and playing at soldiers, gave them what they wanted. Their parents followed much later when they saw that the Nazis were only conducting a sham fight against capital; that their aims were in no way dangerous to the bourgeoisie and that therefore membership of this party, far from being dangerous, was exceedingly advantageous. The case was not different with the social democratic party. With their policy and their principles they were unable to give the youth bread or inspire them with fighting enthusiasm. And what they served up to the youth in the way of folk dances and petty-bourgeois poetry was not calculated to divert the growing indignation.

But these successes were not confined to the bourgeois and peasant youth. The apprentices were chosen as a means by which the Nazis could first establish a foothold in the factories and workshops. Here, too, discontent with the social democratic party was easily and quickly aroused. Very characteristic in this connection is the news from the factories published by the "Angriff", whereby the Nazis seek to imitate the Communists.

The same was the case with the young unemployed. For the old, married unemployed Hitler was the hope, even if a deceitful hope: Hitler will bring national emancipation, he fights against finance capital and provides work! To the youth he meant still more. He satisfied their urge to action, their activity, he filled their empty existence which condemned them to inactivity. Now they had found an activity, even if it only consisted in lounging about from morning till evening in the barracks of the storm troops, standing stiff in front of the S. A. officers, carrying dispatches in a military manner, sending out patrols in order to reconnoitre the enemy, attacking workers' premises, assaulting people in the street, breaking up meetings, protecting leaders on their way home. Not only that. They also had food and drink and clothing provided them, and sometimes even shelter. This section of the storm troops and of the Nazis is indispensable to the bourgeoisie, for there is not such a number of bourgeois sons as is necessary to hold down the working class. But in the long run this protection which the working youth affords is not of great value. "He who has the youth has the future". The fact, however, that the bourgeoisie at present have this youth does not in any way mean that they have the future. In spite of everything this youth is revolutionarily minded. It takes seriously the promises made to it; it belongs to the most rebellious elements among the Nazis, a fact which the bourgeoisie will soon discover to their cost.

Decision of the I.C.C. Regarding the Enquiry of the C.C. of the C.P. of Switzerland in the Matter of Itschner (Protocol No. 77).

Moscow, July 3rd, 1932.

1. The International Control Commission records that, according to the statutes of the Comintern every member of the Communist Party of a capitalist country, after his removal to the Soviet Union, joins the C.P.S.U. In the event of his leaving the Soviet Union, he joins the Communist Party of that country to which he removes. Hence Itschner, who left the Soviet Union and went to Switzerland, was bound to join the C.P. of Switzerland, and the latter thus acquired the right, on the basis of Party discipline, to call Itschner to account for his anti-Party actions.

In view of Itschner's anti-Party attitude after his expulsion, as expressed in the campaign of calumny which he initiated in the press against the leaders of the Party, in his appeal to the bourgeois Court to discredit the Party and in his making use of the social democratic press ("Volksrecht") through his closest confederates, the I.C.C. is of opinion that Itschner has deserved expulsion from the Communist Party of Switzerland.

2. The I.C.C. declares that Itschner's assertion, that the Presidium of the E.O.C.I. "supported" him against the C.C. of the C.P. of Switzerland, is a pure invention on his part.

3. This decision is to be published in the press.

The War

Rapid Upsurge of the Revolutionary People's War in Manchuria.

By T. S. S.

Moukden, middle of June.

Both the Chinese and the Japanese newspapers report a rapid increase of the volunteer troops in Manchuria, not however of the troops of General Ma or General Li Tu, but of the anti-Japanese troops organised in such bodies as the "Big Knives", "Red Spears" etc. Since the end of May, Moukden has again become the sphere of activity of partisan troops, and since then has been under martial law. A hard fight is being waged between partisan troops and Japanese troops for the towns of **Ashiho** and **Shwangchenfu**, situated not far from Harbin; but since June 12 **Harbin** itself has been encircled. **East Fengtien** and **East Kirin**, on the Western bank of the Yal, are already completely in the hands of the insurgent peasants; the trains have ceased running on the South Manchurian railway line, the South and East portions of the Chinese Eastern Railway, on the lines between Honan and Tungpe, Tsitsihar and Keishan, Moukden and Hailung, Hailung and Kirin, Kirin and Tungwan. The Japanese troops in Manchuria, numbering not less than 100,000, are everywhere encountering the resistance of the insurgent peasants. Japanese imperialism is compelled to send reinforcements from **Korea** and also from **Japan** against the insurgents.

The Japanese military camarilla thought they would be able, by means of the revolts of the Chinese militarists and of the Hung-Fu-Tse bandits in Manchuria, to provoke the Soviet Union and to occupy Sakhalin opposite Blagovjetchensk and Linkiang, at the junction of the Sungari with the Amur, from which it would be possible to commence an attack against the Soviet Union. The Japanese militarists succeeded in accomplishing this last aim at the end of May, after sending the 10th and 14th divisions from Shanghai as reinforcements to Manchuria. They then considered the mission of the "insurgents" at an end. But this is where they made a mistake. The Manchurian peasants, goaded to action by the robber war of the Japanese and the annexation action, which converts Manchuria into a Japanese colony, and the provocative acts against the Soviet Union, of whom the Chinese workers and peasants are natural allies, rose against the Japanese and offered strong resistance, as recent events prove.

As a result of the Japanese occupation the economic life of Manchuria has been completely ruined; transport by land and water has been brought to a standstill, as a consequence of which the export of Manchuria's staple products has been rendered impossible. This was bound to have disastrous effects for the Manchurian peasantry, who produce exclusively for export. To this there is added the changes in banking, as a result of which the bank notes formerly issued by the provincial banks lost their value, and finally, the confiscation of all the fruitful land for the Japanese colonists. All this caused the Manchurian peasants, although they possess no rifles or ammunition, to revolt against the Japanese. They formed themselves into red partisan troops or joined forces with the rebellious old and new Manchurian troops.

The Harbin correspondent of the "**Ta Kung Pao**" writes:

"The peasants who join the organisations such as "Red Spears", "Big Knives" etc. are not superstitious as the peasants at the time of the Boxer revolt, or those in the same organisations in China; with their simple knives and spears they proceed against the well armed Japanese in order to seek a revolutionary way out of their situation."

Innumerable groups of insurgent peasants are springing up in the whole of Manchuria. As a result of the fighting enthusiasm of the broad masses of the revolutionary peasants, who are conducting a consistent fight against the Japanese

imperialists, they are being joined not only by the soldiers of the defeated troops of General Ma and General Li Tu (when, at the end of May, the Japanese took possession of Sakhalin and Linkiang, they considered the mission of Generals Ma and Li Tu at an end and began to liquidate these troops), but also by the soldiers of the Manchurian troops newly organised by the Japanese. In the Yenki district, on the Korean frontier, a whole army went over to the revolutionary peasants. The number of insurgents in Manchuria is not known at present, but at any rate it is much larger than the figure of 130,000 given by the League of Nations Commission, for at that time the character of the insurgent troops was to a great part reactionary (the insurrections were for the most part staged by the Japanese) and the revolts were not spread over the whole country as at present. If we pick out the largest bodies of insurgents we can distinguish five big groups:

1. The group under the leadership of **Wang Teh Lin**. Their sphere of operations is the whole of the South-East of the province of **Kirin** and the territory lying between the South and West lines of the **Chinese Eastern Railway**. The main forces are concentrated in the neighbourhood of **Ninguti**, in the **Yenki** district, and in **Nungan** and **Fuju**.
2. The group of **East Fengtien**. Its sphere of activity embraces the railway lines of **Dairen-Moukden**, **Antung-Moukden** and **Hailung-Moukden**.
3. The group operating along the Shanghai-Kwan-Moukden railway line and on the Jehol-Fengtien frontier.
4. The group on the Western line of the Chinese Eastern Railway and along the **Hulan-Tungpo** and **Tsitsihar-Keishan** railway lines.
5. The group operating along the river **Sungari**.

Of these five groups there is no doubt that the first and the second are of a more outspokenly revolutionary character than the remaining three, for they are composed chiefly of peasants who have been ruined by the Japanese robber campaign. Revolutionary peasants comprise 80 per cent. of Wang Teh Lin's troops. These two groups also include a considerable number of workers: miners from the coalfields of **Muling**, **Fuchin**, from the iron mines of **Bin Schifu**, lumbermen from North Manchuria and railway workers from all lines in Manchuria. The fourth and fifth groups contain a part of the remnants of General Ma's and General Li Tu's armies. The third group consists for the far greater part of old Manchurian troops and "Hug Fu Tse"-bandits, who still to-day have connections with Chang Hsueh-liang.

It is clear that the insurgent peasantry in Manchuria do not yet possess a uniform revolutionary leadership and that the suspicious counter-revolutionary and venal elements, including landowners, bandits and militarists, have not yet been cleared out. To get rid of the latter and to set up a uniform leadership is the chief task confronting the workers and revolutionary peasants of Manchuria.

The revolutionary national war in Manchuria, which has called forth panic among the Japanese imperialists, is only in its first stages. In spite of the primitive weapons, mostly only knives and spears, in spite of their motely composition and in spite of the fact that they are partly still under suspicious and counter-revolutionary leadership, the insurgent peasants make systematic and progressive attacks on the headquarters of the Japanese.

In these circumstances a depressed mood is already to be observed in Japanese military circles in Manchuria. The enthusiastic confidence in a rapid conquest of Manchuria which has been suggested to Japanese soldiers, has already given place to great discontent.

The Kuomintang's Preparations for the Fifth Campaign against the Red Army of China.

By T. H.

Shanghai, June 1932.

As a result of the disastrous defeat of the fourth campaign of the Kuomintang army against the Chinese Soviet Republic, the imperialists have finally lost patience. The foreign newspapers in Shanghai state: "We must finally take up the attack against the red bands ourselves." The British imperialists are concentrating dozens of their warships at Amoy and Hongkong. Admiral Kelly, commander of the British Fleet in the Far East, proceeded with his flagship "Kent" from Amoy to Nanking and from Nanking to Hankow. The British are not only holding their warships in readiness, but all the mercantile ships have detachments of marines on board. The American imperialists are doing the same. The Shanghai "Shun Pao" reported on May 29 that the American "Yangtse Rapid Steamship Co." has equipped each of its ships with a body of troops, and that on the voyage through Chenlindji, near Yochow on Lake Tungtin, one of this company's ships made an attack on the Reds. The "Shun Pao" reported at the same time that Washington has empowered the American marines at Amoy, in the event of an attack by the Reds on that town, to land and to defend the lives and property of their fellow-countrymen. The Japanese imperialists, as a result of their robber campaign against Shanghai, are armed to the teeth on the South and North coasts of China and on the upper and lower Yangtse. For the purpose of opening the direct fight against the Red Army, they have now introduced a special press campaign. Thus their telegraph agencies reported from Hankow on May 30 that a Japanese mercantile ship was fired at several times by the Reds below Ichang. All this shows that the imperialists have gone over from the form of concealed war against the Chinese Soviet Republic and the Red Army to open and direct war.

This, of course, does not mean that the imperialists will not use the Chinese counter-revolutionary forces as their main troops in the approaching hard fights. At the shameful Shanghai peace negotiations the imperialists aimed at retaining the Kuomintang as the chief force against the Chinese revolution. A striking proof of this is the fact that after the conclusion of the peace treaty, the 5th army proceeded to Hankow and the 19th army to Fukien to fight against the Red Army, whilst the Japanese troops were withdrawn from Shanghai to Manchuria in preparation for the fight against the Soviet Union. The British and American Consuls are busily engaged in making journeys to Amoy, Pengpu, Ankin etc. in order to hold consultations with the Chinese warlords. The papers contain reports every day to the effect that the generals in Nanking, Canton and Kwangsi are being supplied with modern means of warfare—with aeroplanes, tanks, weapons and munitions. Large quantities of wire and sacks have been sent from Hongkong to Amoy. Chiang Kai-shek, who fears for his reputation and had already appointed a commander-in-chief for the new fifth campaign, has been compelled to take over the supreme command himself.

One cannot say that Chiang Kai-shek fears the Red Army and postpones his departure without reason. His most serious problem is the financial question. His brother-in-law, the Minister for Finance, Sung, owing to the lack of financial means makes out that he intends to resign. The fact is that Nanking cannot even pay 30 per cent. of the sums required by the generals. The soldiers do not get enough to eat. The "China Times" of 20th May, referring to the capture of Changchow by the Red Army, stated that the soldiers of the Kuomintang army had not received any pay for five months, and consequently only fired in the air or went over directly to the Red Army, taking their weapons with them. In its issue of May 27, the "China Times" report that parts of the Kuomintang troops at the front in West Anwei were so badly situated, that they were obliged to kill all their horses and the soldiers used even boots and leather belts as a substitute for food, whilst on the other side of the front the red army soldiers displayed to them rice and huge pieces of meat. Here there is clearly shown that the population boycott the Kuomintang troops whilst they actively support the Red Army. The "Manchou Pao" reported on June 6th from Hankow:

"On May 30, the 31st Kuomintang division went over to the Communist troops. On the following day the 33rd division did likewise, after murdering their division commander. The 30th division stationed on the Peking.

Hankow-railway line is also unreliable. It is reported that a part of the 88th and 89th divisions stationed in Wuhan wish to follow the example of their comrades."

The fighting spirit of the Chinese working masses, especially of the proletariat, against the imperialists and the Kuomintang is rapidly growing. The anti-Japanese boycott is developing more and more in the open country. The strike wave embraces all the big commercial and industrial towns. The general strike of the post office workers and of the newspapers' printers in Shanghai, the strike in the silk mills in Shanghai and Wuchi, the strike in the British-American Tobacco Company, the strike in the British coal mines in North Honan, are clear indications of this. It is not due to chance that a "demented" Kuomintang soldier fired at the British Consul in Nanking who was conferring with the military ruler of Pengpu regarding the fight against the Red Army. It is also no accident that on June 3, the inhabitants of Pengpu destroyed a bombing plane on its return after bombarding the Soviet territory of West Anwei, and demolished the aerodrome. The Chinese working masses are ready for the fight for the victory of the Red Army, for the defeat of the fifth campaign of the imperialists and the Kuomintang. They require, however, the active support of the international proletariat in order to prevent the direct war of the imperialists against the Soviet Republic, to prevent their supplying munitions and weapons, to the Kuomintang and advising and financing them. These are the urgent tasks of the international proletariat in support of the Chinese revolution and in defence of the Soviet Union.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

The World Congress against War.

By Maurice Thorez (Paris).

The favourable reception which the appeal of Romain Rolland and Henry Barbusse has met with in various circles and sections of the working population is a fresh indication that new masses of the workers, who hitherto did not believe in the threatening danger of a new big imperialist war, are beginning to stir.

We must not blind ourselves to the fact that at this Congress, and already during the course of its preparation, we shall encounter the most variegated and—let us be quite frank—the most erroneous and most dangerous views in regard to the effective fighting methods against the approaching big war.

Thus Victor Marguerite, a member of the Preparatory Committee for the Congress, published in "Volonté" a number of articles commenting on Romain Rolland's appeal which we cannot pass over silently. In Victor Marguerite's opinion, the only policy which could prevent a catastrophe would be for the delegates of French imperialism to say to the delegates of German capitalism: "You, just like ourselves, are members of the League of Nations. You have therefore equal rights. Let us try to build up together a Europe which is capable of living."

It is wrong to maintain that Germany, which is enslaved and exploited by imperialist France, is on an equal footing with the latter. The German people will not be emancipated from the chains of the Versailles Treaty by means of honeyed phrases regarding "equal rights", but this yoke will be broken by the revolutionary struggle of the workers of Germany and France.

Of course, the Communist Party of France has always opposed the shameful Versailles Treaty which enslaves the German people. But even if the French bourgeoisie treats the German bourgeoisie as an equal, the imperialist war will not be thereby prevented.

It is not by such a "change" in the policy of French imperialism that the toiling masses will find the ways and means to avoid the catastrophe, but only through the revolutionary struggle against their own imperialist bourgeoisie.

What Victor Marguerite wishes to prevent by all means is "war and its consequences, the revolution". Against this standpoint the Communists will declare at the Congress that **the only means to prevent an imperialist war is the fight for the proletarian revolution.**

But the struggle against the pacifists must not prevent

the Communists from seizing the initiative or taking part in the preparations for the Congress.

In taking the initiative for setting up factory and local committees, for holding conferences and district congresses, our organisations must appeal to all those who are ready to fight against imperialist war, even if they do not share our views. In any case the fact that such elements are taking part in the work of the Preparatory Committee must not cause us to weaken or conceal our own standpoint or even abandon the fight against pacifism.

The Communist Party must by means of its speakers and in the press criticise all actions and utterances which are likely to foster pacifist illusions or create confusion in regard to the methods of the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war.

The communists will reply to such attempts and appeal to new sections of the urban and rural workers who, driven by fear and despair, are seeking a way out in bourgeois pacifism or political confusion. The Communists will at the Congress, and already today, ruthlessly criticise the various pacifist and confused tendencies. We shall explain in fullest detail wherein consists the true fight against the imperialist war.

The participation of the Communists in the World Congress against war will by no means be an approval of petty-bourgeois and pacifist ideas. On the contrary, our participation presupposes an ideological and political fight against these ideas.

In this case, as everywhere, it is necessary to conduct a fight on two fronts. In particular against the opportunist, pacifist and petty-bourgeois danger, but at the same time against the sectarian attitude, which would bar us from access to new masses, who, even if in a confused manner, wish to fight against the war.

The Mutiny in the Peruvian Fleet.

By A. Marucci.

The news of a revolt of the Chilean Fleet is still fresh in the memory of the working masses of the whole world, especially, however, of South America, and again we receive news of a fresh mutiny in the Peruvian fleet, which, however, sad to relate, has cost the lives of eight young revolutionaries.

The bourgeois press speaks of a Communist revolt. Although we do not know definitely the causes of this revolutionary movement, it is quite certain that this uprising means a new, painful and bloody stage in the history of the heroic fights of the working masses of Peru in their struggle against the system of the big landowners and of the imperialist oppressors.

On May 7, last the crews of the cruisers "Grau" and "Bolognesi" mutinied and hoisted the red flag. After placing the officers under lock and key the crew attempted to land. They encountered, however, the resistance of the military and police who had been mobilised. The mutineers had to return to their ships. As the two warships lay at anchor alongside the quay, submarines cut off their exit from the harbour. Aeroplanes flew over the two warships and the crews were called upon to surrender. When the mutinying soldiers refused to comply with this demand, the aeroplanes dropped two bombs, which caused a tremendous explosion. At the same time submarines opened fire on the two cruisers. The sailors of the cruiser "Bolognesi" fired several shots from their guns in reply, thus announcing their determination not to yield. When, however, in the course of the further firing, the cruiser "Bolognesi" was seriously hit by a submarine, the two mutinying warships hoisted the white flag.

The mutineers were immediately tried by a court martial on the Island of San Lorence. The attitude of the chief accused was very courageous. They declared that they wished to protest as victims of capitalism against the inhuman conditions of life imposed upon them. Eight sailors were condemned to death and were shot on the island of San Lorence, which has already served as a prison for so many revolutionary workers. 26 sailors were given sentences totalling 330 years imprisonment.

The eight sailors who were executed were young workers between the ages of 18 and 22. When they stood before the firing party they refused to allow their eyes to be bandaged.

The eight heroic sailors who fell under the bullets of the Peruvian executioners, will serve as an inspiration to the

working masses of Peru in the fierce fight they are conducting, under the hegemony of the working class, against the capitalist system and for the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution.

IN THE R.I.L.U.

The First World Unity Congress of the Water Transport Workers.

In Hamburg-Altona there was held recently the First World Unity Congress of the Water Transport workers, which was convened by the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers. There were present 173 delegates representing 31 countries, among them five colonies.

The campaign in preparation of the Congress had been conducted in all countries for six months, and more than a million seamen and harbour workers had been reached by this propaganda. The delegates of the capitalist countries had been elected at factory meetings, trade union meetings or public meetings comprising more than 300,000 water transport workers. The delegates from the Soviet Union represented 320,000 water transport workers. 67 delegates represented red organisations, 55 came from the reformist trade unions, 2 from syndicalist organisations, 9 from the independent unions and 11 from the R.T.U.O. 29 delegates were unorganised.

The agenda contained the following items: 1. The economic crisis of capitalism; the position of the seamen, lightermen, harbour workers, dock workers and fishermen; the international militant united front of the water transport workers against the capitalist offensive. 2. The fight against the danger of imperialist war. 3. The organisation of the struggles of the water transport workers in the colonial countries.

In his extensive report on the first item of the agenda, Comrade Albert Walter (Germany) gave an impressive picture of the crisis of water transport industry and the desperate attempts of the employers to find a way out of the crisis at the cost of the water transport workers. We must organise the united front and the independent leadership of the fight against the capitalist offensive.

Comrade Ray (United States of America) spoke on the second item of the agenda. He exposed the feverish war-preparations of the imperialists, which are supported by the reformist Transport Workers' International, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the II. International, and in particular he dealt with the role of the water transport workers in struggle against war.

Comrade Kouyaté, a Negro worker from French Senegambia, reported on the third item of the agenda. He described the appalling situation of the water transport workers in the colonies, the incitement to race hatred on the part of the employers and the reactionary trade union bureaucrats. In conclusion he pointed to the necessity of drawing the colonial water transport workers into the fight.

Over 50 delegates took part in the discussion and supplemented the reports of the chief speakers. Only one delegate could point to the fact that the conditions of the water transport workers in his country are continually improving—this was Comrade Kommissarenko, the chairman of the water transport workers' union of the Soviet Union, who was thereupon greeted with enthusiasm by all the delegates.

All the resolutions were adopted unanimously. The Congress likewise unanimously elected the new Executive Committee of the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers, consisting of 35 members.

The Congress has not changed the position of the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers, which remains as before an independent organisation. But the enthusiastic and hearty welcome which the Congress gave to Comrade Heckert, who conveyed the brotherly greetings of the Red International of Labour Unions, showed that the R.I.L.U. enjoys the full sympathy of the water transport workers of the whole world and that the latter are determined, together with the proletariat of the international revolutionary trade union movement, to fight for their common aims.

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 Last Preparations for the World War.

France Finances Russia's Armaments.

Paris, January 21, 1914.

("Figaro".) The representatives of the big banks here held a meeting yesterday at which it was decided, in the event of the Putilov Company making any request, immediately to grant them the necessary financial assistance.

The Russian Foreign Minister to the Russian Ambassador at Paris.

St. Petersburg, December 26 (January 8) 1914.

Secretary of State Kokovzov requests you to induce the French government to grant an increase in our railway loan (the emission of which must be realised without delay) up to 600 million francs. This is necessary for us in order to extend the contemplated railway construction in accordance with the considerations mentioned by Kokovzov in Paris . . . Sasonov.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy" vol. 2, page 167/68.)

Bulgarian-Turkish Military Convention.

Secret Bulgarian-Turkish Military Convention Signed on 25th (12th) January in Sofia and Constantinople. (French Text.)

Article I. The government of his Majesty the Sultan, on the one hand, and the government of His Majesty, the King of Bulgaria, on the other, declare that they have common interests in the maintenance of the balance of power on the Balkan Peninsula. The two high contracting parties undertake to protect these common interests by a mutual and complete agreement . . .

Article VI. In the event of the acquisitions of territory resulting from joint war operations, the territory so acquired is to be divided between the two high contracting parties according to the successes achieved by each . . .

Article XII. The present agreement comes into force for a period of five years immediately after it has been signed.

Signed on 25th (12th) January 1914 in Sofia and Constantinople.

("International relations in the period of Imperialism", page 449/50.)

Serbia also Prepares for War—with the Aid of Russia.

The Serbian Prime Minister to the Russian Foreign Minister.

St. Petersburg, February 2 (January 20), 1914.

Your Excellence,

It is not yet all quiet on the Balkan Peninsula. Bulgaria, Turkey, and with them Austria-Hungary, are not satisfied with the present situation and are constantly endeavouring to create an opportunity which they could use in order to upset the situation in the Balkans . . .

In the meantime, Serbia must at all cost secure by next Spring the necessary number of rifles and guns, and therefore finds itself compelled to apply to the Russian government with the urgent request to supply the material specified below from the Russian arsenals.

Nik. P. Pasitch.

("International relations in the period of Imperialism", page 149/159.)

Russia's Designs on the Dardanelles.

The Russian Naval Minister to the Russian Foreign Minister.

January 19 (6), 1914.

Dear Mr. Sergej Dmitrijevitch,

The information received by the Admiralty staff confirms that the Turkish fleet is being rapidly strengthened . . .

At present, however, we must in any case reckon with the fact that between the end of 1914 and the middle of 1915 the Ottoman Government will have three, and perhaps even four, battleships of the dreadnought type at its disposal . . .

I should consider it necessary, after obtaining reliable information regarding the possibility of and the conditions for Russia's acquiring the Chilean and Argentine dreadnoughts which are being constructed (regarding the purchase of which negotiations were proceeding in Turkey, Ed.), to submit to His majesty in the next few days the question whether it is necessary to purchase these ships for Russia. I. Grigorovitch.

Secret Military Agreements between Germany, Austria and Italy.

The German Ambassador at Vienna, von Tchirsky, to the
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, von Jagov.

Vienna, February 18, 1914.

We must be glad that relations between Vienna and Rome—that is between the two governments—are really good now and refrain as far as possible from touching on the dynastic question. Moreover as I am informed in strict secrecy, the military agreements between ourselves, Rome and Vienna were concluded a day or two ago and the Italians have conceded everything we demanded. They will not only send cavalry divisions to the Rhine, but also infantry corps . . .

"The Foremost Horse Does not always Set the Pace."

Speech by Sir Edward Grey.

London, February, 4 (Reuter).

Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, delivered a speech yesterday, in the course of which he referred to the armament question. He stated there prevails in Europe the idea that this is a race in which one could finally obtain the price. This, however, is quite a mistake. If the front horse should slacken his pace, the others would not do the same. It is true, the British naval budget was an important fact in the European navy budget, but the forces making for an increase are actually beyond any control . . .

Lord Roberts on Germany's Military Policy.

"Germany strikes when the German hour has struck. That is the time-honoured policy of her Foreign Office. That was the policy relentlessly pursued by Bismarck and Moltke in 1866 and 1870. It has been her policy for decades since that date. It is her policy at the present hour. It is an excellent policy, it is or should be the policy of every nation prepared to play a great part in history. Under that policy Germany has, within the last ten years, sprung, as at a bound, from one of the weakest of naval Powers to be the greatest naval Power, save one, upon this globe."

(Lord Roberts' Message to the Nation, p. 4.)

Austria-Hungary's Last Measures for Increasing Its Military Forces.

Vienna, March 13.

On the occasion of the first reading of the army bill in the Austrian Parliament, the Minister for national defence, Freiherr von Georgi, delivered a remarkable speech on the importance of increasing the armed forces in view of the changed military-political conditions in the immediate neighbourhood of the dual monarchy.

(Vienna press reports.)

Celebration of the 1905 Revolution in Russia.

We have received the following report from St. Petersburg:

The commemoration day of bloody Sunday 1905, the day on which the volleys in front of the Winter Palace gave the Russian working class their revolutionary baptism of fire, was celebrated this year even more impressively than last year. According to modest estimates, in Petersburg alone over 170,000 workers struck work, and to this there is to be added about an equal number in the provinces, before all in the Baltic provinces, in which the revolutionary mass movement keeps pace with that in Petersburg. What a tremendous advance this demonstration means even in comparison with the revolutionary year 1905, not to mention the years of dark reaction which followed... ("Vorwärts", January 27.)

The Trial of Rosa Luxemburg.

Opening of the Trial.

Frankfort on Maine, February 21, 1914.

The trial of Rosa Luxemburg commenced to-day before the Criminal Court here. She has to answer charges of violating § 110 and 111 of the Criminal Code.

("Vossische Zeitung", February 21, 1914.)

From the Indictment.

Dr. Rosa Luxemburg, at two meetings (in Frankfort on September 25 and 26, 1913), after describing the ill-treatment of soldiers, set up the demand for a people's militia, in which every man must be armed. She declared that it might happen one day **that the weapons would be turned in another direction than that desired by the rulers.** Luxemburg recommended the employment of the mass strike in order to achieve the aims of the social democracy. **She declared that the people must be permeated with a revolutionary spirit.** She concluded her speech by saying: **"We hope that rather sooner than later the hour will strike when it will be necessary to act."** The speaker at the same time discussed the possibility of an approaching world war and put to the meeting the question: **"Shall we tamely put up with a war?"** to which the audience responded with stormy cries: **"Never! never!"** The speaker then said: **"If we are called upon to turn the weapons of murder against our French or other foreign brothers, then we shall say: 'We will not do this!'"** This statement evoked loud applause. In conclusion, the speaker called to her audience: **"Be prepared for great deeds!"** These statements of Rosa Luxemburg are a violation of Paragraphs 110 and 111, in that the accused openly called upon the soldiers, in the event of war, not to obey the orders of their superior officers to shoot the enemy.

From Comrade Rosa Luxemburg's Speech in her Defence.

"... What I did at those meetings in Frankfort was what we social democrats constantly do by word and writing: to spread enlightenment, to bring home to the consciousness of the working masses their class interests and their historical tasks, to point out to them the great lines of historical development, the tendencies of the economic, political and social transformations which are taking place in the womb of our present society, which lead with inexorable necessity to a point when, at a certain stage of development, the existing order of society must be done away with and a higher socialist order of society set up in its place.... It is from the same point of view that we conduct **our agitation against war and militarism.**

... But I come to the crucial point of the indictment. The conclusion that the **only** effective means of preventing war consists in turning directly to the soldiers and calling upon them not to shoot. This conclusion is only the reverse side of that view, according to which so long as the soldier obeys the orders of his superior officers, everything in the State goes well, according to which—to put it shortly—the foundation of the State power and militarism is **blind obedience on the part of the soldier...** Well, we social democrats do not share this view. We are rather of the opinion that the commencement and the issue of wars are not merely decided by the army, by "orders" from above and blind "obedience" from below, but that **the great mass of the working people has to decide over this.** When the great majority of the working people arrive at the conviction—and to awaken this consciousness is precisely the task which we social democrats have set ourselves—when, I say, the majority of the people arrive at the conviction that war is a barbarous, profoundly immoral, reactionary and anti-working class phenomenon, then wars will have become impossible." ("Vorwärts", Febr. 22.)

Comrade Luxemburg Sentenced.

The Frankfort Criminal Court yesterday passed on Comrade Dr. Luxemburg the monstrous sentence of one year's imprisonment. ("Vorwärts", February 21.)

The Frankfort Workers Protest.

Frankfort on Maine, February 22. The severe sentence passed by the Frankfort Criminal Court of Dr. Rosa Luxemburg has already led to big protest meetings in Frankfort-Hanau. Rosa Luxemburg and her two defenders spoke at the three protest meetings, which were attended by thousands. The speeches were continually interrupted by prolonged applause. („Vossische Zeitung.")

"The Legend of the Historical German-Russian Friendship Must Be Finally Destroyed."

Petersburg, February 24.

"Against whom will Russian policy be most inclined to turn the weapons which it will have at its disposal in a few years? ... Two years ago one hardly ventured to mention it, but now there is open talk even in official military newspapers, to the effect that Russia is preparing for war against Germany ...

... That it will come to a collision between the two Powers over the allegedly conflicting German-Russian interests in Constantinople, has an indisputable truth for most Russians since the Berlin Congress. With the increasing development of South Russia, there is growing uneasiness because there is no free outlet through the Dardanelles. The recently announced plans for the construction of new railways naturally aim at the ice-free ports of the Black Sea, from which the harvests of the peasants could be conveyed to the world markets ... Has Germany such an interest in insisting on the Dardanelles remaining closed to Russia that it is willing to pay for it with the popularising in Russia of a German-Russian war? We do not believe this. Germany is no more interested than most of the signatory Powers—less at any rate than England. For this reason England supplies Turkey with ships, officers and men for a fleet which is far superior to the obsolete Russian ships in the Black Sea, and can at any time prevent their passage through the Straits.

Russia's dependence on France is and remains an obstacle to unreservedly good relations with Germany. In the case of Liman von Sanders, Russian diplomacy, under French influence, displayed a nervousness which clearly shows us that **correct relations between Russia and Germany would not stand any severe test...**

We know where we are. Meanwhile all this is nothing but a blind whilst Russia arms. This action of official Russian policy should, however, finally destroy the legend of the historical German-Russian friendship ...

("Russia and Germany", article published in the "Kölnische Zeitung", March 2, 1914.)

The Austrian-Italian Meeting in Abbazia.

Abbazia, April 14. Count Berchthold and Marchese di San Guiliano arrived here today.

"Europe will Enjoy the Blessings of Peace."

The "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of April 16, 1914 wrote regarding the meeting in Abbazia: Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy embody a total of forces which nobody can ignore. This force allows us to hope that Europe will continue to enjoy the blessings of peace to secure which was the main purpose of the founding of the Triple Alliance . . .

What Italian-Austrian "Friendship" Looks Like in Reality.

Report from Rome, May 21, 1914.

Strictly confidential. I have received information from various sources of late that there is considerable surprise in official circles here that, in spite of the improvement in our relations, armaments are still being increased on the South-Western frontier. The last person who spoke to me in strict confidence regarding this was the Italian Ambassador at Vienna, on the occasion of his visit to Rome after the meeting in Abbazia . . . Mérey.

(Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy, vol. 8, page 64.)

German-English Agreement Regarding the Baghdad Railway and the Mesopotamian Oil Fields.

Von Jagow, the Secretary of State to the Foreign Office, to Freiherr von Wangenheim, German Ambassador at Constantinople.

Berlin, March 14, 1914.

In view of the serious development of the oil question, we have on the suggestion of the English, come to an agreement with London to let drop the Turkish Petroleum Company and jointly to demand from the Porte an oil concession in Mesopotamia for a new company, in which the Germans and the English shall each participate 50 per cent. Will you please proceed together with your English colleague accordingly.

Jagow.

The Agreement Signed.

Deputy State Secretary of the Foreign Office Zimmermann to Count von Wedel.

Berlin, June 19, 1914.

The German-English agreement on the Baghdad Railway and Mesopotamia was drawn up on the 15th inst. by the Imperial Ambassador and Sir Edward Grey, and thus there was achieved a provisional agreement following negotiations with England lasting over a year.

England will refrain in the future from offering any resistance to the financing, the construction and the running of the Baghdad railway, as well as from building any rival railways, in particular from building a railway from Syria to Baghdad. Two Englishmen as representatives of a group of English capitalists are to be included on the Board of Directors of the Baghdad railway, which at present number 27 members.

The Strengthening of the Triple Entente.

Paris, April 10, 1914. The London Correspondent of "Temps" reports: The report published by some Russian papers, according to which the Russian Cabinet has proposed to the English Government to convert the mutual Entente into an alliance, is exaggerated.

And Behind the Scenes.

Anglo-French Secret Agreement.

The Russian Ambassador at Paris to the Russian Foreign Minister.

Paris, 5th (18th) March 1914.

About a year ago I had the honour to write of the lively exchange of opinions which was taking place at that time

between the Paris and London Cabinets concerning the secret agreement between the French and the English General Staffs. This exchange of opinion led, as I have been able to ascertain since, to the signing of a special political agreement, the exact text of which I am not acquainted with, but which is to the effect that both Governments declare themselves pledged, if conditions should cause France and England to take common action, to take into consideration the plans worked out by the General Staffs.

H. Doumergue said to me that he thoroughly agreed with the idea that, after the recent experience in the Balkan crisis as well as in view of the united actions of the Powers of the Triple Alliance, it would be very desirable to induce England to undertake definite obligations towards us.

Isvolski.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy", vol. II, page 212/18.)

The Russian Ambassador at London to the Russian Foreign Minister.

London, 29th April (12th May) 1914.

Sir Edward Grey requested me to come and see him . . . He informed me that, immediately after his return to London he had spoken to the Prime Minister regarding the proposal that the Governments of England and France should acquaint the Russian government with all the existing military agreements between England and France; the latter had agreed with him, and had no objections to the intended plan . . .

Benckendorff.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy", vol. II, page 227/28.)

"A Very Important Piece of News."

Report from the Russian Foreign Minister to the Tsar.

The original document bears a note in blue pencil made by Tsar Nicolas II.: "A very important piece of news."

Petersburg, 6th (19th) May 1914.

The French Ambassador informed me that according to a secret telegram received by him from Paris, the English government had decided to empower the English Admiralty Staff to enter into negotiations with the French and Russian naval attachés in London for the purpose of drawing up the technical conditions of an eventual co-operation of the naval forces of England, Russia and France.

H. Paléologue added that, according to the arrangement made between the English and the French Governments, the contents of the agreements which have been concluded up to now between England and France in case of joint war-like operations on land and sea are to be made known to us.

Sasonov.

("In the darkness of European Secret Diplomacy", Vol. II, page 233.)

The Russian Foreign Minister to the Russian Ambassador at London.

St. Petersburg, May 15 (28) 1914.

The proposal made by the English government regarding the form in which the agreement is to be concluded, is recognised by us as quite suitable, and Captain Volkov has been instructed to enter into negotiations with the English Government . . .

Sasonov.

("In the Darkness of European Secret Diplomacy", Vol. II, page 237)

Enclosure to the Above Letter.

On 13th (26th) May 1914, there took place at the Office of the Chief of the Admiralty Staff a conference for the purpose of exchanging opinions regarding the approaching negotiations on an agreement between Russia and England concerning the co-operation of their naval forces, when joint war-like operations of Russia and England, with the participation of France, take place.

In view of the strategic aims which must be pursued from our standpoint in the event of a war of the Powers of the Triple Entente with the Powers of the Triple Alliance, it is necessary to distinguish: the operations in the Baltic Sea and in the North Sea, on the one hand, and in the Mediterranean Sea on the other. In both cases we must endeavour to obtain compensation from England for engaging the attention of a

part of the German fleet. On the Northern scene of war our interests demand that England holds as large a part as possible of the German fleet in the North Sea. This would make up for the overwhelming superiority of the German fleet over our fleet and perhaps allow us, in a favourable situation, to undertake a landing in Pomerania.

(Ibid Vol. II, page 238/239.)

Grey Declares: Negotiations Are not Even in Progress.

On June 11, 1914. Mr. King asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any naval agreement had been recently entered into between Russia and Great Britain; and whether any negotiations with a view to a naval agreement have recently taken place or are now taking place between Great Britain and Russia.

Sir William Byles asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can make any statement with regard to an alleged naval agreement between Great Britain and Russia; how far such an agreement would affect our relations with Germany; and will he lay papers?

Sir Edward Grey: The hon. member for North Somerset asked a similar question last year with regard to military forces, and the hon. member for North Salford asked a similar question also on the same day as he has again done to-day. The Prime Minister then replied that, if war arose between European Powers, there were no unpublished agreements which would restrict or hamper the freedom of the Government or of Parliament to decide whether or not Great Britain should participate in a war. The answer covers both the questions on the Paper. It remains as true to-day as it was a year ago. No negotiations have since been concluded with any Power that would make the statement less true. No such negotiations are in progress, and none are likely to be entered upon so far as I can judge. But if any agreement were to be concluded that made it necessary to withdraw or modify the Prime Minister's statement of last year which I have quoted, it ought, in my opinion, to be, and I suppose that it would be, laid before Parliament.

(Hansard, Vol. LXIII, cols. 457-8.)

Sir Edward Grey "Pulls the Wool Over" Lichnovsky's Eyes.

The German Ambassador at London to the Reichs Chancellor.

London, 24th June 1914.

I made use of the occasion of my visit to-day to Sir Edward Grey to express to him your Excellency's thanks for his open and straightforward declarations in the House of Commons, by which he opposed the rumours of an alleged Anglo-Russian agreement . . .

The British Foreign Minister took note of what I said with obvious satisfaction, and stated that it was his endeavour also to continue to go hand in hand with us and to remain in close touch with us in regard to all questions which might arise. With this intention in view he had just discussed with me the present Eastern situation and believed that this way was the most suitable in order for us to achieve our mutual aims. As regards Russia, he stated he had not the slightest reason to doubt the peaceful intentions of the Russian Government . . . As regards France, however, he knew from good sources and was strengthened in this view also by foreign news, American news, for instance, that the French had not the slightest desire for war . . .

Lichnovsky.

(The German Documents on the Outbreak of the War 1919, page 1-8.)

The Tsar's Visit to Constanza.

Report of Count Otto Czernin, Counsellor to the Austrian Legation at St. Petersburg, May 23 (June 5) 1914.

The political situation here is dominated by the visit of the Tsar to Rumania, which is to take place in a few days. Whatever the result of this meeting, it is already certain that the day of Constanza will be of importance in Russian and Rumanian history . . . In my opinion, the significance of the approaching meeting of monarchs lies in the effect it will have on Bulgaria. It seems questionable whether M. Sasanoff

will this time return from Rumania with a binding agreement, but he has already secured the moral success. His aim may be to secure the neutrality of Rumania in the event of a European war.

Otto Czernin.

(Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy, Vol. 8, page 116.)

The Revolt in Albania.

Durazzo, June 13, Midday. Since 4 o'clock this morning there has been uninterrupted rifle and gun fire. The prince is conducting the defence of the town. The attackers came from Rastbul and Kawaya.

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" Juni 17, 1914.)

English Naval Squadron Visits the German Fleet.

Kiel, June 23. The English squadron under Admiral Beatty has arrived at Kiel harbour.

Before Serajevo.

Report of the Austrian Military Attaché at Belgrade to the Chief of the General Staff, April 20, 1914.

Pan-Serbian Easter wishes. The "Politika", the most important Serbian paper, sums up in its leading article entitled "our Resurrection", the satisfaction of the Pan-Serbians over events since the last Easter festivals and their expectations regarding the future: "The Serbo-Turkish war aroused the forces of Serbia; the war against Bulgaria, however, filled us with new life. After Bregalnica, Serbia could joyfully face the future. It was then that it acquired faith in the resurrection of the whole of the Serbian people."

(Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policy, vol. 8, page 43.)

A Proclamation of the "Narodna Odbrana" to the Serbian People.

The Central Committee of the "Narodna Odbrana" issued on June 24 a proclamation to the Serbian people, in which the following passages occur:

"Brothers and sisters! Kossovo was only partly avenged, the day of St. Vitus was only partly expiated. Just as far as the territories reach where our people's speech is heard . . . just as far and wide does the meaning of St. Vitus day and of Kossovo extend. So many souls of our race weep on its territory; so many fetters of our brothers clank; so much work is yet to be done; so much have we still to sacrifice. St. Vitus day could formerly mean a day of mourning for us, but today . . . when we stand in the midst of the creation of a great national State; today St. Vitus day must be for us a day of great joy and pride, because of that which has happened, and sprung from it, and still more because of that which will come. Men and Women of Serbia! Millions of our brothers, Slovenes, Croats and Serbians beyond our frontiers look to us today, the Children of the Kingdom, and joy and hope fill their breast as they now behold to-day's majestic manifestations for the national cause. God helps the brave! Forward all! That part of our sacred task which is yet unrealised calls us. Belgrade, St. Vitus Day, 1914.

21st World Peace Congress Convened in Vienna.

On August 23 last year, the 20th World Peace Congress assembled at the Hague decided with acclamation to hold the XXI. World Peace Congress in Vienna . . .

The 21st World Peace Congress will be held from 15th to 19th September 1914 in the main hall of the Austrian Parliament . . .

The organisation committee of the 21st World Peace Congress.

Honorary-Committee:

President: His Excellence Leopold Count Berchthold, Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Excellence Karl Count Stürgkh, Prime Minister.
(Die Friedenswarte" XVI. volume 1914, page 158/59, 235.)

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Nine Years of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Moscow, July 5, 1932.

The 6th of July is the ninth anniversary of the founding of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The October Revolution of 1917 freed all the peoples and races from the former "people's prison" of Tsarist Russia, released them from the century-old yoke. The declaration of the rights of the toiling and exploited peoples which was adopted at the III. Soviet Congress in January, 1918, proclaimed the equality and independence of the peoples and secured them the right of self-determination up to separation.

But the common tasks which confronted all the Soviet Republics, the common fight against the inner counter-revolution and against the foreign imperialists, the common endeavours to restore industry and to reconstruct economy on a socialist basis led to an alliance of all the Soviet Republics. In the year 1923, the All-Union Soviet Congress confirmed the Constitution of the Soviet Union and created the first proletarian State in the world as a federation of States by forming, on the basis of a voluntary treaty, four Soviet Republics, namely, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Socialist Soviet Republic of White Russia and the Transcaucasian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic. In the year 1925, two further Republics were set up in the Soviet Union: Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan; and in the year 1929 there arose the seventh Soviet Republic of the Soviet Union—Tadshikistan. The basis on which the Soviet Republics are united is the principle of voluntariness and the equality of all the Republics with the retention of the right freely to secede from the Soviet Union.

The declaration on the formation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics forms the first part of the Constitution of the Soviet Union. It reads:

Since the formation of the Soviet Republics, the States of the world are split into two camps: the camp of capitalism and the camp of Socialism. There, in the camp of capitalism—national hatred and inequality, colonial slavery, chauvinism, national oppression and pogroms, imperialist horrors and war. Here, in the camp of Socialism—mutual trust and peace, national freedom and equality, peaceful co-existence and brotherly collaboration of the peoples! Only in the camp of the Soviets, only under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is supported by the majority of the population, was it possible to do away with national oppression and to lay the foundations of mutual trust, the basis of the brotherly co-operation of the peoples. It was only thanks to these circumstances that the Soviet Republics succeeded in repelling the attacks of the imperialists and crushing the revolt of the counter-revolutionaries; it was only thanks to these circumstances that they succeeded in liquidating the civil war, securing the existence of the workers' State, in order to proceed to peaceful economic construction! On the other hand, the uncertain international situation and the danger of new attacks render necessary the creation of the united front of the Soviet Republics against the capitalist encirclement!

The experience of the past nine years of the existence of the Soviet Union prove that the Constitution of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, secures and strengthens proletarian democracy, guarantees the building up of Socialism and secures the principle of brotherly co-operation of all nationalities, without exception, in socialist construction. It is this which distinguishes it from all former and present Constitutions of bourgeois States, in which formal equality and sham freedom are proclaimed, which, however, in reality are a means of enslaving the toiling masses, a means of national oppression and imperialist robbery. Therefore the day of the Constitution of the Soviet Union is a festival day not only for the working peoples of all States of the Soviet Union, but also for the working peoples of the whole world who are prepared to defend the Soviet Union as the shockbrigade of the international proletariat, as the citadel of the world

revolution, as a beacon showing the way to the world October, against the imperialist robbers.

Moscow, July 6, 1932.

In a leading article devoted to the 9th Anniversary of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, the "Izvestia" writes:

In the fight for the practical realisation of the principle of our Constitution in the whole of everyday work, the working people of all nationalities of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Soviets, have achieved gigantic successes in socialist construction. In the ninth year of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, the foundations of the socialist economy have been completed and unemployment entirely abolished. Wages are rising. The material conditions as well as the whole standard of living of the working people are steadily improving.

The ninth year of the Constitution, the concluding year of the Five-Year Plan which is being carried out in four years, is a year in which gigantic new works and undertakings are being set going, a year of the further development of the socialist sector in agriculture. This year's spring sowings of the collective and Soviet farms embrace fourth-fifths of the total area covered by the Spring sowings. It is a year of further development of tremendous technique for the socialist transformation of agriculture, which at the commencement of the second Five Year will be served by about 3000 machine and tractor stations.

These historical victories have been achieved in the fight for the general line of the Party against "Left" and Right opportunism, in the fight for the strengthening and retention of the bases of our Constitution. These victories have created the pre-requisites for fulfilling the Five-Year Plan in four years.

By fulfilling the Five-Year Plan in four years the basis will be created for such a development of the productive forces of socialist economy in the second five years, that as a result the capitalist elements and classes in general will be finally abolished and the classless socialist society set up.

In the Soviet Union, in the camp of Socialism, there has been created an atmosphere of mutual trust and the foundation for a brotherly co-operation of the peoples in socialist construction. All this has resulted in an unprecedented development of the national economy, in a gigantic cultural and economic progress of the backward peoples in the former colonies and semi-colonies of Tsarist Russia. This is best to be seen in the rapid growth of the budgets of the federated Republics. With a general increase in the budget of the Soviet Union in the year 1931 of 45.8 per cent., the budget of the R.S.F.S.R. increased by 31.2 per cent., that of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic by 32.9 per cent., of the Soviet Republic of White Russia by 35.6 per cent., of the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic by 50.9 per cent., that of the Turkmenistan Soviet Republic by 87.1 per cent., of the Uzbekistan Soviet Republic by 61.8 per cent. and that of the Tadshikistan Soviet Republic by 108.5 per cent. In the year 1932, the budgets of the autonomous Republics of the R.S.F.S.R. will be doubled as compared with the first year of the Five-Year Plan.

No less significant are the results of the industrialisation and socialist transformation of agriculture in the various districts. Thus, for example, industrial production in the Usbeskistan Soviet Republic was already in the year 1929/30 two and a half greater than before the war. The industrial production of the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic in 1931 exceeded the amounts envisaged in the Five-Year Plan by 8 per cent. and increased nearly 70 per cent. compared with 1930.

In Tadshikistan, the industrial output in 1930 amounted in all to 10,800,000 roubles, in 1931, however, it had already increased to 32 million. The total amount of capital invest-

ment in the industry of Tadshikistan increased fourfold in the period from 1928 to 1930. In the backward countries of the East a number of new branches of industry were set up under the Soviet Power.

In the Spring 1932, 67 per cent. of the peasant farms in the Usbekistan Soviet Republic were already collectivised and 200 districts were completely collectivised. In the White Russian Republic over 50 per cent., in the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics 40 per cent., in the Usbekistan Soviet Republic 68.7 per cent. and in the Turkmenistan Soviet Republic 67 per cent. of the peasant farms are collectivised. The area under cultivation in the national Republics is steadily increasing.

The cultural revolution has achieved enormous successes. All the peoples in the Soviet Union are fighting in a united front for universal elementary education, for the final liquidation of illiteracy. Hundreds of thousands of workers' and peasants' children are receiving education in their mother tongues in the schools, technical colleges, high schools, at special courses etc.

The Constitution of the Soviet Union is the expression of real socialist democracy, of a democracy which the world has never known before. Millions of working people are taking active part in the running of the State and in the building up of Socialism.

By strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, firmly carrying out the Constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and successfully solving all the tasks confronting us, we shall in the next five years build up the classless socialist society.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Lives of the Rueggs in Greatest Danger!

Shanghai, 7th July 1932.

The trial of Paul Ruegg, the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and his wife which was repeatedly promised by the Nanking authorities and repeatedly postponed until every further public statement of the Nanking authorities became a farce, has at last been opened.

Half an hour before the time fixed for the trial to begin fifty police armed with rifles and Mauser pistols surrounded the court building as a precaution against possible demonstrations. Only fifty persons were present in the court, including the lawyers for the defence **Fisher**, the Chinese lawyer **Chen** and the Geneva lawyer **Vincent**. These lawyers were, however, permitted to be present as visitors only.

Prior to the beginning of the proceedings, Ruegg handed in a written protest against the proceedings declaring that the Nanking court is not competent to try the case and demanding that it be tried in **Shanghai**. Ruegg and his wife refuse to take any voluntary part in the proceedings and have gone on **hunger-strike as a protest**. Ruegg and his wife were domiciled in Shanghai and the witnesses required are all in Shanghai. Ruegg refused to answer all questions except those having a bearing on his written protest. He announced that both he and his wife had been on hunger-strike since the 2nd July and were determined to continue the strike until the proceedings were transferred to a normal court in Shanghai. Ruegg also announced that whilst awaiting trial he had been threatened with torture. Ruegg's wife declared that the proceedings were a farce and that she refused to take any voluntary part in them. Ruegg pointed out that he and his wife had been in prison over a year in defiance of Chinese law which provides that a prisoner must be released after the expiry of four months if no indictment has been filed against him by that time.

The judge Li Mian declared that it would take the court several days to determine whether it was competent or not and requested Ruegg in the meantime to break off his hunger-strike. The Chinese lawyer Chen declared that so long as the competence of the court was in doubt there could be no proceedings at all. He further declared that the Shanghai court which had handed the case over to a court martial had acted illegally. At the end of four months imprisonment no indictment had been filed against the defendants and according to Chinese law they should have then been released. He would refuse to take part in illegal proceedings.

Finally the judge adjourned the proceedings and declared that the court would come to a decision on Ruegg's written statement during the next few days.

Shanghai, 9th July 1932.

The Nanking district court has broken off proceedings in the Ruegg trial on account of the dangerous condition of the health of Ruegg and his wife. The Nanking court refuses obstinately to accede to the demand of the defending counsel that the trial should be transferred to Shanghai. It is, however, assumed that in face of the indignation of public opinion all over the world the court will find itself obliged to postpone the trial, and to have the defendants sent to Shanghai until the question of the competence of the court has been decided.

The authorities have called in medical experts to "observe the state of health of the two Rueggs", and it is not impossible that forcible feeding will be resorted to. A well known American physician in Shanghai has warned the defending counsel Fischer that artificial feeding will be dangerous to the Rueggs, especially as the necessary equipment is not to be had in Shanghai.

Ruegg is alarmingly weak, and unable to see, hear, or speak. In spite of this the Kuomintang authorities continue their provocations with regard to the accused. Endeavours are being made to prevent the defending counsel Fischer from communicating with the prisoners.

Ten Days for the Scottsboro Negro Mother in Great Britain.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

It took more than three weeks to win the right for the Scottsboro Negro Mother, **Mrs. Ada Wright**, to visit Great Britain for ten days, the time limit set by the British foreign office in London.

In the United States the workers demanded of the state department at Washington that it keep its "Hands Off!" the Scottsboro Negro Mother's tour. It was clear that the dollar ambassador to London, the American multi-millionaire, Andrew Mellon, formerly secretary of the treasury in the Hoover cabinet, while refusing to listen to the protests of the British workers against the burning alive of the Scottsboro boys, had exerted the utmost pressure upon the MacDonald government to bar Mrs. Ada Wright from Britain's shores. But the decision given in the closing days of May, by the British consul at Zurich, Switzerland, that the Scottsboro Mother be not admitted, was changed in the latter days of June by the British foreign-offices own decision rendered through the British consul in Paris granting the ten-day stay, of which the Scottsboro Negro Mother took immediate advantage.

It was clear that the MacDonald government had capitulated to this extent before the growing mass basis in Europe of the Scottsboro campaign, just as the Belgian government that had first expelled Mrs. Ada Wright completely turned about and saw its former Socialist premier, Emile Vandervelde, chairman of the Second Socialist International, speak from the same platform with Mrs. Wright, and withdrew its police completely from the scene of the Brussels' Scottsboro demonstration.

It is significant that these international developments are taking place around the first anniversary, July 10th, of the date first set (July 10, 1931) for the burning alive of the Scottsboro Negro children in the electric chair in its Kilby Prison, Montgomery, Alabama.

When the Southern Judge, Hawkins, on April 8, 1931, sentenced the Negro boys to die in the electric chair on Friday, July 10, 1931, it is clear that he fully believed the sentence would be carried out. So did the mob of 10,000 around the courthouse led by so-called "southern gentlemen". So did the Southern press, while the northern press gave little attention. Never before had world protest been organized against lynching—either mob lynching or judicial lynching—carried through by the so-called "white supremacy" against the oppressed Negro millions "to keep them in their place". Not even the workers in the United States had been mobilized sufficiently against this class and national oppression.

Not only the landlord and industrial reaction in the South, but the ruling class generally throughout the United States

was startled by the rapidity and successful development of the world-wide protest against its planned murders. In the South especially it had never been considered a "crime" for an individual white, or a mob of whites, to kill Negroes. Leaders or members of lynching parties—mobs—were never arrested. Instead they were the honoured members of the community, elected to public office and sent to congress in Washington.

Instead of "July 10, 1931", therefore, we now have "October 10, 1932", the date when the United States Supreme Court, the highest in the land, will review the Scottsboro case. It is not in the power of this high court to free the Scottsboro Negro boys. That power still rests with Governor Miller, of Alabama. The Washington high court has the power to overrule the decisions of the lower courts and declare that the Negro boys must have a new trial. Such a decision, however, wrung from the Washington high court, the strongest pillar of capitalist class justice in the United States, will have its tremendous historic significance and will go far toward determining the further developments in this attempted legal massacre in Alabama.

The steadily growing mass protest, in France, in Belgium, in Holland and now in Great Britain, since the United States Supreme Court action in deciding to review the case, shows that the toiling masses have no illusions as to the "fairness" or "impartiality" of capitalist class justice, but realize that mass pressure alone can bring concessions from or victory over the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington, and that section of the American ruling class that lords it over the oppressed Negro masses in Alabama.

This is the significance of the "crashing of the gates" of British-MacDonald imperialism by the Scottsboro Negro Mother, the mass welcome that she received from the workers, Negroes, Hindus and of other races with the white workers, the workers of all races attending the meetings and demonstrations, being listed among the speakers.

The Scottsboro Negro Mother visited the Houses of Parliament and demanded action from the Labour Party members, some of whom listened to her. **George Lansbury**, one of the "left" weathercocks of the Labour Party, asked for a statement of the Scottsboro case, so that he can place it before the Labour Party Parliamentary Executive. The bourgeois League of Coloured Peoples requested Mrs. Wright as a speaker before it. This, however, will not be allowed to evaporate into "respectful protests" or "carefully worded demands" upon the lynch-law ambassador of the Wall Street plutocracy—Mellon. But militant action will press for ever-wider mass movements of struggle against the intended Scottsboro massacre of the Negro boys—whole centuries of barbarous oppression crystallized into one bloody infamy in the days when the world's richest imperialism is in the grip of its worst economic crisis.

Mooney Sixteen Years in Prison.

By J. Louis Engdahl (New York).

July 26, 1932 marks the Sixteenth Anniversary of the arrest and imprisonment of **Tom Mooney**, the best known among all the class war prisoners in the world today.

The American bourgeois "democracy" alone among all the capitalist nations in the world holds working class prisoners in chains, dating back into the period of the last world war. In fact, the lesser known working class leaders in California, McNamara and Schmidt, were confined to the same living tombs that now hold Mooney and many other working class prisoners, as long ago as 1911.

Mooney's imprisonment spans the period between the two imperialist world wars, the war of 1914-18, and the war of 1932 against the Soviet Union rapidly in the making. Freedom for Tom Mooney, for his fellow prisoner, **Warren K. Billings**, for the **Scottsboro Negro boys**, for Amnesty—the liberation of all working class political prisoners—thus becomes a major slogan of the anti-war struggles on the 18th Anniversary of the beginning of the world war, 1914.

The sixteenth year of Mooney's imprisonment was emphasized by the ruling class effort to rob the Mooney case of its working class character through the hypocritical appeal of **Mayor James J. Walker**, of New York City, to Governor

James J. Rolph, Jr., of California, for Mooney's release. Mooney could have been a free man today, insofar as the prison regime itself is concerned, if he had consented to the conditions laid down to him by the agents of the boss class that wanted this issue divorced from the working class struggle in the period of the still deepening economic crisis, "so that we wouldn't have so many and so large red demonstrations in New York City", in the words of Mayor Walker himself. These conditions among others were: (1) repudiation of the Communist Party and all militant working class organisations, especially the red trade unions; (2) An attack upon the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; (3) His pledge not to return to trade union activities.

Mooney's reply was uncompromising. Governor Rolph's reply to Mayor Walker's appeal declared that Mooney must continue to rot in the infamous San Quentin Prison until released only by death itself. Mooney's reply to Governor Rolph's decision was a clarion call to new working class mass struggles. He declared:

"I am ready and willing today as always to give my life to the cause of the toilers of the world regardless of race, creed, colour or nationality. This decision (Rolph's) in the face of world-wide protest against my brutal frame-up is an insolent and sinister challenge hurled by a doomed capitalist system into the teeth of the entire working class. I call upon the militant working class of the entire world to accept this challenge. They must also demand that the framed-up Scottsboro Negro boys do not die, and defend the Kentucky prisoners and all proletarian political prisoners."

Through the barred windows of San Quentin's dungeons breaks the sunlight of Soviet Power in the First Workers' Republic. Units of the Red Army, workers on the state and collective farms, as well as in the factories of the Soviet Union, are continually writing to Tom Mooney of their tremendous achievements. Some letters, or scraps of letters pass the prison censorship. Such a letter came from far-off Siberia and Mooney replied in part as follows:

"At a time when the capitalist world is experiencing a crisis which is shaking it to its foundations; when death is raining on workers and their families in far-off Shanghai and Manchuria; when imperialism is getting ready to cut loose with another mass slaughter on an unprecedented scale, it is an unforgettable sensation to read how you workers are constructing a new land and a new life.

"So build your land! Rest assured that though entombed as we are by concrete and steel, our vision is not blinded. We are watching you closely. We glory in your achievements. We are with you in your struggles, as we know it is difficult to build where there was nothing before. We are thrilled to see arising out of the muck and filth and ignorance and superstition that was old Russia, the new land of the Soviets, the homeland of the world's proletariat. I express to you, from the bottom of my heart, my solidarity with you."

This was Mooney's reply to the demand that he attack the Soviet Union. He refused to retract one syllable of his blasting exposure of the role of the American trade union reaction, showing how it conspires with the profit takers to keep him in prison.

Freedom is a precious treasure to be won by a class war prisoner especially, like Mooney, after 16 years in a prison tomb. But Mooney refuses to pay the price of surrender for that treasure. So did the 14-year-old Roy Wright, one of the Scottsboro Negro boys, who refused to surrender when the judicial lynchers of Alabama recently offered him his freedom and added \$500 to the bribe if he would betray the other eight Scottsboro boys.

The Mooney-Billings persecution links closely with the Scottsboro infamy in many ways. The 84-year-old Mother of Mooney with a Scottsboro Mother, tours the United States in the renewed Scottsboro-Mooney campaign; while the Scottsboro Mother, Mrs. Ada Wright, touring Europe, raises the struggle not only for the Scottsboro boys, but for the liberation of Mooney and Billings, and all the class war prisoners. Thus July 26th, the anniversary of Mooney's imprisonment, links closely with the July and August days of struggle of the whole working class.

Organisational Questions

The Work of Trade Union Fractions.

The whole practice of carrying out the decisions of the VI. Congress of the C.I. and the decisions of the Plenums of the E.C.C.I. which supplement them confirm the fact that it will be impossible to solve the central task of the moment—the winning over of the majority of the working class in preparation for the fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat,—unless everyday systematic stubborn and properly organised work is carried on both in the revolutionary unions, which are under the ideological and organisational influence of the Communist Parties and in the reformist and other reactionary trade unions. However, this most important sector of the mass work of the Communist Parties still continues to be the weakest one, and this weakness of the work of the Communist Parties in the trade unions is now one of the main hindrances to their further development. In the resolution of the second international organisational meeting on the structure and methods of work of Communist fractions inside the trade unions, confirmed by the VI. Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the most concrete instructions are given to the Communist fractions in the trade unions on how to build up the work of the Communist Parties in the trade unions. These decisions of the second international organisational meeting are still correct on the whole at the present moment.

The changes which have taken place in the general situation in the class struggle of the proletariat and likewise the changes in the organisational structure, the methods of work and the composition of the leading cadres of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary T.U. movement since the VI Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. make it necessary to make some additions and amendments to these decisions. First of all, practice shows that it is no longer advisable for trade union departments to exist further in countries with a legal revolutionary trade union movement.

The C.P.'s of France, Germany and Czechoslovakia have already done away with their trade union departments. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. sanctions these decisions and resolves to alter the directives of the second international organisational meeting and to instruct the other Communist Parties in countries with a legal revolutionary T.U. movement to abolish their trade union departments, and in the future to bring about the leadership of the work of the trade union fractions directly through the bureau of the corresponding Party committees. For this purpose, 1. when constructing the leading organs (Party Committees, bureau of Party committees), take steps to include in them the leaders of the chief revolutionary trade union organisations; 2. at meetings of the Party committee and its bureau, have regular reports made on the activity of the fractions of the corresponding trade union organisations to which the influence of the given Party Committee extends. In connection with these reports of the Communist fractions, the question of trade union work should be raised and discussed in the Party Committees; 3. one of the members of the secretariat (or bureau) of the Party Committee must be charged with carrying out daily contacts with the fractions of the corresponding trade union organisations and preparing to raise the question of the activity of these fractions (preliminary discussion, preparation of draft resolutions, etc.) for discussion by the Party organisations (the Party Committee and its bureau, general meetings and conferences, etc.).

In countries with an illegal revolutionary trade union movement, instead of having trade union departments under the Party Committees, there must be formed after the example of the C. P. of Poland regularly working gatherings of representatives of the trade union fractions in the leading trade union organs, under the leadership of specially appointed representatives of the corresponding Party Committees (central, district, local). These gatherings must play the role of the bureaus of the fractions (central, district and local) of the revolutionary trade union centres.

When liquidating the trade union departments, it is very important that the corresponding Party committees shall not deal with this matter mechanically. In every concrete case there must be well thought out preparations with a definite

principle, so that as the result of doing away with the trade union department, the contacts of the fractions with the Party Committee will unquestionably be made stronger and so that the Party committee and the whole Party organisation should take part as a whole in the systematic discussion and solution of trade union questions.

The following important shortcomings are to be found at present in the activity of the trade union Communist fractions:

a) The trade union fractions are not suitably instructed by the corresponding Party Committees, but the leadership of the activity of the fraction is frequently carried out in a formal and mechanical manner—by sending circulars and general directives. The Party Committees have not yet learned to lead the everyday work of the trade union fractions, have not learned how to train the existing cadres of the revolutionary trade union organisations in the spirit of the Party line and to strengthen them by attracting new and fresh forces.

b) The Communists working in trade unions still very often in practice carry out the leading role of the Party by methods of commanding and not by insistent work of conviction and by personal example inside the trade unions. As a result, the internal life is suppressed in the revolutionary trade union organisations and they are converted into duplicates of the Party organisations, with approximately the same members and mechanically repeating Party decisions.

c) On the part of the Party Committees, there is very often to be observed an actual self-elimination from participation in the discussion and solution of the concrete problems of trade union work, e. g. self-elimination from participation in the various campaigns carried out by the revolutionary trade union organisations, and in some cases even self-elimination from the question of the strike struggle but more often in questions of wage scales and social insurance, etc., which is completely incorrect. They consider these to be mere trade union questions, which do not apply to the Party organisations, etc. In the near future, all Communist Parties must pay the greatest attention to the concrete tasks of carrying on the most insistent work for removing these shortcomings and weaknesses in the sphere of trade union work and for strengthening their positions in the trade union organisations. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. indicates the following and most important of these tasks:

1. To bring about the formation of trade union fractions in trade union organisations of all kinds in the shortest possible time, containing Party members (according to the decisions of the second international organisational meeting). The C.O. of the Communist Parties must send experienced instructors and organisers to form strong and active Communist fractions in those trade union organisations where the Communist fractions either do not exist at all or where they exist but work badly and do not yet play any important role in the activity of these trade union organisations.

2. The VI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. confirmed the decisions of the second international organisational meeting that trade union fractions should keep in contact not only with the corresponding Party committees but also between themselves, and the fraction of the higher trade union organisations should give authoritative directives to the fractions of the lower trade union organisations, so that each trade union fraction will be subordinated to two bodies—the corresponding Party Committee and the trade union fraction of the higher trade union organisation. In practice this decision has very often not been carried out up to the present and is even questioned, and quotations are frequently made from the experience of the C.P.S.U. in which the trade union fractions are not linked up among themselves but are subordinate only to the corresponding Party Committees. The Presidium requires all Communist Parties to carry into practice without hesitation the decisions of the VI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the double subordination of trade union fractions. For the Communist Parties of capitalist and colonial countries with their weak apparatus, with the difficulties of contacts between the organisations, especially under circumstances of whole or partly underground work, it is extremely necessary to have

double contacts and double subordination of T.U. fractions. If the work of the trade union fractions is properly guided by the Party committee, every decision and instruction of the trade union fractions will be previously coordinated along Party lines, and will thus be a direction of this Party committee for all Party members working in the given trade union organisation. Therefore double contacts and the subordination of trade union fractions will make it possible to improve the leadership of the work of the fractions by the Party and in addition will make it possible to improve the contacts between the higher and lower Party organisations, because the directives handed on by the trade union fractions of the higher trade union organisations to the fractions of the lower trade union organisations must reflect the line and the concrete directives of the higher Party committees which are sent out by the legal and semi-legal channels of the trade union organisations. The trade union fractions of the lower T.U. organisations on receiving directives from the higher fraction, will coordinate the forms of carrying them out in practice with the corresponding Party committee which directs the work of these lower trade union fractions. It is not correct to quote the experience of the C.P.S.U., because not a single Communist Party in the capitalist and colonial countries has such a strong influence on the trade unions and has such means of contact and control over the fulfilment of Party directives as the C.P.S.U. We should remember that in the past (until 1922), there were also two sided contacts and double subordination of trade union fractions in the C.P.S.U.

3. The resolution of the second international organisational meeting points out that trade union fractions in the factories are to carry out their work through the factory nuclei. The Presidium considers this indication of the second international organisational meeting to be quite correct and only thinks it necessary to supplement it by the following explanation. In capitalist countries, there may be and usually are members of several trade unions—revolutionary, reformist and others—in factories. Party members who are members of a trade union and who work in the factory must unquestionably be organised in the factory fraction group of this trade union. Every such fraction group must keep in constant contact with the fraction of the corresponding trade union organisation, inform it of what takes place in the factory, and in turn receive information through the fraction of the measures and the plans of the given trade union organisation. However, the fraction will not give any direct directives to its factory fraction group (if the corresponding Party committee has not been broken up by police repression), but these directives will be given by the Party committee through the factory nucleus. On the other hand, the factory fraction groups of the various trade unions represented in the factory cannot carry on any special work in the factory along the lines of their union which is not known to the factory Party nucleus and which is not closely linked up with the everyday work of the factory nucleus. The factory nucleus must guide all the trade union work in the factory. This means that the factory fraction groups of the various trade unions must work under the direct leadership of the factory nucleus. At the same time, the factory nucleus must energetically utilise these factory fraction groups to penetrate from below from the factory into all the trade unions which have branches in the given factory, and thus strengthen the influence of the Party in all these trade unions. For this purpose, it is particularly important that the lower Party Committees (local and district) should organise systematic joint meetings of the representatives of factory nuclei and fractions (local and district) of the corresponding unions to discuss the concrete questions of trade union work in the factories, concrete questions of defending the everyday interests of the workers of the given factory, bring about the joint activity of the members of all the trade unions under the ideological and organisational leadership of the factory revolutionary trade union groups.

4. In cases when the revolutionary trade union organisations are faced with the questions which are of big political importance (putting forward a programme of immediate demands, preparing for a strike, etc.), the corresponding Party Committee must first discuss these questions and must certainly bring into this discussion the representative (or representatives) of the fractions and thus work out for the

latter definite directives as to what they are to do. The Party Committee in such a case must avoid the predetermination of details, leaving concretisation for the fractions themselves, and demanding from the fraction the greatest initiative in this concretisation and the most careful consideration of all peculiarities of the work of the trade union organisations represented by them. If the circumstances of the time and place require the fraction to deviate from the directives of the Party leaders, the fraction must apply to the corresponding Party Committees for new directives. If for some reason it is impossible to get these new directives from the Party committee and it is necessary to act without losing time, the fraction must make a decision on its own responsibility and give an account later to the Party Committee.

5. Before meetings of Red Trade Unions and organisations of the R.T.U.O. (Congresses or Conferences) the corresponding Party Committees must discuss the questions which are to be taken up at these meetings (Congresses and Conferences), calling in representatives of the corresponding Communist fractions. On all these questions, the Party Committee must work out suitable directives for the Communist fractions. If at the meetings (Congresses or Conferences) there is the question of electing new leading organs, the Party committee together with the representatives of the fractions must carefully discuss which candidates are to be backed up by the fraction and which are to be opposed. When discussing these candidates, the following must be taken as the basis:

a) The necessity of selecting a Party kernel which will ensure the political line and the efficient work of the new leading organ: b) In addition to Party members it is essential to put forward the candidature of revolutionary minded workers (non-Party and also socialist, anarchists, etc.), who are trusted by the masses and who have come forward as good organisers of the revolutionary activity of the proletariat. The Communist fractions on their part must hold their meetings before trade union questions are brought up at the Party Committees and must prepare concrete propositions for meetings of the Party Committees.

6. When preparing Party conferences and congresses at which questions of the T.U. movement and the economic struggle will be discussed, the theses on these questions must be worked out with the assistance and the most active participation of the leading trade union fractions which must thus make it possible for the Party to take into account all the experience of the T.U. movement. When preparing for T.U. conferences and congresses, the Party must give the general direction to the discussion through the fractions and must see that the Party members are the driving force in the preparation of trade union conferences and congresses. Self-criticism must not only touch on the weaknesses of the work of the trade unions but on the weaknesses of the work of the Communists in the trade unions.

Correct leadership of the trade unions excludes petty-guardianship, harassing and commanding. The Party must neither command nor present the trade unions unexpectedly with a completed fact. The Party must instruct the Communists working in the trade unions that their main duty on the basis of trade union democracy is to convince the masses of members of the correctness of the slogans and the various other proposals of the Communist Party for the strengthening of the revolutionary movement. The chief thing in the leadership of the trade unions is the method of convincing and developing the initiative of the members.

7. The most important (and at the same time the most difficult) thing is to establish correct relations between the Communist fractions and the trade unions, especially the revolutionary trade unions. It is along these lines that most mistakes and confusion is found in practice. As the revolutionary T.U. organisations must be mass organisations, including all sections of the working class irrespective of their political views, etc., the Communists working in these organisations must ensure themselves influence and the decisive role by good and capable work, by methods of the most patient and insistent explanations of the Party line, showing by concrete examples what line the Party is carrying on in the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, and giving personal examples of the most consistent and courageous work for these demands.

The correct and flexible leadership of the work of trade union fractions is of specially great importance during economic struggles. During economic struggles, the Party as a rule must act from within, putting forward corresponding

organisations of the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary T.U. opposition as organisers and leaders of economic struggles.

At meetings of trade union organisations (and of organs set up by the trade unions), when Communists make proposals in accordance with the decisions of the fraction or the Party Committee, they should not point out directly that their propositions are Party directives. According to the decision of the fraction (or the bureau of the fraction) one of the Communist members of the fraction may make these propositions in his own name, etc. Other members of the fraction must vote solidly for these proposals and also give them every support in their speeches, etc., and in addition, those members of the fraction who disagreed with a proposal when it was being discussed inside the fraction, must act in the same way.

8. In all cases of carrying out Party directives through the T.U. fractions, it is necessary to combine the greatest insistence with the consistent application of trade union democracy, so that leadership by the Party will not reduce the trade union organisation to a nonentity and will not hinder the development of the initiative of trade union workers. If the majority in the leading T.U. organ or conference or at a general meeting of T.U. members are opposed to some propositions of the Party committee, then however useful and necessary this proposition may be, it should as a rule be withdrawn and not put into force in the given organisation until the question is discussed again. In such cases special meetings should be held in all the lower organs of the given revolutionary T.U. organisation and the question raised again until it is adopted by the majority. We must learn not to force our opinions on people but to be able to convince those who are mistaken, otherwise we shall not be able to win over new sections of the workers.

9. While showing irreconcilability in matters relating to the political line of the Communist Party and mercilessly exposing the counter-revolutionary role of the reformist leaders, we must have a comradely approach to socialist workers and members of the reformist unions. In the revolutionary T.U. organisations we must create an atmosphere from top to bottom so that the non-Party workers and the social-democratic workers will feel themselves to be members on a level with the Communist and sympathizers.

The struggle against the opposition in revolutionary trade unions must be carried on by different methods from the

struggle against the right or "left" opposition inside the Party. First of all, in the struggle against the trade union opposition, there is no need to introduce the question of Party discipline, difference of opinion on the Party line, etc. The whole struggle must be carried on only on the questions of the trade unions, and the question of discipline must be kept within the limits of the statutes of the T.U. movement (which naturally presupposes a decisive struggle along Party lines against members of the Party who work in trade unions and resist the application of the Party line). In the trade unions more than anywhere else we need a stubborn and patient campaign of explanation among the masses and a struggle for each individual worker, etc. On the other hand, the internal life in the revolutionary T.U. organisations must be organised in such a way that every member of the revolutionary T.U. organisation who disagrees with a majority decision should be able to defend his views further within the limits of the rules. The struggle against breaches of T.U. discipline must above all be carried on by patient convincing. Disciplinary measures should be applied only in the most extreme cases and always on the basis of trade union democracy. Therefore in the struggle against the opposition in the midst of the revolutionary trade union organisations, we must more than anywhere else separate the leaders from the masses. The task of convincing the masses and isolating the leaders cannot be solved by sweeping charges of reformism or anarcho-syndicalism, but by insistent and patient explanatory work.

In giving these additional instructions to the decisions of the second international organisational meeting on the work of Communist fractions in the trade unions, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. instructs the C.C.'s to bring them immediately before the members, to organise their thorough discussion and popularisation in the party press, at Party meetings and in the Party schools and courses. In addition, all Party committees (beginning with the C.C.) and factory nuclei must make concrete decisions on the basis of these instructions regarding their immediate tasks in T.U. work and in future establish the strictest and most systematic checking up on the fulfilment of these directives and the decisions of local Party organisations which make them concrete. At the same time the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. demands a most decisive struggle to be carried on, and the use of organisational measures against those organs of the Party leadership which in future do not pay proper attention to T.U. questions. **Presidium of the E.C.C.I.**

Resolution of the Enlarged E.C.C.I. of 1926 on the Organisation and the Structure of the Communist Fractions in the Trade Unions.

1. The Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. endorses the instruction of the II. Org. Conference on the organisation and structure of the Communist fractions in the Trade Unions and recommends all Communist Parties to adapt the elaborated instruction according to the peculiar conditions of the Trade Union Movement in each country.

Model Directions for the Formation and Structure of the Communist Fractions in the Trade Unions.

Endorsed by the VI. Enlarged E.C.C.I. (See above resolution).

The following directions contain the principles in accordance with which the Communist fractions are to be formed by the Sections of the C.I. The varying structure of the trade unions and the varying degrees of development of the Communist Parties render it necessary that the Sections of the C.I. formulate special ways and means for adapting these directions to the special conditions in their country.

I.

The Role of the Fractions.

The Communist members of a trade union organisation and its organs (committees, conferences, congresses, etc.) must unite into a fraction and carry on active fractional work.

The Communist fractions work with all their energy to bring the majority of the trade union members under their influence. The more devotedly, practically, and energetically they know how to heed the interests of these members, the better they understand how to defend proletarian class interests in every way, in all spheres, and on all occasions, and to link up the fight for the immediate tasks with the fight for the final aim of the working class, the more easily will they succeed in gaining this influence. This Communist trade union work must be conducted within the framework of the statutes and decisions of the respective trade unions.

II.

Party and Fractions.

The Party members must keep in mind that the fractions are not the foundation of the Party and that they therefore can deal only with the questions of their special field of activity.

The success of the fractional work is dependent on the unity, solidarity, and discipline of all the members of the fraction. It is not the individual member of the fraction, often not even the fraction itself, but always the Communist Party as a whole that is held responsible by the masses of workers for the activity of the Communist fractions and for every remark of a member of a Communist fraction.

The Party Executive determines the political and tactical line of the Communist fractions, directs and instructs them, and controls their activity.

Important tasks of the fractions shall be discussed in the Trade Union Department in the presence of representatives of the fractions. In case of serious differences of opinion between the fraction and the Trade Union Department, the Party Executive shall decide the matter in the presence of fraction representatives. The decisions of the Party Executive must be carried out unconditionally by the Fraction. Non-fulfilment constitutes a breach of discipline.

Candidates for all Congresses, Conferences, and Committees shall be nominated by the Fraction Executive and approved by the proper Party Executive. If necessary, the Party Executive itself can nominate candidates.

The proper Party Executive is authorised at any time to correct or annul fraction decisions and to remove or appoint Fraction Executives or leaders. In such cases it is necessary to explain these measures to the members of the Fraction.

Within the limits of the general Party directives, the fractions deal independently with the questions of their inner life and their current work. The Party Executive shall not interfere unnecessarily in the daily work, and should give the Fractions all possible freedom of action and initiative.

The Fraction Executives are obliged to give regular reports to the proper Party Executive or to the proper Department and higher Fraction Executive.

III.

The Structure of the Fractions.

The Communist trade union work in the factories shall be carried on through the nuclei, and in the trade union organisations and organs through the fractions. No trade union fractions shall exist in the factories.

Trade Union Work in the Factories:

Trade Union work in the factories shall be conducted and controlled by the nucleus executive. The nucleus executive shall appoint one of its members as the director of Communist trade union work in the factory. In large factories, where the nuclei are divided according to departments, workshops or blocs, the nucleus executive shall also appoint chiefs for the various departments for the Communist trade union work. Departments in which no comrades are employed shall be taken in charge by comrades from other departments. Where several trade unions (various craft unions, or trade unions of varying tendencies, e. g., Red, Amsterdam, Christian, or others) are represented in one factory, one comrade from each union shall be appointed by the nucleus executive. These comrades form a trade union commission of the nucleus executive, to which other comrades, particularly the directors of the Communist trade union work of the factory departments, can be co-opted. As a rule, a representative of the nucleus of the Y.C.L. should also belong to this Commission. When meetings of the various trade unions take place inside or outside the factories, the director of Communist trade union work shall call together the comrades of the respective trade union to discuss tactics on the basis of the decision of the nucleus executive or of the higher Party Executive. In large factories the Communist trade union officials shall be called together by the nucleus executive for discussions whenever necessary.

The nucleus executive directs and controls the activity of the Communist trade union officials in the factory. It must see to it that in the factory's trade union elections those comrades are nominated as candidates, who are carrying on trade union work under the instructions of the nucleus.

The local fraction executives shall not, as a rule, maintain direct contact with the nuclei. This contact shall be made through the local Party Executive (through its trade union department or the trade union director). In special cases, in order to deal with definite problems (such as, for instance, the calling together of the trade union delegates of certain factories) these fraction executives can, with the approval of the proper Party Executive, deal directly through the nucleus executive with the nuclei.

In the Locals:

1. All Communist members of a trade union shall form fractions in the lower trade union organisation.

The following cases might occur in this connection:

a) When the territory of the trade union organisation covers several contiguous localities, one fraction shall be formed for the whole territory. When trade union meetings are held in separate localities of this sort, or in parts of the area of the local administration, the Communists belonging to that trade union shall be called together beforehand by the local Party Executive.

b) In towns where section organisations form the lowest trade union organisations and have committees, section fractions shall be formed.

c) When the trade unions are divided into branches according to craft, fractions shall be formed there also.

d) In towns where the delegate system prevails in the trade unions, the Communist delegates shall be united into a fraction. If the fraction of the delegate meeting is too weak, the directors of the Communist trade union work of the respective trade unions shall be co-opted to the fraction meetings from the factories which are not represented in the fraction meeting.

2. All Communists in the organs of the trade unions (executives, councils, etc.) shall form a fraction.

The Communist fraction of the local administration of a trade union at the same time form the executive of the Communist fraction in the respective union organisation. The following cases might occur in this connection:

a) In towns where the trade union is divided into sections which have committees, the Communist committee members shall form the fraction executive for the corresponding trade union section. This fraction executive is subordinated to the Communist fraction of the local administration.

b) The Communist members of the branch (craft union) committees shall form the executive of the branch fraction. This executive is likewise subordinated to the Communist fraction of the local administration of the trade union in question.

c) The fraction of the local administration is the Executive of the permanent delegate-meeting fractions.

d) When the forces of the local fraction executive of the trade union are insufficient, the fraction executive shall be supplemented by comrades who are elected in a joint meeting of the fractions of the branch committees, and town districts. If there are no branches in the respective trade unions, the election of members to be drawn in shall occur in a meeting of all the Communist trade union delegates from the factories. When this method is also impossible (too few delegates, etc.) the election shall be conducted in the full meeting of the local trade union fraction. This same method is to be taken when there are no Communists at all on the trade union committee in the local in question.

This applies to a), b) and c).

e) When the fraction executive is too large, it shall have a bureau composed of 3 to 5 members for directing the current work.

3. All members of the fraction shall be called together for a fraction meeting by the fraction executive whenever necessary but, in any case, prior to every meeting of the trade union in question. The carrying out of the directions shall be discussed here on the basis of the decisions of the respective Party executive. If for objective reasons the decision of the entire fraction cannot be formulated, the instructions of the fraction executive are obligatory for all fraction members in the meeting. Under all circumstances the comrades shall act and vote as a unit.

4. If the trade unions in a town are united in a trades council to which Communists belong, these shall form a fraction, which at the same time shall constitute the executive for all the fractions of the various trade unions in the locals.

The following cases might occur in this connection:

If no Communists belong to the trades council, or if the forces of the trades council fraction are insufficient or if no Communists represent important trade unions in the trades council, then - the Trade Union Department, or the chief for trade union work of the local Party Executive shall call together the fractions of the various trade union committees, in order to form or supplement an executive for all the fractions of the trade unions in the locality.

5. The work of the fractions of the local administrations of the various unions shall be conducted under the guidance of the local trades council fraction. The latter carries on its activity under the guidance and control of the Party executive. The Party executive can also establish direct contact with the fraction executives of the various trade unions.

In the District.

1. In the district committees of the various trade unions, the Communist committee members combine into a fraction.

This district committee fraction is at the same time the executive of all the local fractions of this trade union within the district.

The following cases must be taken into consideration in this connections:

a) If the forces of the district committee fraction of the trade union are insufficient, it shall be supplemented with the approval of the proper district Party executive, by members of the local administrative fraction of this trade union in the headquarters city of the district committee, or of suitable trade union officials who are living in the said headquarters city.

b) If there are no Communists in the district committee, either the local fraction of the said trade union at the district committee headquarters city shall exercise the functions of the district committee fraction, or such fractions shall be elected from among the trade union officials living in the headquarters city of the district committee by the Communist delegates to the trade union district conference where there are a sufficient number of Communist delegates and representatives of the locals, in agreement with the proper Party district committee, and serving until the next conference.

c) If the fraction in the district headquarters city is too weak, the headquarters of the fraction executive can be transferred temporarily to another place, where there are sufficient forces, in agreement with the Trade Union Department of the C.C.

2. If the district trade unions are united into a district trades council, on the committee of which there are Communists, these Communists shall form a district trades council fraction. This fraction shall constitute at the same time the executive for all fractions of the trade unions in the trades council area. It shall work under the guidance and control of the proper district Party Executives (trade union department). The district Party executive can also make direct contact with the district fraction executives of the various trade unions.

The following cases may occur in this connection:

a) If there are no Communists in the trades council, or if their forces are insufficient, or if there are no Communists representing the important trade unions in the trades council, the Trade Union Department of the District Party executive at the headquarters city of the trades council shall call together the fractions of the district committees of the various trade unions, in order to form, or to supplement the executive for all the fractions of the trade unions in the territory of the trades council, from among the Communist trade union officials, living in the headquarters city of the Trade Council committee.

b) The fraction executive for the trades council area can be elected, (provided there are a sufficient number of Communist delegates and local representatives), by the Communist delegates to the district trades council conferences. The fraction executive shall be elected in this manner for the period up to the next conference. This election shall be made from among the ranks of the trade union officials living in the headquarters city of the trades council, in agreement with the proper Party district executive.

c) If the boundaries of the trades council area of the trade union district do not correspond to the boundaries of the Party district, the fraction executive for the trades council or district area of the various trade unions shall be subordinated to that Party district committee, in the headquarters city or in the territory of which is located the district trades council or trade union committee. In this case the district Party committee shall take its measures with regard to the fractions, in closest cooperation with the other district Party executive involved.

d) A district trades council fraction executive can also be subordinated directly to the C.C. of the Party, when an adequate executive of the trades council committee fraction is not secured by the Party district executive at its headquarters (e.g. when there is no general Party committee in autonomous provinces).

On a National Scale:

1. The Communist members of the central executive committee of every union shall form a fraction, which at the same time is the fraction executive for the entire union.

The following cases may occur in this connection:

1. If there are no Communists in the central executive committee of the trade union, the fraction of the district committee of this trade union which is located at the headquarters city of such central committee, shall exercise the functions of the national fraction executive of the trade union.

2. The Communist fractions of the central executive committees of the various trade unions are subordinated to the Communist fraction of the Committee of the Trade Union Federation. The latter shall work under the direct guidance of the C.C. (Trade Union Department). The C.C. can also deal directly with the various national fraction executives.

The following case is possible in this connection:

In case the Communists are not represented in the executive committee of the Trade Union Federation (Central Council), the C.C. shall call together the Communist fractions of the national central executive committee of the various trade unions in order to form a central fraction executive.

Fractions in Trade Unions of Various Tendencies:

If there are trade unions of various tendencies in one trade (Red, Amsterdam, Syndicalist etc.), a fraction shall be formed in each organisation in conformity with its structure. It is also necessary to organise fractions in the Christian, Hirsch-Dunker, fascist, and company unions. For this purpose the Party organisation must try to win over members of these trade unions as Party members. In order to bring about a systematic, united action of the fractions of the trade unions of the various tendencies on definite occasions, the fractions, or the fraction executives of the respective trade unions shall be called together for joint discussion by the proper Party executive (Trade Union Department) according to necessity.

IV.**Relations of Fractions to Each Other.**

1. The fractions in the committees of the various trade unions in the district, as well as in various localities shall receive instructions on the one hand from the fractions of the central or district executive committee and on the other hand from the fractions of the district or local trades councils. The Party executives shall guide the work of the trade union fractions by sending their instructions to the proper (district or local) trades council fraction. On special occasions, or in cases where the direction of the fractions of the individual trade unions by the trades council fraction is made difficult the fractions of the individual trade unions can be guided directly by the Party executives in question.

V.**Fractions at Conferences and Congresses.**

The Party Executives shall thoroughly prepare (through elections of delegates, motions, etc.) for congresses, conferences and delegate meetings, through its organs (trade union departments and fractions executives). They shall call fraction meetings in advance, and guide and control the Communist work during the session. For the period of the Congress or conference, the fraction shall elect a bureau to deal with current work. The fraction bureau which is working under the leadership of the respective Party executive is politically fully responsible for its work to the Party Executive in question.

It is essential for Communists to maintain strict discipline and unanimity in their actions at the sessions, because the rank and file workers carefully follow the proceedings at such congresses and conferences, and hold the Communist Party responsible for anything said by individual Communists.

VI.**Fractions and Opposition.**

Every fraction is obliged to maintain contact with the non-Party oppositional elements of the trade unions. In order to make joint and unanimous action on important occasions

possible, conferences and meetings must be held with these sympathisers. This applies not only to important questions of principles (international trade union unity, for or against Soviet Russia, governmental questions, etc.) but also to wage movements, factory council elections, elections on local trade union committees or trade councils and national and international congress delegates. Previous to these conferences, Communist fractions must discuss all questions among themselves and decide on their tactics and the carrying out of same on the basis of the strictest discipline.

VII.

Financing Fraction Work.

The regular revenue of the Party organisation shall provide the means for fraction work. No special fraction dues are permitted.

VIII.

The Fractions of the Young Communist League.

The members of the Y.C.L. who belong to a trade union organisation must join the Communist fraction of the latter and participate in the fraction meetings. Moreover, the members of the Y.C.L. within the fractions shall be organised in youth fractions, which shall deal with the special questions of the young workers of the respective organisation. These youth fractions may have their own executive, and vice versa. The Communist youth fraction receives direct instructions from the proper Y.C.L. executives on the one hand, and from the Communist fraction executive of the respective trade union on the other.

The Communist fraction executive and all the fraction members are obliged to support the activity of the youth comrades constantly and systematically.

OUR PROBLEMS

A Survey of the London "Daily Worker"

By J. Shields.

The following is an attempt to present a positive criticism of the "Daily Worker" for the period from January to April. The purpose of this criticism is to contribute to the improvement of the central organ of the C.P.G.B.

If we compare the "Daily Worker" of this period with the publication issued before the Plenum of the Central Committee, we note **marked progress**. The paper is written in a simpler and more lively manner and contains more material. The number of worker correspondents has increased and the character of the letters show that they were written by worker correspondents who really live among the workers. Better attention, both as to quantity and quality, is directed to wage movements. For example, the campaigns for the Lightermen's strike as well as the Lucas strike were very well carried out. With regard to the wage movement in Burnley it must be pointed out that the paper and the organisations still have too little contact with the workers in the textile mills. The lessons of the strikes were taken up. In spite of the fact that progress was made in this connection, these lessons were still insufficiently dealt with (especially the lessons of Burnley). Here the worker correspondents and Party organisations should have been mobilised so that the greatest possible number of workers who participated in the strike could express their own opinions in the paper on weakness of the movement, etc.

The struggle against the **More Loom system** in the textile areas is taken up in the paper in a very general way. This reflects the poor contact between the Party and the textile workers and the extremely great weakness of trade union work in general and in Lancashire in particular. Furthermore, the strikes and wage movements of the seamen, railwaymen and building workers were taken up only in a general way.

As an outstanding weakness in dealing with the question of the textile workers' strike it must be pointed out that the role of the Party and of the M.M. as well as their participation in the strike is hardly mentioned in the paper. In general it must be said that practically nothing has been done to popularise the M.M. Likewise no attention is paid to the opposition

movements in the trade unions, although these are of the greatest importance.

A further defect consists in the fact that after the paper published well-prepared material on April 3rd on the preparation of the strike of the **Manchester tramway and omnibus workers** and printed an appeal of the opposition workers on the launching of strike action, absolutely nothing was to be found on this question in subsequent issues. There is even nothing to show why the strike action fell through. It was, however, very important, both for the Party and for the masses of street car workers, to study all the lessons to be learned from this action.

Although to be sure the number of worker correspondents has increased, very little was to be observed in the issues which were studied of any systematic handling of the enterprises on which the work was to be concentrated. Each of these enterprises must be systematically taken up in the paper and regular reports must be published on everything that goes on in these enterprises. It is surely possible to find one worker correspondent for each of these enterprises and to bring these correspondents together on a district scale for regular discussions, in which representatives of the editorial staff can participate. Moreover, the worker correspondents should be made to report on definite questions. On various occasions—in connection with wage movements, questions of taxation, rents, tariffs, etc., letters should be written to show "What the Workers Think", and in this way improve the reporting for a social point of view.

A great weakness, which was apparent in the numbers of the D.W. which were studied, is the absolutely inadequate handling of **the trade union question**, of work in the reformist trade unions. On this point the paper has not yet made a serious beginning for carrying out the tasks laid down in the resolution. In connection with strikes and wage movements, we have not yet made it clear to the workers what the stand of the Communists is with regard to the trade unions, the necessity for building up a big oppositional movement etc. Trade Union questions are often taken up in a superficial and slovenly manner, and in many cases the criticism is nothing but mud-slinging. We believe that the "S.E. worker correspondent" in the D.W. of May 31st, where he criticises the "Trade Union Notes", expresses correctly the views of many workers organised in trade unions.

The **unemployment campaigns**, which take up a great deal of space in the paper, show the following defects: The paper does not carry on any united front campaign for the establishment of Committees of Unemployed, it does not explain the purpose of these united front bodies, and its campaigns for immediate relief to the unemployed and for demands that work be provided, especially for those who have been crossed off the benefit lists, have been far too weak. Moreover, practically no attention is paid to the housing problem, high rents, and evictions, which are all questions of particular interest to the unemployed, but which are also burning questions for the masses of employed workers. This is of special importance, particularly because the I.L.P. and various trade union councils were carrying on a campaign for rent reductions, conducting rent strikes etc., while we practically ignored these movements. There was no political explanation in the paper of the resolution of the General Council of the T.U.C. to establish local unemployed organisations everywhere, and this resolution was absolutely underestimated. The campaign against the policy of splitting the unemployed movement as carried out by the trade union and I.L.P. leaders is not utilised in a convincing manner. The D.W. underestimates the significance of this attempt. A few words are not enough to make the workers understand what this means.

The struggle against the National Government is carried on in the paper weakly, and in an entirely unsatisfactory manner. The tax question is absolutely ignored. The situation is better with regard to the unmasking of the so-called democratic courts, an excellent occasion for which was provided by the sentencing of Horner and other comrades. Nevertheless, this was not done in a sufficiently convincing manner. In connection with **the Horner trial** it was an error not to have the paper print the speeches of the defendants and not to carry on a vigorous campaign for the rights of political prisoners. Moreover, the campaign against the high tariffs is not yet comprehensible or sufficiently popular. It would be a good idea here to bring up the most important tariffs and to show in a concrete manner just how they increase the cost of living of the masses and pile up profits for the various industries.

Furthermore, the struggle against high tariffs is not yet linked up sufficiently with the question of war. Definite neglect must be pointed out with regard to unmasking the policy of the British Government in India. It gives way to the anti-war campaign and the defence of China and the Soviet Union, instead of being linked up with these campaigns.

A further defect of the paper is the inadequate treatment which is still to be observed with regard to events in other countries, explanation of international relations, the work of the Communist Parties in other countries, etc. This is, however, absolutely necessary for an understanding of international questions.

The paper is carrying on a really intensive **anti-war campaign**. In this connection it can be said that the paper has never carried on such a concentrated campaign. The following weaknesses in the campaign, as observed in the issues of the paper which were studied must be pointed out. The great mass of British workers do not yet believe that the British Government is supporting Japanese imperialism and encouraging it to attack the Soviet Union, that England is likely to be drawn actively into every war in the Far East, etc. This fact consequently calls for a much more fundamental analysis of every step of British foreign policy and of its consequences. An example. On February 25th, under the heading "America's Sharp Threat to Japan", the Daily Worker prints the announcement about Stimson's letter. But this letter as a matter of fact was just as much a threat to England. This historic document provided an occasion for showing up the armament competition between America and England and for proving how the situation in the Far East had already shoved England into the centre of the war preparations, etc. But the Daily Worker gave merely a few semi-correct and inadequate phrases on the subject. These insufficient methods of unmasking British policy step by step are apparent also in the inadequate attention paid to every step of the Foreign Secretary in Geneva, the utilisation of the Parliamentary debates in the bourgeois press, etc.

To sum up the Daily Worker, which is really carrying on an active work of mobilisation against war, is written to a far too great extent from the standpoint that the workers already know what we must first explain to them very carefully and thoroughly.

Another question: The **struggle against pacifism**. We have in England a widespread pacifist movement among the workers and the petty bourgeois masses. The L.P., the I.L.P. etc. pay particular attention to the utilisation of these tendencies. The proposal has been made to form a so-called Peace Army. The first reaction of the Daily Worker was merely a few phrases, instead of using this proposal as the occasion for a careful unmasking of pacifism.

A further defect in the campaign is the poor contact between the campaign of the unemployed and strike struggles. (For example the lightermen's strike, the railwaymen, Burnley.)

The struggle against the L.P. and the I.L.P. has been undoubtedly adequate from the point of view of quantity. But this campaign has not always been conducted with sufficient care. The Daily Worker treats it much too lightly. For example, on February 25th the Daily Worker publishes an appeal of the Labour Party, the General Council of the T.U.C. and the Parliamentary fraction of the Labour Party on the situation in the Far East. It must be mentioned that such manifestoes are issued only in rare cases. What was the reaction of the Daily Worker to this appeal? On an inside page in an inconspicuous place, an article was published on this manifesto, which has not an incorrect line in it, but which is completely unconvincing to anyone who is not already a Communist. This is how the Daily Worker deals with this subject, instead of taking up every question touched upon by the appeal and giving a carefully worked out answer to the working class. This defect is typical in the campaign of the Daily Worker against the Labour Party and the I.L.P. When the editors of the Daily Worker unmask the policy of the reformists they see in their mind's eye the reformist leaders and not the workers who are under the influence of the reformist leaders, with whom it is necessary to discuss matters in a painstaking and patient manner. In combating the reformists the D.W. shows a marked weakness. There is too much postulation and too many conceptions are taken for granted, which still have to be proved to the mass of the workers. Thus for example when the I.L.P. published its appeal for the defence of the Soviet Union, the D.W. during the

first days did not take any stand on it whatsoever. A few days later this manoeuvre was disposed of in an article comprised chiefly of terms of abuse, with the thesis: "I.L.P. in the Service of Imperialism". In general it must be said that **the questions of the united front, and the winning and convincing of the broad masses are still handled in the paper in a very general and inadequate manner which is incomprehensible to the masses.**

The popularisation of the struggle of the two systems is excellent, so far as the popularisation of the Soviet Union is concerned. But there is no concrete **propaganda** in the D.W. for the revolutionary way out, for the propaganda of socialism in England, for the popularisation of the proletarian dictatorship, etc. The answer to hostile attacks against the Soviet Union is inadequate. It is neglected and these attacks are often met with insufficient arguments.

A marked defect of the paper continues to be a certain monotony. The D.W. does not know how to pick out special events in political, social and cultural life for carrying on a Communist criticism of capitalist society in an interesting and varied form. Perhaps it would be advisable to give more space to fiction. It would be a good idea to publish a good working class novel (for example "Barricades in Wedding").

In the Daily Worker there are many very valuable contributions dealing with Party life, defects of organisation, defects in the treatment of new members (for example from the Rhondda, South Wales, Lancashire and London), but the campaign for new members and for keeping the members who have been won over still gets far too little attention in the paper.

Occasionally very valuable proposals and observations are to be found in the letters of correspondents to the paper: For example: 1. Too many slogans, which has a monotonous effect. 2. The luxurious life of the bourgeoisie should be shown up. 3. There should be more general news, book reviews, radio criticism. 4. The betrayal of the L.P. and the I.L.P. must be proved always on the basis of concrete examples. 5. The paper must concern itself with the theoretical education of Party members. 6. Examples must be given of work during the world war, etc. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the editors pay far too little attention to these suggestions from readers, nor is anything to be found in the paper showing how these proposals can be carried out. The letters are published and in most cases the correspondence ends there so far as the editors are concerned.

It can be seen from the issues which were studied that a widespread editorial committee has been formed in **London**. However, there is no far-reaching statement with regard to the tasks of this committee, nor is any work to be observed in the direction of establishing such committees in other important districts. The popularisation of the findings of this editorial committee is inadequate. It must be brought out also that during these months there is absolutely nothing to be found in the paper with regard to the carrying out of the resolution of the Central Committee on bringing together and organising the worker correspondents, in London and the other districts.

Practically nothing has been done up to recently in the matter of guidance by the paper of the nucleus publications, although this is one of the main tasks of the D.W. Moreover, there is far too little space in the paper devoted to instructing the Party in mass work.

In addition to overcoming the errors and defects pointed out above and guarding against their repetition, the editors of the D.W. must concentrate their attention on the following main points:

1. The problem of building up a proletarian united front against the offensive of capital and to concentrate on war preparations and make the paper a vanguard fighter for this united front.
2. More systematic following up and treatment of the daily struggles of the working class and of political events, and the linking up of these questions with the struggle against war on the basis of concrete facts.
3. To carry on the unmasking of the reformists in a popular and convincing manner and to react immediately to all their important utterances.
4. To greatly increase the work of explaining the lessons of mass struggle and Party work, and in this way to educate the members for revolutionary mass work, also through the paper.
5. To constantly take up questions of work in the enter-

prises, the trade unions and among the unemployed from the standpoint of how the Party can build up and consolidate its position.

6. To strengthen and further consolidate the contacts with the masses by systematic work to build up and organise a network of worker correspondents (worker correspondent circles, permanent contacts between the editors and the worker correspondents, the organising of courses, "prompt answering of letters", and giving of advice, etc.).

Urgent Questions of the Work of the C.P. of South Africa.

(Letter from South Africa.)

By Johns.

By taking the path of organising and leading the mass struggle against imperialist slave oppression, and in the main having overcome the influence of the renegade groups of **Bunting**, our Party has grown into a big political force.

This is the tremendous significance of the change which has taken place in the Party in the last 2 or 3 years. But on this path, a number of mistakes have been discovered, arising from the limited experience of our Party and the newness of the path.

The situation in our Party is extremely serious. To a greater extent we begin to feel the danger of the Party being isolated from the masses of workers and toilers. The Party understands that if this isolation is not rapidly overcome, the Party will be converted into a small sectarian organisation estranged from the broad masses.

The isolation of the Party from the masses is expressed in the decrease in the membership of the Party from 4 or 5,000 to not more than 300 at the present time, and a reduction in the number of organised supporters of the Party. The trade unions in the African Federation of Trade Unions have greatly declined and have not yet emerged from the zone of decline. In the Red Aid and the Friends of Soviet Russia, almost only Party members remain.

There are comrades in the Party, among them even members of the leading organs of the Party, who have not seen the isolation of the Party from the masses, but on the contrary have even tried to count the loss of members and organised supporters as an advantage. One of them stated that "the fall of membership is the result of the steady campaign to raise the political level of the whole Party and also arises from sharp action against the Right wing which strongly existed inside the Party".

These comrades have also stated that this is not a loss, not an isolation, but a "process of cleansing the Party and forming real prerequisites for a genuine Bolshevik Party in South Africa".

These "Bolsheviks" have forgotten that a condition and prerequisite for the successful development of the Communist movement is ability on the part of the advanced Communist workers to strengthen and extend their contacts with the masses and not turn away from the masses to one side.

Our Party overcame the opportunist position and line of **Bunting** in its ranks, and under the slogan of the independent native republic, began to organise and rouse the masses for the struggle against Anglo-African imperialism.

The mass burning of passes in 1929, strikes in various parts of the country, the militant demonstrations of white and black workers in 1931, the mass resistance to the slave laws under the leadership of our Party, will pass into the history of the struggle of the toiling masses of Africa. In the process of this struggle our Party grew and strengthened, becoming a Party of black and white workers, an influential Party among the toiling masses of the country. During this period, the trade unions, the Red Aid and the Friends of Soviet Russia grew up and the circulation of the paper increased. We cannot call the fall of membership of the Party and the T.U.'s which took place in the last period a process of cleansing from opportunists. This is a libel on the past of the Party, on its revolutionary supporters. The Party has had a cleansing period—the period of struggle against the opportunist renegade views of the **Bunting** group. The rotten portion of the Party left the Party at that time together with Mr. **Bunting**.

The drop in the number of members of the Party and the Red trade unions is not a cleansing process but a divorce of the Party from the masses—such was the estimate of Communists. This separation must be overcome, and the reasons must be discovered which have caused it.

Of course this fact of the isolation of the Party from the masses must not conceal from the reader the successes of the Party, its ideological growth, its increased fighting powers, etc. The Party has got rid of the Right renegade group, carrying on a struggle against Right chauvinist opportunism in its ranks. This cleansing of its ranks from the right opportunists made it possible for the Party to move ahead.

The Party formed and trained a whole stratum of workers, native and white, who follow the Party, a stratum of proletarian revolutionaries.

The existence of this stratum makes itself felt in all the actions of the working class. This stratum of advanced workers is already so big and so strongly linked up with the masses that government persecution cannot destroy it. It should be counted as a tremendous historic achievement that there exist these thousands of advanced workers who are not Party members but who conduct the Party line among the masses.

Although the Party has now noted this isolation from the masses, this does not mean that the Party has no roots in the working class of South Africa. On the contrary, the mistakes of the Party and the distortions of its line, on the basis of converting it into a mass fighting proletarian Party, arose from its inexperience in leading the masses.

The essence of the position of the Party is that the unfavourable phenomena in the Party are the result of growth—difficulties of growth and maturing of a Communist movement which recognises its force and contacts with the masses. This is why the Party finds strength in itself to tell the workers openly of some of the mistakes which have partially led to isolation or may deepen it. Without giving way to panic, opposing everyone who tries to explain that the mistakes were made because the whole line of the Party was wrong and that we should not have been so energetic in the fight against the opportunists, the Party considers it an urgent task to point out its mistakes.

None of the members of the South African Party consider that circumstances in South Africa are unfavourable for the activity of the Party. On the contrary, all the decisions of the Party speak of the increasing suffering of the masses, the growth of the spontaneous resistances of the masses, strikes, etc.; this is the reason why the Government voted supplementary funds for the police and to replace the native police by white police. This is the reason for the unprecedented increase in the terror, but the terror is not against a broken revolutionary movement. No, the terror is trying to put a stop to the commencing upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

The isolation of the Party from the masses did not take place because the masses had become less revolutionary while the Party remained in its old position. The Party has not learned sufficiently well that a struggle for the Party line means a constant attraction of new fighters for the Party line, for its slogans, an extension of the front of the struggle. Overcoming the opportunist tactics of the renegade **Bunting**, the Party took the path of mass revolutionary action against the imperialist slave system of South Africa. In the practice of the mass struggle the Party verified its slogans and its activity, and it was inevitable that this new and difficult path—but the only acceptable path for a revolutionary party—was marked with mistakes. These mistakes were not deliberate and can easily be put right. A guarantee for the rectification of the Party line is the fact that we already understand the causes which gave rise to the isolation. In the practice of the Party, mistakes have been found during the last year on such big key questions as:

1. The forms of the mass struggle and the slogan of the direct struggle of the masses for an independent native republic.
2. The united front of white and black workers, the work of the trade unions and in the trade unions.
3. The struggle against white chauvinism and national-reformism and their manifestations in the ranks of the Party, the trade unions and organisations near to the Party.

(To be continued.)