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## The New War between Bolivia and Paraguay.

By Maggi.

Once again war is being waged without a declaration of war. This time the war is between **Bolivia** and **Paraguay**. Whilst the diplomats are still negotiating in order "to secure a settlement of the dispute", whilst the President of Paraguay is busy declaring that war is nonsense, the guns are already going off, and the troops of both countries are attacking each other, for the moment with changing success, but with many dead and wounded on both sides.

The quarrel concerns the ownership of the **Gran Chaco**, an extensive and uninhabited district which has proved to be rich in oil deposits and which therefore now plays a big role in the policy of the **American Standard Oil Company** which is operating in the **La Plata Zone**. In order to understand all the factors which are making for war it is necessary to know something about both the countries concerned, their colonial character and the other circumstances which facilitate an outbreak of war. The situation is complicated by fact that the conflict represents the outbreak of an armed struggle between the pound sterling and the dollar.

**Bolivia** has a population which is estimated at three millions. Two millions are native Indians and another half a million consist of half-breeds. The area of the country is as large as France, Germany and Great Britain put together. The main industry is the production of tin. Bolivia in fact occupies second place in world tin production. In 1929 the total income of Bolivia from export customs was 6.84 million "Bolivianos", and 6.5 millions represented the income from the export customs on tin alone.

Bolivia is a semi-colonial country which is dominated chiefly by U.S.A. imperialism. The total amount of foreign capital invested in the country is calculated by the "**Pan-American Union**" at approximately 200 million dollars, 123 million dollars of this belongs to **United States** capitalists, 43 millions to **British** capitalists, and 10 millions to **French** capitalists. U.S.A. imperialism has obtained a firm hold on Bolivia either by direct investment, to the extent of 61.6 million dollars of which forty millions are invested in the mines, or by State loans, to the value of sixty million dollars. British

capital is invested chiefly in the railways and to a lesser extent in the mines and oil fields, etc. The French capital is invested chiefly in the mines and a number of public institutions.

The three biggest undertakings (not including the railway line **Antofagasta-Bolivia** which is in **British** hands and is the best paying line in the whole of South America) are in **U.S.A.** hands. These three undertakings are the **Oil Company of Bolivia (Standard Oil)** which holds a concession over 30,000 sq. kilometres of oil lands, the **Patino Mining and Enterprise Corporation** which is managed by the Bolivian **Patino** who is the **Honorary President of the International Tin Cartell** and which represents a sort of State within the State, and then the mining undertakings of the **Brothers Guggenheim**.

The incredibly intensive exploitation in the mines is leading to the literal extermination of the native Indians. After one or two years slavery in the mines the Indian miners, who are subjected to a preliminary medical examination by the company doctors in order to make sure that they are able-bodied, are compelled to give up their work and return to their villages where they invariably expire miserably of consumption.

In the agrarian districts feudalist exploitation and positive slavery are prevalent. The owners of the big estates give each landworker a small parcel of land sufficient to maintain him. On his part the landworker, his wife and their children must work five or six days a week on the estate without any compensation. In the best case the man receives a few Centimos. In addition the landworkers are liable to onerous and unpaid personal service. Corporal punishment is prevalent and often leads to death or permanent injury. In addition, the *jus primae noctis* exists and flourishes despite the laws of the "democratic republic".

There also exist numerous Indian communities, remnants of the primitive patriarchal social forms which formerly existed. These communities are still being driven off their lands for various reasons, including the necessity of obtaining new labourers for the mines. As a result of this murderous oppression and exploitation of the native Indian population there are frequent Indian risings which often develop into widespread peasant wars. One of the biggest of these revolts was the rising of fifteen thousand Indians in 1928. Seven hundred were killed and over a thousand wounded.

The world economic crisis has also affected Bolivia and intensified all the existing inter-imperialist and internal differences. The chief sufferer from the crisis is the tin industry which is hard hit by the drop in prices and demand. At the beginning of 1927 the price of tin per ton was 325 pounds sterling, but by the beginning of 1932 it had fallen to 117 pounds sterling. In 1931 the export of tin from Bolivia was twenty per cent. lower than in 1930 and 33.7 per cent. lower than in 1929. Its value in 1931 (not taking the depreciation of the Bolivian currency into account) was 33.7 per cent. less than in 1930 and 69.13 per cent. less than in 1929. During the first quarter of 1932 this process of shrinkage continued, and the export of tin was 18.5 per cent. less than in the first three months of 1931.

The financial situation of Bolivia is catastrophic. Since the end of 1929 the government has not been able to secure any foreign loans. At the moment imports are 58 per cent. lower than in 1929 and exports 57 per cent. lower. Imports are on the same level as in 1904 and exports on the same level as in 1908. Bolivia's gold reserves which are almost exclusively deposited with foreign banks fell from July 1929 to May 1932 by 46.3 per cent. In 1929 the deficit in the Bolivian Budget was eight million Pesos. In 1931 the State income fell by 43.11 per cent as compared with 1929, whilst the Budget deficit rose to 35.8 million Pesos. At the end of May 1932 the Bolivian currency stood at 16 U.S. cents as compared with 36.50 cents before the crisis. As a result of this situation the Bolivian government was compelled to stop interest payments, to declare a moratorium, to prohibit free trade with foreign currency and to force all exporters to deliver up no less than 65 per cent of the foreign currency payments coming in to them for sales abroad to the Central Bank. A series of other and similar measures were also taken.

The severity of the economic crisis has intensified all the internal antagonisms and has led to many disturbances including the coup d'état in June 1930 when the dictator **Siles**

was overthrown, to struggles in the ranks of the bourgeoisie and within the present Cabinet, to military mutinies (in September 1931 and May 1932), to demonstrations of the students and the impoverished petty-bourgeois elements, and to strikes of the teachers, the post and telegraph employees, etc.

The working class is still weak and the leadership of a revolutionary class party is missing. In all towns, with the exception of the mining centres **Oruro** and **Potosi**, the handworkers are very strongly represented in the ranks of the workers. The trade unions are for the most part anarcho-syndicalist and are under the direct influence of the petty bourgeoisie. Small **communist groups** exist here and there in Bolivia, but there is no centralised, organised Communist Party.

In these circumstances the Bolivian bourgeoisie is seeking a way out in war. The main aims of this war are: a) to secure access to the sea by shifting the frontier southward to meet the navigable river **Paraguay** and thus to obtain a waterway route to **North America** and **Europe**; b) to secure the industrial exploitation of the oil deposits in the **Gran Chaco**; c) to consolidate relations with the **United States** by securing the Gran Chaco oil for the **Standard Oil Company** and to secure financial assistance either in the form of new loans or in the form of payments on account of the future yield of the Gran Chaco oil fields.

**Paraguay** has only about 800,000 inhabitants and is considerably smaller in extent than Bolivia. The loss of the Gran Chaco would be a severe blow to Paraguay, particularly in connection with the timber industry (the "**quebracho**") is of considerable importance as it yields an excellent tannin). Numerous railway lines have been constructed by the forest companies from the forest areas to the **river Paraguay**. The most important logging operations are conducted just in those areas of the Gran Chaco which are near to the river Paraguay.

The economic system in Paraguay is still very little developed. Most of the factories are in the hands of **Argentine, British, French** and **U.S.A.** capitalists. The total industrial capital investments are only 70 million dollars, and the greater part of this sum is invested in agricultural undertakings, cattle-breeding, and in the "**gerbamate**" plantations (the tea of the South Americans). British investments (not including investments outwardly in Argentine hands) are estimated at from fifteen to twenty million dollars and are for the most part in the Central Railway Company of Paraguay and in a number of agricultural and cattle-breeding undertakings. French investments total about five million dollars and are chiefly in the banks and cattle-breeding. U.S.A. investments total about 12.5 million dollars and are in agricultural, cattle-breeding and forestry undertakings. An unusual circumstance for a South American State is that not one single loan has been floated in New York for Paraguay.

Paraguay's foreign trade is closely connected with that of the Argentine. The economic crisis began in Paraguay in 1930 as a result of the fall of the Argentine Peso which serves as means of payment for Paraguayan foreign trade. A contributory cause of the economic crisis in Paraguay was the fact that the customs duties were increased in those countries which are Paraguay's customers, and in consequence Paraguay was compelled to reduce its imports. In 1931 imports from the four chief countries trading with Paraguay fell by an average of 43 per cent. Imports from Great Britain fell by 50 per cent., from the United States by 42 per cent. from the Argentine by 41 per cent., and from Germany by 39 per cent.

As a result of the increase of the customs duties on imported goods by from 10 to 40 per cent and the increase of the burden of taxation prices began to rise whilst at the same time the salaries of the employees were lowered by from 10 to 20 per cent. Trade is stagnant. The difficult economic situation has produced numerous protest demonstrations chiefly on the part of the hard-hit petty bourgeoisie. Insurrectionary attempts have taken place in **Concepcion**, and student movements took place in the capital in 1931 and led to the resignation of President **Guyziari**, etc.

President **Guyziari** and his successor **Ayala** are known as agents of U.S.A. imperialism, but as a result of the pressure brought to bear by **British** interests and by the petty

bourgeoisie (in which intellectuals, students, etc., play a leading role as a result of the fact that they enjoy influence over the trade union organisations of the workers) the **Liberal Party** to which both Guyziari and Ayala belong, is compelled to adopt as the first point of its program a "fight to the death" to defend the Gran Chaco and to represent this as "the highest duty of the government and the people".

The **Communist Party of Paraguay** is still very weak.

# The Attempt to Form a Cabinet with Hitler a Failure for the Present.

By **B. Steinemann** (Berlin).

For the present Hitler's direct participation in the German Reich Government has not been accomplished.

Hindenburg, **Schleicher**, and Papen were ready to give the National Socialist Party the post of a Vice-Chancellor, to be combined with the functions of the Reich Commissioner for Prussia, further the Reich Ministry for Home Affairs and a few other ministerial positions. Hitler however demanded the "definite leadership" of the Government, the position of Reichs Chancellor, and besides this the most important of the other ministries and for himself, in his own words "the same position as that of Mussolini after the march on Rome", the whole governmental power, especially plenipotentiary powers for any desired dictatorial alterations in the constitution, and the giving of militia status to the Storm Detachments. These demands for dictatorial autocracy on the part of the National Socialist Party were rejected by Hindenburg and Schleicher.

The decisive sections of the German bourgeoisie represented by Schleicher-Hindenburg are in favour of **Hitler's direct participation** in the Government, in order that in face of the ever acuter economic catastrophe the utmost stress may be laid on capitalist policy, on intensified exploitation, on relentless fascist suppression and sharper imperialist foreign policy. Schleicher's idea has been to **collaborate with Hitler**, but with Hitler **co-ordinated**, in carrying out the social reactionary emergency orders and dictatorial measures necessary for the maintenance of capitalism. But Hitler and the leading sections of the German bourgeoisie backing him up did not deem it advisable to give the whole power into Hitler's hands, for they fear that the reply to this would be the **growth of the indignation of masses** to a pitch rendering it difficult to carry out the measures of social retrenchment, whilst the overthrow of the Hitler regime might greatly endanger the whole capitalist system.

Hitler for his part refused to entertain the proposal that the National Socialists should accept lesser—though still important—ministerial positions, for he fears to **lose his mass influence** by being made openly responsible for the measures of social retrenchment. Could he have the complete leadership of the Government, with unlimited dictatorial authority, the matter would be different.

The failure of the negotiations sharpens the class antagonisms, but at the same time it sharpens the differences among the groups and parties of the bourgeoisie. At the moment it is not possible to foresee the Governmental developments.

But the course steered by the Schleicher-Papen dictatorship against the working masses is very plainly to be seen. The course is a Hitler course—without Hitler in the government. The "Montag", issued by **Hugenberg**, now the closest ally of the Papen Government, states that even before the elections the Government had drawn up an "economic program", which has "been worked out almost to the last detail". This program contains the following items among others:

"Relaxation of wage agreement policy... 're-organisation' of unemployment assistance... extension of voluntary labour service and settlements".

A number of the Monday papers report that the government has drawn up a bill for a law abolishing the franchise

Actually it consists of one little group only which has only a very limited influence on the trade unions.

The imperialist antagonisms, the bitter competition of the capitalist interested in the Gran Chaco, and the nationalist excitement of the student and petty-bourgeois elements all make for war, "a holy war of national defence against the perfidious attack of a stronger country at the orders of Standard Oil", as the petty-bourgeois press puts it.

for working youth—possibly between the ages of 21 and 23—under the title of "state reform". The bill includes a proposal for a second chamber, a sort of Upper House, in order to render the Reichstag even more of a dummy than it already is.

At the same time the Government is ready with **fresh measures against the anti-fascist movement**. On 12th August police searches were carried out on a gigantic scale in **Berlin, Essen, Königsberg, Hannover, Frankfurt on the Maine, Breslau**, and many other places in Prussia, in the premises of the Communist Party and the revolutionary mass organisations. In many towns outside of Prussia, **Hamburg** for instance, these searches were carried out by large detachments of police. But neither the caches of arms expected by the authorities or anything else of importance was found. The searches in the houses of the functionaries too brought no result. There can be no doubt that further and sharper measures must be expected.

It is characteristic that the **Special Courts** created, so we are told, "against terrorist actions", have commenced their sessions with the trial of 25 **Reichsbanner** workers, **C.P.G.** members and **non-party anti-fascists** with reference to the conflicts between Nazis and workers in **Ohlau (Silesia)** three weeks before the election. But the trial of the **Storm Detachment Nazis** who brutally murdered the communist agricultural worker **Pietzuch** a week ago has been postponed till 17th August, and is to be postponed again for two days.

The promised seizure of power, which the deceitful promises of the Nazi press have held out as the starting point for the "Third Empire" of milk and honey, has once more failed to come to pass. "We are sick of hanging about the public houses, and we don't want to have our bones broken—it is doing not good to anybody"—thus the indignant Storm Detachment men at the present juncture. Hence it is easily comprehensible why Hitler has given the Storm Detachments "ten days leave of absence". He wants to give the disappointment time to cool down. The session of the National Socialist parliament members, fixed for 15th and 16th August in Berlin, has been indefinitely postponed. Hitler is trying to gain time. Meanwhile the Nazi Party is making fresh efforts with a new edition of impudently foolish demagogic declarations.

**Social Democracy** is trying to lay its hands upon the ever more radical trends in the working class by assuming "radical" gestures, and to pacify the indignation of the social democratic members shown so vividly in tempestuous interjections at the Berlin functionaries' meeting held last week. The Reichstag fraction of the **S.P.G.** has prepared motions to be submitted to the Reichstag, dishing up once more the deceptive slogan of 1919: "Socialisation is advancing".

The **Communist Party** continues its anti-fascist action. The **Anti-Fascist Factory Week** fixed by the **C.P.G.** runs from 15th till 21st August, having for object the stressing of the decisively important slogan of the present second stage of **Anti-Fascist Action**, the slogan of Anti-Fascist Action concentrated on the workshops and factories. Almost daily there are strike movements, though scattered at first, in the factories and factory departments, against the wage cuts and against Nazi terror.

## POLITICS

### The Struggle of the Spanish Workers Against the Monarchist Putsch.

By V. Arroyo (Madrid).

At 8 o'clock in the morning of the 10th August General Sanjurjo took possession of the town of Seville by a coup d'état. He then issued a manifesto proclaiming himself governor of the province of Andalusia. Immediately after the militarist coup the Communist Party and the Trade Union Council in Seville which is affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions, issued an appeal to the workers to form a united front in the struggle against the monarchist putschists. At midday the general strike was proclaimed, and numerous demonstrations marched through the streets of Seville shouting: "Down with Sanjurjo! Down with the Civil Guard! Long live the Workers' and Peasants' Government!"

The answer of Sanjurjo to the general strike was the publication of a proclamation to the workers ordering them to return to work at once and threatening them with trial by Court Martial in case of non-compliance. The only result of this proclamation was that the anarchist and social democratic workers decided to join in the general strike called by the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions (which are dominant in Seville). The revolutionary workers elected a Committee of Public Security, and in the meantime fighting began on the streets between armed workers and the putschist troops. The resistance of the working class in Seville was so determined and powerful that Sanjurjo realised that the game was up and fled from the town. He was later taken prisoner by the government troops in Huelva in whose hands he felt more secure.

After the fight of Sanjurjo the revolutionary workers of Seville demanded the immediate release of all workers imprisoned by the socialist-republican government. The Civil Governor of Seville replied that he was not competent to order the release of the prisoners, whereupon the workers organised a huge demonstration in front of the prison. The answer of the Civil Governor was to order the troops and members of the Civil Guard who had previously sided with Sanjurjo to proceed against the workers. This they did, and fighting again took place and the workers threatened to set fire to the prison. The government then informed them that he would do his best to secure the release of all the prisoners.

At six o'clock in the evening a great united front demonstration took place at which an anarchist, a socialist and two communist speakers addressed the masses. This demonstration was organised by the Trade Union Council of Seville, and ten thousand workers took part in it and unanimously adopted the following demands: 1. The trial of Sanjurjo by a Special Court consisting of workers and peasants; 2. the immediate release of all the arrested workers and peasants; 3. the immediate re-opening of all the trade union houses closed down by the government; 4. the disarming and dissolution of the Civil Guard; 5. the arming of the workers and peasants; 6. complete freedom for the proletarian press; and a number of other demands.

The attempt of the socialist press to steal the credit for

### Three Executions in Saloniki.

Athens, 14th August 1932.

Three national-revolutionary Macedonians, Theodor Manos, Georg Paraskevopoulos and Stoyan Balakos, have been executed in the prison of Saloniki. They were charged with having killed a Greek spy named Tsantevsky. During the trial Theodor Manos admitted that he alone had killed Tsantevsky. However, the court refused to be balked of its prey and sentenced all three to death.

The Central Committee of the Greek Section of the International Red Aid has issued a strongly-worded appeal against the murder of the three Macedonian national-revolutionaries by Greek chauvinist judges.

the determined resistance offered by the workers to Sanjurjo and the statement that the general strike took place at the instance of the socialist deputies represents a grotesque misrepresentation of the real facts. The deputies in question left Madrid only on the evening of the 10th August and arrived in Seville after the fighting was over and Sanjurjo had fled.

When the news of the putsch became known numerous protest demonstrations of the workers took place in the big towns. In Granada the demonstrating workers set fire to the houses of a number of well-known monarchists and also to a number of churches. The demonstrating workers stormed the gunsmiths and fought the police and the Civil Guard. Four persons were killed and many wounded. In Barcelona, Bilbao, Corunna, Madrid and other towns the workers demonstrated under the slogans of the Communist Party against the monarchist putsch and against the cowardly passivity of the socialist-republican government. The slogans at these demonstrations were: "Down with the reaction! Arms for the workers and peasants! Long live the United Front! Long live the Workers' and Peasants' Government!"

### British Imperialism Declares Economic War on Irish Free State.

By Joe Troy (Dublin).

After the general election held during February of this year, Eamonn De Valera, the leader of the petty-bourgeoisie Party Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny), became the President of the Irish Free State. The Cosgrave Party, representative of the bankers, big industrialists, shipping interests and the ranchers, was dethroned, and the national reformist De Valera obtained a small majority of seats for his party.

The rise to power of De Valera, who had led the Republicans in the civil war against the Free State Government, set up as a result of the Treaty of Surrender in 1921, but who of late years had conducted a "loyal opposition" inside the Parliament, was a result of the wide spread discontent, arising from the ravages of the severe economic crisis, among the masses of the workers and farmers, and the lower sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In particular it was an expression of the growing anti-imperialist movement which Cosgrave had tried to exterminate by means of a vicious coercion act.

The new Government immediately it came into office, was faced with two tremendous problems, both of which it had to attempt to find a solution for, within the confines of Capitalist propriety. In the first case it had to attempt to satisfy some of the demands of the masses who had voted it to power, particularly in regard to the 100,000 unemployed and the acute housing shortage, and at the same time to consolidate the position of the small native industrialists, whose interest it particularly sponsored. This De Valera attempted to do by the imposition of high tariffs on almost one hundred different articles and the introduction of a demagogic Budget, which while it failed to satisfy the demands of the masses, aroused the fiercest hostility of the larger capitalists. This failure has, however, been overshadowed, by the extent of the hornets nest which the De Valera Government has succeeded in arousing, in the attempt to solve the second big problem.

This was no smaller a task than a complete readjustment of the relations with British imperialism, in order to free the country from the burdens of imperial tribute and to canalise the growing anti-imperialist movement into constitutional channels.

In this attempt De Valera immediately came into sharp conflict with the British National Government. The points in dispute are as follows:

The De Valera Government passed a bill abolishing the oath of allegiance to the English King which was made compulsory for all members of the Free State Dail, by the Treaty Settlement of 1921. The British imperialists state that this is a violation of a "solemn obligation".

Secondly, De Valera refused to hand over to the British Government the sum of 3 million pounds sterling, which represents the annual payment of the so-called land annuities. These annuities arose out of the land war at the end of the last century, when the British Government found that, owing to the sharp agrarian class war, the landlords were unable to collect their rents without risking their lives. To save their landlord friends, the British Government advanced some 200 million pounds to the peasants. This was to be paid back

over a period of 69 years, plus the interest accruing. While collecting this money from the peasants, De Valera refuses to hand it over to the British government.

Thirdly, the British Government demands 2 million pounds a year for the payment of **pensions** to the police, judges and court officials, who had been the instruments of British rule in Ireland, prior to the 1921 treaty.

Fourthly, De Valera has raised although in no determined manner the whole question of the artificial boundary between the industrial **North of Ireland** and the predominately agricultural **South**. This division of country imposed by British imperialism, means for the people of Ireland the upkeep of two separate Parliaments, between them costing over 40 million pounds a year, for a small population of less than 4½ million people.

These are the immediate issues.

In the correspondence that took place between De Valera and **J. H. Thomas**, the British Secretary of State for the Dominions, **De Valera** states in reference to the tribute payments:

"They put a greater burden on the people of the Irish Free State, than the burden of the war reparations payments on the people of Germany, and relative to taxable capacity a burden ten times as heavy as the burden of the people of Britain of their debt payments to the U.S.A."

Further, De Valera pointed out:

"British maintenance parties are still in occupation of some of our principal ports, even in the area of the Free State. The coastal defence is still retained in British hands."

This statement provoked a reply from **Lloyd George** in the British House of Commons, which completely unmasks the pretence that the Free State is a "free" Dominion, and lays bare the real attitude of British Imperialism towards Ireland.

"We had the experience of the War", he stated, "when the coasts of Ireland were the deadliest trap for our ships. If the coast of Ireland had then been in the hands of an Independent Sovereign State, we might have been done for, and we are not going to take that risk."

And so, in order to maintain British Imperialist domination of Ireland, especially in view of the importance as a war base, in the preparations for an imperialist war on the Soviet Union, or an inter-imperial conflict, the National Government of Britain, led by the Social Democrats **MacDonald** and **Thomas** has declared an economic warfare on Ireland. A 20% tariff has been placed on the import of Irish Free State goods to Britain. The ports of Dublin and Liverpool are at a standstill, so far as Anglo-Irish trade is concerned De Valera having replied by the imposition of a counter tariff British goods.

When it is realised that 90% of the trade of the Free State was formerly done with Great Britain, while the volume of British Imports to Ireland represents only about 5% of Britain's total trade, it can easily be seen where the advantage lies in this warfare. Meanwhile hundreds of workers are being disemployed on both sides of the Irish sea.

How do the Fianna Fail stand up to all this display of the mailed fist by Thomas and Co.? Do they boldly fling the challenge of the imperialists in their teeth, and call on the wide masses of the workers and peasants to mobilise for action against the aggression of Imperial Britain and for the complete independence of Ireland? No! In this situation they show the vacillation typical of National Reformism. Afraid of setting the masses in motion lest they go too far, they limit themselves to putting on counter tariffs, thus choosing the battle ground most favourable to the imperialists, and so far as the Land Annuities are concerned, have limited the question down to the composition of a Tribunal which is to "sell out" the claims of the workers and peasants. At first demanding an "outside the Empire" tribunal, De Valera now seems willing to submit the question to arbitration by an "inside the Empire" tribunal, if the "principle" of an "outside Tribunal" is admitted.

On the question of the complete independence of Ireland from British rule, De Valera states that he is prepared to accept an Irish State

"with some form of association with the British commonwealth, in some circumstances, and for some recognition of the King as head of the Commonwealth".

In Home Affairs, the De Valera Government shows its reactionary character clearly. The sending of police against

the strikers at **Kilrush**, and to evict a poor peasant at **Kin-nity** in **Offaly**, and the retention of the secret police brought into being by Cosgrave are only on a par with its impudent demand that the peasants should pay the Land Annuities to the Free State Government to be held in a suspense Account pending arbitration.

And what of the **Labour Party**? The "Royal" Irish Labour Party that sat at the right hand of **Cosgrave** while he murdered the workers and peasants of the anti-imperialist movement? They now come forward as "patriots". While giving slobbering lip service to the struggle of the masses against the Oath and the Land Annuities, **Norton**, leader of the Social Democrats, runs to and fro from London, and vainly seeks to arrange a compromise along with his allies in the **British Labour Party**. He is a fitting match for **George Lansbury**, who with his hands crossed on his breast, calls aloud to the Pope, the Chief Rabbi, and the Archbishop of Canterbury "to stop this senseless squabble" and never even mentions British imperialism. In the Free State Senate the Irish Labour Party failed to vote against a reactionary amendment that suspended the operation of the Oath Bill for eighteen months.

Meanwhile, inside the Irish Free State, and in Northern Ireland the capitalist crisis continues to take its toll among the masses of workers and small farmers. Section after section of the working class is subjected to wage cuts and dismissals. The small farmers are finding the job of getting an existence out of their holdings increasingly difficult. Mass emigration has turned to immigration of those who have lost their jobs overseas. This is reflected in an evident increase in the radicalisation of the masses. The total of days lost through strikes has increased greatly, and the action of the masses against British imperialism and Irish capitalism is being demonstrated in action. Already De Valera has been forced to declare a moratorium on all "arrears" of Land Annuities.

Mass demonstrations of 10,000 at **Dublin**, and 7,000 at **Cork** took up the challenge of British Imperialism and declared for "Not a penny for British Imperialism", "No compromise" and "For an Irish Workers and Peasants Republic". In Britain itself right in the heart of **London**, 5,000 British and Irish workers demonstrated to the Police Station, after the arrest of speakers at a meeting in Hyde Park called to protest against the actions of British Imperialism.

The "**Revolutionary Workers Groups**" (preparing for the formation of the **Communist Party of Ireland**) are fighting for the development of a broad united front of the workers and small farmers, and the revolutionary elements in the **Irish Republican Army**, for the development of an independent movement of the masses against British imperialism, to counteract the vacillation of the petty-bourgeois leadership and to ensure success in the struggle. Only by a mass movement of the toilers to force forward the struggle on the plane of a struggle for the complete independence of Ireland under a Workers' and Peasants' Republic can success be achieved. Putting forward slogans of "Neither Oath nor Empire", "Not a Penny Tribute to British Imperialism", or "Mass refusal of Small Farmers to pay Land Annuities" and "For the Unity and Independence of Ireland under a Workers' and Peasants' Republic", the R.W.G. are giving leadership to the struggle.

All these events have a great significance for the international working class movement for three main reasons:

Firstly, because the conflict between British Imperialism and the Irish Free State, actually taking place during the Ottawa Conference, exposed the real role of Imperialism in relation to the Dominions and Colonies, and gives a tremendous impetus to the National liberation movement, particularly in India. Secondly, because of the tremendous emigrant population of Irish in Britain, in the U.S.A. and in the Dominions which can be won over to Communism. The third reason is best explained in the words of **Lenin**:

"A blow directed against the British Imperialist bourgeoisie by a rebellion in Ireland is a hundred times more significant politically than a blow of equal force delivered in Asia or Africa. The dialectics of history is such that small nations important as independent factors in the struggle against imperialism act as a ferment, as one of the bacilli, helping to bring to the surface the real force against imperialism, namely, the Socialist Proletariat."

Such is the historic significance of the present events in Ireland.

## The Australian Bourgeoisie and Ottawa.

By W. O. (London).

The Australian Delegation to Ottawa under the leadership of **Bruce**, have already demonstrated that they have gone to Canada to place demands before the Imperial Government.

The effect of the crisis in consolidating the bourgeoisie of Australia around the slogan of "Australia First" is emphasised all the more clearly in the fact that **Bruce**, who has been known principally on account of his strong pro-British attitude in the past, should be made the leader of the delegation.

That Australia has been very severely shaken as a result of the crisis there can be little doubt when we examine the figures in production of the two chief items of export. Already the price of wool had fallen from 25.5 pence per pound in the 1927-1928 season to 8.2 pence per pound in the last season, representing a drop of 66%, but we find the price movement continues downward, and the **Melbourne "Age"** of May 9th is quoting greasy wool (chief export line) at 7.48 pence per pound.

Wheat prices during the same period have fallen from 5/6 per bushel to 2/5½ per bushel.

An examination of total export quantities and values for these commodities are even more striking when we remember that farm products constitute 95% of Australian exports.

### Wool Export.

1927-28	740,000,000 lbs.	£ 65,000,000
1930-31	814,000,000 lbs.	£ 32,000,000

Despite an increase of 74,000,000 pounds in quantity we see a drop of over 50% in the total value of the export of wool. The same tendency is shown in wheat exports as follows:

	Yield	Per Bushel	Value
1927-28	118,199,375	5/6	£ 31,895,000
1930-31	212,878,669	2/5½	£ 25,088,000

The increase in these commodities for the latter year was due to a great extent to the nation-wide "grow more wheat" campaign of the government; Australia was only saved from an unprecedented glut of these commodities because of increased demand arising in conjunction with the war operations in the East coupled with the fact that the collapse of wool prices stimulates a demand from countries almost exclusively using cotton previously.

The transport services (railways) which are entirely state owned have witnessed a growth of losses by 100% in a period of three years; the deficit of £ 5,274,585 in 1928 grew to £ 10,561,095 in 1931.

All other industries have been severely hit and building and construction has been almost completely suspended.

### Role of Australian Bourgeoisie.

Despite considerable investment of British capital in Australia the local bourgeoisie have rapidly pushed forward to a dominant place since the war.

Not only did the war itself assist Australian imperialist expansion into the East and provide for the annexation of former German territories **Papua, Nauru, New Guinea** but also provided the basis for the expansion and development of Australian industries and the independence of the Australian bourgeoisie.

The rate of this development may be seen as follows:

Production	Year 1917	Year 1928	Year 1929-30
Agriculture . . .	£ 59,641,000	£ 89,440,000	£ 77,109,000
Pastoral . . . . .	£ 91,979,000	£ 116,733,000	£ 84,563,000
Manufacturing . .	£ 65,327,000	£ 159,759,000	£ 149,184,000

We see that though agriculture increased by 27%, pastoral by 50%, there was an increase of 140% in manufacture.

The Australian bourgeoisie have no intention of relinquishing their dominant position and with the first shocks of the crisis a policy of vicious suppression of the working class was introduced and prohibitive tariffs were imposed on all imports with certain preferences to Britain. At the same time the Australian capitalists began to turn more sharply to the East in search of possible new markets for their products.

### National Governments and Britain.

The policy of exceptional treatment for British imports no longer holds good and despite the modifications in tariff

policy by the present government Britain still finds little access to the formerly profitable Australian market.

The veiled threats of Britain against the exports of sections of the Empire failing to give her "favoured treatment" have not been misunderstood in Australia and have served only to place the Australian bourgeoisie on the **qui vive**.

The Australian capitalist class have shown that on the questions of suppression of the working class and the colonial peoples and in imperialist war preparations they are in full agreement with Britain.

Australian capitalism, however, demands a still more aggressive policy towards the **Soviet Union** and disagrees with the open British support of **Japanese imperialism** which runs counter to Australia's imperialist aspirations in the **Pacific**.

Australia also disagrees that her industries should be curtailed as a concession to Britain in return for the share, already enjoyed, of the British market, on the contrary the Australian bourgeoisie point out (**Melbourne "Age"** May 19th), that already they were giving to Britain in 1930 preferences to the extent of £ 10,000,000 and receiving in return preferences of less than £ 1,000,000. The same editorial warned the Australian delegation to Ottawa that any attempt made by them to sacrifice any portion of Australia's interests would call forth the widest repudiation.

The Australian bourgeoisie are chiefly concerned in Ottawa as a place where they may press their claims for a levelling up of preferences and particularly they demand that this be secured by the exclusion of **Argentine** and **Russian** exports from the British markets.

These are not the only claims that Australia will put forward but vigorous attempts will also be made for a complete revision of the whole question of war debts and behind the declarations of their "honourable intentions to pay" the Australian capitalist class are demanding that the amount now payable to Britain shall be considerably lowered.

Australia attends Ottawa in a spirit of "co-operation" for Australia's benefit and the many demands of the latter are sure to find such a cold reception as will only help to accentuate the differences now existing.

### Ottawa and the Australian Workers.

Despite the many points of disagreement which exist between the Australian bourgeoisie and the Imperial Government we can say quite definitely that upon the issues on which there is agreement the closest of collaboration will be maintained.

Before departing from Australia, **Bruce**, leader of the Australian Delegation, in a speech to the **Commercial Travellers Association** in **Melbourne** said:

"The eyes of the world will be on Ottawa because it will be the starting point of an attempt to rehabilitate a great section of the world."

The workers of Australia and the Empire have realised so fully what the master class mean by "rehabilitation". It is just under this slogan that the most vicious offensive has been waged against the workers, commencing with the period when **Bruce** was Prime Minister, carried further forward by the **Scullin Labour Government** and again being pushed still further by the **United Australia Government** in which **Bruce** again plays a leading part.

This policy of wage cuts has been pursued by **Labour, National United** and "**Left**" **Labour Governments** alike, and the workers everywhere have suffered wage cuts amounting, in most cases, to almost 30%, to aid the "rehabilitation" of Australian leadership. It was under such a slogan of "rehabilitation" or the reorganising of the coal industry that the "**Left**" **Labour Government of New South Wales** brought forward its vicious fascist Coal Bill for the smashing of the mine workers' conditions and the bloody suppression of strike struggles in the coalfields; probably **Bruce** will learn how to do this more effectively by taking lessons from the massacre of miners of **Estavan** in Canada carried through by **Bennett**.

The same "**Left**" **Labour Government**, under the cloak of similar propaganda supplemented by the slogan of "Save the people's railways", managed to "fire" 5,000 busmen and pass the extra work (without extra pay) onto the railwaymen and tramwaymen whose conditions they had already considerably worsened.

Under the same slogan the **United Government** would "rehabilitate Australia's credit" by a further drastic wage cut

for all workers and by a wholesale application of forced labour in the ranks of the half a million unemployed.

"Rehabilitation" when applied internally, interpreted in simple proletarian language, must be understood as meaning wage cuts, longer hours, forced labour and suppression for the workers, the last point is emphasised in the passage of the recent amendments to the Arbitration, Immigration and Crimes Acts to provide for wholesale jailings and deportations; again "Empire Co-operation" should provide Bruce with the experience of the Canadian bourgeoisie in the latter form of terror.

#### Growing War Preparations.

Ottawa, however, is not only a place where "unity" will be secured in the drive against the Empire masses, but a place where the Empire bourgeoisie hope to plan a capitalist way out of the crisis at the expense of other sections of the bourgeoisie.

Just as "rehabilitation", as "a way out of the crisis", means war on the workers when applied within the Empire, so also does it mean war when applied as a policy by the Empire bourgeoisie in their foreign relations.

The attack of the capitalist class against the workers, for "rehabilitation" of their position has led to open struggle and a heightening of the class war in all parts of the Empire.

In the same fashion that the attack on the workers led to an intensification of the class war so will the attack on the position of other imperialist groups lead to an intensification of imperialist war and plunging of the world into new slaughter expeditions.

The Australian bourgeoisie are conscious of this, and the past years have seen a steady strengthening of their naval, air and land defences and in their grave concern for "adequate" defence at **Singapore**.

"Rehabilitation", then, even allowing for the disagreements between the Australian bourgeoisie and the Imperial Government at Ottawa, will mean a strengthening of the attack upon the workers and the further development of war preparations.

#### Tasks of the Revolutionary Movement.

It becomes important that the revolutionary movement of Australia should carry through the widest exposure of the Ottawa deliberations and prepare the workers for struggle against the new offensive on wages and strengthen our class position in the struggle against the growing danger of war.

In this campaign we must expose the role of the "Labour" leaders including the "Lefts" who attempt to disarm the workers by saying that nothing will come of Ottawa. Particularly we must expose the N.S.W. "Lefts", who instead of exposing the meaning of Ottawa, gave formal approval by their objection only to the "method of appointment of a so-called Labour representative."

The revolutionary movement of Australia will succeed in defeating Ottawa to the extent that they play a leading role in the day to day struggles of the employed and unemployed and are able to initiate mass action under their leadership and in the strengthening of the **U.W.M.** and in the building of a mass **Red Trade Union Section**.

**Ottawa means wage cuts and war. Down with Ottawa!**

## The War

# Victorious Advance of the Chinese Red Army Against the Campaign of the Imperialists and the Kuomintang.

By T. H.

Shanghai, End of July.

The fifth campaign for the annihilation of the Reds, organised with all available means and with desperate energy on the command of and under the pressure of the imperialists, by all Chinese militarists and the Kuomintang politicians, has been broken through successfully by the Red Army. At the end of June and the beginning of July the First and Second Army groups gained great victories in **South Kiangsi** and **North Kwangtung**. The Kwangtung Army—more than six divisions—on the front here has been completely dispersed by the Red Army.

The bourgeois newspapers report that the First Kwangtung Army Corps (three divisions) has indeed been three quarters wiped out. Eight district towns have been taken by the Red Army, and now it is marching direct on the terminus of the South line of the Canton-Hankow Railway, **Shaochow**. The Third Red Army Group has defeated the Szechuan Army on the Yangtse, and is proceeding to attack the treaty port of **Shasi**. The Fourth Red Army Group had the stretch of railway between **Sinyang** and **Kwangshui** of the Hankow-Peiping Railway in its hands at the beginning of July, but withdrew from this position for strategic reasons, in order to strengthen its occupation of the important towns of **Lotle** and **Matchen** (East Hupe). The soldiers of the hostile 30th and 31st divisions of the Kuomintang Army here, formerly under **Feng Yu Hsiang**, executed their officers and came over to the Red Army. The 16th Red Army Corps is about to undertake an attack on the Wuchang-Changcha Railway in **South Hupe**. The 10th Army Corps has penetrated into **North Fukien** and **West Chekiang**.

The Red Army, after shattering the fourth Kuomintang campaign in Fukien, had the district from Lungyen to Changchan (in the vicinity of Amoy), that is, the whole of **South Fukien**, in its hands. In **Anhwei** it gained the whole Western part of the province. At the beginning of the fifth campaign the Red Army had withdrawn its forces from this newly conquered region, that is, it had moved from South Fukien to Kiangsi again, and from West Anhwei to **South Honan** and **East Hupe**. The object of this strategic movement

was not only the defence of the old Soviet districts, but the unification of the separate Soviet districts in the provinces of **Fukien, Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupe, and Honan**, the creation of direct contact with these districts. The latest victories have accomplished this in part. The **C.P. of China**, the leader of the Red Army, aimed hereby at creating the pre-requisite conditions for the defeat of the fifth campaign of the counter-revolutionaries, and for the victory of the revolution first of all in some of the provinces of China.

In the past struggles against the Kuomintang campaigns it has been a great disadvantage to the Red Army, and to the population of the Soviet districts, that they not only possessed no **war aeroplanes** of their own, but were not even able to defend themselves against the bombing aeroplanes of those attacking them. Now various bourgeois newspapers report that Kuomintang aeroplanes have been shot down by the Red Army. At the same time it is reported that both fighting and observation aeroplanes of the Red Army have been seen at the centres of the struggle. On 29th June the "**Sin Wan Pao**" stated that three Red bombing aeroplanes were operating within the range of the second Red Army group in the districts of **Liuyang** and **Wantsai**. On 15th July this same paper reported that a squad of Red aeroplanes was frequently to be seen in North Kwangtung. In the **Oyühuang** District, where the town of **Matchen** is besieged by the Red Army, Red aeroplanes make scouting flights and drop leaflets (14th July, "**Ta Kung Pao**"). Hence the Red Army has overcome its weaknesses with regard to air attacks and air defence.

The present campaign is being participated in by the imperialists, directly, as far as possible. They finance it in every possible way, for instance in the form of the Boxer compensation fund, in the form of railway building loans, factory equipment loans, irrigation loans, famine aid, increased salt tax, poppy cultivation preparations, tacit agreement to the Chinese opium monopoly and to the re-introduction of inland taxes in different forms; and finally they support the collection of funds for the campaign against the communists, among the Chinese living in their countries and colonies. They compete in supplying arms to their generals. The

Kwangsi Army has purchased a large number of aeroplanes in Annam; the Americans supply dozens of aeroplanes to the Nanking and 19th Armies; during the last few months the military rulers of Canton have bought arms to the value of more than 12 million dollars in Hongkong; according to official British reports, several thousand aeroplane bombs were sent to China in June.

The visit of the British Commander in Chief of the Far East Fleet to Hankow was followed by that of the French. The Americans sent their Military Attaché from Peiping to the fighting front at Honan. In May, after the evacuation of Shanghai by the Japanese, the army of the imperialists in Shanghai alone numbered 14,000 men (the volunteer troops not counted). All foreign trade steamers on the sea coast of South China and on the Yangtse have been technically equipped for war purposes. The Japanese trading ships have been subordinated directly to the command of the navy. Between Hankow and Shanghai alone there are about 20 Japanese war ships. The "China Times" of 19th July reports that the Japanese even intend militarising the river police on the Yangtse, and have already sent about 80 officers from Japan for this purpose.

The imperialists are hence completely armed for the campaign against the Red Army and the Chinese Soviet Republic. The Chinese toiling masses must exert their utmost efforts in their present struggle against the fifth campaign of the imperialists and of the counter-revolutionaries. **The aid of the international proletariat is of paramount importance,** and this must take up the struggle against the imperialists at home, in order that the Chinese workers and peasants may be helped to victory against this decisive fifth campaign.

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### United Front Against the "Civilisation" of Annihilation.

(For the International Anti-War Congress  
on 27th August 1932.)

By Marcel Cachin.

When it is desired to impress the masses with the cruelties of the coming war, vivid descriptions are usually given of the disastrous effects of the use of **poison and suffocating gases**. But frightful as the effects of chemical war are, and the horrors of the various poisonous gases, still it must be stated there are **other** inventions of up-to-date science, placed at the service of war, whose effects bear witness to the same horrible brutality of modern warfare.

The forms and character of war are being completely changed by the enormous developments of modern fire-arms. And here not only the chemical industry is involved, but the heavy industries and the whole metal industry.

In 1918, at the end of the war, an American infantry division was equipped with 960 **machine guns**. In 1932 this number has been almost doubled. At that time a machine gun weighed 53 kgs. This weight was excessive. To-day Fiat makes machine guns weighing only 13 kgs. and firing 500 shots per minute. The aeroplane machine guns only weigh 7.5 kgs. to-day.

We observe steady development in the same direction in the **artillery**. By the end of the last war the artillery was able to hold a section chosen as target under intense fire. Before **Verdun**, the Germans had over forty batteries with four guns each on very kilometre of ground. In 1918 the troops at the front were firing three hundred and fifty times as many shots as in 1914. The concentration of the fire was so intense that no living being on the ground under fire could escape death.

The latest reports show us that since then the artillery has again made gigantic progress. The 1918 models are obsolete everywhere. This applies both to light and heavy artillery. The light guns carry fourteen kilometres, whilst the up-to-date "Bertas" carry from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty kilometres. This completely changes the

traditional principles of strategy and tactics. The destructive power of these new monsters has increased by more than tenfold. This is the accelerated advance of imperialist "civilisation".

The same progress, if it may be named progress, is observable in the **motorisation of the armies**, especially in the development of the machine guns mounted on the motor car platforms and more especially of the tanks, which were still in the first stages of development at the close of the last world war.

To-day **tanks** are being built weighing seventy tons, capable of crossings rivers, ditches, fields, and shell holes without difficulty. Their speed varies between twenty five and sixty kilometres per hour. They accommodate in their interior fifty men, dozens of machine guns and light cannon, and are indeed travelling fortresses. There are other tanks, lighter and more mobile. There are tanks intended for spreading gas and sending out smoke curtains. In **France** the number of men trained for tank service is already 20,000. In **Great Britain** a single motorised brigade comprises 2000 men, 1500 tanks, tankettes, armoured cars, and six wheeled motor cars, equipped with hundreds of cannon and machine guns.

In every sphere capitalism continues its policy for the destruction and annihilation of human beings. In **Geneva** it drew its mask of hypocrisy over its face once more. But in its arsenals, factories, and workshops, whether these be state or private, it accumulates the material for a massacre beyond all imagination. The coming **International Anti-War Congress** will certainly draw up the balance sheet of these general preparations, and expose the perspectives opened out for the peoples.

After making these facts clear, the Congress on 27th August will have to draw up the directives for action. It will have to face the actual state of affairs and resolutely dispel all illusions. There is no hope of peace so long as the capitalist state of society exists. No other action but that of the working masses, including the soldiers and sailors, can put an end to capitalism, and to the wars which follow capitalism like its shadow. **There is no other method but the united front of the proletariat in every individual country and in all countries!** This is the only way to the difficult but certain victory!

### The Ruegg Trial Again Proceeding.

Shanghai, 15th August 1932.

The proceedings against Paul Ruegg and his wife Gertrud were re-opened on the morning of the 11th August. The accused protested once again against the incapacity of the official translator and demanded the changing of the venue to **Shanghai**. The court again refused this request and maintained its refusal to permit the accused to choose their own defending lawyers. The two accused then declared that they would refuse to take any voluntary part in such a legal farce other than reserving the right to make a concluding speech.

The court declared that as no sufficient proof could be obtained concerning the nationality of the accused they would be regarded as persons subject to Chinese law and not to consular jurisdiction. A series of documents were then presented. These documents were allegedly found in the home of the accused and are held by the prosecution to prove that the accused maintained connections with the **Communist Party of China**, the **Chinese Red Armies** and the **Chinese Soviet Government**.

**Paul Ruegg** demanded the right to examine the documents and declared that they should be examined also by handwriting experts. This the court again refused to permit. Ruegg also pointed out that amongst the "documents" were letters allegedly from district organisations of the Communist Party of China to its Central Committee. These letters had been written on a typewriter in German and bore no signature. These facts made no impression on the court which declared that "undoubtedly" the documents proved the activity of the accused to the detriment of the Chinese Republic. A make-shift translation of the protocol of the proceedings which took place on the 5th July was then read by the translator. The accused pointed out that it was full of errors and refused to sign it. They demanded an accurate translation into English in writing. The proceedings were then adjourned.



## The Labour Movement

# The Social Fascist Strategy of Betrayal in the Belgian Mass Strike.

By F. Coenen (Brussels).

On July 9th the great strike of the working masses in Belgium commenced. Beginning in the miners' settlements of **Borinage**, it carried along with it all the proletarians of the industrial undertakings of **Hainaut**, and spread to **Namur** and **Walloon Brabant**. 200,000 proletarians from the mines, from the smelting industry, the glass factories, the quarries, etc. stood in one fighting front against the bourgeoisie and its state, against the policy of want and starvation. The movement threatened to penetrate to **Brussels**, to seize upon **Flanders**. The reformist leaders, the betrayers and enemies of the movement, were incapable of restraining it and damming it back.

The bourgeoisie and its government, after sending almost all available forces of the gendarmerie and soldiery—almost exclusively **Flemish** troops—to the strike districts, soon arrived at the conviction that very powerful aid must be given to **Vandervelde**, **Delattre**, and to all their reformist confederates in the labour movement, now being set aside and whistled down by the strikers.

In view of the impotence of the reformist leaders, the gendarmerie and police received orders to make use of their arms. In **Charleroi**, **Marchienne**, **Roux**, **Peronne**, and **Borinage**, workers were killed and injured. But the soldiers commanded to fire upon the strikers rebelled. They refused to shoot. The striking workers, who had erected barricades, and demonstrated in the streets with the support of their wives, greeted their class brothers in uniform with the utmost enthusiasm, and fraternised with them.

The bloody aid lent by the gendarmerie and police in the urgent need of the reformist leaders, anxious to fulfil their duty towards the employers, was continued. The secret service mobilised the whole apparatus of the police, searched hundreds of meeting places and houses—especially where communists were to be found—and threw dozens and dozens of revolutionary workers into prison on the classical charge of having organised a "conspiracy" against the security of the state.

The division of work among the reformists and the Governmental forces is plain. Whilst the reformers of the police and gendarmerie are active on the one hand, on the other **Vandervelde**, **Destrée**, **Wauters**, and other social fascist traitors are sent to the strike districts to preach "peace and order" to the workers there, and to assure them that the parliament will arrange everything. But the social democratic messengers of the starvation policy have been given the reception they deserve from the workers. The workers have whistled them down and driven them away. They have been obliged to flee under the protection of the gendarmes of his Royal Highness, the while machine guns have terrorised and dispersed the masses. In Liège social democratic emergency squads—the so-called "workers' militia"—aided by the armed forces of the state, undertook the task of beating back the masses rising in protest against the intrigues and treachery of their trade union leaders.

At this juncture the Labour Party and the Trade Union Commission believed that the capitalist offensive had paved their way to a fresh public appearance. They announced: "Enough of this bloodshed! We are on the side of the strikers, against the government, against the industrialists, against the bankers, against the agitators!" A cynicism truly scarcely able to be surpassed!

Whilst the strike movement continued to spread—being joined by the miners of **Limburg**, the smelting workers of the **Brussels** and **Ghent** districts, the canal building workers of **Mons-Charleroi** and the workers of a number of different undertakings—a great manoeuvre was started in Parliament by the bourgeois and social democratic deputies and their government. Only one single voice was heard in opposition to the savage railing of the enemies of the

workers, the social traitors, only one voice proclaimed solidarity with the strikers and barricade fighters, the voice of the **Communist Party** and its deputy **Jacquemotte**, who hurled the fighting slogans of the workers in the faces of the opponents from the rostrum of the Parliament, and appealed for the struggle against the "government of murder against the workers" and its accomplices.

Meanwhile the comedy staged by the three bourgeois parties continued. **Delattre** described the want and poverty of the miners, and found himself obliged to combat some of the conditions for the resumption of work which he himself had put forward and signed . . . for a Damocles' sword hung above him. The **Christian Socialists**, represented by **Bodart**, **Pullet**, and minister **Heyman**, **Liberalism**, represented by **Devèze**, ex-minister of state and member of the board of control of the coal companies of **Borinage**—all these declared themselves ready to have justice done towards the "justified demands" of the strikers, but at the same time they congratulated the government on the energy which it had shown towards suppressing the strike. M. Devèze turned to the social democratic leaders with the words:

"Those who have made the emergency of the moment clear to the workers for two years are entitled to our confidence and respect."

The final act of the comedy was formed by the congratulations addressed by **M. Vandervelde** to his Clerical and Liberal allies, and the announcement that the **Mixed Mining Commission** had come to an agreement, and an agreement might be presently expected for the smelting industry, the quarries, etc.

The sitting ended with a vote of confidence in the government, the social democrats abstaining from voting. Another vote—against the vote of the communist deputy—assured "satisfaction to the strikers and the working class".

From this moment onwards the bosses in the Trade Union Commission and the Labour Party issued the call for the resumption of work on 18th July, as "all the aims of the strike had been attained".

What followed is well known. The miners were so little satisfied that they refused to recognise the treacherous agreement made on their behalf. The smelting workers resumed work, for they had been told that the planned wage cut had been withdrawn, whilst in reality it had only been postponed. The quarry workers were simply deceived, and told that wages were to remain unchanged till March 1933, although the employers stated that they knew nothing of such an arrangement. For other branches of industry the wage cut was postponed till November.

It need not be said that all the employers will attempt to withdraw every concession made under the pressure of the mass strike, that they are still on the defensive for the reason that the miners are continuing the struggle, and have meanwhile rejected the third treacherous agreement proposed by the reformist leaders with the employers, and have declared the general strike.

The meaning of the manoeuvres of the reformist leaders and the government are stated plainly in the "**Indépendance Belge**", the journal of the ex-minister of war **Dens**. In the number for 30th July we read:

"It may be useful to remember that the trade unions were pushed aside from the beginning, and that their manoeuvres consisted—from the moment when the safety measures were adopted and order restored—of the endeavour to guide into their own channel the movement which had escaped their control. These manoeuvres have succeeded beyond all expectation, thanks to the aid of the government."

The mass strike in Belgium has brought the working class a great political and moral victory. Though it has not attained all its aims, and the government and its allies, the social

democrats, have succeeded in isolating the miners in their struggle at least for the moment, still the strike of the masses is a victory of the program and the revolutionary militant methods of the **Communist Party** and the revolutionary organisations. The treacherous policy of "sacrifices" and "lesser evils" promoted by the social democrats, their lying theory of the "impossibility of economic struggles in a period of crisis"—all this has been dealt a severe blow.

The mass strike has made a breach in the policy of "social peace" advocated by the social democrats. It has shown hundreds of thousands of workers that the social democratic leaders are the allies of the employers, and has torn the mask from the faces of those **Trotskyist** adventurers who have steadily combatted the correct policy of the **Communist Party** and the **Trade Union Opposition**—that of initiating the economic struggles over the heads of the reformist leaders. As faithful servants of the bourgeoisie, the Trotskyists still remained "observers" even after the strike had spread from **Borinage** to **Central Belgium**. And it must be observed that they strongly opposed the efforts of the revolutionary workers to extend the movement.

The bourgeoisie has recognised the fact that the Communist Party of Belgium, though still small, represents a power in combination with the masses. It fears that the Communist Party may utilise the confidence which it has won in this historical strike and may further influence the miners' strike. Hence it intensifies its persecution of the communist workers, hoping to intimidate by their terror those who have not yet been thrown into prison. This is to be a further aid to social democracy in "getting its troops in hand again".

The Communist Party is marching forward, in spite of many weaknesses, in spite of objective difficulties in the way of its work. Its chief organ, the "**Drapeau Rouge**" ("**Red Flag**"), repeatedly prohibited by the authorities, not permitted

to be sold at the railway stations, persecuted even in the persons of those selling it, who are actually hunted down, has doubled its circulation since the beginning of the strike, and is appearing twice a week at present instead of once. Several hundred new members have joined. New nuclei have been formed in the industrial districts.

The **Revolutionary Miners Opposition** and the whole **R.T.U.O.** have recruited more than 2000 new members. The great weakness of the Opposition still lies in its work in the reformist trade unions, although a strong spirit of opposition exists among the workers organised in these unions, against the treacherous leaders.

The **Central Committee of the Communist Party**, that is, those members of it who are still at liberty, held an important session with delegates from the districts on 7th August, analysed the events of the last few weeks, and placed on record that the line pursued by the Party, in spite of all the errors and faults which have been permitted to slip in, has been correct in general. This session further laid down the tasks of all members, especially in the field of trade union work, enabling the Party to utilise the actually great possibilities offered it at the present time for becoming a mass Party, the leader and organiser of the fighting unity of the working class and all toiling masses.

The general strike of the miners continues. Its appeal for a general strike of the whole of the industries has, of course, been rejected by the Labour Party and the reformist trade union leaders. But the fighting determination of the broadest strata of the working class is so firm that partial movements recur again and again, and may develop into a general movement ensuring the complete victory of the miners and the whole working class in this first great battle against those burdens of the economic crisis which the bourgeoisie and social democracy are endeavouring to thrust upon the workers.

# The Industrial Situation and the Trades Union Congress.

By R. Bishop (London).

In one form or another new large-scale capitalist attacks are being launched against a number of the most important sections of the working class—the cotton workers, the railway workers, the road transport workers and the unemployed, whilst the new food taxes which promise to be the fruit of Ottawa constitute an attack on the standards of every worker.

Early in **September** the **Trades Union Congress** is to meet at **Newcastle**, and it is already obvious that its role will not be to organise resistance to the capitalist offensive but to ease the task of the capitalists in carrying it through.

Already the bureaucracy are manoeuvring to prevent the attendance at the Congress of militants; only those delegates are wanted who will help to keep the Congress safe for capitalism. Known members of the **Communist Party** and of the **Minority Movement** are barred, and the individual unions, like the **British Iron and Steel Trades Confederation**, are refusing to accept the nomination of their own members who are also members of these revolutionary bodies.

How the Congress is normally constituted can be seen from the following analysis of last year's delegates, who totalled 589 in all. Of these: 115 were General Secretaries of unions, 16 were Members of Parliament, 252 others were full-time officials.

This gives a minimum of 383 full-time officials, at a minimum, with a maximum of 206 rank and file workers, part-time local officials etc.

This was a perfectly normal delegation, but this year every effort is being made to ensure an even more complete predominance of the official reformist elements.

No doubt the T.U.C. will make verbal reservations about tariffs, but it will do nothing about the fight against them, except to do their utmost to sabotage it.

In a recent **declaration on tariffs**, the T.U.C. declared:

"The new tariff policy of the present Government is not yet in operation, and we do not desire to pre-judge the results it may have; but we are obliged to point out that

it does not appear to differ from the tariffs in operation in other countries, and therefore we have no reason to expect better results than those tariffs have given." (**Tariffs and World Trade.**)

From beginning to end no attempt at organising the growing anger of the working class against tariff robbery!

As with tariffs, so with war. The T.U.C. have already admitted the danger of the war in the East turning into a world war. On March 24 this year a statement was issued declaring:

"Wars cannot be localised—British lives and property are already in danger—the range of their influence cannot be limited."

Despite this admission no action was taken under the powers already possessed to waken the workers to the war situation and to organise resistance to it. Yet a paragraph of the **Standing Orders of the General Council** lays it down:

"In order that the trade union movement may do everything in its power to prevent future wars, the General Council shall, in the event of there being a danger of an outbreak of war, call a Special Congress to decide on industrial action, such Congress to be called, if possible, before war is declared."

Despite the Congress' admission that the war danger was a reality, the **Special Congress** was never called, nor was any other action taken. **Ernest Bevin**, a leading member of the T.U.C., instead went out of his way to declare that he would not ask the dockers, members of his union, to refuse to load munitions. Since then the Congress has issued a statement against the **World Anti-War Congress**, declaring it to be "a Communist manoeuvre", and urging unions not to participate.

Meanwhile, what of the industrial situation with which the Congress will be confronted? The two largest railway companies in Britain, the **London Midland and Scottish** and

the **London and North Eastern**, have just concluded a pooling agreement, a further step in their long record of rationalisation, by means of which "overlapping of services and undue competition will be avoided", stations and depots cut down, staffs reduced etc.

The companies concerned themselves admit that this will mean a reduction of at least 40,000 in the existing staffs, on top of the fact that the personnel employed in the railway service has been reduced in the past ten years by no less than 147,870. In addition to the dismissal of 40,000 workers, the pooling scheme means the transference of thousands of other workers with pay reductions, and the de-grading of status of many others.

In the first seven months of the present year the British workers have lost £153,300 weekly in direct wage cuts, yet the T.U.C. delegates are recommending at **Ottawa** that steps be taken to ensure the raising of price levels and are doing nothing to combat the wages offensive at home.

In the **Lancashire cotton industry**, the three year struggle of the weavers against wage cuts and more-looms is once more coming to a head. Already 25,000 weavers in **Burnley** and **Earby** are on strike; the rest of the cotton area is in a ferment to join them. The cry of "All Out" is on all lips in Lancashire, and the workers have only been held back by the pusillanimity of the leaders of the cotton unions, who despite a ballot vote heavily in favour of strike action, have been negotiating with the employers for wage cuts, and only now, after a fortnight of struggle in Burnley and months of struggle in Earby, are reluctantly considering sanctioning strike action throughout Lancashire, under tremendous mass pressure. 200,000 weavers are effected, and a similar attack is pending on an equal number of spinners.

In **London**, the workers on trams, buses and tubes are threatened with wage cuts. The votes in the branches have been overwhelmingly in favour of strike. But the joint committee of seven unions with members working on the tubes, has accepted the employers' terms. The London District Committees of the two key unions, the electricians and the Locomen, have, however, rejected the terms, and are already organising a strike committee. On the buses, the branches have overwhelmingly rejected the idea of any wage cut. On the trams, the union has accepted, but there is wide spread opposition from the rank and file. Thus we see in all the London transport undertakings, the workers are anxious for struggle, but the bureaucracy is extending its dead hand to hold them back from struggle.

As with the employed so with the **unemployed**. In face of the growing revolt of the workers against the **Means Test**, the T.U.C. has had to declare itself in opposition to that measure. But in actual practice that "opposition" has worked in sabotage and splitting. Every attempt of the unemployed to form united front organisations has been opposed and splitting organisations have been formed in order to fight—not the Means Test and the capitalist State, but the **National Unemployed Workers Movement** with its long record of militant struggle.

With all these vital questions confronting the industrial workers, the T.U.C. does not propose, if it can avoid it, to discuss any of them. Instead it is concentrating on "larger issues of policy", such as "Public Utility Corporations", "Public Control of Industry" and—the question of a fixed Easter!

But while the leadership is trying to stifle action, the Congress represents three million workers prepared to fight to the last ditch in defence of their standard of life.

No lead to fight tariffs, no lead to render support to the Burnley strikers, no lead to fight against the Means Test or against war—this is the attitude of the **General Council**, and of this fact there is a growing realisation among the rank and file workers.

Resolutions are pouring in on the trade union executives demanding that the matter be raised and that the T.U.C. break with the policy of co-operating with the employers which is now in operation, and organises the struggle of the working class against wage cuts, unemployment and war.

These resolutions from the branches are being followed up by the organisation of a mass workers' delegation to attend the Congress and make their voices heard.

The leadership of the T.U.C. wish to stifle the voice of the rank and file, but steps are being taken to ensure that it shall be heard, both on the floor and outside the Congress hall.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### To the Enslaved and Oppressed Peasants of India.

The revolutionary workers of the whole world send fraternal greetings to the toiling and exploited peasants of India, who are rising up in a revolutionary struggle against their oppressors—the British imperialists, the Indian landlords and the capitalists allied with them.

The life of the Indian peasantry is filled with bitterness, want and the wretchedness of a serfdom bordering on slavery. With the help of the gallows, the prisons and the army, the British imperialists strangle and rob, while their chief supporters, the landlords and the usurers, suck the blood of the working masses, and following in their footsteps come the British capitalists, all of whom are together attempting to demolish the toiling masses of India.

Even during the last century the exploited peasantry of India mercilessly raised in Decan the banner of revolt against their exploiters. During the past years the number of local and isolated uprisings has increased. The toiling masses have not forgotten the Moplah uprising. But now the peasants of Burma have been carrying on for eight months an armed insurgent struggle against the imperialists and local exploiters. Following their example the oppressed peasantry of Kashmir, suffering from the domination of a feudal prince, landlords, usurers and imperialists, are also in revolt. Why is it that the uprisings in Moplah and elsewhere, and the struggle of the peasants in the United Provinces, Punjab (Akali), Bengal (Kishoreganj), Madras and other regions were put down, and why is it that the peasantry has not succeeded in gaining even slight improvements?

The peasant risings were put down because they were uprisings of unorganised masses, uprisings without definite **clear political** demands, that is, without demanding the complete overthrow of the yoke of imperialism and without demanding the confiscation of all the land of the landlords and usurers, and a change in the **governmental** structure. The peasant uprisings were put down because they were not organised and **not prepared in advance**. They were put down because the proletarians and toiling masses of the rural districts were not yet allied with the proletarians of the towns. These are the reasons why the peasants did not succeed. A successful struggle of the peasantry requires a close alliance with the revolutionary workers in the towns. In order to succeed it must be consciously revolutionary, prepared in advance and extended throughout all India.

In 1919—22 the peasant masses launched a struggle. But the bourgeois National Congress, which had the confidence of the toiling masses, betrayed them and disorganised them because the peasants were beginning to avenge themselves on the landlords and usurers and ally themselves with the workers in a real fight against the police and against the imperialists. Owing to the betrayal of the National Congress the peasants and workers suffered defeat. The Congress non-violence agitation is nothing else but direct help on their part to the British imperialists and has the purpose to prevent, to disorganise revolutionary struggle of the peasantry for independence and land.

In 1930—31 the toiling masses, desperate and worn out with suffering, rose up once more against national injustice and slavery conditions. And again the bourgeois National Congress, headed by Gandhi, Nehru, Bose, Abdul-Caphar-Han, combating the peoples' revolution is once more attempting to help the British plunderers crush the workers and peasants of India and, disguising themselves in pseudo-radical phrases, to avert the peoples' revolution for independence, land and a workers' and peasants' government. The bourgeois National Congress in fact assisted the British imperialist robbers to collect rent and taxes in U.P., Gujerat and elsewhere.

The toiling masses of India have reached the point where they cannot endure this suffering any longer. The workers and peasants do not want to die from serfdom without protest and without resistance, but the peasant masses of India must understand and apply the lessons of the last struggle. The peasant uprisings so far have been put down because the bulk

of the peasantry, instead of recognising the traitorous bourgeois nature of the National Congress and the falseness of its promises, has followed it. Even today, instead of preparing for struggle hand in hand with the working class, in many districts, at the **treacherous advice** of the National Congress, it is continuing to meekly put up with the serfdom of the feudal lords and landowners and the power of the imperialists.

The time has now come to **choose: either** go along with the National Congress and its agents in the workers' and peasants' movement and remain enslaved, deprived of rights, hungry, landless, in debt, and again toiling in servitude, **or** carry on a struggle against all exploiters, against the imperialists, landlords, usurers and their allies—the Indian bourgeoisie, which is in control of the National Congress, and take a firm and decided stand together with the working class for the abolition of slavery and serfdom.

The advanced conscious industrial workers, rising up against capitalist wage slavery in the factories have at the same time shown themselves to be the most self-denying and determined fighters for the cause of the peoples' revolution against imperialism, against the landlords, princes and usurers.

The city workers of India have begun a new and tremendous struggle of all the poor against all the rich. The city workers in Bombay, Calcutta and other cities have begun to rally together in the Communist Party and, in spite of inexperience, great obstacles and numerous mistakes, are carrying on their struggles stubbornly, steadfastly and unitedly, setting an example to all the workers in the towns and villages of how to defend their interests. Proceeding step by step, preparing and clearing the way for the great and final struggle, the workers, headed by the Communists, are demanding independence and freedom for the whole nation. The Communist Party of India has come out with its platform of action, which represents the interests of all workers and toiling peasants. The doctrine of the Communists is the doctrine of struggle against all oppression, against all plunder, against all forms of injustice. A person is a real Communist only if he knows the reasons for class oppression and **devotes his whole life to struggle against every form of oppression.**

In its programme of action, the Communist Party of India has come out for the interests, not only of the working class, but of the peasantry, for the interests of the toiling masses, demanding the complete state independence of India, the abolishment of the feudal-landlord system of land tenure and all forms of feudalism, the transfer of all land to the peasantry, complete and gratuitous cancellation of all indebtedness and all extortions and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' Soviet government.

Every conscious worker and peasant must gather around him the most hopeful and courageous of his comrades. He must attempt to explain to them what the Communists want, so that they understand what kind of a struggle to carry on and what demands to put forward. And then they, too, will understand that previous **preparations** for the struggle must be carried on in advance stubbornly and steadfastly, and that these preparations must be made not alone, but together with the city workers—with the Communists. The poor peasants must understand by this that the final victory depends on whether or not an **alliance** is established between the poor peasantry and the city workers—Communists, for the struggle against imperialism and the whole national bourgeoisie. The sooner **this** alliance is extended and consolidated, the sooner will the middle peasantry understand the falseness of bourgeois promises and the sooner will the middle peasantry stand side by side with the proletariat and the Indian revolution.

In the struggle for independence and the abolishment of the serfdom maintained by the landlords and usurers, the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Punjab, the revolutionary organisation of the Punjab peasants, is carrying on today an honest struggle in defence of the interests of the exploited population. This distinguishes it from the number of other workers' and peasants' parties established by the "left" national reformists of the type of Kandalkar, Brij Narayan, Roy and others, which have set themselves the task of disorganising the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses and of maintaining the influence and leadership of the bourgeoisie in the National Congress. In the National movement the struggle is being carried on and must be carried on for a clear-cut demarcation of forces between the revolutionary camp and the counter-revolutionary camp: for or against independence, for or against the interests of the workers and

peasants, for or against the National Congress, for or against the Communists, for or against the revolution. Such clarity will strengthen the revolutionary forces.

The future of India depends on how far and how speedily the bourgeois National Congress is **unmasked** before the eyes of the toiling masses, and the **determination** with which the revolutionary workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party prepare and organise the toiling masses for the struggle against the existing order and foreign rule.

This is the revolutionary duty of the genuinely revolutionary groups and organisations in the peasant movement. These groups and organisations are correct when they transfer the **centre of gravity** of their work to the task of pointing out to the great masses of peasantry the traitorous bourgeois nature of the National Congress. They are correct when they call upon the peasantry to organise independently, separate from and **against** the National Congress, and to stand side by side with the Communist workers in the towns against the imperialists and all exploiters. They are correct when, in their struggles for the various local demands of the peasants, they carry on widespread propaganda in favour of the general slogans for anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, and when they persistently and systematically teach the peasants and prepare them for the decisive and final struggle for the abolishment of the regime of the landlords and imperialists and the establishment of an independent workers' and peasants' India. They are correct when they organise the peasantry and above all, the agricultural labourers, regularly calling local and peasant conferences and organising peasant committees elected on a broad basis to carry on the various struggles and systematically prepare the great masses of peasants to come out in defence of their basic demands.

At the present time the struggle for independence and the abolition of the serfdom maintained by the feudal lords, landholders and usurers calls for preparation and development of the proletariat, the Communist Party, will be formed and peasantry. This means that the struggle should be organised and given a conscious character, unmasking the bourgeoisie of the National Congress, with all its pseudo-left groupings disguised in "socialist" phrases, and calls for strong militant alliance between the peasantry and the Communist workers in the towns. Such an alliance is the only guarantee of the victory of the workers and peasants, the victory of the Indian revolution. This struggle calls for the awakening of the toiling masses everywhere, throughout the country, building and helping to build all kinds of local legal and semi-legal revolutionary organisations and directing their activities in the channel of genuine class struggle.

It is in this daily struggle and in this movement that the leader of the Indian revolution, the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, will be formed and will grow. It is in this struggle that the militant alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class will be consolidated.

The day will soon come when the working population in the towns will rise up, not only to march fearlessly through the streets shouting revolutionary slogans: "Down with Imperialism!" and "Long live the Workers' and Peasants' Republic!", but will rise up for the great and final struggle when the working masses will say: "We will die in the struggle or win our freedom", when, in place of the hundreds of killed and wounded in the struggle, thousands of new and determined fighters will rise up. And the peasantry will then arise, will arise throughout all India, and will go to the aid of the workers in the towns and fight to the end for the freedom of the peasants and workers. No hordes of imperialism will hold out against them. The working population will conquer in India just as it conquered in Russia fifteen years ago, and the Indian workers will follow the broad road of liberation of all the toilers of India from every form of oppression. The working class, together with the basic masses of the toiling peasantry, will utilise its freedom to proceed towards socialism in alliance with the proletariat of the world.

We call upon the workers' and peasants' revolutionary organisations to direct all their energies to this end.

Long live the independence of India! Long live the workers' and peasants' revolution for independence, land and power! Long live the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the C.P.! Long live the world revolution!

**The Chinese Section of the Anti-Imperialist League.  
The Japanese Section of the Anti-Imperialist League.**

## How the First World War was Prepared

# The Flames of the World War Break Out.

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

### "Everything May Yet End Peaceably."

Kaiser Wilhelm to the Tsar.

Berlin, July 31, 1914.

Upon Your appeal to my friendship and Your request for my aid I have engaged in mediation between Your Government and the Government of Austria-Hungary. While this action was taking place, Your troops were being mobilised against my ally Austria-Hungary, whereby, as I have already communicated to You, my mediation has become almost illusory. In spite of this, I have continued it, and now I receive reliable news that serious preparations for war are going on on my eastern frontier. The responsibility for the security of my country forces me to measures of defence. I have gone to the extreme limit of the possible in my efforts for the preservation of the peace of the world. . . .

The peace of Europe can still be preserved by You, if Russia decides to discontinue those military preparations which menace Germany and Austria-Hungary. Wilhelm.

(German Documents on the Outbreak of the War.)

The Tsar to Kaiser Wilhelm.

Petersburg Palace, July 31, 1914.

I thank You cordially for Your mediation, which permits the hope that everything may yet end peaceably. It is technically impossible to discontinue our military preparations which have been made necessary by the Austrian mobilisation. It is far from us to want war. As long as the negotiations between Austria and Serbia continue, my troops will undertake no provocative action. I give You my solemn word thereon. I confide with all my faith in the grace of God, and I hope for the success of Your mediation in Vienna for the welfare of our countries and the peace of Europe.

Your cordially devoted

Nicolas.

### "Russia Ready to Stop Her Military Preparations — If Austria Eliminates from Her Ultimatum the Points Violating Serbia's Sovereignty."

Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassadors at Berlin, Vienna, Paris, London, and Rome.

St. Petersburg, July 30, 1914.

The German Ambassador, who has just left me, has asked whether Russia would be satisfied with the promise which Austria might give—that she would not violate the integrity of the Kingdom of Serbia—and whether we could not indicate upon what conditions we would agree to suspend our military preparations. I dictated to him the following declaration to be forwarded to Berlin for immediate action:

"If Austria, recognising that the Austro-Servian question has assumed the character of a question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate the sovereign rights of Serbia, Russia engages to stop her military preparations."

Please inform me at once by telegraph what attitude the German Government will adopt in face of this fresh proof of our desire to do the utmost possible for a peaceful settlement of the question, for we cannot allow such discussions to continue solely in order that Germany and Austria may gain time for their military preparations.

(Signed) Sazonov.

(The Russian Orange Book.)

### Vienna: "Serbia must be Given a Serious Lesson."

Russian Ambassador at Vienna  
to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Vienna, July 31, 1914.

In spite of the general mobilisation, my exchange of views with Count Berthold and his colleagues continues. They all dwell upon the absence on Austria's part of any hostile intentions whatever against Russia, and of any designs of conquest at the expense of Serbia, but they are all equally insistent that Austria is bound to carry through the action which she has begun and to give Serbia a serious lesson, which would constitute a sure guarantee for the future. (Signed) Shebeko.

(The Russian Orange Book.)

### Wilhelm: "I am Prepared to Wage War Immediately Against Russia and France."

Wilhelm's "Inspiring" Telegram.

To His Majesty Kaiser Franz Joseph.

Berlin, July 31, 1914.

The preliminary mobilisation of my whole Army and Fleet ordered by me to-day will be followed by a final mobilisation within the shortest possible space of time. I reckon with the 2nd August as the first day of the mobilisation and I am prepared in fulfilment of my alliance duties to wage war immediately against Russia and France. In this great struggle it is of the greatest importance that Austria should send her main forces against Russia and not split her forces by carrying out a simultaneous offensive against Serbia. This is rendered all the more important by the fact that a great part of my army will be engaged in France... Further, I request you to do everything possible to persuade Italy to come in by showing it the greatest possible spirit of accommodation. Everything else must be subordinated to the aim of securing a joint entry of the Triple Alliance into the war. Wilhelm.

Franz Joseph to Kaiser Wilhelm.

Vienna, 1st August 1914.

I thank you, dear friend, for your most inspiring message. Immediately my General Staff learned that you were determined to begin war against Russia immediately and to prosecute it with all energy, the decision was taken to concentrate the overwhelming force against Russia...

In view of the seriousness of the situation my Ambassador in Rome has already received instructions to inform the Italian Government that we are prepared to accept its interpretation of Article VII of the Treaty providing Italy now acts fully in accordance with its duties of alliance.

(Diplomatic Documents relating to the History of the Immediate Pre-War Period 1914, pages 82 and 83.)

### General Mobilisation in Russia.

Count Szápáry to Count Berthold.

St. Petersburg, July 31, 1914.

The order for the general mobilisation of the entire Army and Fleet was issued early to-day.

(Diplomatic Documents on the Outbreak of the War 1914, Part III, page 67.)

## General Mobilisation in Austria.

Vienna, 31st July 1914.

In consequence of the Russian mobilisation the Kaiser has now ordered a General Mobilisation which will be announced by placards.

("Vossische Zeitung", 1st August 1914.)

## Mobilisation Order on the 31st July.

Count Berchthold to Count Szögyény in Berlin.

Chiffre. Berlin, 31st July 1914.

Freiherr von Conrad telegraphs simultaneously—in answer to an inquiry—to the Chief of the German General Staff: "As the result of an All Highest decision war will be waged against Servia. Mobilise the remainder of the army and concentrate it in Galicia. The first mobilisation day is the 4th August. The Order for Mobilisation will be issued to-day, 31st July. Request information concerning the date of the first mobilisation day in Berlin."

Your (follows full title) is requested to bring the foregoing to the notice of the Prime Minister of Germany.

(Diplomatic Documents relating to the History of the Immediate Pre-War Period 1914, part III, pages 46-48.)

## Austria's Military Measures in Galicia.

Count Berchthold to the Imperial and Royal Diplomatic Representatives.

Vienna, July 31, 1914.

As mobilisation has been ordered by the Russian Government on our frontier, we find ourselves obliged to take military measures in Galicia.

These measures are purely of a defensive character and arise exclusively under the pressure of the Russian measures, which we regret exceedingly, as we ourselves have no aggressive intentions of any kind against Russia, and desire the continuation of the former neighbourly relations.

*Pourparlers* between the Cabinets at Vienna and St. Petersburg appropriate to the situation are meanwhile being continued, and from these we hope that things will quieten down all round.

(Diplomatic Documents on the Outbreak of the War 1914, Part III, pages 72/73.)

## "State of Threatening War Danger proclaimed in Germany."

The Minister of War to the Prime Minister and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Secret! Berlin, 31st July 1914.

State of Threatening War Danger proclaimed.

v. Falkenhayn.

(German Documents relating to the Outbreak of War. Page 17.)

## Germany's Ultimatum to Russia.

Telegram of the Chancellor to the Imperial Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

Berlin, July 31, 1914.

In spite of negotiations still pending and although we have up to this hour made no preparations for mobilisation, Russia has mobilised her **entire** army and navy, hence also against us. On account of these Russian measures, we have been forced, for the safety of the country, to proclaim the threatening state of war, which does not yet imply mobilisation. Mobilisation, however, is bound to follow if Russia does not stop every measure of war against us and against Austria-Hungary within 12 hours, and notifies us definitely to this effect. Please to communicate this at once to M. Sazonov and wire hour of communication.

## Germany's Ultimatum to France.

Telegram of the Chancellor to the Imperial Ambassador in Paris.

Berlin, July 31, 1914.

Russia has ordered mobilisation of her entire army and fleet, therefore also against us in spite of our still pending mediation and although we ourselves have taken no measures towards mobilisation. We have therefore declared the threatening state of war which is bound to be followed by mobilisation unless Russia stops within 12 hours all measures of war against us and Austria. Mobilisation inevitably implies war. Please ask French Government whether it intends to remain neutral in a Russo-German war. Reply must be made in 18 hours. Wire at once hour of inquiry. Utmost speed necessary.

(German Documents on Outbreak of War, page 10.)

Count Szécsen to Count Berchthold.

Paris, July 31, 1914.

German Ambassador in pursuance of the instructions of his Government has declared here that if the general mobilisation ordered by the Russian Government is not stopped within 12 hours, Germany also will mobilize. At the same time Baron Schoen has asked whether France will remain neutral in the event of a war between Germany and Russia. An answer to this is requested within eighteen hours. The time limit expires to-morrow (Saturday) at 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

## Wilhelm Proclaims the Mobilisation of the German Army and the Imperial Fleet.

The Minister of War to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, 1st August 1914.

Mobilisation ordered, First day of mobilisation 2nd August.

v. Falkenhayn.

(German Documents relating to the Outbreak of War, Page 61.)

The "Reichsanzeiger" publishes the following edict of the Kaiser:

I order herewith: The German Army and the Imperial Fleet are to be placed on a war footing in accordance with the mobilisation plan for the German Army and the Imperial Fleet. The 2nd August 1914 is fixed as the first day of mobilisation.

Berlin, 1st August 1914.

Wilhelm I. R.

von Bethmann-Hollweg.

## "I No Longer Recognise Any Parties."

The tremendous masses of people assembled on the square in front of the Imperial Palace first relieved their feelings by singing the hymn "Our God is a firm Bulwark." There were then shouts for the Kaiser, and these were continued in unison until the Kaiser appeared on the balcony accompanied by the Kaiserin. Silence fell, and the Kaiser addressed the masses:

"From the depths of my heart I thank you for the expression of your love and your loyalty. In the coming struggle I no longer recognise any parties in my people. There are now only Germans amongst us (storms of cheering), and if in the course of the struggle of opinions any parties have attacked me then I now forgive them with all my heart. The need of the moment is that all brothers should stand together, and then God will assist the German sword to victory."

("Der Tag", 2nd August 1914.)

## State of War Proclaimed in Berlin.

Berlin, 1st August 1914.

The following proclamation was pasted up to-day on the hoardings:

Proclamation!

By All Highest Order a State of War is proclaimed for Berlin and the Province of Brandenburg.

With this the executive power now goes over into my hands.

Berlin. The Supreme Commander in the Marken.

## French Mobilisation Ordered.

The German Ambassador in Paris to the Foreign Office.

Paris, 1st August 1914.

Mobilisation of the whole French Army ordered on Saturday at five o'clock in the afternoon. First mobilisation day Sunday. Military attaché Klüber. Schoen.

(German Documents, Page 84.)

## Belgium Only "Filling Up Her Weak Cadres."

Minutes of the Foreign Office Noted Down by Count Mirbach.

Berlin, 31st July 1914.

The Belgian Ambassador was just here and informed me that he was desirous of stressing that the calling up of three classes which has just taken place in Belgium does not bear the character of a mobilisation, but has been carried out in order to fill up the normally very weak cadres.

Mirbach.

## British Fleet on a War Footing.

The Ambassador in England to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

London, 30th July 1914.

The German Ambassador asked Grey why England was taking warlike measures on land and sea. Grey answered that the measures taken were not of an aggressive character, but that the situation was such that every State was compelled to take precautions.

(Sig.) Benckendorff.

(Russian Orange Book.)

## And Lichnowsky Still Lets Himself be Humbugged by Grey.

The Ambassador in London to the Foreign Office.

London, 31st July 1914.

To-day, for the first time, I had the impression that the attitude towards of Germany which has so improved of late, and perhaps also tendencies friendly to Germany in the Cabinet might offer the possibility that in case of war England would adopt a waiting attitude.

Lichnowsky.

(German Documents relating to the Outbreak of War. P. 4. No. 484.)

## Italy Remains Firm: Wants Payment in Advance.

Herr von Mérey to Count Berchthold.

Telegram No. 570.

Rome, 1st August 1914.

Despatched at 1.30 a. m.

Strictly secret.

At a session of the Cabinet which took place to-day a tendency showed itself, according to information given to me by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in favour of Italian neutrality in case of European warfare . . .

I stand by my already expressed opinion that we have here a case—in part already executed—of blackmail. Italy wants payment in advance for its attitude both in the case of a localised war and a general conflict. It wants to pocket the results of the war in advance.

(Diplomatic Documents relating to the History of the Immediate Pre-War Period 1914, part III, pages 88/89.)

## The Turco-German Treaty of Alliance.

The Prime Minister to the Ambassador in Constantinople.

Telegram. Urgent. Secret.

Berlin, 31st July 1914.

Please inform Grand Vizier immediately that we are in agreement with the length of the Treaty up to 1918 as

desired by Pforte and that we are ready to conclude immediately. In Vienna and in Rome we are supporting the extension of the Turco-German Treaty to the Triple Alliance.

Bethmann Hollweg.

(German Documents relating to the Outbreak of War, page 23.)

## The Winning Over of Bulgaria

The Ambassador in Vienna to the Foreign Office.

Vienna, 1st August 1914.

Count Berchthold considers it desirable that Bulgaria should be informed from Berlin as early as possible of the existence of the Treaty with Turkey because this would probably be of decisive influence on the attitude of Bulgaria.

Tschirschky.

(German Documents, Page 82.)

## The Assassination of Jean Jaurès.

Paris, 1st August 1932.

Yesterday evening a certain Raoul Villain fired a number of revolver shots in a Café at the socialist leader Jaurès. Jaurès was hit in the head and died shortly afterwards. The murderer is 29 years old and the son of a clerk at the civil court in Reims.

## Press Comments on the Murder of Jaurès.

"With Jaurès a soldier of civilisation and humanity has fallen on the field of honour. Civilisation and humanity will never fade; a truth which our great deceased would proclaim were he still alive."

("l'Humanité", 1st August 1914.)

"Workers of Germany! Lower your banners at the grave of Jean Jaurès—No, snatch up your banners and storm forwards with his words upon your lips: Faithful to the cause of fraternisation with the people of France; faithful to the cause of peace; faithful to the cause of international socialism to the death!"

("Vorwärts", 2nd August 1914.)

## And the Social Democracy . . . The Last Hours of the Second International.

### An Appeal of the Second International.

(Privat Telegram of the "Vorwärts").

Brussels, July 30, 1914.

In Assembly of July 29th the International Socialist Bureau has heard declarations from representatives of all nations threatened by a world war, describing the political situation in their respective countries.

With unanimous vote the Bureau considers it an obligation for the workers of all nations concerned not only to continue but even to strengthen their demonstrations against war in favour of peace and a settlement of the Austrian-Servian conflict by arbitration.

The German and French workers will bring to bear on their Governments the most vigorous pressure in order that Germany may secure in Austria a moderating action, and in order that France may obtain from Russia an undertaking that she will not engage in conflict. On their side, the workers of Great Britain and Italy shall sustain these efforts with all the power in their command.

The Congress urgently convoked in Paris will be the vigorous expression of the absolutely peaceful will of the workers of the whole world.

### An Appeal to the Russian Proletariat.

(Private telegram of the "Vorwärts").

Brussels, 30th July 1914.

The International Socialist Bureau heartily congratulates the workers of Russia on their revolutionary attitude and appeals to them to continue their heroic struggle against Tzarism because this struggle is one of the most effective guarantees for world peace.

## A Peace Demonstration in Brussels.

(Private telegram of the "Vorwärts".)

Brussels, 30th July 1914.

Thousands and thousands of people assembled in the biggest hall in Brussels cheered the speakers of the International, Vandervelde, Haase, Keir Hardie, Rubanovitch, Troelstra and others to the echo when they protested against war and upheld the solidarity of the peoples.

## The Austrian Social Democrats Ready to March.

"A fate above all individual wishes is now coming over all of us. In this terrible hour we are all faced with one duty, and one desire is expressed in our hearts: No matter where we are, we all want to be men and look the danger courageously in the face no matter how dreadful it may be."

("Arbeiter-Zeitung", 1st August 1914.)

## The First Duty of the Citizen is the Maintenance of Order.

Taken from the Appeal Issued by the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Comrades, up to the last moment the international proletariat has done its duty both on this side and on the other side of the frontier, and strained all its forces to maintain peace and make war impossible. Our first protests and our repeated efforts were without success. The conditions under which we live have once again proved stronger than our will and the will of our comrades. We must now prepare ourselves to face courageously whatever may come.

Comrades, we shall not suffer the coming events with fatalist indifference. We shall remain true to our cause and hold together in the conviction of the sublime greatness of our cultural mission.

The severe regulations of martial law hit the working class movement with terrible severity. At the moment ill-considered actions, useless and misunderstood sacrifices injure both the individual and our cause.

Comrades, we appeal to you to hold out in the unshakeable conviction that the future belongs despite everything to socialism, which unites the peoples, to justice and to humanity  
Berlin, 31st July 1914.

The Central Committee.

("Vorwärts", 1st August 1914.)

## And the S.P.G. Behind the Scenes!

### Treachery Already Committed.

On the 31st July at eight o'clock in the evening the War Ministry issued the following information under reference No. 64 ggAI to all the General Kommandos:

According to absolutely reliable information the Social Democratic Party firmly intends to adopt the only attitude possible for all Germans under the present circumstances. I regard it as my duty to provide you with this information in order that you may take it into consideration when issuing your instructions.

(Report of Count Montgelas before the first Committee of Investigation appointed by the Reichstag to investigate the question of War Guilt, Vol. II, Page 24.)

## And a Very Different Voice

"The German Government was in a position to prevent the war; a single word from the German Government to Austria would have been sufficient. But the German Government did not utter this word. Remember that, German workers. Never forget that you are class-conscious workers exploited by capitalism and that you are now called upon to shed your blood for this same capitalism and to plunge your families into indescribable misery. Do not forget, you men without a Fatherland, you men who are not worthy to bear the name of German, that you alone can now save the honour of your country! Never forget that you are the deadly enemies of the capitalist world order."

(Karl Radek in the "Bremer Bürgerzeitung" on the 31st July 1914.)

# SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

## Growth of the City of the Revolution.

Moscow, 13th August 1932.

Moscow, the Capital of the Soviet Union and the centre of the world revolution, is experiencing a period of rapid development. From the beginning of 1930 to the beginning of 1932 the population of Moscow increased from 2.4 millions to 3.38 millions, an unparalleled rate of development imposing terrific tasks on the local administration of the town. Daily new masses of industrial workers, technical experts, students and others are flooding into Moscow.

In the same period the sums expended for housing, road and pavement building, repair and maintenance increased from two hundred million to five hundred million roubles. Since the revolution fifty new large scale factories have been erected in and around Moscow, including the factory "Elektrosavod", the new great Ball Bearing Works, the new Automobile Works "Stalin", and have transformed the Capital of the Soviet Union into one of the most important industrial towns in the world. Since the revolution over eight hundred clubs have been opened in Moscow for the workers, and big recreation parks have been created, including the biggest and most unique park in the world.

Before the revolution twenty-five percent of the population of Moscow were illiterate. In 1926 the figure was fifteen percent. The fact that it was still comparatively high is explained by the fact that every day thousands of peasants come in from the outlying districts and swell the average. **To-day, however, illiteracy in Moscow is practically nonexistent.**

Compared with 1917 the water supply and drainage system is fifty percent bigger and more effective in every way to-day. During the period of soviet rule in Moscow whole new quarters have been built. In 1931 a new block of many storied workers houses was completed on an average every third day. These blocks are all built on modern lines with electric light, central heating or modern ovens, modern drainage and in many cases radio installation and modern hygienic rubbish shoots. In 1932 a new many storied house of working class homes was completed almost every day. In 1931 fifty thousand working class families moved into new modern homes. In 1932 no less than two hundred thousand Moscow workers, including many foreign-born workers, have moved into new and modern quarters.

Before the revolution the average daily consumption of water in Moscow was thirty five million units of water. To-day the consumption has risen to an average of 150 million units daily. Big new water works are in course of construction in order to keep up with the rapidly increasing demand for water. The river Moskva is being connected up with the Volga by means of a canal. When this work is completed the level of the Moskva will rise and the water works will be able to supply much more water. The work will also make Moscow into a very important inland harbour town, and two big docks are in course of construction.

The construction of the Moskva-Volga Canal will permit large mercantile vessels to transport goods to Moscow by water, and this will result in a considerable reduction in the cost of transport.

Since 1931 a tremendous amount of work has been done in Moscow to improve the roadways and pavements. The revolution took over a sprawling town of narrow alleys. Only a few quarters in the centre of the town had the character of a big capital. Most of the streets were either not laid at all or were laid with cobbles. One-third of the streets of Moscow were not paved at all. Asphaltting according to the very latest American methods is now proceeding on a great scale. Not only are new houses and whole new quarters being erected in Moscow, but many old houses are being pulled down altogether and will not be rebuilt. In their place will come open spaces and boulevards. This is a measure which no town in any capitalist country can afford to take.

The Moscow transport problem was one of the worst in the world. Before the revolution the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy had their own equipages and were not in the



least interested in providing sufficient transport accommodation for the masses. Since the revolution, however, a tremendous amount has been done and Moscow now has five hundred kilometres of tramway lines and the system is steadily growing. The constant increases in fares which occur in capitalist countries, Germany for instance, are absolutely unknown in Moscow. The workers of Moscow can ride on the longest route for ten Copecks. Since the revolution big and comfortable motor-buses (first big Leyland buses and then home produced

buses of equal quality) have appeared on the streets. However, as a result of the bad roadways the development of this method of transport has not yet made any very great progress. With the asphaltting of the streets this service will also be greatly extended. Fares on the buses are also very low.

Work is now proceeding on the building of **Moscow's first underground line** which is to cut through the town from north to south. The first twelve kilometres are to be opened at the end of 1933.

## The White Terror

# Karikás Threatened by the Fate of Sallai and Fürst.

By Karl Biró.

In Hungarian governmental circles suspicious silence reigns with regard to Friedrich **Karikás**—the third of the chief defendants among the large number of communists arrested lately. It was originally stated that Karikás was to be brought up for trial before a Summary Court in the provincial town of **Miskolcz**. Finally it appears that he is to be sentenced by the same Court which had **Sallai** and **Fürst** executed. This fact alone must suffice to alarm the working class of the whole world. It is characteristic that the Hungarian authorities now refuse to state the exact date of the trial. It is to be feared that intend continuing their tactics of taking the public by surprise. The Hungarian authorities intend waiting till the indignation of the workers and of the advanced intelligentsia of Hungary and the rest of the world at the execution of **Sallai** and **Fürst** has died down, and then they will suddenly condemn **Karikás** to death and again face the world with the accomplished fact of the execution.

**Karikás** is to be condemned to death on the charge of having caused a priest and seven soldiers to be executed in 1919, when he was acting as political commissary of the Red Army during the Soviet dictatorship in Hungary. All that is true about this charge is that he was Political Commissary of the glorious Red Army of Soviet Hungary. In this capacity **Karikás** fulfilled his revolutionary tasks brilliantly, and he was among the most competent of the sub-commanders of the Red Army. He exerted every effort to liberate the country of Soviet Hungary from the armies of the imperialists and their Rumanian and Czechoslovakian confederates. But the deeds ascribed to him he did not commit. They did not even come within his competence. Even the Social Democrat **Böhm**, who was **Karikás'** superior in the Red Army, is forced to confirm this. The semi-official publications of the Hungarian fascist authorities confirm it equally. In the work written by the former lawyer to the General Staff, **Vári**, on the alleged "victims" of Red rule, in which reference is made to the execution of these seven soldiers, there is not a word about any participation on the part of **Karikás** in the affair.

But if **Karikás** is to be executed like **Sallai** and **Fürst**, lies and falsifications must be resorted to. **Vári**, who compiled his material with the aid of the Soviet dictatorship documents immediately after the overthrow of the Soviet dictatorship, knows nothing of **Karikás**. Now, after a lapse of thirteen years, the Hungarian authorities suddenly assert that they are in possession of documents in which **Karikás'** signatures prove his guilt.

**Karikás** is to be murdered, in order that the international and Hungarian revolutionary labour movement may be robbed of a capable revolutionary, who has always fulfilled his duty, whether as a participant in the Russian or Hungarian revolutions, as tool fitter and Red Director, as political commissary and Red Army soldier, as mass organiser, and finally as revolutionary worker author.

Before **Sallai** and **Fürst** were sentenced, there were many who under-estimated Hungarian fascism, and did not realise what it means till taught by the sudden execution; these must now be the first to draw the conclusions of the present tactics, and to intensify hundredfold the efforts to save **Karikás**. The silence of the Hungarian authorities signifies the treacherous preparations for a new juridical murder. Now, before the date of the trial before the Summary Court (which is only a camouflaged form of the Court Martial) has been announced, **a fresh wave of protest action must set in to save**

**Karikás**. The German, French, and British workers in particular must hasten to **Karikás'** aid, for the ruling class of these countries is in close economic and political contact with the Hungarian fascist regime. **The international working class, in helping Karikás, helps itself, for Hungarian fascism, in dealing with the communists by executing them, regards itself as the pioneer to be emulated by world reaction.**

## The Crime of Budapest—A Signal!

By Gál.

The fresh murder committed by Hungarian fascism, the execution of two of the best champions of the Hungarian proletariat, has been seized upon by the paid inklingers of the Hungarian bourgeoisie as an opportunity to proclaim to the whole world the "historical mission" of the Hungarian nation.

Hungary was the first among the European states to develop the fascist method of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Whilst the pacifist-democratic era was still flourishing in the other countries of Europe, in **Hungary** the bloodiest White Terror was already raging. Hundreds of proletarians were murdered, thousands of workers thrown into prison. And to-day Hungary is once more in the front ranks of blackest reaction.

At the close of capitalist stabilisation, Horthy's kingdom played the same role as it played at the beginning of this stabilisation. In the new cycle of wars and revolutions, the Hungarian fascists have once more taken their place as the champions of international counter-revolution, capable of any deed.

It is not by accident that this role has been allotted to the Hungarian bourgeoisie. In Hungary the proletariat had once the power in its hands, if only for a brief period. Hence the Hungarian bourgeoisie sees the spectre of the proletarian dictatorship in every utterance of class struggle on the part of the workers, in every action of the illegal Communist Party. Thirteen years ago the victory of Hungarian fascism was made possible by foreign bayonets, by social democratic treachery, and by the lack of a Communist Party. The Hungarian bourgeoisie is striving to render this victory a permanent one, and to postpone the moment of its own overthrow, of collapse, and of the resurrection of Soviet Hungary.

The developments of the international situation, the acceleration of the process of fascism in the European states, the advances of the Hitler movement in Germany, the openly fascist nature of the new government in Germany, the immediate preparations being made for war on the Soviet Union, have also played a conspicuous part. The Hungarian bourgeoisie calculates that the overwhelming majority of the bourgeois "public opinion" of Europe will note with approval its hangman's deeds. And in this it has not erred. Not only **Hitler's** organ, the "**Völkischer Beobachter**", not only **Mussolini's** press, have commented with approving understanding on the double murder in Hungary, but even "serious" press organs. **Sallai** and **Fürst**, these courageous fighters for the proletariat, are described as bloodthirsty bandits.

The understanding shown by international fascism for the murders committed by Hungarian fascism is the sympathy

felt by the future accomplice. This fact must not be forgotten for a moment. It must be stressed in the revolutionary mass mobilisation against the execution of the two leaders of the C. P. of Hungary, and **against the projected murder of Comrade Karikás**. The protest against the murders committed by Hungarian fascism must be not only the expression of the international solidarity of the working class, it must be utilised at the same time for the preparations for the revolutionary mass struggle against the murders being planned by fascism—by international fascism—in our own countries. **The crime of Budapest is a signal!**

The **Second International** has not under-estimated the international importance of the alarming fact that the leaders of the Communist Party of Hungary have been brought up before a court martial and executed. Prominent social democratic leaders have sent protest telegrams, **Longuet** attended the court martial trial, and every social democratic newspaper publishes columns on the executions. In these articles Comrades Sallai and Fürst, whom the social democrats calumniated so long as they were alive, are represented as martyrs of not only the Communist Party, but of the Social Democratic Party.

In adopting this attitude, the Second International is striving to appear in the eyes of the working masses as a party actually leading a struggle against the murderous rule of fascism, as a party really linked up with the proletarian revolution. But at the same time the parties of the Second International, under the mask of combatting the fascist hangmen, are in reality carrying on a vile campaign of slander and agitation against the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. The **Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung"** and the **Berlin "Vorwärts"** march at the head of this campaign. They write that the two martyrs of the Hungarian C.P. were driven to their death by Moscow, that Comrades Sallai and Fürst only went to Hungary because they would otherwise have been stamped as traitors.

The dirty role played by social democracy is best characterised by the appeals issued by the **S.P. of Hungary**, in which the Hungarian workers are called upon "not to fall into the traps set by provocateurs", "not to permit unity to be split up", and "not to take part in any demonstrations against the state of siege". The Communist Parties must expose in the eyes of the masses this criminal role played by the social democrats, and must frustrate the manoeuvres with which the Second International desecrates the memory of the revolutionary martyrs.

And finally, the Communist Parties must learn the further lesson to be drawn from these executions in Budapest. The gallows of Budapest signalise the necessity of intensified struggle against provocation, against conspirative irresponsibility. The revolutionary struggle demands sacrifices and will demand more. But the number of these sacrifices will be greater or smaller in proportion as we are more or less watchful in the important sphere of conspirative action.

The crime of Budapest is a signal. This signal must be heard and understood not only by the C.P. of Hungary, but by all the Sections of the Communist International!

## "Sweet Land of Liberty."

By Peter Chaut (New York).

"Well, if they don't pay what's coming to us, we'll just stay here till hell freezes", said one veteran to his buddy sitting on the curb under the shadow of the Capitol. Fourteen years ago they went "over the top" together. Now they were both without a job, and met in Washington trying to collect with 16,000 others the much promised bonus. Then . . .

"The troops came out", the **"New York Times"** reports, "and the men who had fought with them in the war, side by side, became, for the day, enemies, and were treated as such. The regulars had the tanks, tear gas bombs, machine guns, sabers, bayonets, while the Bonus Marchers had stubborn sullenness, bricks, rocks and epithets, and it was that kind of fight. Inch by inch, foot by foot, the steel helmeted soldiers and cavalry advanced. Gas bombs were thrown at the bonus army. The action was well executed from a military standpoint but not pretty to the thoughtful in the crowd. They resisted the troops, fought back, cursed and kicked at the horses, swinging blows at the soldiers as they passed by."

A cavalry man was felled, infantry men injured, as many of the defeated police earlier in the day. There veterans and a baby died, scores of wounded were carried away by their comrades. The unemployed bonus marchers, men, wives, and children were mowed down by strict orders of the enemies' staff in the White House: Secretary of War **Hurley**, Attorney General **Mitchell**, Chief of Staff **MacArthur** and President **Hoover**. The bonus camps went up in flames . . .

This is the latest but not the whole story of Hoover's "Democracy".

## Reign of Terror as War Preparedness.

Bullets for Bread, is the employers' slogan. Determined efforts to drown in bloodshed, torture and mass arrests the rise of the starving masses, mark the deepening crisis and frenzied war preparations of Yankee imperialism. Ruthless shooting and slugging of strikers who refuse to accept further cut of their starvation wages, and jobless who demand unemployment insurance, fiendish lynch wave and unprecedented deportation terror, are the order of the day.

The enactment of new anti-labour laws is accompanied, and even more frequently substituted by sweeping government and court decrees in all labour disputes. Mass misery is rampant. Militancy and growing working class unity are manifest in the rapidly increasing struggles for bread. Uncle Sam cannot stand idle.

"We must not permit any disturbance of industries," declared Secretary of War **Hurley** while inspecting the chemical, steel and airplane factories of the Niagara frontier district. "We must be prepared for a national emergency at any moment."

And indeed, army and navy, militia and police, hired provocateurs and fascist mobs are promptly mobilised for the employers' "law enforcement."

Thus Wall Street imperialism once more shows its true color, confounding the prophecies of the Socialist, pacifists and liberals, who all defend "the truly American spirit of democracy both home and abroad".

## Misleaders Sabotage Defence.

Mass resistance is the only weapon the terror yields to. The militant world wide mobilisation of the working class, lead by the **International Labor Defense**, forced the United States Supreme Court to review the frame-up death sentence of the eight Negro **Scottsboro** boys. The "jim-crow" jury tradition of **Maryland** was defeated and a new trial granted to **Euel Lee ("Orphan Jones")**, sentenced to be hanged on a frame-up charge of murder. The rallying of the toilers throughout the world is hastening the release of **Tom Mooney**, after sixteen years of living death in the tomb, in spite of the repeated betrayals by Socialist and reformist misleaders of labor. Mass pressure defeated the **Michigan** anti-alien registration law and recured voluntary departure for militant workers scheduled to be tortured and murdered in foreign fascist countries. Mass demonstrations brought about the jury acquittal of the anti-war demonstrators of **Chicago**.

There is no hiding the fact of the co-operation among social fascist, fascist, and other reactionary defenders of capitalist interests.

"We must save civilization from ruination", declared the **"New Leader"**.

In the **Mooney-Scottsboro** and other mass defence struggles, the leadership of the **S.P.**, **A.F.L.**, and the **N.A.A.C.P. (Negro Liberals)** did not refrain from open alliance with the white capitalist oppressors to crush the workers' defence. Their betrayals resulted in hundreds of workers awakening to revolutionary class consciousness.

## Murder and Lynching Chief "Show of Arms".

156 workers and tenant farmers were murdered by police, militia, courts, thugs and lynch mobs in the last 18 months. Of these 86 were Negroes, tortured and burnt to death, not to speak of the innumerable unrecorded lynchings. Nor are these figures inclusive of the victims of United States Marines in **Cuba**, **Haiti**, **Hawaii**, **Philippines**, **Nicaragua**, and other spheres of influence of Wall Street. 3794 workers' arrest are recorded for the first half of 1932 in strikes, demonstrations, meetings, eviction protests, on the mainland of the US.

Particular bloodthirst is displayed in the attacks on labour. The war on the veterans was long contemplated in the White House. **Ford** gave orders for the machine and shot

gun fire on the jobless auto workers in **Detroit**. Socialist Mayor **Hoan** of **Milwaukee** gave personal instructions to slug, torture and jail the unemployed of Milwaukee. The **Chicago** bloodbath and the **Cleveland** ambush of the jobless who demanded relief were long contemplated in Chamber of Commerce parleys. The murder of the **Y.C.L.** leader **Simms** by the **Kentucky** mine owners was "an incident long awaited". The same coal barons made the notorious public appeal of "\$5,000 Reward for the Body of Frank **Borich**, organizer of the National Miners Union, Dead or Alive".

But the white bosses' outrages against the Negro beat them all. The "**Chicago Defender**" (capitalist Negro paper) described elaborately a lynching in **Georgia**:

"Among the Negroes lynched by the farmers, was a man named **Turner**. He too was accused of the murder of the white farmer who time and again refused to pay the wages due to his workers. They were not satisfied with the burning of **Turner**. They pulled out **Turner's** wife from the shack where her friends sought to hide her. She was due to give birth soon to a child. They tied her legs. They poured gasoline over her body. She was hung on the nearest tree. A match was struck. As she writhed in agony, one of the white gentlemen stepped forward. He slit her belly open with a knife. A baby's little body dropped to the ground and rolled at the feet of the lynchers."

**Ralph Grey** was lynched by a posse of sheriffs for organizing the abused share croppers of **Alabama**. **Willie Peterson**, crippled and jobless veteran, was framed by the same **Alabama** landlords.

#### Deportation—"Most Important".

"There is no more important work before the government", declared Secretary of Labour **Doak**, "than the administration of the immigration law. We must protect the social and political structure of American civilization from strange new doctrines of government which threaten our essential institutions, and must give economic protection, particularly as to available (!) employment to those who for both legal and moral reasons should receive first consideration in the blessings of a workaday life."

Under this slogan over 20,000 "undesirable" foreign-born workers were exiled in 1931, and 19,200 in the first half of 1932.

The bankrupt Wall Street government is out to force 13½ million foreign-born workers into submission. The terror against the foreign-born, who are employed mostly in the heavy basic industries, is an attempt to break the growing unity and militancy of the working class of the United States.

The most classical of all attempts to legalise the oppression of the foreign-born workers is the **Dies Bill**, recently adopted in the **House of Representatives**. This law, if adopted, would provide for the deportation of any alien worker who dares to rise against economic or political oppression. On the surface the **Dies Bill** provides "for the exclusion and expulsion of alien **Communists**", which is an attempt to partially illegalise the **Communist Party**. But the bill goes further. With its sweeping definition as to what constitutes sympathy and affiliation with Communism or with hampering capitalist economy, every militant foreign-born worker could be deported. Indeed, the bill invites provocation, spying and frame-up in its provision

"to exempt those who **prove** that they became members of a communist' organisation on account of fear, duress, coercion or fraud".

It further invites conspiracy and acts of assassination against any revolutionary non-capitalist foreign government.

The quick nationwide mobilisation against the passage of the **Dies Bill** succeeded in stopping it momentarily in the **Senate**. In the meantime, however, mass raids are being conducted daily against the foreign-born workers in factories, mills, and union rooms, at employment and welfare agencies, on streets and in homes. Strikers are picked up, families are snatched away from homes, militant working class leaders are hounded, and deported in a frenzied hurry. Thousands of **Negroes** who cannot be deported to the **West Indies, Africa, or Latin America**, are exiled to the **South**, only to be arrested and sentenced there as vagrants and hired out to manufacturers and landlords as prison labour.

Yet, the **Socialist** and **A. F. of L.** misleaders display a most shameless assistance in this deportation terror. Militant union members and strikers are reported to the deportation

agents by the reformist union officials. The socialfascist **Musteites** are responsible for the torture and attempted deportation of **Edith Berkman**, courageous textile strike leader. The strike-breaker officials of the **U.M.W.A.** helped the murderous and deportation frame-ups against many militant miners. The **Socialist** bureaucrats of the **New York needle, shoe and sheet-metal workers unions** threatened the revolting rank and file with deportation procedure. **Furuseth**, veteran traitor of the **Seamen's Union**, now complains about being "double crossed" by the notorious deportation Congress men, **Johnson** and **Free**, for not insisting on more sweeping deportation orders.

Even the government cannot hide its deportation brutalities.

"The apprehension and examination of supposed aliens", admits the **Wickersham Report**, "are often unconstitutional, tyrannic and oppressive. The agent of the Bureau of Immigration is a detective, a prosecutor, and a judge in one person."

Secretary **Doak**, head of the deportation terror, is not satisfied with the deportation of militant working class leaders into the hands of the foreign government murderers. He proposes the cancellation of citizenship of "undesirable" naturalised citizens. To perfect the terror against the foreign-born workers, Mr. **Doak** recently established a semi-Government secret committee of representatives of foreign language societies to act as stool-pigeon net among the workers. Mr. **Doak** most fittingly became the permanent chairman of this spy institution.

#### Third Degree And Overcrowded Jails.

Torture and murder at the hands of police and detective bloodhounds is meted out to all working class prisoners. It is known as the "third degree". To whitewash the responsibility of thousands of judges, police, commissioners and the government, the notorious **Wickersham Report** of the congressional investigation offers "reasonable excuses" for the torture of prisoners. "Criminals are usually reluctant to confess their guilt", says the report. Hence the confessions signed by the blood of the persecuted workers. The horrors of the working class victims on the Southern chain gangs, refused water and food, flogged and beaten to death in many instances, are yet to be recorded in the annals of the history of the United States.

"The judge took pity on the lot of the unemployed and sentenced him for 90 days. 'Will that be enough'—he asked the worker?" reports happily the "**Chicago Tribune**".

The conservative estimate of a recent conference of cities in the state of New York accounted for 120,000 cases through the country, when

"The most generous of the courts was to give a prison sentence to the homeless unemployed on charge of vagrancy".

And while factories, mills, mines and farms are idle, prison labour flourishes. Yet the Congressmen **Hopkins** and **Fish** dare cry about "Soviet dumping of prison made goods." Prison riots and subsequent mass slaughter of the revolting inmates are "due to the insufficiency provisions and inhuman treatment in jails", was the official statement after the **Joliet** riots.

#### "To Hell With The Constitution."

Recognition of constitutional, if not human, rights is considered "bolshevik" attempts to undermine "authorized government" nowadays. National oppression, as that of the Negro, and the colonial iron heel, go hand in hand with the suppression of any and every bourgeois democratic right of workers when the use of such a rights threatens the capitalist dictatorship.

"If the virtue of a white woman comes between me and the constitution", declared a Congress man of the South, agitating with the usual 'rape' slogan against Negro rights, "I say, to hell with the Constitution!"

Revolutionary working class newspapers, leaflets and literature are confiscated. Rights of free speech and organisation denied to workers struggling against hunger. Unemployed are condemned as vagrants and as such criminals. And the **Communists**, leaders of the working class for bread and freedom, are declared

"worse criminals than a man who incites one to rob or kill" (Representative **Jenkins**). "This is no time to parley with those who would destroy us", he said.

## White Terror in Mexico.

By Pick (Mexico City).

A new wave of repression has broken out against the revolutionary workers and peasants and their organisations. During the last month there has been a real hunting drive of communist and unitarian (R.I.L.U.) workers and peasants all over the country.

This situation has developed under a whole series of strikes, some of them very important not only by the number of workers involved, but also for its political significance, being imperialist capital the owner of these enterprises. (**American Smelting and Refining Co. [A.S.A.R.C.O.], Mexican South Pacific R.-R., La Imperial [Oil], and the Mexican Light and Power Co.**, which controls the tramways in Mexico City.)

Strikes as that of the **A.S.A.R.C.O.** in **Monterrey** have been drowned in blood—to break them, declaring by means of all kinds of legal tricks, all strikes illegal through the Arbitration Courts; the Minister for Industry, Commerce and Labour has made a statement declaring all strikes “unpatriotic at this time”. A great number of strikes have been broken under the fascist Code of Labour. The workers are bound to lose their illusions about the new labour laws as on the bourgeois arbitration government courts.

Out in the country the poor peasantry is compelled to fight with arms federal soldiers and the landowners white guards (**Morelos, Guanajuato**), because they resist to be thrown out from the land taken without any legal forms according to the agrarian reform. The poor peasant guerrillas are being disarmed wherever they refuse to act as rural police for the government or the landowners; bloody fights have taken place on account of this, just now the federal troops in **Chihuahua** have killed more than 20 peasant members of these guerrillas.

Assaulting and pillage of Trade Union headquarters by soldiers and policemen have been happening very often these days, (**Monterrey, Madero City, San-Bruno, Jalapa, and Mexico City**). Before June 24 the method was to arrest the workers or peasants and to send them to the State capitals or Mexico City to be kept in jail indefinitely without any trial. Now, after June 24, the method has changed. About 50 workers were sent already to the **Islas Marias** Penitentiary, (Islands in the Pacific Ocean, far away from the coast), there are imprisoned all over the country a great number of workers and peasants, which most probably will go to enlarge the number of those sent already to **Islas Marias**. According to capitalist press and our own reports, the workers and peasants arrested during the last three days are between 40 and 50. Not only the native workers are being banished from their home cities to other places. Seven or eight foreign workers are to be deported to Europe on July 18 from **Veracruz**, most of them being form fascist **Poland**, and similar European countries, where they will be put in jail or perhaps assassinated as all revolutionary workers.

Among the class war prisoners there are several soldiers—a corporal and Lieutenant **Chapoy** were shot without any trial—all of them are charged with being members of the Communist cells and Soldiers Committees in the Army barracks.

The assaults and closing down of Trade Union headquarters in **Mexico City** as well as in other cities, the brutal mass killing of peasants and shooting of soldiers, the sending of workers and students to the **Islas Marias** Penitentiary, where the capitalist regime sends only the worst criminals, thieves, etc., the mass arrests in **Veracruz**, whose governor, **Tejeda**, is the worst demagogue and the more dangerous for that, of all the Mexican rotten politicians, are the clearest signs of the sharpened situation increased every day by the capitalist crisis in these semi-colonial countries under the yoke of Yankee imperialism.

The Mexican masses undoubtedly are turning to the left just as the masses of the exploited everywhere. Its strikes lately, as the **A.S.A.R.C.O.** strike, are featured by the fact that they begun to break the Fascist labour laws. The unrest and even uprisings among the poor peasants as well as the Communist successful anti-militarist work in the Army and among the policemen, have made a deep impression in the Government higher circles and put them busily to suppress by brutal terror and murder methods the wakening of the

masses and to break the revolutionary spirit shown during the last few weeks.

It is, therefore, the task of the revolutionary working class and peasantry of **all countries**, to demonstrate before the Mexican Legations and Consulates, and against the Mexican Government officials in foreign lands, (General **Calles**, War Minister in the Mexican Cabinet, was not annoyed by the revolutionary movement in the United States during his recent staying in **Boston, Mass.**, in spite of the fact that this new terror period worst than ever was going on while he was there); it is necessary to start a big campaign in the revolutionary press in all countries against the militarist-fascist methods used by the Mexican bourgeoisie against the proletariat and poor peasant masses in revolt.

The Mexican revolutionary workers and peasants appeal to the revolutionary workers of all countries, especially to those of the **United States** and of the **Latin American countries**, to agitate, to demonstrate against the fascist-militarist white terror regime employed by the Mexican government, puppet of Yankee imperialism, in order to put down the growing militancy of the poor masses in Mexico.

**Down with Fascist white terror! Long live international solidarity of the oppressed of all countries!**

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The C. P. of Finland and the Struggle of the Working Class\*.

By M. S. (Helsingfors).

The objective situation in Finland must be regarded as comparatively favourable for the work of the Communist Party and the struggle of the working masses. It is true that Terror has been intensified to a frightful pitch, and everything which is accomplished must be carried out in the face of governmental prohibitions, and under perpetual persecution from the Political Police and other organs of the state. But conditions have been like this in Finland for years. Terror has to be taken into account as an obvious factor which simply has to be overcome—it may not serve as an excuse for bad work.

We must candidly admit that our Communist Party has not yet learnt to a sufficient extent how to organise a broad mass struggle for the vital interests of the working people in this situation. Up to the present there have been no great mass movements, such as the objective situation demands and renders possible. The **subjective factor**, the Party, has not yet been able to keep pace with the development of the **objective situation**. The Party has been guilty of lagging behind events.

Certainly we are able to place on record progress in the work of the Party in many respects, even comparatively great progress. In the field of organisation especially excellent results have been obtained. When we remember that after the fascist upheaval in 1930 over 1000 Party members were forced over the Soviet frontier, murdered, or thrown into prison, that during this time the Party lost the greater part of its trained and tested cadres, that there were cases of provocation which delivered over whole district organisations (for instance in **Vasa**) into the hands of the **Okhrana**, and that there have been frequent cases of desertion from our colours and of necessary purgings of the Party from opportunist elements—when we remember all this, then we may truly regard it as a great success under such conditions that the **membership of the Party is now greater than ever before**.

With respect of the number of members, the Communist Party of Finland takes the second place among the Communist Parties of Scandinavia, next to the Swedish Party. This is not bad for an illegal Party in a country where the mere membership of the Party is punished by two to three years hard labour.

The Young Communist League too has succeeded in attaining record membership figures. This spring the League succeeded, for the first time in its history, in out-distancing

\*) See International Press Correspondence, No. 34, page 705.

the Party in a number of districts with regard to numbers of membership. As in the Party, in the Young Communist League the members have for the most part only been organised for one to two years.

Great progress has been made in the Party press. Besides the theoretical organ, "Proletaari", the Party, the Youth League, and the revolutionary mass organisations possess the following leading newspapers and periodicals: "S.K.P. Tiedonantaja" (News of the C.P. of Finland), the central organ of the Party, the "Party Worker" for the Party active, "The Proletarian" in Swedish, "The Barracks", a mass organ for the soldiers, "The Red Soldier", and "Against Imperialism", organs for anti-military work, "The Working and Peasant Woman", "The Young Communist", the organ of the Young Communist League, the "Young Guard", the mass newspaper of the League, the "Pioneer", the children's newspaper, the "Prisoner's Comrade" the Red Aid organ, and "Finland's Red National Organisation", the trade union paper. Besides this, most of the district organisations possess their district newspapers, and even some of the local and sub-district committees have their own papers.

A deficiency in this sphere of work is the small number of factory papers. All these papers are "printed" on duplicating machines. They bring out, however (except the local and factory papers), editions of several thousand copies. The "Tiedonantaja" for instance issues an edition of 5000 copies. Although these papers are illegal, they are sold fairly openly in the factories and even in the streets. Every copy is of course read by several workers.

In Finland the revolutionary trade unions too are prohibited. The social democratic party trade unions, in spite of the monopolist position which they have attained with the aid of the Okhrana, and in spite of the aid which they receive from the communist renegades (including a large number of former trade union functionaries), have not contrived to build up mass organisations. The social democrats, when they first commenced their split action, could still lay claim to having 24,000 members in their organisations (as compared with 90,000 in the disbanded trade union federation), but now they are obliged to admit that they have not even retained 20,000 members. In reality they have about 15,000 members.

The progress made by the work of the Red Aid is a matter of congratulation. The Red Aid in Finland—naturally an illegal organisation—has its committees and groups in all important places and organisations, and works comparatively satisfactorily. In Finland the Red Aid is on the road to becoming a real mass organisation.

Among the unemployed too the Party has been able to initiate much greater activity than last year. There have been unemployed meetings, unemployed demonstrations, sending of delegation to the authorities, municipal councils, town council sessions, etc. A total of over hundred such actions was reached last winter. In many places the unemployed succeeded by this mass action in forcing the authorities to give them aid support. It must, however, be admitted that in most cases these actions were limited in range, and were not systematically organised and led by the Party.

In the works and factories too work of the Party is too weak, and is not carried on along the right lines. New members are recruited, Party literature and leaflets are distributed, but no day to day work is accomplished. There is little comprehension for the utilisation of "small" day to day questions for the purpose of initiating action in the factories and workshops, and for linking up these day to day questions with the general struggle of the working class against fascism and against imperialist war, and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Very often this weakness is due to the aversion against the difficult and dangerous work involved in these day to day tasks, to opportunist passivity and insufficient faith in the militant determination and militant capabilities of the masses.

The Party must fight energetically against opportunism in its own ranks, against that "opportunism in actual practice" which is its most frequent form. Much depends here on the Party cadres. The new Party members must be trained to be communists, to free themselves from Right opportunism and "Left" radicalism—such tendencies exist—and to commit no errors from lack of experience. In the training of new Party cadres too an important role is played by correct Bolshevik work in the workshop and factories, among the masses.

## On the Duties of Communists.

(From the periodical "Party Structure", Organ of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. No. 11/12, 1932.)

At one of the recent Org Conferences of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., a number of reports of Party groups\*) were accepted on the question of the Party duties of Communists.

There is no doubt that the Party groups have achieved significant successes on this question. On the whole, the Communists have all been drawn into social work; active non-Party workers are beginning to be drawn into the carrying out of Party instructions.

Now how can the necessary improvements be brought about in the process of work?

1. The Party duties are still being poorly linked up with a number of chief tasks which the groups which were reporting are confronted with. In the distribution of Party duties in the Party groups, such tasks as the day-to-day work for the realisation of the six well-known conditions of Comrade Stalin, the struggle for the fulfilment of the co-efficients with regard to quality, the work for the liquidation of waste, inexcusable stoppages of work, questions of workers' supplies, are sometimes lost sight of.

It can be asserted for all the Party groups that reported to the C.C., that the exercise of functions of political mass work is rather slight, and in this connection the Party groups are faced with the tremendous task of putting **all the workers, from the most advanced to the most backward, under Party influence**. A great deal of work must be done for the retraining of the masses who have but recently come into production.

Systematic work must be carried on within each group among the "active" of non-Party workers which is constantly being formed, and it is necessary to recruit the best among these for the Party. For the accomplishment of all these tasks, it is necessary to draw the entire "active" of the Party organisation into political mass work, regardless of what field this or that comrade may work upon.

There are few or almost no Party duties in the Party groups in question along the line of the transmission belts: the work in the trade unions, work in the Y.C.L. etc.

2. It must be emphasised that in the given Party groups a special approach to the candidates and the backward, poorly developed Party comrades has not yet been made. It is important to assign Party functions to such comrades who are precisely suited to them: attendance at a circle or a Party school, self-education under the leadership of an older comrade, participation in simple, practical social work under the guidance of a more developed comrade, etc.

**Special attention must be given to these comrades and assistance must be rendered them.** In that way we shall be able to form new cadres of functionaries out of them.

3. The training of Party comrades in the process of exercising their Party functions is being poorly carried out. It is necessary to introduce such systematic help in the process of the work, as well as control over the exercising of the Party functions of the individual Communists in the group. The Communists should report regularly about their work **in the meetings**. The rule should be followed **that the Communists should at first receive simpler commissions and later on more and more complicated ones**.

4. The training of each individual Party comrade is to be most closely linked up with the strengthening of the leading role of the department nucleus over the Party groups.

The department nuclei must organise in their departments the training of Party comrades who have definite Party functions, and questions of this kind are to be discussed at meetings, at special conferences, in the department press, etc. The department nuclei must control the distribution and fulfilment of Party functions in each Party group and help the latter in the process of this work (by strengthening them with functionaries, by imparting their experiences to them). The department nuclei must see to the promotion of capable, talented Party comrades to active work in the department.

The present task of the **decisive strengthening of the department link** of the Party organisations in the factories must be most closely linked up with the task of the proper organisation of the Party functions.

\*) The Party group is a part of the department nucleus, the lowest link of the Party organisation in the enterprise. It is composed of Communists within a brigade, those working on a certain set of machines, or of another group of workers.

## **The Co-operative Movement**

# **The Consumers' Co-operatives and the Tasks of the Communists.**

## **Theses of the Co-operative Department of the E.C.C.I.**

### I.

1. The Thesis on Co-operatives of the 3rd World Congress of the Communist International, which states that:

"... in the epoch of the proletarian revolution, the proletarian co-operatives are faced with the problem of rendering aid to the toiling masses in their struggle for power",

acquires increased significance under the present conditions of the intensified cyclical crisis on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism and on the basis of the revolutionary upsurge of the broadest sections of the toiling masses. The development since the 3rd World Congress of the Comintern has likewise also fully confirmed that part of the same Thesis which states that the Co-operatives under reformist leadership,

"... under the cloak of political neutrality are serving the political interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie", and in that way:

"... they do not support the development of the revolution, but on the contrary, hold it back; do not help the struggle of the proletariat, but harm it".

Under the present conditions of the world economic crisis of the capitalist economic system, the Co-operatives, under the leadership of the Social Fascists, are being more and more transformed into an instrument for the capitalist way out of the crisis. This interlocking with the employers and with the capitalist state is being substantiated before the masses by the theories of so-called "economic democracy", of "organised capitalism", and with the fraud of a new era of "state capitalism" through which the capitalist state, with the special help of the Co-operatives, will "peacefully grow into socialism".

2. The Consumers' Co-operatives which number millions of members who in their overwhelming majority are men and women workers, can serve, under the assumption that they have a class-conscious revolutionary leadership, as an auxiliary instrument of the proletarian class struggle for a revolutionary way out of the crisis. This demands a systematic and energetic struggle against the present Social Fascist and reformist leadership of the Co-operatives in the capitalist countries.

3. As a result of the capitalist economic crisis, and especially through the lowering of the standard of living of the great masses of the toilers which has been brought about by this crisis, the economic basis of the Co-operatives has been greatly shaken. Finance capital which has extended its domination from the field of production to the field of commerce through new forms (warehouses, branch chain stores), places the Co-operatives, whose reformist leadership is moreover social fascist and goes with the bourgeoisie through thick and thin, under its influence to an increasing extent, also by means of domination of the credit system and by means of the trusts, monopolies and price syndicates. In almost all countries there are to be noted a decrease in the sales of the Co-operatives and an absolute and relative decrease of the share of the Co-operatives in the total sales. The role and the economic importance of the Consumers' Co-operatives in commerce have decreased. In order to overcome the economic difficulties, the Co-operative leaders have applied purely capitalist methods in the Co-operatives. They carried through dismissals of the Co-operative workers and employees on a wide scale, took the lead in the field of wage cuts and the lengthening of the working day, made the general conditions of their workers and employees worse and diminished the slight advantages which the Co-operatives can still offer to the worker consumer.

4. The marked contradiction between the decline of the Co-operative organisations in the capitalist countries and the

colossal growth of the Co-operatives in the U.S.S.R. is one of the facts which, on the one hand, contributes to the radicalisation of the masses of the Co-operative members and on the other, contributes to intensify the campaigns of slander of the social fascists against the first proletarian state of the world and against its Co-operatives. This fact shows the deep difference, between the role of the Co-operatives in the capitalist economic order and their role after the proletariat has captured power. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Co-operatives have shown themselves to be an important auxiliary aid in the construction of socialism for increasing the material and the cultural standard of the broad masses. For this reason as well the Communists in the capitalist countries must strive to create strong positions in the Co-operatives for the revolutionary movement in order to

"help to prepare, to a certain extent, the functioning of production and exchange after the expropriation of the capitalist class." (Lenin.)

5. Despite its constantly increasing assistance in the search for the capitalist way out of the crisis, despite the growing economic difficulties of the Consumers' Co-operatives, there remain organisations which are still constantly gaining new members and have millions of followers who in their overwhelming majority belong to the working class. These masses, misled by the social fascist demagogy, with the traditional devotion of the masses to organisations which they consider as their own, as well as the necessity of the workers to utilise even the smallest direct advantages, put the Co-operatives in a position to abuse these masses who as a result of inadequate work of the Communists do not see that the Co-operatives could also help them in their struggles for wages and bread, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The economic crisis and the anti-working class, counter-revolutionary policy of the social fascist Co-operative leaders radicalise the masses of members which gives us favourable conditions for revolutionary work and for influencing these masses for the revolutionary struggle. Despite all that, the activity of the majority of the Communist Party has, in general, remained very weak and unsystematic. It is therefore necessary that the Communist Parties should show a clear political line in the sphere of Co-operative work and develop systematic activity so as to overcome the lagging behind of Party work under the favourable objective conditions, and to draw the Co-operatives, led by the Communists, into the revolutionary class struggle.

The main task of the Communists in the Co-operative movement is the winning of the majority of the working class for the revolutionary class struggle, the destruction of reformist illusions of the masses organised in the Co-operatives, and the severing of these masses from social fascist influence. Every deviation from this line must be energetically fought against, no matter in which form it may appear, whether it be a right deviation which believes that it can capture the apparatus of the Co-operatives without a real revolutionary mass mobilisation, or whether it be a "left" deviation which expresses itself in a denial of the necessity of mass work in the Co-operatives, or in the sectarian founding of our own Co-operatives.

6. The overwhelming majority of the Co-operative membership is organised in those Co-operatives which are today still being led by the Social Fascist, Christian and other bourgeois leaders. Our work is therefore to be concentrated on these Co-operatives. Starting from the specific questions which concretely face the Co-operative movement in general and each individual Consumers' Society in particular (crisis, struggle against commercial concerns and large capitalist undertakings, against the trusts, the tariff policy of the government, against the taxes, against the leaders who co-operate

with the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus), it is necessary to reveal to the masses of workers who are organised in the Co-operatives the connection between these questions and the general problems of the class struggle. It is necessary to expose and fight against the fraud of the so-called "price reductions" with which the social fascists prepare and help to carry through the real wage reductions which are put through by the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to win over the masses that are organised in the Co-operatives for the support of the economic and political struggles of the working class, especially for the support of the strike struggles, and the struggles of the unemployed, since only in this way will the masses who are organised in the Co-operatives be able to defend their standards of living. But this fight is only possible as a struggle against social fascism and fascism, as a struggle against the entire capitalist system. This struggle, at the same time, presupposes a wide mobilisation of all the toilers, a direct connection of the Co-operatives with all the revolutionary organisations of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party for a revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism.

## II.

Out of these many political considerations arise the following lines for the carrying through of the tasks of the Communists in the Co-operatives:

1. The Consumers' Societies and the masses of their members must be represented in all the economic and political organs of struggle of the proletariat. In any case, the revolutionary minority in the Co-operatives, despite the resistance of the social fascist leaders, must send their representatives to these organs. It is therefore necessary:

2. To establish an ideological and concrete practical co-operation between revolutionary minorities in the reformist Co-operatives or between the revolutionary Co-operatives on the one hand and the revolutionary opposition in the reformist trade unions or the revolutionary trade unions.

3. To organise in the Co-operatives support of the struggles of the striking and unemployed workers through participation of the masses of the members in all demonstrations, through the sending of representatives to committees of action of the strikers, unemployed, etc.

4. Participation of the Co-operatives in the relief institutions of the strikers and the unemployed, supplying the food kitchens with food products at low prices, granting credits, distribution of food etc., ceding the apparatus of the means of transport and the premises of the Co-operatives to the organs mentioned.

5. Participation of the Co-operatives in the political struggles and campaigns through the mobilisation of the members and customers, through financial support of the struggle, closing the stores, hanging out streamers, revolutionary placards, red flags, etc.

6. Affiliation of the Co-operatives to revolutionary mass organisations such as the International Red Aid, Workers' International Relief, Anti-Imperialist League, as well as the organisation of special groups of the above named organisations out of the ranks of the Co-operative members.

7. In conjunction with other revolutionary organisations and under the leadership of the Communist Parties, the trade unions should actively participate in the organisation of self-defence groups for the purpose of defence of the Co-operatives as well as other proletarian organisations against the attacks of the fascists which are facilitated by the treachery of the social fascist bureaucracy.

All these activities which can only be carried through with the active help of the leading organs of the red Co-operatives and only against the desires of the social fascist bureaucracy in the reformist Co-operatives, are by their nature mass campaigns.

8. The Co-operatives must participate in the First of May Demonstrations as well as in the political strikes by closing their shops and producing enterprises. Should the political strikes reach a higher level, then the participation of the Co-operatives will be determined by the necessities of the struggle.

9. The Communists must untiringly expose the treachery of the Co-operative bureaucracy in the last world war and their lying pacifist phrases, they must mobilise the masses for the struggle against placing the Co-operative organisations at the service of the war plans of the imperialist general staffs, against the inciting of the social fascist Co-operative bureaucracy against the Soviet Co-operatives, which practi-

cally means the ideological preparation of the war against the U.S.S.R., and mobilise them for the active defence of the Soviet Union.

10. In recruiting new members for the Consumers' Societies, the Communists must expose before the masses the social fascist illusions about the role and the importance of the Co-operatives within the capitalist system. The Communists must always reveal to the masses that the Co-operatives can only serve the working class if they will take their place in the ranks of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat against capitalism. Only under these conditions will recruiting contribute to the strengthening of our influence in the Co-operatives.

11. The activities of the Communists in the Consumers' Societies of almost all capitalist countries, during the last few years reveal a great number of right opportunist deviations, repeated capitulations before Co-operative legalism which makes an idol of law and order and statutory regulations. The going over of Party Co-operative functionaries to the renegades and social fascists occurred more than once. The chief mark of distinction of opportunism in the Co-operative movement was the inadequate development of the struggle against social fascism as well as the failure to mobilise the masses for the struggle against the political and economic difficulties of the Co-operatives. The Communist Parties must therefore radically, thoroughly and with ruthless energy fight against the right opportunism which is very rampant in the Co-operatives.

12. The "left" or fundamentally opportunist tendency to leave the reformist Co-operatives and Societies (under the slogan of "Nothing can be done") often expresses itself in the effort to found new revolutionary Co-operatives with the support of the members who have left the Co-operatives and those who have been expelled or through the assistance of the Communist municipal authorities. If Communists want to found new Co-operatives they must always be guided by the necessities of the general policy of the revolutionary movement and, under all circumstances, must see to it that the establishment of a new organisation does not isolate the revolutionary elements from the masses of the Co-operative members.

13. The social fascists will resort to everything so as not to allow the leadership of the Co-operatives to pass into revolutionary hands, not even if the majority of the members decide to do so. But the ever stronger and more brutal fascistisation of the social fascist methods for gagging the revolutionary Co-operative members must be exposed by us before the broadest toiling public and we must oppose it with a permanent and ever more active mobilisation of the masses of the members. On our part we must also extend the basis of the revolutionary opposition simultaneously with the intensification of the forms of struggle, in as much as we do not only mobilise the members of the respective societies, but also the Co-operators of the vicinity, of an entire district etc., and not only the Co-operative members, but also the entire working class against the social-fascist dictatorship. After we have won the confidence of the membership of a workers' organisation through a wide-spread campaign which is conscious of its aim, we must not shrink from the tasks which the masses have entrusted to us. In such cases we must mobilise the masses which have brought us the victory, and must openly disclose the economic situation, appeal to the readiness of the masses for sacrifice and solidarity and show the masses of the members very clearly that the social-fascists, together with the capitalists, and the organs of the state, will not stop at anything in order economically to destroy the Co-operatives which we have won.

14. The Communists fight against the concentration and fusion policy of the Social fascist Co-operative bureaucracy, because it means greater submission to the dictatorship of finance capital and the further elimination of proletarian democracy. Communists are to carry out or support a concentration or fusion of Consumers' Societies only where this means strengthening the revolutionary forces and weakening the influence of our opponents.

15. Although, in principle, we are not against the customers' strike as a weapon of the members against the social fascist dictatorship of the Co-operative bureaucracy, it should not be applied except as one of the measures in the struggle for members' rights, and a means of increasing the activity of the masses. The customers' strike which, wrongly applied, can easily lead to a policy of isolation from the masses and to sectarian mistakes, can be used by us only as a means of

our strength, and not as an expression of our weakness, i. e., the customers' strike can be advocated and carried through by us after we have won a great majority of members for it, and only if it is used as an effective and temporary means. Our mobilisation of the members must on no account give rise to the assumption that the customers' strike is the "last means" in the struggle against the social fascist dictatorship. We must rather, even at the end of a customers' strike, use further means of mobilising the masses for the enforcement of proletarian democracy, and must continue the struggle.

16. The Communists carry on in the Co-operatives the struggle for workers' democracy, for the revolutionary unity of the Co-operative movement, against expulsion and splitting. The most important task, namely the conquest of the majority of the Co-operative members, cannot be solved through the establishment of revolutionary Co-operative Societies that would lead to a dissociation of the revolutionaries from the mass of the members. However, Co-operatives expelled from the national unions can amalgamate into unions if economic necessities arise. But the struggle against expulsion must be continued, and responsibility for the split must always be placed at the door of the social fascists. The struggle for the revolutionary unity of the Co-operative movement must on no account lead to concessions and compromises with the social fascists and must not weaken our struggle against them.

17. The Communists must also support the revolutionary political and trade union organisations of the workers and employees of the Co-operatives in the struggle for the defence of their interests, through the mobilisation of broad masses of the Cooperative members. This will induce the workers and employees to help us on their part in our struggle for the conquest of the masses of members with whom they are in daily contact for the revolutionary class struggle, and this will be the best way of getting them away from the disintegrative influence of the right and conciliatory elements.

18. A considerable part of our revolutionary work in the Co-operatives must be devoted to the masses of **working women**, for it is women especially who are in daily contact with the Co-operatives. The mass bases for this work are the shops where we have an opportunity of establishing contact with women factory workers, with proletarian house wives and also with the middle class women, winning them for the struggles of the working class on the strength of questions of paramount interest to women, namely, prices, the plight of workers families, unemployment etc. The Communists must raise concretely the question of double membership without an increase in the number of shares in the reformist consumers' Societies, and must solve it in Red Consumers' Societies, popularising at the same time the participation of women on a large scale in all the bodies and leading organs of the Co-operatives. We are against separate women's organisations (guilds) in the Co-operatives, but the formation of commissions for work among women can certainly be useful. In countries where special women's groups and organisations (guilds) already exist, women Communists who are Co-operative members should also join the Guilds in order to carry on revolutionary work there.

19. The revolutionary Co-operatives and the revolutionary Co-operative opposition must keep in constant contact with the revolutionary youth organisations for the purpose of common consultation and mutual support. The Co-operatives must above all support all the struggles of the revolutionary youth organisations, as well as all the demonstrations of the proletarian mass organisations of the youth (cultural, sport etc.).

20. To carry through the aforesaid tasks, the following methods are to be used: broad application of the method of revolutionary competition among the red Co-operatives, between the Consumers' Societies in capitalist countries and those of the U.S.S.R. among the revolutionary minority of the reformist Co-operatives. Organising exchange of experiences and delegations of Co-operative members to the U.S.S.R. Supervising the carrying through of decisions made by calling periodical conferences of leading functionaries and Co-operative activists.

21. Connection between agricultural and Consumers' Co-operatives is a fraudulent manoeuvre and a means of helping finance capital to penetrate into the Co-operatives. However, Consumers' Societies must be made use of, in order to streng-

then our influence among the poor and middle peasants through the development of their activity in the countryside, as well as by establishment of direct business relations with this strata of the peasantry.

22. The Co-operatives which are led by the Communists must march at the head of the struggle of the revolutionary opposition. Our revolutionary Co-operative policy must be carried through clearly and energetically in these Consumers' Societies, so that every worker should see that it is here a question of workers' organisations prepared for all struggles. The confidence of the rank and file members must be won by making it clear to them that the Co-operatives are led in the spirit of a consistent proletarian mass policy (but this certainly does not mean that business-like management of the economic, financial and commercial affairs of the Co-operatives, and the manner in which all the necessary technical work is done are to be neglected). In the Co-operative movement, too, it is essential to educate as many members as possible into active organisers and agitators of the proletarian class struggle. To secure financial support for strikers and other victims of the class struggle is also a very important task. It is, however, of paramount importance to see that the Co-operative organisations should on their part contribute to the organisation and preparation of the masses, to the training of active cadres for the proletarian revolution, for the decisive struggle for power.

We must be able to link up correctly the tasks of Communist leadership in the Co-operatives with the enforcement of proletarian democracy. If we mobilise the proletarian membership and induce them to show initiative and solidarity, we need not decide Co-operative questions without proletarian democracy or against the will of the majority of the members, as the social fascists do. The Communists, by dealing clearly with all the issues before the proletarian members, will convince the majority of the correctness of their action and will hereby induce the masses themselves to make the right decision. The demand for proletarian democracy in the Co-operatives must not be submerged in endless speeches about democracy, but it must rather be the lever that will draw as many members as possible into the activities of the organisation, and must in the end convert the Co-operatives into genuine proletarian organisations whose driving power is the will and the strength of the broad masses. This collective activity naturally demands Communist leadership and direction; the Communists must constantly try to rouse the initiative of the masses.

By correct instructions, the Communists must persuade the members of the organisation of the necessity of supervision of the whole work through the Communist Party, so that the members should themselves clamour for the continuance of the leading activity of the Communists, and the work of the organisation be improved. This is the only way of making the members look upon the organisation and the Communist leadership as their own.

Nearly all the weaknesses and deviations that make their appearance in the Co-operatives led by us, show the necessity of sharper struggle against opportunism in practice. In difficult situations these right deviations become open disloyalty; it has frequently happened that executive members of oppositional Co-operatives became allies of the social fascists in the midst of decisive struggles. Such incidents show the necessity of systematic and constant supervision of our executives by the organs of the Communist Party, and by the Co-operative membership.

The economic and financial policy of our Consumers' Societies must be very cautious (plenty of liquid funds). Their business policy must aim at satisfying the direct requirements of the poorest strata of workers.

23. The work in the Consumers' Societies is part of the mass work of the Party which must be conducted by fractions that are to be formed in all the Co-operatives. The responsibility for this work rests with the local and district leaderships and the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The broad mass of the oppositional Co-operative members is to be co-ordinated into oppositional groups around the fractions. The Central Committee must regulate the central and responsible leadership of Co-operative work in their respective countries in accordance with the concrete decisions.