

World News

# The International Anti-War Congress.

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts — Please reprint

# INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 12 No. 39

# PRESS

1st Sept. 1932

# CORRESPONDENCE

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Dönhoff 2856 and 2867.

## CONTENTS

"In the Phase of Developing Struggles." The "Pravda" On the International Situation . . . . .	815	<b>Trade Union Movement.</b>	
<b>Politics</b>		A. I.: The Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation . . . . .	827
R. B.: One Year of National Government . . . . .	816	<b>The Labour Movement.</b>	
Osterreicher: Austria Under the Yoke of Lausanne . . . . .	817	The Strike of the Miners in Belgium . . . . .	828
R. Kölner: Insurrection and Civil War in Brazil . . . . .	818	<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.</b>	
The Spanish Workers Protest . . . . .	819	Leningrad's Second Five Year Plan . . . . .	828
<b>The White Terror</b>		<b>The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries.</b>	
Li "B": Renewed Wave of Japanese Terror in Korea Save Our Comrade Edith Berkman! . . . . .	820	Peter Jottkas: The Situation of Germany's Working Classes 1., 2., 3., 4., 5. and 6. . . . .	829
<b>Germany</b>		<b>The Co-operative Movement.</b>	
Th. Neubauer: Papen's Latest "Program of Deliverance" . . . . .	821	Heinrich Oswald: The Conference of the Executive of the Co-operatives Alliance . . . . .	832
<b>The War</b>		<b>The world Economic Crisis.</b>	
M. Magnien: Ushida's Answer to Stimson's Speech . . . . .	822	A. G. Bosse: Farm Crisis and Farm Population in the United States . . . . .	833
<b>International Fight Against War and Intervention</b>		A. Montanari: Fascist Italy in the Clutches of the Crisis . . . . .	834
The International Anti-War Congress . . . . .	823	<b>Proletarian Youth Movement.</b>	
P. Lang: Has the II. International Altered Its Treacherous War Policy? . . . . .	825	Appeal For the 18th International Youth Day . . . . .	835

## The Mass Strike of the British Cotton Weavers.

By R. Bishop.

London, 29th August 1932.

The great majority of the miners of Belgium are still on strike despite the terror of the employers and the police and despite the treachery of the reformist trade union leaders. And now capitalism is again shaken by a new great struggle of international importance.

The vast majority of the 250,000 Lancashire weavers and other workers of the manufacturing side of cotton industry came out on strike to-day, efforts of the Trade Union reformist leaders and the Labour Party to effect a treacherous compromise breaking down before the mass resistance of the workers.

The struggle began with the strike of 16,000 textile workers in Burnley on the 24th July. The workers of the other textile areas immediately demanded a general struggle against the attack of the employers who wished to put through a wage cut of two shillings and ninepence in the pound (i. e. about twelve per cent.), against the murderous

rationalisation plans of the employers who wished to increase the number of looms tended by each worker, and in order to secure the re-instatement of the workers who had been victimised in the struggle against the more loom system.

A session of the reformist leaders of the Weavers Union which took place on the 3rd August refused to call a general strike of the weavers and left it to the executive to decide the question, which, however, also showed no signs of coming to any definite decision. In the meantime the strike extended from Burnley and Earby to Nelson, Preston, Bolton, Haslingden and other important textile centres.

Finally the General Council of the United Weavers Association was compelled on the 11th August to recommend a general stoppage in the cotton industry. On the 15th August the leadership of the Textile Workers Union decided for a general stoppage of the weavers in Lancashire to begin on the 27th August "unless in the meantime the employers decided to change their attitude so long as the door to a settlement was still open."

This new delay produced great dissatisfaction. The workers of more and more factories joined the strike without waiting for the sanction of their leaders. Attempts of the employers to carry on with blackleg labour resulted in bloody collisions and many arrests.

Although the ranks of the strikers had now swollen to 50,000 the **General Council of the Weavers Union** decided on the 21st August with 87 against 62 votes not to call an immediate general stoppage.

On the 25th August a session of the **Executive Committee** of the Cotton Spinners took place and rejected a demand on the part of the employers to carry out wage cuts to the extent mentioned within three weeks. It was proposed to carry out a ballot amongst the members of the union as to whether the negotiations with the employers should be continued.

In the meantime the negotiations in **Manchester Town Hall** between the representatives of the weavers and the owners with a view to preventing a general stoppage of the weavers on the 27th August had broken down. The reformist officials did their utmost to come to an understanding with the employers, but their efforts failed thanks to the increased activity of the weavers themselves. Mass meetings of the weavers took place all over Lancashire and decided on a general strike.

In a few towns near **Manchester**, small towns remote from the main centres of the weaving industry, decisions were taken not to come out on strike in view of the fact that the employers in these towns had either temporarily withdrawn the cuts or reduced them. Throughout the most important centres the strike is completely solid, and it is evident, that even in **Hythe, Ashton, Stalybridge** and **Glossop**, the towns where there is no strike at present, the reformists will find extreme difficulties in holding the workers back.

Already in **Leith** where it was generally assumed by the bourgeois press that there would be no stoppage owing to the concessions made by the employers, the workers decided at a special mass meeting last night to come out in solidarity with the rest of Lancashire, and this morning there was a 100% response in Leith as in all the main Lancashire centres. At a number of mills at **Bolton**, the employers came out with a last minute's offer to continue paying the old rate of wages for the time being. Nevertheless the number of workers who turned up at the mills to-day, was only 200 out of a total of 19,000 normally employed at these mills.

The strike is 100% solid in **Burnley, Preston, Nelson, Colne, Blackburn, Haslingden, Great Harwood, Riston, Skipton**, whilst the breakaway is only small, except in the **Ashton-Stalybridge** group of towns and in **Rochdale** where a decision was taken last night at a poorly attended meeting to remain at work to-day. Many complaints were made at this Rochdale meeting that members had not been notified of it by the officials, and as the decision to remain at work was only carried by a small majority, it was decided to convene a further meeting.

Strong pickets were on duty at most of the Lancashire mills this morning and the blacklegs are assured of a warm reception when they leave work this evening. In **Burnley** and

**Preston** where the strike has been on for some time, the mass picketing has been so effective, that it has completely stopped all blacklegging. Similar picketing in other areas will have the same effect.

Strong mill strike committees are being formed which will ensure control being kept out of the hands of the officials, who having striven for months to prevent a stoppage will now do their best to betray it.

At the present moment **200,000 cotton spinners** are faced with similar wage cuts. The union has decided to take a strike ballot, and it is admitted by the bourgeois press that this, like the weavers ballot, will inevitably result in an overwhelming majority for strike action.

The weavers officials are appealing to the Government to intervene and mediate between the parties. In to-day's "**Manchester Guardian**" several of the leading reformist officials make statements to this effect. The cotton weavers, however, have bitter memories of 1929 when the Labour Government mediated in the spinners strike with the result that the workers lost  $\frac{1}{3}$  in the pound of their wages.

Without exception the capitalist press to-day calls for arbitration and Government intervention. **Sir Amos Nelson**, one of the largest employers, makes an appeal to this effect in the "**Daily Mail**", whilst the "**Daily Herald**" has as its leading article a column entitled "**The Cabinet Must Act**". **Sir Henry Betterson**, Minister of Labour, is called upon by the "**Daily Herald**" to take steps to set up a court of enquiry "composed of persons respected by both sides in the industry".

The strikers are fighting against a cut in wages which average 31/-, of 2/9 in the pound, against an increase of looms per weaver and for the reinstatement of weavers victimised in the fight against more looms. The strike is described by the "**Daily Herald**" as a "national blunder". The Labour Party and the Trade Union reformists regard the heroic struggle of the weavers as an unmitigated tragedy, but the will to struggle of the cotton operatives is so strong that the forces of capitalism are powerless to crush it.

From all parts of Britain workers in other industries are responding splendidly to the call of the **Workers International Relief** for solidarity aid to the cotton workers. A food convoy of six tons of food on three lorries arrived at **Burnley** on Saturday night from the **London** workers. These have been collected by the W.L.R., and a great reception was given to it when it arrived at the W.L.R. centre in Burnley.

\* \* \*

London, August 30th, 1932.

There are 180,000 cotton workers on strike this morning. There is a complete stoppage of work in the following towns: **Burnley** 80,000 looms, **Haslingden** 14,000, **Northon** 49,000, **Colne** 20,000, **Padihan** 11,000, **Blackburn** 65,000, **Preston** 50,000, **Accrington** 8400, **Ramsbottom** 8500, **Riston** 5400, **Wigan** 6200, **Skipton** 6700. All those towns are absolutely at a standstill. There are very few blacklegs in other places, except in those towns in the Manchester area where in view of concessions by the employers the union officials were able to persuade the workers to take a decision to remain at work. The only two mills that were working in **Blackburn** yesterday, were closed down by the employers last night in face of tremendous mass pickets. The employers have posted a notice this morning that in order not to endanger public peace, they will not attempt to re-open the mills for the time being.

There were big demonstrations yesterday also in **Colne, Haywood, Rawtenstall, Accrington** and **Bacup**. In the latter town 2000 workers demonstrated outside the house of one of their managers. Extra police are being drafted in from **Yorkshire**. In **Bury** although the employers have not given notice of wage reduction and it was anticipated there would be no strike, three quarters of the mills came out yesterday.

**Jay Compton**, the Labour ex M.P. for **Gorton** and **Chairman** of the Lancashire Labour M.P.s in the last Parliament, has sent a telegram to the King in the following terms: "Earnestly plead that His Most Gracious Majesty's Government use their good office in the cotton dispute. All classes of Lancashire people look to His Majesty's Ministers to attempt a settlement of the ruinous industrial upheaval". This telegram is put forward as the main news item in the "**Daily Herald**" to-day. In face of the militancy of the workers the Labour Party is going all out to secure governmental arbitration.

## Two New Executions in Poland.

Warsaw, 25th August 1932.

Two Ukrainians named **Barush** and **Kovalchuk** were sentenced to death yesterday in the town **Kremenetz (Volhynia)** on a charge of espionage. They were executed immediately.

Six Ukrainian peasants are about to be tried in **Kremenetz** on the same charge.

A peasant named **Alexei Hodin** has been sentenced to six years hard labour by the court in **Lunin** on a similar charge.

The police have made a number of arrests in the neighbourhood of the town **Pinsk**. The arrested men, workers and peasants, are also said to be spies. They are being held for trial.

This "spy" epidemic in Poland and the series of executions are nothing but a camouflage. The "spies" are in fact national-revolutionaries or communist workers and peasants active in the struggle against **Pilsudski** and his bands.

# "In the Phase of Developing Struggles."

## The "Pravda" On the International Situation.

On 25th August, the "Pravda" published the following leader under the title of. "**In the Phase of Developing Struggles**":

During the past year history has confirmed very conspicuously the correctness of the Bolshevik analysis of the international situation.

The economic crisis in the capitalist countries has become acuter, is has aggravated all the inconsistencies inherent in the capitalist system, it has weakened this system, and exposed its rottenness more plainly than ever in the eyes of hundreds of millions of human beings. At the same time the economic crisis, and the frightful increase of want and misery among the masses, have awakened to political activity broad strata of the oppressed and exploited toilers, and taught millions of proletarians the necessity and inevitability of the struggle in defence of their elementary interests. During the time of the crisis the proletariat has passed through a stage of development which under ordinary "normal" conditions would have required at least a few decades.

The petty-bourgeois illusions and dreams of pacifism are being torn out by the roots, for the war in the Far East has begun, and the aggravation of all the international contradictions of capitalism has shaken the whole system of treaties upon which the equilibrium and the relative stabilisation of capitalism, which set in 1923, were based.

The petty-bourgeois illusions on state, capitalism, and "democracy" are being dispelled, for the masses recognise that in actuality the state consists above all of the troops of armed men, with the prisons as material addition (as Engels says).

If we separate ourselves from realities and sail into the clouds of dreams, then of course

"capitalism can give dozens of millions for the poor and the workers . . . but . . . the fact is that no pressure can force the state to such things, it needs the pressure of a real revolution" (Lenin).

The fact that the Soviet Union is finally consolidated on the way to socialism, a fact which cannot be concealed by any amount of lies from the bourgeois and social democratic press, shows the masses of the toilers in the capitalist countries that the sole way of escape from poverty, want, and unemployment, the sole salvation from fresh wars, is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the way of Socialism. Under these circumstances the bourgeoisie is in a great hurry.

In foreign politics it seeks a loophole of escape in new imperialist wars and in the intervention against the Soviet Union; in home politics it seeks the way of escape—especially in countries with a strong revolutionary upsurge—in a regime of unrestricted terror, in bloody repressive measures against the workers, in the open fascist dictatorship.

The general crisis of capitalism becomes daily acuter, and has entered a new stage. **The stabilisation of capitalism is over. We are in the transition to a new epoch of wars and revolutions,** accelerated by the military policy of Japanese and French imperialism. Capitalism has reached a catastrophic stage, a phase of violent class struggles, of attempts to redivide the world by means of war.

"Out of the partial stabilisation of capitalism there grows a still acuter crisis, the growing crisis destroys the stabilisation—these are the dialectics of the development of capitalism in the present historical moment" (Stalin).

This Bolshevik prognosis has been completely confirmed in the course of development of the present crisis.

The transition pointed out by Comrade Stalin at the 16th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., the transition leading to decay in the capitalist countries and to a mighty economic upsurge in the Soviet Union, has now reached a new and higher stage, shown in the leading capitalist countries in the increasing weakness of the bourgeoisie on the one hand and in the increasing strengthening of the revolutionary proletariat on the other.

But there is as yet no revolutionary crisis in any of the decisively important imperialist countries. In China alone the Soviet revolution has been victorious over a wide territory; in Spain alone is there a struggle to convert the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

The capitalist countries which are advanced in the sense of revolutionary development (Germany, Poland), are just beginning to approach directly to the revolutionary crisis. The capitalist attacks on the standards of living of the workers continue. The proletariat is still on the defensive. But it is beginning more and more to go forward to the counter attack on the lines of the revolutionary movement of the most advanced countries.

The peculiarities of the tactics of the international revolutionary movement at the present stage result from this situation.

The material productive forces of capitalist society have come into decided contradiction to the existing conditions of production; that is to say, contradiction to the conditions of ownership under which they have developed. The present poverty and want, the starvation and unemployment, appear to be unsurmountable; the standards of living of the masses, already lowered, will sink further. There is no progress possible, there can never again be a capitalist era of prosperity. The sole radical way out for the toilers is socialism. Realising all this, the international communist movement mobilises the masses, and prepares them for the decisive struggle against imperialist war and against fascism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat which realises socialism in actual practice.

That under capitalism there is no hope for the masses to find a way out of poverty and want is admitted, under the pressure of incontestable facts, by even that social democracy which continues to form the main social pillar of the bourgeoisie. The social democrats are forced to demand of the present governments the "nationalisation" of the most important branches of industry (Germany, Poland, Belgium, etc.). The communists expose the fact that such a "nationali-

## Clara Zetkin Opens the Reichstag.

Berlin, 30th August 1932.

The new Reichstag was opened this afternoon at two o'clock by the veteran communist leader Clara Zetkin. Although the fascist press had indulged in threats of violence for weeks and had obviously determined to break up the session rather than permit Clara Zetkin to open the Reichstag and take the chair as the oldest member, and although the nationalist press had energetically supported the campaign and howled for police action against Clara Zetkin, no disturbances of any kind occurred. Clara Zetkin delivered a speech which lasted over an hour and was heard in silence without interruptions. She appealed to the working masses to form a revolutionary united front in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and for a socialist solution of the crisis. In conclusion she expressed the hope that she would live to open the first session of the Soviet Reichstag in Germany. Tremendous applause and cheering from the communist benches followed her speech.

The election of the Presidium of the Reichstag demonstrated how close are the relations between the National Socialists (Fascists) and the Centre (Catholic) Party. Hitler's adjutant Göring was elected President of the Reichstag with the votes of the National Socialists, of the German Nationalists, of the German People's Party, of the Centre Party and of the Bavarian (Catholic) People's Party.

The Centre Party man Esser was elected First Vice-President. In the first ballot the Centre Party deputies voted for the Social Democrat Löbe, but in the second ballot, which became necessary, as the first was undecided, the Centre Party deputies voted against Löbe for their own candidate Esser who also received the votes of the National Socialists.

The Second and Third Vice-Presidents then elected were: Gräf (German Nationalist) and Rauch (Bavarian People's Party).

Thus for the first time in the history of the Reichstag of the German Republic there is no Social Democrat in its Presidium.

sation" would mean renewed and severer oppression and enslavement of the toiling masses, and that the first and decisive question confronting the working class is the question of the **conquest of state power.**

Precisely for the reason that the communists insist on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the one decisive question, therefore all their practical endeavours are directed towards winning over the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat by the initiation of economic struggles for the defence of wages, for unemployed assistance, and for all the small daily demands of the masses. It is solely by means of the defence of the day to day demands of the masses that the social democrats and trade union bureaucrats can be exposed, and it is solely by means of the **united front tactics** that the masses can be led forward from the economic struggles to the political mass strike and to the general strike. It is precisely for the reason that the communists place the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat so decisively and determinedly in the foreground that they must now devote their maximum attention to winning over allies, for those who forget the possible allies of the proletariat in the revolution do not take the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat seriously.

But the struggle for the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat signifies the necessity of an all-round consolidation of all mass organisations, above all the strengthening of the revolutionary trade union movement and its whole organisational system, and the intensification of work in the shops and factories, including the strengthening of the still extremely weak work in the reformist trade unions. Otherwise it is impossible to win over the majority of the workers for the Communist Party, and to isolate the reformist leaders and the sozial democrats.

The majority of the working class can only be won over for revolution by means of persevering work, only in the struggle for the class interests of the proletariat. The Communist Party of Germany has created the basis of its election success by its ability to lead the strike struggles of a number of factories, and to resist successfully the terrorist actions of the fascists. The ability of the C.P. of Poland to lead the working masses in their struggle against the capitalists, and against fascist state power, has been the sole means enabling it to make a tremendous advance towards winning over the majority of the working class and towards securing allies among the masses of the peasantry. And in Czechoslovakia the C.P. has won over the sympathies of broad masses of the reformist and unorganised workers solely by the fact that it undertook the leadership of the miners' struggle. Solely the struggle of the proletariat can draw over to its side those broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie now suffering under the crisis.

**The revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat has reached a higher stage.** A tremendous responsibility rests upon the Communist International. Hence at the present juncture there must be a determined struggle against all Right opportunist standpoints and social democratic influences in the ranks of the Communist Parties, a struggle against all capitulatory and liquidatory trends, and against the underestimation of revolutionary tasks and revolutionary possibilities. Precisely for this reason there must be a determined struggle against the sectarian „left-wing“ theories (especially in questions of trade union tactics), which hinder the struggle for the conquest of the majority of the working class and the creation of the united front from below with the social democratic and reformist workers for the revolutionary struggle. Precisely for this reason the timely proclamation of revolutionary slogans is of decisive importance, and precisely for this reason it is important to avoid all bureaucracy and commanding, in order that a firm Bolshevik leadership of the masses may be created.

The outposts of the international communist movement in the capitalist countries are held by the Communist Parties of Germany, Poland, China, and Japan. These bear the greatest responsibility of the fate of the revolutionary world movement, and need the greatest support from the international proletariat. They stand in the line of fire of the struggle against the anti-Soviet intervention.

It is only thanks to its resolute and insistent peace policy, and thanks to the watchfulness of the toiling masses and their growing readiness to defence, that the Soviet Union has succeeded up to the present, with the aid and support of the international proletariat, in warding off the raid

of the interventionists on its frontiers. But the danger of military intervention, on the Soviet Union has not lessened, and the preparations are continuing.

The proletarians of the capitalist countries have not shown themselves strong enough, in the period of intervention and war preparations just passed, to prevent the transport of arms for the war against the Chinese people and for the attack on the Soviet Union. The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries now set themselves the task of increasing their activities in the struggle against imperialist war preparations, and against the anti-Soviet intervention. The participation of the communists in the impending Anti-War Congress will be one of the means of the mobilisation of the broad masses of the workers and toilers against war and intervention.

**Against imperialist wars and anti-Soviet intervention, against fascism and reaction, against the offensive of capitalism, for the overthrow of the exploitive classes, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism—this is the essential content of the whole struggle and work of the Communist International in the present period of developing class struggle.**

The proletariat of the Soviet Union is following with the greatest attention and sympathy the struggle of the workers, and of the whole of the toiling masses, in the capitalist countries.

## POLITICS

### One Year of National Government.

By R. B. (London).

The National Government has held office for one year. Its advent was hailed by the capitalists as inaugurating a new era in which prosperity would automatically and speedily return to Britain's shores. After one year, a stocktaking reveals less prosperity than before but a savage offensive against the whole working class and the most intense war preparations in history.

Judged by any normal standards the industrial and economic position is infinitely worse than a year ago. **Unemployment** has increased. The August figures are not yet available, but those issued at the end of July show that there were then 2,811,782 persons on the live register of the Labour Exchanges whereas in August last year there were 2,733,782. To make the comparison one must not forget that in addition there have been knocked off benefit nearly half a million under the **Means Test** and the **Anomalies Act** (the last legislative enactment of the **Labour Government**). The majority of these do not appear in the official figures although still unemployed, but are reflected in the heavy increase in the **Poor Law** statistics. The Means Test victims are not only still unemployed but are in far greater distress than ever before. In the industrial areas evidence of under-nourishment and malnutrition are to be seen on every hand.

In addition, although this applied previously too, scores of thousands of blackcoated workers are unemployed, but appear on no register at all. Twelve months ago the figure of 2¼ million unemployed was regarded as quite unprecedented. It was attributed by the bourgeois press to a number of causes, principal among which were the unbalanced Budget, the absence of tariffs etc.

These "causes" have been removed, but the actual figure of unemployment if it could be accurately computed would be found to be well over 3,000,000.

The imposition of tariffs, in increasing doses, has not proved beneficial, even to the capitalists, except in a few favoured trades. On balance the position is much worse. **The volume of trade has shrunk.**

Imports in August 1931 were £65,261,086. Last month they were £51,921,493. Exports in August 1931 were £32,986,969. Last month they were £400,000 less. A decrease has been registered in the amount of the adverse trade balance, but not in its percentage. At the same time the amount of trade that is to balance has decreased. Whilst a few industries (a very few) may have benefited from tariffs, the main industries have been dealt a staggering blow. The coal figures are particularly revealing. On August 22, 1931 there were 822,300 men employed in the coal-mining industry. On August 6 this year this figure had dropped to 783,000. In the corresponding period the output fell from 4,242,800 tons to 2,505,600 tons.



**Lloyd's Register** shows an equally steep decline in shipping, the greatest decrease of tonnage of any country in the world, while the Soviet Union shows the biggest increase. The British decline in shipping during the year was 631,230 tons, as compared with Germany's decline of 95,000 tons and a United States decline of 89,000 tons. So desperate has the position become, so much is the available shipping in excess of requirements, that a large **Sunderland** shipping firm has proposed in a letter to the "**Times**" that a definite number of ships, more than twenty years old, should be scrapped by agreement between the shipowners every year.

The "**Ministry of Labour Gazette**" reporting on the position in the main industries gives a picture of almost unrelieved gloom. The phrase "very bad" is used to characterise the position of all the basic industries, as the following excerpts from the reports show:

"In the iron-mining industry employment showed a slight decline and was very bad."

"In the pig-iron industry employment showed a decline and was very bad."

"In the engineering industry employment showed a slight decline and was very bad."

"Employment in the hosiery trade showed little change and was very slack."

And so one could continue through the catalogue.

The **decline in railway receipts** which has been continuous since the war continued at increased pace. Passenger receipts for the current year are down by £3¼ million or 7½ per cent, compared with the corresponding period last year, while goods receipts show an even bigger falling off, £5¼ millions, or 9½ per cent.

It has been admitted in Parliament that the total number of persons that found employment in new industries coming into Britain as the result of tariffs was 3,700.

The **Budget** has been balanced—on paper—on the basis of 2½ million unemployed. It has not been down to that figure once since the Budget was introduced.

It is significant fact that Ministry of Labour returns show only two industries in Britain with a greater number of persons at work than there were twelve months ago, these are—the **explosives** and the **chemical** industry.

War industries both of them. For while the Government has steadily cut the benefit of the unemployed, reduced social services to a bare shadow of their former selves, cut the wages of all Government employees and reduced all pensions, it has made no saving in the Estimates for the Armed Forces, except in the case of wages and the allowances for food and clothes. These latter have been cut, and would have been so even more severely had it not been for the heroic stand of the Atlantic Fleet men at **Invergordon**. Actually, despite the cuts in Naval pay and allowances the Naval Estimates showed an increase, and over £20,000,000 is to be spent in the next twelve months on naval construction alone.

And the Air Ministry, Admiralty, and War Office chiefs are all loud in their statements that next years Estimates must be much higher than those of last year.

**Twelve months of National Government has been twelve months of unprecedentedly savage attacks on the working class at home and twelve months of colossal war preparations abroad.**

The Conferences at **Ottawa** and **Lausanne** have stressed the **growing antagonism to the U.S.A.** and the feverish preparations for **imminent war against the Soviet Union**. The **Geneva "Disarmament" Conference** afforded damning evidence of the hypocritical unreality of the peaceful protestations of the British as of the other capitalist Governments.

At home alongside the development of instruments of mechanised war on land, on sea and in the air, there has been a spate of ideological preparations for war by means of a record number of Air Pageants, Military Tattoos, Navy Weeks etc., and by means of increasing provocation against the Soviet Union in the Press and in Parliament. While the imperialists have been talking peace and prating of Empire Economic Unity, they have actually declared economic war on their nearest Dominion, the **Irish Free State**, in the main because, as **Lloyd George** and others have admitted, of its importance as a war base against the U.S.A.

During the period of the National Government, private employers have followed the lead of the Government, and **wage reductions** of £226,360 per week have been imposed on 2,457,000 workers. These are Ministry of Labour figures.

The year has been one of constant attacks, but it has also been a year of **valiant fighting back by the working class** in the face of the sabotage of the Labour Party and trade union reformists. The **unemployed struggle** has reached higher levels than ever before and in industry after industry the workers have resorted to strike action and to mass demonstrations against the National Government and the employers. At the present moment the **Lancashire weavers** and the **London busmen** are affording a demonstration of the will to fight of the rank and file and the deadly treachery of the bureaucracy.

Increasing hunger at home, an intensifying drive to war abroad, such are the prospects opened up by a further period of National Government.

The working class struggle however, is developing on every hand. The waging of this struggle with increasing energy and determination is the only hope of stemming the tide.

The way out of the imperialists from their ever deepening crisis is by way of war and starvation for the workers.

## Austria Under the Yoke of Lausanne.

By *Oesterreicher* (Vienna).

In some days the **Central European Conference** begins in **Stresa**, and will be a continuation of the **Lausanne** conferences and the preliminary to the coming **International Economic Conference**. The tasks set for Stresa are entirely in accordance with the famous plans of **Tardieu**: Removal of the obstacles to economic intercourse between the countries of this region, facilitations for the agrarian exports for the South Eastern states and for the industrial exports of the two countries of inner Central Europe, **Austria** and **Czechoslovakia**. It is known that for France's foreign policy these facilitations are thinkable only by means of the economic rapprochement of the participating states. Hence the **Danube Bloc** is **once more** on the agenda for the Stresa Conference.

"Economic rapprochement" signifies, however, not only the opening of the Austrian market for Rumanian wheat, and the settlement of the commercial political conflicts of Hungary with Czechoslovakia and Austria, it means at the same time increased sales for that section of Czechoslovakian industry in which most French capital is invested. In short, the Danube Bloc is first of all business for Skoda, and for its greatest shareholder, **Schneider-Creuzot**.

It need be said that other matters are involved also: The bitter struggle being carried on at the present time by **Czecho-Polish coal capital** against the import of **Ruhr coal** by the Austrian Federal Railways, in the course of which there has even been a forgery of ministerial letters, and the failure of the attempt of the **Renault Motor Car Factory** to export small motor cars to Austria in separate parts, have given us a partial survey of the extreme sharpness of the competitive struggle for the Central European markets. To this must be added the justifiable anxiety of the French banks with regard to the loan capital invested in the countries of Central and South Eastern Europe.

Hence French financial capital is eminently anxious to introduce "order", its "order", into Central Europe, otherwise it will suffer considerable losses through the complete economic and financial collapse of these states. And behind these daily anxieties of the French bourgeoisie, there arises its much greater political interest in the joining together of the Danube states under its hegemony. What is intended is actually an enlargement of the **Little Entente**. The role of the Little Entente as a bloc of military and political vassals of France, directed against the Soviet Union, has never been doubtful, and with this delineation the character of the future Danube bloc is equally described.

For French imperialism there is much at stake in Central Europe: much to lose and much to win.

In these endeavours **Austria** occupies a key position. If Austria is finally and definitely subjugated to the French hegemony, then the position of **Hungary** is practically decided.

From this standpoint the struggle for the **Lausanne loan** in Austria is comprehensible. The political preamble to the **Lausanne Protocol**, in which Austria's obligation to preserve its "independence", contained in the **Geneva Protocol of 1922**, is prolonged for a further ten years, that is till 1942, permits no doubt to arise but that the 300 million schillings,

which Austria is to receive in the autumn to enable it to pay its foreign debts, are to be the purchase price of the last remnant of Austria's independence, sold to French imperialism. Then comes the enactment that with regard to the interpretation of these protocols the Council of the League of Nations decides by ordinary majority; further the appointment of a number of inspectors and advisers, subordinating state finances, national and municipal budgets, National Bank and Federal Railways, and even private capital in a certain sense, to the influence of French financial capital.

This is the reason why those groups representing the interests of Germany's heavy industry in Austria, the Greater Germanists, the Styrian Home Defence Corps, and the National Socialists, all protested passionately against the adoption of the Lausanne Protocols, whose arguments were gathered from the representatives of the German trust bourgeoisie personally present. Here the Christian Socials coined the phrase: "The mark rolls . . ."

The Social democrats too have opposed Lausanne, but have not concealed for a moment the fact that their opposition was not so much against the matter itself as against the Federal Chancellor personally and his tactics towards the Social Democratic Party. By means of their opposition, which has not actually endangered the adoption of the Lausanne Protocols in any of its phases, but has rather rendered this adoption possible, they purposed demonstrating to the Federal Chancellor Dr. Dollfuss the urgent necessity of collaboration between Social Democracy and government.

The majority conditions in the National Council (Lower House) were very unfavourable for the government. But then Seipel died at the right moment, his successor was appointed 1½ hours after his death, giving equality of votes to the government, and enabling the Greater Germanist vote of mistrust to be rejected. But equality of votes did not suffice for the acceptance of the Lausanne Protocol. Dollfuss now showed that he had grasped the meaning of the Lausanne Protocol as far as Austria was concerned: affiliation to the Balkan states dependent of France. A Greater Germanist deputy, who in his capacity as merchant and mandatory of the chambers of commerce was most exposed to economic attacks, was selected from the ranks of the opposition, and bombarded with votes of mistrust, threats of financial boycott, and even anonymous letters and threatening telephone calls, until he gave way and asked for leave on account of "illness". Now the Lausanne Protocols could be adopted by the National Council for the first time, by 81 to 80 votes.

But now the Lausanne Protocols were rejected by the Federal Council (Upper House), in which the government has no majority. A motion rejected by the Upper House returns to the Lower, which has rights of definitive decision. When the Lausanne Protocols returned to the National Council, the Greater Germanists persuaded their "sick" colleague to resign his seat. This would have meant that the government would have lost its hardly won majority. Dollfuss now began with a simultaneous making of promises to the officials' organisations which would have been represented by this "almost deputy", and an exercise of pressure on the retired deputy to induce him to withdraw his resignation. By the same means which induced his "illness", he was now persuaded to withdraw by telegraph his resignation of his seat. Meanwhile the minister competent for the issue of the election papers to his successor had disappeared.

In this manner the Lausanne slave pact and its Austrian government were saved. On top of this came the death of Schober, the man of the 15th July 1927 and of the Austro-German Customs Union. His place was taken by an Agrarian League member, subservient to the government. Now Dollfuss had actually two votes majority. France's Ambassador in Vienna, Count Clauzel, was able to resume his interrupted holidays. French imperialism had won a great victory.

The decisive position was held by Social Democracy. And it took the opportunity to play a specially shabby role.

At the time of the first division, when the Greater Germanist deputy went on leave, the President of the National Council, Renner, could have placed the chairmanship in the hands of the Christian Social vice-president—neither very great courage or any breach of rules would have been necessary for this, for Renner could just as easily have reported himself sick—then the government would have lost a vote (as the chairman does not vote) and Lausanne would have lost. This would of course have meant that the Austria Social Democrats were really anxious to make a

stand against the French plans in Austria. This same Renner states in an article in the "Kampf" ("Struggle") that the foreign political task of the II. International is to unite "senselessly split up elements".

Of course there was no thought of obstruction. The Social Democratic "Arbeiter-Zeitung" explains this as follows:

"It (the opposition) may resort to the extremest parliamentary means, that of obstruction, when the fundamental rights of the working class represented by the minority are threatened. But still the minority must not forget that at bottom all democratic parliamentarism is based on the vote, and that whenever a vote is taken the majority must decide, and not the minority".

The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" ventures to write this, although the government would not have had any majority for Lausanne whatever, and this majority was given it by Renner by acting as Chairman of the National Council.

These are the arguments of parliamentary cretinism with which this paper defends Social Democratic tactics, tactics which within a few days permitted the passing of thirty laws by the government, including not only the Lausanne Protocol, but the supplementary budget with its increased taxes and duties, the law on "voluntary labour service", the law on the payment of 571 million schillings of the credit debts to the National Bank by the state!

Hence the results of this latest period of Austria's politics form a favourable preliminary for French imperialism at the Central European Conference in Stresa; for Austria's Social Democracy they offer prospects of closer collaboration with the government, which is of greater importance to them in view of the majority conditions now obtaining in the National Council. And for the toiling masses of Austria they signify, besides enormously increased burdens, the consciousness that for the sum of 300 million schillings they have been sold as cannon fodder for the anti-Soviet war, as cannon fodder to French imperialism.

## Insurrection and Civil War in Brazil.

By R. Kölnner.

In spite of the watchful censorship, reports leak through in increasing numbers on the ever increasing extent of the insurrection which broke out on 9th July against the Vargas dictatorship. Whilst the official news published by the Brazilian government are few, and report solely on victories, maintaining obstinately that the government is master of the situation, the reports coming via Uruguay and Argentine, as also those directly from the headquarters of the insurgents, report precisely the contrary.

However contradictory all these reports may be, at least it can be definitely stated to-day that the rising, which commenced in the world's coffee centre in the state of Sao Paulo, is now on the point of spreading to two further and very important states of Brazil, Minas Geraes and Rio Grande Do Sul. These states rule over 80% of the economic life of Brazil, and if they come completely under the sway of the movement, the issue of the struggle is not likely to be doubtful. The insurgents have already troops to the number of about 70,000, are excellently equipped, receive constant reinforcements from all other camps, and are said to be led by a German adventurer, General Berthold Klinger.

The insurgent movement has been given a decisive turn by the revolts in the governmental capital Rio de Janeiro. Here there were great anti-war demonstrations and mighty partial strikes, which were carried out against the instructions of the reformist trade unions. The government took the most brutal measures, proceeding against the demonstrators with machine guns and tear gas bombs, costing much bloodshed. It was not until hours of struggle, however, that the police and soldiery succeeded in dispersing the demonstrators and in regaining possession of the occupied buildings. A state of siege was imposed over the whole of Brazil.

A glance at the pre-history of this revolution enables the present situation to be better understood. Getulio Vargas, the present Federal President, belongs to the state of Rio Grande Do Sul, and obtained his present position by means of a revolution, seizing upon it by force of arms against the elected president Julio Prestes. Prestes, who attempted at that time to win over the masses of the working population by means of a program richly decorated with socialist phrases (precisely like Davila in Chile to-day), was obliged to retire.

## Arrested Hungarians Not to Come Before Special Court.

Budapest, 24th August 1932.

It was officially announced yesterday that the arrested men, including Alexander Poll and Dr. Madzar, will not be placed before the Exceptional Court in Budapest, but will be tried by the normal courts. The indignant wave of protest against the planning of new murders by Horthy has won its first success. The campaign must now continue in order to secure the release of the arrested men, including Karikás.

He aroused but little enthusiasm in the working masses with his program. The Communist Party of Brazil at once drew a sharp line of demarcation, and enlightened the masses on Prestes' intentions. The actual cause of his downfall was, however, the intervention of U.S.A. capital.

Vargas gained the presidential seat, issued a great program promising nine great parliamentary reforms, failed to keep even one of these promises, and imposed a ruthless military dictatorship. When his presidential chair began to become alarmingly unsteady last year, he promised the immediate convention of a national assembly, but did not feel it necessary to fix any date for this. In 1930 it was a revolution supposed to be directed against the large landowners which gave Vargas his position, and now it is a revolution allegedly anxious for the establishment of democracy which is to deprive him of his post. In actual fact there is no question to-day of "exalted social and democratic aims", any more than this was the case in 1930, but simply of a struggle for the utilisation of the influence of U.S.A. capital in Brazil. The military insurrections, when looked at closely, turn out to be a part of the conflict, felt all over South America, between Yankee imperialism and British imperialism. The struggle for the great markets of South America has now become so acute that recourse is being made to force of arms.

Brazil's economic situation in the midst of the general crisis is one of the worst. Sao Paulo, the centre of the present rebellion, is most severely affected. The state of Sao Paulo is the greatest coffee producer of the world. Brazil lives to 60% from coffee export. Exports have now fallen off steadily, millions of kilos of coffee lie in the warehouses, prices have fallen to nothing, coffee mixed with tar is used as fuel, millions of sacks are simply thrown into the sea. The state undertook the experiment of raising the value of coffee, an extensive action in aid of the price. The coffee crops were no longer put on the market, but stored in state warehouses, in order to be sold slowly in the course of twelve months. It was expected that this withdrawal of coffee from the market would raise the price to one more agreeable to the coffee producers. But the general crisis brought with it a stagnation of sales, whilst production increased. The sacks accumulated in the storehouses, and 24 million sacks of coffee lay in gigantic piles, threatening the existence of the Brazilian state, whose finances could not stand such an accumulation.

U.S.A. capital had been waiting for this moment, as an opportunity to overthrow the British monopoly of Brazilian coffee production, and to work its way for itself into this profitable branch of production. The Brazilian loans in aid of the revaluation of coffee found no subscribers on the U.S.A. exchanges. The United States commenced to grow coffee for themselves spheres of influence. This was the last straw, and the coffee revaluation experiment collapsed. The Yankees, in order to push their influence, supported Vargas' coup d'état under the pretext of aiding the movement against the large landowners. In 1930 they would have aided Prestes just as willingly, had it served their aims. To-day they are again supporting a revolution, allegedly for the purpose of overthrowing a dictatorship and replacing it by a democratic constitution. They will use any tool which will help them to make a breach in Britain's monopolist position and to strengthen the influence of the United States on the South American continent.

Those who have to suffer under these struggles, risings, and revolts are the toiling masses of Brazil, who have to live on a level scarcely imaginable. Wages have been reduced by 60%. Workers on the coffee plantations earn about 150 Mil-

reis yearly. A whole family, in which the whole of the members work, has to live for a whole year on 800 Milreis. Unemployment increases rapidly; there is no official registration, but private reports state that there are about 400,000 unemployed in the state of Sao Paulo alone. These unfortunate beings, starving and in rags, not knowing what they are to live upon, have been up to now a plaything in the hands of the warring cliques, the lackeys of the imperialist ruling the country.

This has now changed greatly. The working masses are awakening. The demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro prove—like the great labour movement in Chile and the risings in Peru and Ecuador,—that the workers of these countries are beginning to grasp that none of these frequent bourgeois revolutions can solve the social question. The present revolution in Brazil is as little a revolution of the progressive industrial bourgeoisie against the backward feudal bourgeoisie as that of 1930; it is merely the struggle of one clique against another clique which has the power in its hands at the moment, a struggle between the wirepullers of these cliques of the foreign imperialists. It is obvious that such a revolution can solve neither the crisis nor the social question. This can only be done by a workers' and peasants' revolution, and the toiling masses of Brazil and of the whole of Latin America are urging towards this.

## The Spanish Workers Protest.

Madrid, 30th August 1932.

When the news that the rebel Sanjurjo had been pardoned became known it was greeted with fierce indignation amongst the working masses who felt instinctively that clemency under such circumstances is akin to treachery. The Communist Party immediately organised a protest campaign and numerous public meetings were held in which many thousands of workers took part despite the police prohibition. Collisions with the police occurred, and a number of workers were injured and many arrested.

A delegation of communist workers which visited the headquarters of the Socialist Party to call upon it to join with the Communist Party in calling a general strike in protest against the commutation of the sentence were ejected from the house by the police who were called by the socialist leaders. The anarchist leaders also declared themselves against the strike whilst the leaders of the reformist trade union federation issued an appeal to the workers to have nothing to do with any protest strikes.

However, protest demonstrations of the workers took place in many other towns, including Seville where fierce collisions with the police occurred and many arrests were made. In Orduna the police fired on the demonstrating workers, killing one and wounding several others. Bloody collisions also occurred in Gallarta, San Sebastian, Burgos, Abanto and Cervadra.

Spain's bourgeoisie has obviously learned much from Germany's bourgeoisie. It is now exploiting the monarchist putsch in order to take "stern measures to prevent disturbances no matter from what side they may come". The significance of this is clear enough. At the moment the danger to the bourgeoisie comes from the working class which was the driving force in the revolution. One of the first actions of the government since the putsch was to raid the headquarters of the Young Communist League of Spain during a meeting of the Executive Committee. Amongst the arrested are Comrades Arevalo, Olmo and Romero and two women comrades whose names are not given.

## Imprisoned Worker in Yugoslavia Threatened with Death.

Belgrade, 28th August 1932.

The International Red Aid reports that a worker named Miletitch is being held in the police prison of Belgrade on a charge of being a communist. His arrest was made in secret. He is being tortured and maltreated every day in order to extort the usual "confessions". The maltreatment is preying on his constitution, and it is feared that unless a protest movement brings his case to the notice of public opinion he will be tortured to death as so many others have been before him.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Renewed Wave of Japanese Terror in Korea.

By Li "B".

The white terror of Japanese imperialism in Korea has been greatly increased with the spread of the economic crisis throughout that land and particularly since the invasion of Manchuria. The distress among the peasants, who constitute the overwhelming bulk of the population, is extreme. According to reports by Japanese officials almost all the small farmers in **South and North Kankyo Provinces** are confronted with starvation owing to bad crops last year. In May about 15,000 of the famine-stricken peasants had abandoned their fields and flocked to **Fukeimyon** where there is a branch of the government Agricultural Experiment Station. Since then thousands more have arrived. The official report states that "the wretchedness of the situation is beyond description". The starving people—men, women and children—are living in the open fields, with no shelter and hardly anything to eat.

In order to keep the masses from rebelling against these horrible conditions and to ensure "undisturbed order in their rear", the Japanese imperialists have been increasing the garrison forces in Korea and intensifying repressive measures of every kind. Nevertheless the revolutionary struggle is continually smouldering under the surface. During the last few years the leadership in this movement has been passing into the hands of the Communists. The repression has accordingly been most severe against them.

According to the Japanese press the latest attempt to form a Communist Party has been blocked by the arrests of over 600 Koreans. In July it was revealed that repeated police raids had been carried out on the homes and haunts of suspected revolutionaries since the beginning of this year. The first arrests took place in **Keihoku** and **Taikyu** where forty leaders of the Party including seven women were taken into custody. Secret arrests have been made at frequent intervals since although no reports were allowed in the press until last month. Those arrested will be charged with violation of the Peace Preservation Act of Japan and will be liable to the death sentence.

Koreans suspected of complicity in the movement for the overthrow of the Japanese oppressors are constantly being arrested. Official data from Japan sources show the arrest of nearly 600 in January. They were as follows:

For organising illegal societies (mostly Communist groups)	158
For organising strikes	163
For anti-imperialist agitation	31
For inciting seamen to rebellion	120
For participation in tenant conflicts	126
<b>Total for January</b>	<b>598</b>

Actually the number arrested for political crimes was much greater. Many revolutionaries are charged with ordinary criminal offences (murder, arson, etc.) Japanese government figures show that the number of political prisoners is eighty times greater than at the time of the annexation of Korea. Additional prisons have been built until there are now 26 of these hell-holes. Between 2,000 and 3,000 persons have been arrested annually during recent years. Budget expenditures on the police reach 20,000,000 Yen a year. In fact, however, the sum is very much larger. By way of comparison the appropriations for education do not exceed 6,000,000 Yen annually.

The police forces are being constantly extended. This year, for example, 1,000 policemen were added. In a hundred localities new police stations were built. Thirty new police boats have been constructed for patrolling the harbours and important river points. Every means of entrance into Korea and exit from the country is closely guarded, spies uniform and disguised pervading the whole land. Police armoured cars are used for patrolling the cities and strategical points. Ninety new ones were added this year.

A few of the larger mass arrest during the last year and a half are given here. In the **Yen-Hin District** 180 peasants were arrested for organising anti-government demonstrations

last September. In April, 1931, 400 revolutionaries were arrested for participating in the organisation of the Communist Party. In July of that year 200 were arrested for membership in trade unions affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions (R.I.L.U.). In February this year 50 Koreans were arrested for agitation in connection with unrest among the women divers of **Quelpart Island**, Korea. In March a number of Korean peasants were wounded and many arrested in a clash between 300 of them and Japanese police at **Ryozan**. The peasants demanded the release of a leader previously taken into custody for radical agitation. Over 200 peasants were arrested in May in the **Hanton District** for refusing to pay taxes. About 600 arrests were made in connection with the May Day demonstrations this year.

In June over a hundred students at **Ham-It** were taken into custody for anti-imperialist agitation. The prosecution demanded a sentence of ten years at hard labour. Bourgeois papers report that in June five Koreans were sentenced to prison for from five to ten years for plotting to dynamite the railway bridge over the **Yalu River** and create disturbances in Korea in connection with the struggle against Japanese imperialist and the war.

Those arrested for political offences are kept in prison for months under the worst imaginable conditions without any charges filed against them. Arrests and imprisonments may not be mentioned in the press without permission of the authorities. The various kinds of torture for which the Japanese police are notorious are all in common use in Korea, causing many deaths.

### Save Our Comrade Edith Berkman!

**Edith Berkman**, one of the best leaders and organisers of the **National Textile Workers Union**, is to-day again at the mercy of Wall Street's best stool pigeon—**William N. Doak**, head of the **United States Immigration Department**, because she led the huge textile strikes of ten and twenty-five thousand workers of **Lawrence, Massachusetts**, in 1931.

Edith Berkman is held in prison for deportation to **Fascist Poland**, where she will surely meet death at the hands of **Pilsudski**. Comrade Berkman has been held in the filthy Immigration Prison for ten months during which time she developed tuberculosis, and is to-day lying ill in the prison hospital under guard of police.

The case of Edith Berkman is an outstanding example of the attack of the United States Immigration Department headed by Secretary of Labor **Doak**, against foreign-born workers who dare to organise and fight against wage cuts and capitalist oppression. Where ever a strike or struggle of the workers takes place, the Immigration Department leads the way in spying, terrorising and arresting militant leaders and workers for deportation.

The **National Textile Workers Union** together with the **International Labor Defense** and other militant workers organisations has carried on a bitter fight for the freedom of Edith Berkman. Although we have stayed the murderous hand of **Doak** for a long time, the Supreme Court Judge **Brandies**, lauded everywhere as a liberal, has shown himself a willing tool of Wall Street and the textile manufacturers by denying a trial in the **United States Supreme Court** for Edith Berkman. This again places Edith Berkman in a position where she can be immediately deported. **Edith Berkman is dangerously ill! She cannot be moved! She must not be deported!**

Our Union, the **National Textile Workers Union**, in the name of thousands of textile workers of the United States calls upon **all workers and especially the textile workers of other countries** to raise a mighty protest through mass meetings, demonstrations demanding that the United States government keep its hands off our Comrade Edith Berkman. We appeal to our textile brothers of other lands to show their solidarity, to cable the Secretary of Labor, **William N. Doak** in Washington, D.C., demanding the immediate unconditional release of Edith Berkman, so she can again take her place in the ranks of the revolutionary ranks of the struggling textile workers of the United States.

**National Textile Workers Union,**  
1755 Westminster St.  
Providence, R.I., U.S.A.



## Germany

# Papen's Latest "Program of Deliverance".

By Th. Neubaer (Berlin).

Last Sunday the Reich Chancellor, von Papen, speaking at a conference of the Westphalian Peasants' Associations in Münster, announced the new governmental program "substantiating" the emergency orders to be issued by the government in the next few days, and at the same time preparing for the action to be taken by the Reich government against the Reichstag.

The economic part of this governmental program may be summed up in one sentence: **fresh wage cuts**, accompanied by a further increase in the prices of food, **for the working class**, and **fresh subventions** running into milliards **for the capitalist class**. In order to carry out the wage cuts, the **wage rate agreements** (guaranteed in the Reich Constitution) are to be **cancelled**, or, as the Chancellor puts it, "relaxed". In the future every employer can simply reduce his workers' wages and break the wage rate agreements as soon as the "economic situation demands it"—and what employer would not maintain that this was the case? The wage rate agreements are also cancelled for employers who declare themselves ready to engage more workers. In actual practice this means that there are no more wage agreements in Germany, and that the firms and employers everywhere will simply dictate fresh wage cuts.

That the Reich Chancellor accompanies this actual abolition of the right to wage rate agreements by proclaiming that "on principle" he is in favour of the maintenance of the "sound core" of the wage rate agreement, is probably only a concession to the reformist and Christian trade union bureaucrats, in order to facilitate for these their toleration policy. It is, however, a great question whether the millions of rank and file workers will put up quietly with these fresh encroachments on their wages, or if they will not finally follow the communist call for the strike. It is clear that the outbreak of a strike wave over the whole country would alter the political aspect of Germany overnight.

In Münster Papen gave no information as to the governmental plans relating to the "reform" of unemployment insurance—that is, to fresh retrenchments in the social welfare service. On the other hand, he announced further measures on the part of the government for the "regulation" (read: strangulation) of imports. On the eve of the Chancellor's speech notice was given of **increased duties** on cucumbers, fruit syrups, living and slaughtered geese, yokes and whites of eggs, and it may be assumed that Papen's further announcements signify increased duties on the import of the raw materials for **margarine** and similar substances.

This frightful drive against the working people is accompanied by von Papen by the announcement that the **capitalist class is to receive subventions to the amount of 2.2 milliard marks**. Of these 1.5 milliards are to be employed for reducing taxes, but will only benefit the owning class. This taxation relief is to be carried out as follows: Those who have to pay turnover tax, ground and trading taxes, are given "tax account certificates" for a certain proportion of these taxes, which they can deposit with the Reichsbank and which become due in 1934 till 1938. In this manner the owning classes will have the greater part of these taxes repaid.

A further 700 million marks will be placed at the disposal of those employers who undertake to engage new workers (this sum again in the form of "tax account certificates" issued by the state); these employers are to receive **400 marks wage grant** yearly per head and year. It is obvious from the beginning that the German capitalists will find ways and means of getting possession of the wage grants without increasing their staffs. They then gain two advantages at once: The alleged "engagement of new workers" gives them not only the wage allowances, but at the same time the opportunity to reduce the wages of the whole of their workers.

The Berlin exchange replied to these governmental measures by **rapid upward leaps in the value of shares**. In some cases the shares advanced by 10%. This is the clearest

proof of what the capitalist class hopes from the "program of deliverance" of the government, and what the working class has to fear from it.

The Papen government disguises its anti-labour economic program behind a multitude of phrases on "national collaboration", "social" viewpoints, and "provision of work". These work schemes will prove another soap bubble. It is true that the employers, in order to gain the wage allowances and to obtain the possibility of wage reductions, will engage new workers, but not until they have discharged a corresponding number of the old workers. For Papen has not solved the problem fundamentally occupying capitalism—how it is to find a market for its goods—but on the contrary these fresh wage and salary reductions will only have the effect of lowering the purchasing powers of the masses even further, of causing production to shrink even further, and of increasing the number of unemployed.

The 2.2 milliards to be presented to the owing class by the cabinet in subventions, in the form of "tax account certificates", signify at the same time a considerable heightening of the inflation danger. Those capitalists who receive these certificates (naturally at a high rate of exchange, which again falls to the expense of the state) will convert them into money as rapidly as possible, that is, they will deposit them with the Reichsbank, and the Reichsbank will thus increase the already extremely large amount of currency media in circulation by an additional 2.2 milliard marks. This is the most dangerous move in the direction of an inflation which has been undertaken since July 1931.

The importance of these economic plans of the government is equalled by that of the political plans. In Münster Papen **openly approved of the aims of National Socialism**, stating literally:

"That today I stand against Hitler, for the legal state, for the community of the nation, and for an authoritative leadership of the state, means that **I, and not her**, pursue the aim longed for for years with their whole hearts by millions of his adherents, against party rule, arbitrariness, and injustice."

Papen strongly stressed this same idea in an interview given to an editor of the "**Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung**" in Münster:

"... I am pleased that the state government fulfils, with the program which it lays before the Reich President, at the same time a part of the wishes and demands put forward by the National Socialist Party. **I hope that uniform direction taken by our wishes and aims** will lead to joint work for actualities, permitting the purely political factor to fall into the background somewhat."

In face of this confession of fascism, there is little counterweight in the few polemical sentences uttered by Papen against Hitler, and against the "unbridled" tone of Hitler's last appeal against the cabinet.

The fascist economic program of the Papen government corresponds accurately to its fascist plans with regard to further political developments in Germany. Papen proclaims the necessity of a government independent of parliaments and parties. This is a flat contradiction of the Reich Constitution, which states clearly that the cabinet is responsible to the Reichstag, and dependent on its confidence. But whilst Papen proclaims in this sentence an **open breach of the Constitution**, a few sentences further on he declares that all reforms must be kept within the confines of the Constitution, and there is no change planned in the form of the state. The newspapers closely connected with the government, such as the "**Berliner Börsen-Zeitung**", the "**Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung**", and the **Hugenberg** press, are however candid enough to announce that not only is the dissolution of the Reichstag absolutely certain, but that the government has not



the least intention of undertaking the election for a new Reichstag within the constitutionally prescribed 60 days.

It is obvious that the government program just announced by Papen is intended to serve at the same time as a foundation upon which the Papen government intends basing its measures against the Reichstag and the parties.

The "Vorwärts" (evening edition) designates Papen's speech as "a program of breaches of the constitution", signifying the elimination of the Reichstag and the complete "reorganisation of the state and of economics". But it does not address a word of appeal to the working class, calling upon them to fight against these fascist plans. The "Vorwärts" publishes at the same time a telegram from the executive of the ADGB. (General German Trade Union Federation), and from the Afa (Employees' Federation), addressed to

Hindenburg, begging the President to refuse to agree to this program of the Papen government. But these reformist trade union officials too say nothing about an appeal for a struggle. Thus the S.P.G. continues its phrasemongering, in order to camouflage the fact that it is precisely its "tacit" support which renders it possible for the Papen government to carry out its fascist plans.

But Papen and the fascist bourgeoisie will find that they have miscalculated. Germany's working class cannot possibly accept without a struggle this fresh offensive against the basis of its existence. We may anticipate a wave of strikes all over the country, and it must be the task of all class conscious workers to organise the mighty indignation aroused in the masses by the new governmental program, for a mass action against fascism.

## The War

# Ushida's Answer to Stimson's Speech.

By M. Magnien (Paris).

On the 25th August the Japanese Foreign Minister Ushida delivered an extremely energetic answer to the recent speech of the U.S.A. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Stimson, and laid down before the eyes of the world the general lines of the policy Japanese imperialism intends to pursue in the Far East with blood and iron. Ushida opened his speech by announcing that the Japanese government intends to accord official recognition to the new "Independent Manchurian State". Ushida declared that this was the only way to secure a stabilisation of the situation in the Far East and to consolidate peace. Referring to the accusation formulated by Stimson according to which the recognition of the new Manchurian State would be "unlawful", Ushida made a counter-attack and declared:

"It is an undeniable fact that the chaotic situation in which China finds itself at the present moment, and the so-called revolutionary policy pursued by China under the influence of an exaggerated political dogma are the main causes of the unfortunate change which has taken place in international relations in the Far East in recent years. Although Japan is the chief sufferer from the abnormal business situation in China, other countries have also suffered intolerable interference and considerable material loss. All those acquainted with the chaotic situation in China admit frankly that recourse to the League of Nations or to any organ of the League of Nations, i. e. a recourse to what is termed 'the Machinery of Peace' can in no way be regarded as helpful . . . There are some people who declare that Japan's action is a violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact against war. Such a contention is baseless. As I have already pointed out, Japan was compelled to take urgent measures in order to forestall senseless attacks on its rights and its vital interests. The Pact against war provides for no limitations of the right of self-defence in such a case. Japan's action was absolutely identical with the actions taken by other Great Powers under similar circumstances in other places."

Ushida then went on to declare that no Japanese Foreign Minister would permit anyone no matter who it might be, to connect up the formation of the new colonial Manchurian State with the Japanese military operations. The Nine Power Agreement did not prohibit separatist movements in China. Ushida then added:

"Naturally, the situation would be quite different if Japan were to annex Manchuria or attempt to accomplish any territorial aggressions. It is unnecessary to waste any words denying that we are not pursuing any territorial aims either in Manchuria or anywhere else . . ."

The magnificent insolence of this statement can be fully appreciated only in relation to the Tanaka Plan, to the declarations of Generals Honjo and Araki concerning the vital necessity of conquering Manchuria and Mongolia for Japan, and to the measures of the Japanese General Staff in preparation for an attack on the Soviet Union in order to conquer

Western Siberia, an attack planned to proceed simultaneously with an intervention of the western neighbours of the Soviet Union.

Manchuria has already been annexed de facto. The new Manchurian government consists of Japanese lackeys, and all the Ministries are under the control of the official representatives of Tokio. These facts are confirmed even by the Lytton Commission. The recognition of "independent Manchuria" will be accompanied by the conclusion of a "Treaty of Alliance". This latter treaty has been drawn up by Ushida himself and is in fact nothing but an agreement for the institution of a Japanese Protectorate over Manchuria. The appointment of General Muto as a Viceroy with extensive powers is nothing but a form of Japanese guardianship (to be extended later on to the Chinese province of Yehol, to Mongolia, Northern China and . . . Siberia) similar to that exercised by France over Indo-China.

Ushida also announces quite frankly that Japan will never give Manchuria back to China and that it will permit no one, neither the League of Nations or any other power, to interfere in Manchurian affairs. This very definite warning is addressed to the United States and to the Study Commission of the League of Nations.

Ushida's speech was in all probability delivered only after imperialist France had been consulted, for France is bound to Japan by a secret treaty. The two powers are increasing their mutual support in the struggle against the United States, for the partition of China, against the Chinese Soviets and in respect of the coming drive against the Soviet Union. Towards the close of his speech Ushida made a fairly broad reference to this last plan when he spoke of strengthening peace (by force of arms!) in the Far East and defending civilisation. Ushida's speech again shows how acute is the danger of war against the Soviet Union and against the Chinese people. At the same time it represents an intensification of the existing tension between Japan and the United States.

\* \* \*

Moscow, 28th August 1932.

On the 16th August the Kirin authorities protested to the Soviet Consul General in Harbin at the instructions of the Manchurian government concerning alleged violations of the Chinese frontier by Soviet troops. In the neighbourhood of the frontier station Manchuria the Soviet troops were alleged to have entered Chinese (Manchurian) territory and to have erected fortified works.

The Soviet Consul General in Harbin, Slavutzki, has now handed over the answer of the Soviet government which declares that the reports mentioned are absolutely baseless. The Soviet troops had respected the Chinese frontier strictly and on no occasion had they entered Chinese territory. All reports to the contrary were misleading and without any basis in fact.

## ***International Fight against War and Intervention***

# **The International Anti-War Congress.**

Amsterdam, 27th August 1932.

The International Congress Against War was opened today at one-fifteen in the great Automobile Hall of Amsterdam which was crowded to capacity.

**Henri Barbusse** was received with tremendous applause when he opened the Congress which he did with a short and effective speech. He stressed in particular the fact that for the first time anti-war organisations of all shades of opinion were represented at an international congress. The Congress had been organised and would be conducted in the spirit of complete democracy. Upon this basis a Congress Presidium of over a hundred members would be elected representing all parts of the world. In addition numerous international organisations with millions of members would be represented in the Presidium.

The proposed **Presidium** was then elected amidst great applause. Amongst its members are: **Henri Barbusse**, **Romain Rolland**, **Marcel Cachin** and **Madame Duchesne** for France, the well-known novelist and friend of peace **Heinrich Mann**, **General von Schoenaich**, **Helene Stoecker**, **Clara Zetkin**, **Willi Münzenberg** for Germany, **Maxim Gorki** and **Shvernik** for the Soviet Union although owing to the action of the Dutch government they are unable to be present at the Congress, **Theodore Dreiser**, **John Dos Passos**, **Sherwood Anderson**, **Professor Dana** of Harvard University and **Scott Nearing** for the United States, the great etcher **Franz Masereel** for Belgium, the leader of the Catholic peasants **Guido Miglioli** for Italy, the veteran national revolutionary **Madame Despard** for Ireland, the three famous publicists **Egede Nissen**, **Martin Andersen Nexö** and **Karin Michaelis** for Scandinavia, the veteran leader of the working class **Sen Katayama** for Japan, the former Chairman of the Indian National Congress, **Patel**, and the Mayor of Calcutta, **Singh Gupta**, for India, **Professor Nejedly** for Czechoslovakia, **Professor Vlahov** for the Balkans, **Madame Sun Yat-sen** for China, etc., etc.

In addition to these well-known personalities there are the representatives of eighty international organisations, including a number of trade union organisations. Parallel with the main congress a number of other congresses will be held, including a women's congress, a congress of international medical men, a youth congress, a congress of authors and artists, etc., a congress of transport workers, etc.

Storms of applause followed the reading of **messages of greeting** from **Romain Roland** and **Clara Zetkin**, both of whom were unfortunately prevented from attending the Congress owing to sickness, from **Heinrich Mann** and **Professor Albert Einstein**.

The second speaker was the former Chairman of the Indian National Congress, **Patel**, who delivered a sharp anti-imperialist speech. He declared that British imperialism was waging a ceaseless war against India. Thousands of Indians had been slaughtered, and over a hundred thousand were gaoled, including women and children. The normal laws of the land had been suspended, and in their place military decrees were operating. The Indian National Congress was illegal, the press had been muzzled and a strict censorship existed. Only the Soviet Union opposed imperialism. Any struggle against war must inevitably be a struggle against imperialism because imperialism was the root of wars. It was useless to shout, "No more war!", so long as millions of people were enslaved in the colonial countries. **Patel's** energetic speech was received with great applause.

The next speaker was **Karin Michaelis** who stressed in particular the necessity of propaganda against war in the schools. She proposed the formation of a teachers anti-war organisation. Anti-war propaganda must begin in the schools of all countries.

The next speaker was a delegate from the **Krupp workers**. He was received with tremendous applause and the singing of the "Internationale". He declared that the most effective

anti-war weapon was an international united front on the part of the workers. In particular it was necessary to fight uncompromisingly against the insidious argument that armaments made work and were therefore good for the workers. The first victims of the coming imperialist war were already being killed in the war factories all over the world in the feverish armament race being conducted by capitalism.

Following on a speech by a representative of the **French colonial proletariat**, **Mrs. Ada Wright** addressed the Congress which adopted a resolution in favour of the release of the **Scottsboro young Negroes**.

After the speech of a **peasant delegate from France** a **telegram** was read from **Maxim Gorki** who greeted the Congress in the name of the Soviet Delegation which was unable to be present. **Gorki** exposed in particular the suggestion that the Congress was "the work of Moscow". The fact that many hundreds of members of organisations attached to the Second International were present at the Congress was sufficient refutation. The action of the Dutch government showed clearly on whose side it would be found. The Congress welcomed this telegram with great applause and decided on a telegraphic answer to the **Soviet Delegation**. A pause of two hours was then made.

\* \* \*

The **second session** was marked by two important speeches delivered by the veteran leader of the Japanese working class, **Sen Katayama**, and by one of the **leaders of the Invergordon naval mutiny in Great Britain**.

**Katayama's** speech was particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that he was present at the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International twenty eight years ago at the time of the Russo-Japanese war as the representative of the Japanese Social Democratic Party. **Katayama's** speech revealed the acute danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union in the Far East and showed the tasks to be performed in the struggle against this intervention and against the war in China.

The **leader of the British naval mutiny**, who was welcomed with great enthusiasm, declared that a struggle against war which was not a struggle against capitalism was useless. Capitalism was the cause of war and only victorious socialism could bring permanent peace to the world.

Another important speaker in the evening session was **Professor Dana** of Harvard University. He enumerated five points as decisive for an effective struggle against war: 1. the enlightenment of the masses concerning the character of imperialism; 2. the conduct of the anti-war struggle by deeds as well as words; 3. the refusal to manufacture or transport munitions of war; 4. the use of the weapons of war placed in the hands of members of the working class against their own capitalists; and 5. a struggle against the capitalist system with a view to its ultimate destruction. This uncompromising speech was received with great applause.

The session closed at about midnight.

\* \* \*

Amsterdam, 28th August 1932.

The **third session** began half past nine a. m. The most important speakers were the Danish author **Martin Andersen Nexö** and the leader of the French communists, **Marcel Cachin**.

**Martin Andersen Nexö** declared that there was only one way to save humanity from the scourge of terrific wars and that was the way already put into execution by the Russian workers and peasants. This blunt statement was received with a storm of applause from the assembled delegates.

**Marcel Cachin** reminded his hearers of the long struggle carried on by the Bolsheviks against war and dealt with the methods necessary for a successful struggle against war.

The speech of a **Chinese seaman** was welcomed with great applause. He attacked in particular the imperialist activities of Great Britain and France in the Far East.

\* \* \*

The first speaker in the **fourth session** this afternoon was the Polish delegate **Jankowska** who pointed out that the greater number of the Polish delegates to the Congress had been unable to leave Poland because most of them had been arrested. The revolutionary working class union alone was responsible for preventing a war of intervention on the part of Pilsudski Poland together with other capitalist countries against the Soviet Union. A Polish General had declared recently in a speech: "Let us be ready to fly at the throat of any enemy who should dare to attack us!", but the Polish workers declared: "Let us be prepared to fly at the throat of the Polish bourgeoisie the moment it attempts to lead us as cannon-fodder against our comrades in the Soviet Union!" (Tremendous applause.)

Two representatives of the workers and peasants in **Alsace-Lorraine** spoke and declared that their country was a shuttlecock between two systems of imperialism. National freedom could only be established as a result of social emancipation. The Soviet Union was a brilliant example of how national problems could be settled.

A representative of the **striking miners of Belgium** was welcomed with great enthusiasm which broke out again when he declared that in many cases the uniformed proletarians had refused to let themselves be used against their class comrades during the strike. The Congress decided to send telegrams of sympathy and support to the **miners of Belgium** and to the **textile workers of Lancashire**.

**Frit Heckert** then addressed the Congress in the name of the **Red International of Labour Unions**. He referred to the Hague Peace Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Congress had been sterile and its manifesto a scrap of paper. The general strike decision was never put into action. Heckert's speech developed into a sharp attack on the reformist and socialist leaders who talked of a general strike against war, but in practice agreed to wage cuts and tolerated the war preparations.

**Willi Münzenberg (Germany)** declared that the resolution of four hundred social democratic delegates condemning the sabotage of their leaders and calling for a united front against war was in accordance with the feelings of the masses of the workers all over the world. He then described the difficult circumstances under which the Congress was organised and the sacrifices made by the masses to ensure its success. A united front was necessary against war. Without struggle, a struggle which would involve sacrifices, there could be no question of victory. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had been murdered by the reaction together with thousands of heroic but nameless proletarians. The speaker then read Lenin's famous instructions to the Russian delegation at the Hague Peace Conference and declared that they were as important to-day as the day they were written. The close of Münzenberg's speech was almost lost in applause. The delegates rose in their seats singing the "Internationale".

A number of other speakers followed. The session was closed at half past six in the evening.

\* \* \*

**Amsterdam, 29th August 1932.**

The final session took place this morning when over thirty speakers took the floor.

The first speaker was **Otto Lehmann-Russbueldt**, the famous German anti-armament publicist. He made sensational revelations concerning the colossal profits of the armament kings in all countries and concerning the international ramifications of the horrors which a new world war would bring in its train. The next world war would exceed in frightfulness anything the world had yet experienced. It was the duty of every right-thinking man and woman to do everything possible to prevent a catastrophe which would lay the civilised world in ruins.

Other speakers were **Dr. Smeral** of Czechoslovakia, **Inkpin**, the **Secretary of the Friends of the Soviet Union**, **Sherwood**

**Anderson** and a strong **asiatic delegation** which was received with great applause.

After a short pause the Congress continued its session. A sensation was created when an **Italian sailor in full uniform** appeared on the platform. He greeted the Congress in the name of the revolutionary groups in the Italian army and navy.

The **report of the Committee on Credentials** showed that **2,195 delegates** were present at the Congress from **29 countries**.

The final act of the Congress was the reading by **Henri Barbusse** of the **Congress Manifesto Against War** which was adopted with tremendous enthusiasm. Resolutions were adopted against the persecutions in Hungary, Poland, Japan, the Balkans and other countries, and against the monstrous sentence passed on the Rueggs. A **Permanent International Committee Against War** consisting of over one hundred members was then elected to continue the work against war both nationally and internationally.

**Henri Barbusse** then closed the Congress with a short speech.

## Anti-War Mass Meeting in Amsterdam.

Amsterdam, 29th August 1932.

A mass meeting against war which took place yesterday evening in Amsterdam was attended by over fifteen thousand persons.

**Henri Barbusse**, who described the work of the International Congress against War, was welcomed with tremendous applause.

**Marcel Cachin** stressed the revolutionary will of the Congress to fight against war according to the example of the Russian workers and peasants.

The Indian representative **Patel** declared that he had never attended such an enthusiastic congress in his life.

**Sen Katayama** exposed the social democratic leaders who had attended the peace congress in Amsterdam twenty eight years ago. He was now compelled to fight against them together with the working masses.

**Walter Stoecker** spoke in the name of the Friends of the Soviet Union, and **Traute Hoelz**, the wife of the German revolutionary Max Hoelz, in the name of the working women of Germany.

The final speaker was the Dutch representative **de Visser** who declared that the Dutch workers would continue the struggle against war and against the Dutch government which had prevented the entry of the Soviet Delegation.

## Big Anti-War Meetings in Moscow.

Moscow, 30th August 1932.

Four great anti-war meetings took place in Moscow yesterday in connection with the **International Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam**. 30,000 assembled in the stadium of the factory "Serp i Molot", 45,000 in the Culture and Recreation Park in Krasnaya Presnaya, 25,000 in Sokolniki Park, and 50,000 in the Central Culture and Recreation Park. The meeting places were richly decorated with red bunting bearing inscriptions in great white lettering against imperialist war and for international proletarian solidarity. The organisers of the International Congress against War were elected into the Presidiums of all these meetings, including **Barbusse**, **Dreiser** and **Gorki**.

Speeches were delivered by the veteran revolutionary **Felix Kon**, the revolutionary author **Tretyakov**, **Shvernik** of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions, the famous regisseur **Meyerhold** and **Karl Radek**. Protest resolutions were adopted against the refusal of the Dutch government to permit the Soviet Delegation to the International Anti-War Congress to enter Holland. The vast masses who attended these anti-war meetings reacted generously to the appeal of **Henri Barbusse** to collect funds for the struggle against war, and a large sum was subscribed.

# Has the II. International Altered Its Treacherous War Policy?

By P. Lang.

## I. Rotten Goods With A Revolutionary Label.

At the solemn "Disarmament" Conference of the II. and Amsterdam Internationals held on 22nd and 23rd May, Vandervelde's phrase on "replying to imperialist war with proletarian revolution" aroused enthusiastic applause. After this and other similar revolutionary flourishes, the Conference adopted a resolution supported by Henderson, "the man in whom the workers of all countries have the greatest confidence", and who has made, in his capacity of Chairman of the "Disarmament" Conference, every effort to weaken the inner antagonisms among the six leading imperialist robbers, to secure their uncontrolled dominion and their influence over the congress in spite of the discontent of the lesser bandits, and thus to prevent the collapse of the imperialist League of Nations.

How does M. Vandervelde picture this revolution, which is of course only to be in words, during a war? Perhaps he expects to manage it from his ministerial seat in his royal government? No! He speaks of arms in the hands of the workers; and this is mentioned in particular by the Dutch delegate Alvarda, who made the following statement when referring to Vandervelde's speech:

"In case of war a minority will be able to take the leadership in its hands, if it is determined. It will have to be as Comrade Vandervelde describes in his memorable speech: **The workers, though they will not throw away their weapons, will not use these against one another.**" (Applause.)

The most revolutionary flourishes of all received the most applause, and the reader is justified in asking why the social democratic leaders did not venture to appear at the Anti-War Congress if they have such a program. The reason is plain: All these speeches are only advertisements, labels which the social democrat leaders only venture to attach to their declarations when they are certain that nobody will ask them: "Look here, what are these rotten goods which you are trying to impose on us under these revolutionary labels?" And the Anti-War Congress would certainly have put this question.

## II. "Don't Disturb Henderson . . ."

The objects of the social democratic conference were by no means remote affairs (for social democracy) as for instance the proletarian revolution, the arming of the working class, etc. but such **tangible** actualities as the support to be given to the treacherous manoeuvres of the League of Nations. Should the social democrats continue their unbounded faith in the League of Nations, or should they, in view of the fact that the League of Nations has lost a certain amount of its authority even in some bourgeois circles and among some bourgeois governments, not rather exercise a certain reserve?

The reply to this question, the **sole** practical discussion discussed, was: **continuation of support to the League of Nations as before, to its full extent.**

This decision is based, from the formal standpoint, on the idea that the chairman of the disarmament committee is "our" Henderson. "Don't disturb Henderson" was the undertone of the opening speech of one of the chairmen of the Amsterdam International, Citrine.

But who is Henderson? Why is he made the untouchable leader of the social democratic Disarmament "Conference"? Henderson embodies the **unreserved participation of the II. International in all the dirty and treacherous machinations of the six main robbers in Geneva, in the conspiracies of the imperialists against disarmament and for war, in their endeavours to exploit the dependent countries as firelighters**

for igniting the world war of intervention against the Soviet Union and for the dismemberment of China. Not to disturb Henderson means to conceal the military conspiracy, to take part in it.

Poor slaves! They did not even know that at the same time when their resolution was being passed, the general staff of their greatest (because richest) lord, Mr. Hoover, was drawing up a far-reaching plan of disarmament in the interests of American imperialism, more far-reaching in this direction than the plans of the "peace-loving" social democratic leaders.

The leaders of the II. International, thus basely supporting the League of Nations, could not venture to show even the ends of their noses at the Anti-War Congress.

## III. Historical "Reminiscences". Who Was Guilty?

In spite of all efforts, a few ticklish questions were broached at the conference, which the leaders of the II. International would have liked to avoid.

**No 1 of these risky questions** is historical in character, and refers to the treachery of the II. International in the imperialist war in 1914. The leaders are aware that it is now impossible to wrap the whole of that "incident" in silence, since the masses, in view of the impending war danger, look back more and more to the experience of the past, analyse this, and remember the attitude of these leaders during the massacre of the peoples. The leaders are well aware of the great danger to them of permitting any opportunity for the discussion of their treachery in 1914-18. As preventive measures Citrine himself raised in his opening speech the question of who was at fault for the treachery of the II. International.

"We are resolved in any case", he stated — "not to permit the repetition of a world war such as that of 1914-1918. **At that time the movement was not prepared and was inadequately organised.** Are we prepared to learn the lessons of that fiasco? I am confident that to-day the workers' movement will not permit itself to be broken up by nationalist passions." (Enthusiastic applause.)

What a shameless swindle!

Making a plaything of the word "movement", Citrine endeavours to thrust the blame of the bloody crime of the leaders **onto the shoulders of the "movement"**, that is, of the masses; he seeks to interchange the roles of the executioner and his victim; and hopes thereby to throw off the responsibility of himself and his colleagues for the treachery of 1914-1918.

"The movement was unprepared, insufficiently organised." At the Anti-War Congress Citrine would not have found it so easy to awaken belief in this carefully thought out lie.

"The movement was not prepared, was inadequately organised. . . ." Yes! But **in what sense?** Was it not in a certain sense **politically** prepared for revolutionary struggles against war by the resolutions adopted at the Stuttgart and Basle Congresses—by resolutions containing in one paragraph more political meaning than the great stacks of promises now being launched by the II. International? "Insufficiently organised?" But had the movement not political and trade union mass organisations before the war, a large membership devoted to the movement, a well developed press, etc.?

And if the movement proved insufficiently prepared and organised, in spite of this, then only in the sense that it **did not show itself capable at that time of settling relentlessly and definitely with you, Mr. Citrine.** They were politically insufficiently prepared to expose the affiliation of the social chauvinist leaders to the Stuttgart and Basle Congresses as a well thought out manoeuvre. The movement was insufficiently organised—but **only in the sense that it was unable to rise**

up at once against the treachery of its leaders, in the sense that it was taken by surprise by this treachery and by the outbreak of the war, and was incapable of re-ranging its ranks, of re-organising its forces, that it might begin with the preparation of the masses for revolutionary action and with work in the army.

Citrine, with the phrase: "The movement was not sufficiently prepared and organised at that time", Citrine endeavours to hide behind the workers. A great number of the social democratic workers will reply "Let us now prepare and organise this movement much better".

#### IV. The Social Democratic Methods of "Struggle" — "The Masses Are to Blame".

The question of methods has of course been raised at the Anti-War Congress, this being the indispensable condition ensuring that the work of the Congress got further than those good resolutions with which the road to hell is notoriously paved. From this standpoint, the leaders of the II. International could have rendered a certain service at the Congress by stating the methods which they proposed to employ in the struggle against war. Mr. Graber declares very correctly that the "working class wants to know what method it is to use".

Then why did he object to defending the social democratic means and ways at the Anti-War Congress? For the simple reason that at this Congress it would have been entirely **impossible** for him to evade answering questions, as he may do in the circle of his own family at the conferences of social democratic bureaucrats.

"What is to be done when war comes?" asks Graber. "For this eventuality too definite slogans will have to be issued, **if the working class is not to fall into the hands of adventurers who throw their nebulous catchwords with an air of definiteness into the masses.**"

With "adventurers" Graber naturally does not mean Vandervelde, who promises to call out the workers suddenly for a revolution in case of war, after having first done his utmost to disarm the working masses politically, economically, and organisationally, to undermine their powers of resistance against the imperialist plans, and to deliver them over to the terror of the bourgeoisie.

No very great amount of intelligence is required to guess that in the opinion of Mr. Graber these "adventurers" are the communists, who state that it will be impossible to "reply" simply to war be a "declaration" of revolution, and that the proletariat must mobilise its forces and draw over the broad masses of the proletariat to its side in the course of the struggle against the new imperialist war and of the day to day political and economic struggles against the bourgeoisie, and that the proletariat must create, by means of the maximum development of militant action, that organisation which will prove capable to resist the terror which will rage on the eve of war and during it in the capitalist states, which will make it clear to the masses that it is solely by means of systematic, self-sacrificing and careful political and organisational work, commenced at once whilst "peace" still reigns, that it will be possible to carry on the difficult work which will be demanded during the war.

The same reply to this question of the methods of the struggle was given, in all essentials, by another delegate to the conference, when dealing with a matter of paramount importance in the present situation. This delegate, **Nathans**, represented the **International Transport Workers Federation**, and the question raised was that of paralysing the transport of war material to Japan.

"The I.T.F."—he begins—"has already done more to combat the conflict in the Far East **than has become known to the public.**"

But who bears the responsibility for the further transports of war materials to Japan? As we have seen above, the reformist leaders have their answer ready at any moment: **The masses are to blame!**

"The action has not brought the desired success"—continues Nathans—"the tremendous unemployment is to **blame, which creates a reserve of blacklegs...**"

What a vile lie, worthy of a bureaucrat well paid by the bourgeoisie! **Where, when, and under what circumstances** did the unemployed prevent the boycott of the delivery of weapons? Where, when, and under what circumstances have they acted as blacklegs? Let Mr. Nathans answer this question.

Has it not been proved by all the experience gained in the struggles of the last few years that in **every** case, and again in the boycotting of the supplies of arms to Japan, the basest blacklegs of all have been the trade union bureaucrats and the social democratic leaders, and that at the same time the **unemployed** have proved the foremost champions in every case, and again in the struggle against war? Has it not been proved that it was not the unemployed who came forward as blacklegs sabotaging the boycott of the Japan transports in Hamburg,—the unemployed were the most active of the forces carrying out the boycott—but the reformist leaders?

What are the perspectives opened out for the future by the trade union bureaucrat Nathans for the war against war? Will he carry out the "orders" contained, for the sake of keeping up appearances, in the appeal of the II. International? He will carry them out in the usual style of the strikebreakers, by simply **re-addressing** the orders to fight. This will be done on the same pretexts as those used to show that the transport workers themselves have insisted on such a re-addressing. Always the **same** methods. Traitorous bureaucracy endeavours to hide behind the workers. Nathans declares:

"Besides this, the transport workers must ask themselves **why they alone** should bear the burden of the armaments boycott. Munitions must first be manufactured, **before** they can be transported."

The old tune! Let the others be the **first** to begin! We recognise the melody played in 1914. This is the pretext under which the social traitors succeeded in strangling the mass actions of the workers. Now they are endeavouring to repeat the same manoeuvre.

These are the methods of the social democratic leaders for combatting war. With these methods they certainly did better to keep at a distance from the Anti-War Congress.

#### V. For the United Front in the Struggle.

We have seen that all the declarations of the II. International against war have **only been gestures**, and that the spirit of the August betrayal and of intervention is still as lively as ever in the ideology and practices of the social democratic leaders. We have seen that these leaders play with promises of "replying to war by proletarian revolution" in the future, but at the same time they sabotage at the present juncture every revolutionary action of the masses in the struggle against the preparations for imperialist world war.

We have seen that the social democratic leaders endeavour to thrust their own guilt onto the masses, speaking of alleged "passivity", of "a striving towards war", and of "hostility towards the Soviet Union". We have seen that the II. International links up its "struggle for peace" with hopes set on the "disarmament plans" of the League of Nations; that it has taken part in every manoeuvre of the League of Nations for the immediate deception of the masses, and in every regrouping of the imperialists for war purposes and every conspiracy against the Soviet Union; that both in parliament and outside of it it has pursued the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie, has voted for the war credits, has co-operated in the merciless lowering of the standards of living of the toilers in the interests of the bourgeoisie and for the maintenance of the "equilibrium" of the budget that is, for the extra profits of the handful of monopolists, mostly war contractors.

It has been clearly seen that the II. International has given its patronage to all the cases of bloody measures of force in the colonies and against the oppressed peoples, that it has proved an expert in the preparation and circulation of the various "theories" required by the bourgeoisie for the purpose of taking the masses by surprise with a catastrophic war—first of all the theory of the "defence" of the imperialist native country. The pacifism of the II. International therefore signifies the disarmament of the proletariat and the further arming of the bourgeoisie and its state.

Therefore they did not venture to put in an appearance at the Anti-War Congress, for the organisers of this Con-



gress, although they are not communists, are sincere in their wish to co-operate in the struggle against imperialist war, and have rejected the ultimatum of the II. International.

We have seen that the burrowing work of the II. International against the Congress, its orders to the local organisations not to send any delegates to it, its attempts at direct resistance to such elections at mass meetings of the workers—all this has originated, precisely like the terror of the imperialist governments against the Congress, as expressed in Adler's words, in the anxiety that the members of the social democratic parties and reformist trade unions might "split off" or be "disrupted" in consequence of co-operating with revolutionary workers at the Congress, and might rise against their leaders.

The co-operation of the leaders of the II. International in the war conspiracy was exposed by the Anti-War Congress, and the Congress opened its gates hospitably wide to the social democratic workers and to the members of the reformist trade unions. It extended a special welcome to those delegates who have fought their way to the Congress through the barbed wire of the terror and prohibitions of the S.P. leaders.

The revolutionary workers were the first to stretch out their hands to the social democratic delegates as a sign of proletarian solidarity. Join the united front, for the revolutionary struggle against imperialist wars and interventions!

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### The Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation.

By Al. (Prague).

From 7th till 13th August the Congress of the reformist Transport Workers Federation (I.T.F.), the greatest reformist trade union organisation, headed by the "Left" Edo Fimmen and Nathans, was held in Prague. In spite of the left phraseology employed so generously by Edo Fimmen at this Congress, the proceedings of the Prague Congress showed that he is completely cured of his onetime radical "errors", and is entirely devoted to the service of Amsterdam.

It will be remembered that Fimmen was one of the left-wing Dutch social democrats who left the Social Democratic Party last year, and founded the Independent S.P. of Holland. But his activities in the I.S.P. did not last long. The worker members of the new party took the struggle against the social democratic leaders much more seriously than their leaders did, and carried on a struggle against the leaders of the trade unions as well, chiefly in the Transport Workers Federation, of which Fimmen is the general secretary. This implicated Fimmen in a contradiction between his left phraseology in the I.S.P. and his reformist activities in the I.T.F. This contradiction was solved by this left-wing hero capitulating to 100% to the official leaders of the Amsterdam International, leaving the committee of the I.S.P., and even publishing a declaration condemning his "left" activities as a mistake. This capitulation found crass expression at Prague.

The Prague Congress was a large-scale left manoeuvre of the Amsterdam International, intended to gain the confidence of the workers in the International once more. The agenda contained the questions of reparations and war debts, of war and fascism, of the struggle against unemployment, of shorter working hours, etc. The whole Congress was dominated by "left" phrasemongering. Its sole results were empty resolutions. The 2½ million transport workers organised in the I.T.F., as might be expected, received from this Congress no reply to their questions as to the ways and means of struggle against unemployment and wage cuts, against war and fascism.

But although the Congress arrived at no important conclusions, still the proceedings on some of the questions led to sharp conflicts of interests between the reformist representatives of the individual imperialist states. Nor were the leaders successful in their attempts to sweep aside the dissatisfaction of the workers at the social fascist policy of the leaders, or the sympathies of the workers for the Soviet Union.

On the day before the close of the Congress, for instance, when the question of **reparations and war debts** formed the agenda, the **Belgian** delegates proposed that the Congress should pass over this item and proceed with the rest of the agenda, substantiating this motion by stating that in any case the International rejects the reparations on principle. The **German** delegates opposed this at once. The reparations question was then dealt with by a futile resolution.

Another incident arose out of the discussion on the **shorter working hours** question. A motion submitted to the Congress demanded the initiation of an international action against unemployment, and the reduction of working hours to 40 weekly. The **Swedish** reformist **Lindley** raised objections to such an international action. He asserted that in Sweden matters were not so bad with respect to unemployment and wage reductions, and that the Swedish capitalists might regard such an international action as a provocation. This important vital question for the proletariat, like the other questions, was settled by a resolution containing a few meaningless phrases.

The questions of the **united front** and of **relations to the Soviet Union** caused the sharpest conflicts at the Congress. On the third day of proceedings Great Britain's National Union of Railwaymen proposed a motion that negotiations should be entered into with the railwaymen of the Soviet Union, in order to ensure joint action. The Czechoslovakian Union of Motor Car Drivers, in which there is a strong opposition against the reformist leaders, supplemented this motion by proposing that the I.T.F. should enter into communication with all the transport workers' organisations of the Soviet Union. Only nine delegates supported this motion, but they defended it resolutely. The Chairman **Cramp** informed the Congress that the General Council decisively declined to enter into any such negotiations, and on this the motion, which expressed the longing of the workers for the united front, was rejected by the Congress.

Edo **Fimmen**, true to his "left" traditions, formulated this refusal in such a manner that the I.T.F. is first to await the reply of the transport workers of the Soviet Union to the first offer, and will then decide on the possibility of entering into negotiations. The Czechoslovakian Union of Motor Car Drivers followed up the rejection of the first motion by submitting a second, demanding that the I.T.F. should send a delegation to the Soviet Union to study the building up of socialism and the position of the workers there. A large number of delegates, representing 703,000 members, voted for this motion. But the representatives of 1,300,000 members opposed it, whilst the delegates representing 71,000 members abstained from voting. The motion was rejected.

Forced by the masses, the Congress was obliged to deal with the **war question**. The appeal issued by the II. International against war, advertised everywhere by the social democratic parties as a revolutionary and anti-militarist deed, states expressly that if the Japanese imperialists do not stop their advance before the frontiers of the Soviet Union are reached, then the International will apply to Amsterdam, for the purpose of joining the trade unions in a common action against Japan.

The Congress adopted a resolution welcoming the determination of the Argentine railwaymen to refuse to aid the transport of war material for the war between Bolivia and Paraguay, and calling upon the transport workers of all countries to follow the example of the Argentine railwaymen. But what value does this resolution possess in view of the refusal of the pro-Soviet motions submitted to the Congress, and in view of the slander drive against the Soviet Union perpetrated by many of the delegates to the Congress?

This latest Congress of the I.T.F. has proved the determination of its reformist leaders to continue their social fascist policy. And it has proved at the same time the wide extent of the fermentation among the reformist workers, and of their sympathy for the Soviet Union and above all their desire to join forces against fascism and war. It has shown that the social fascists of the II. International and of Amsterdam—in proportion as their fascist advances and the radicalisation of the workers increases—find themselves obliged to resort more and more to "left" manoeuvres and phrases in order to maintain their influence over the workers.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Strike of the Miners in Belgium.

Brussels, 26th August 1932.

The striking miners are particularly active in the **Central Mining Area**, and further fierce collisions have taken place between the strikers and scabs and the strikers and the police. The collisions were particularly violent in **Haine St. Paul** where the windows of houses in which scabs live were broken. In **Morlanvelz** a strong force of police drove strike pickets away from the pithead. Numerous shots were fired by the police and answered by the strikers. A policeman was shot dead. Later a number of arrests were made. The houses of scabs were also attacked in the **Charleroi** area.

In all the mining areas the strike front is firm. The hope of the owners that the middle and end of the week would see a strong dribble back has not been gratified. The latest trick of the bourgeois press is to make the communists responsible for everything, and a lively anti-communist campaign is being conducted. Attacks are being launched against the government which is called upon to abandon its supposed "lack of energy towards the communists". The more rabid of the owner-inspired newspapers call for the prohibition of the Communist Party or "at least" the suppression of the revolutionary newspapers.

In the meantime the reformist leaders have improved their tactics and it must be admitted that they have succeeded to a certain extent in dampening the first wave of fury amongst the miners at their treacherous attitude. They are holding one meeting after the other in the strike areas and represent themselves as the "loyal servants" of the miners, however, by cunning manipulation of the agendas they always put directly or indirectly the question of a return to work. However, this propaganda has not met with much success although the reformist leader **Delattre** is making a tour of the coal fields and indulging in anti-German propaganda in connection with Germany's coal contingent. With regard to this contingent an agreement seems to have been reached for a twenty per cent. reduction. However, Germany's bosses demand compensation in the form of correspondingly great increases of the import of other industrial goods into Belgium.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### Leningrad's Second Five Year Plan.

Moscow, 25th August 1932.

Leningrad's second Five Year Plan provides for the investment of no less than five milliard roubles. The plan reckons with an increase of population to 3.5 millions during the plan period and provides for an increase of the existing metres.

The number of tramways and the length of the lines will be approximately doubled. 1500 new motorbuses and 7500 new taxicabs will come onto the streets. In addition all the suburban lines will be electrified. In order to protect the town against floods a new dam is to be built at a cost of seventy million roubles.

By the end of the plan no house in the town will be without gas. Forty-five new bathing establishments will be opened and fifty new mechanised laundries.

New schools for 143 000 children will be built. Six new recreational and cultural parks in various parts of the town will be laid out, and a series of cultural houses built and equipped.

In 1935 the biggest recreational and cultural park in the world will be opened and will include the three famous Leningrad islands Kamenni, Krestovski and Yelagin. The park will have a stadium holding 100 000 persons, an opera house,

several theatres, a circus, a marionette theatre for the children, various cinemas, a children's town and many other recreational and cultural institutions, including museums, a biological experimental station, a zoo, etc., etc.

### Giant Kitchen-Restaurant to be Opened.

Moscow, 26th August 1932.

Before the end of the year the biggest factory kitchen-restaurant in the Soviet Union will be opened in **Leningrad**. The kitchen will be able to supply 225 000 hot meals a day. In connection with the kitchen-restaurant will be a training school for cooks, food buyers, waiters and waitresses and other professions connected with restaurants. The kitchen-restaurant will supply the workers of the big Leningrad factories "Skorokhod", "Elektrosila" and others with meals. The kitchen-restaurant will represent the last word in modern mass catering.

### Soviet Union Continues to Build.

Moscow, 26th August 1932.

Whilst throughout the domain of capitalism hardly a factory is working at full pressure, except the factories of the war industries, the factories of the Soviet Union are working at full pressure. Not only that, but the tremendous building program is going on without a stop, and everywhere new giant factories are rising out of the ground to pour their products into the common resources.

Near **Tula** work has now begun on what will be one of the biggest iron foundries in the Soviet Union and that means in the world. The first of seven blast furnaces will be lit on the 1st January 1933 according to plan. The others will follow rapidly. A coking battery, a pipe-moulding works, an a power centre of 50 000 kilowatts will also be built as part of the **Tula industrial combination**. The workers of these new factories will live in a new town of 35 000 inhabitants built on socialist lines.

A big **fish packing works** is being built on the **Tchudsk Lake** near **Leningrad**. This undertaking will work in conjunction with a fish breeding institution which is already there and will produce 500 million fish annually.

Thirteen new **brick kilns** are approaching completion in the **Kusnetzk** District. They will turn out forty million bricks before the end of the year. In addition three completely mechanised kilns are being built. They will be opened in December, and each of them will produce ten million bricks annually.

### New Giant Locomotive Works.

Moscow, 25th August 1932.

The foundation stone of a new giant locomotive and carriage works was laid in the town **Verchneudinsk** in the **Far Eastern Republic** yesterday. When completed the works will have a capacity of 1 080 locomotives, 12 000 goods trucks and 2 000 passenger coaches annually.

### Production of Machine Tools Rising.

Moscow, 26th August 1932.

The production of **lathes** (including the most modern and highly complicated models) and other machine tools is rapidly increasing in the Soviet Union, and a weak point in the work of socialist construction deliberately caused by the sabotage of the anti-Soviet experts since laid by the heels is now being strengthened satisfactorily. The average production in 1932 of lathes and other machinetools has increased by 83 per cent. as compared with 1931, and the production in 1931 was 352 per cent. higher than in 1929. During the past two years the Soviet machine-tool works have produced twelve new types, including the most modern turret lathe models. In 1932 16.5 million roubles were invested in this branch of production more than was invested in 1931. By the end of 1933 the production of lathes and other machine-tools will increase tremendously owing to the opening of **three new great works** at present in course of construction in **Nizhni-Novgorod** and **Moscow**.

## ***The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries***

# **The Situation of Germany's Proletariat.**

By Peter Jottkas (Berlin).

*With the following we begin a new series of articles, first on the situation of the working masses in Germany, and then in succession on the situation in the other important capitalist countries. Ed.*

### **1. Introduction.**

According to official statistics, the costs of subsistence for a worker's family with three children amount to about 40 Marks. But the average weekly earnings of the industrial worker are only about 22 marks. Hence it is clear that these earnings should on an average be almost double their present amount in order to attain the level regarded as necessary by even capitalist statistics.

A wage of only 22 marks and a subsistence of 40 marks—what does this signify? In the first place the proletarian family saves in everything going beyond food and lodging. This means that the first restrictions are in expenditure for "culture and pleasure". It is increasingly difficult for the worker to buy himself newspapers, periodicals, and books. Pleasures become rarer and rarer, and are finally dropped altogether. The cinemas are emptier than they were. The sales of books decline.

The next restriction is expenditure for clothes. The turnover on the sale of clothing alone has fallen off by 28% as compared with last year. The sales of boots and shoes have declined by approximately one half since 1929. Clothes become shabbier and shabbier, and in winter both young and old suffer from the cold.

Next comes the home. Since rents have not only not been reduced since the crisis, but have even risen and, even after the enforced renewed emergency order reduction, are still higher than in 1929; since on the other hand wages and salaries have been reduced by over 50%, and since the army of the unemployed has mightily increased, the rent has become a frightful burden to the workers: To-day they give 20,30 and more per cent. of their scanty incomes for rent. Many of them move into smaller dwellings, many from small into still smaller, indeed into utterly unhealthy holes. Here they live crowded together, healthy and diseased, adults and children, several sharing one bed.

Finally, after the home has been cut down, food follows. As wages have become lower and exploitation intenser, the food has become increasingly inferior. Margarine has taken the place of butter. In spite of the sharp drop in the price of meat, the consumption of meat has decreased. The better sorts of vegetables have vanished from the table and are replaced by the cheaper cabbage. Milk is bought only for the children—and often it is not possible to buy it even for them. Bread and potatoes have become the chief sources of nutriment. For many workers' families the food question is down at the level of the worst days of the war, of the worst days of the inflation.

The poor food has taken a speedy effect on the health of the working class. It is true that the official statistics show an improvement in the public health. But this is simply because fewer and fewer workers venture to report themselves sick, fearing dismissal. Even if we assume that the number of cases of sickness has not changed since 1928/29, even then there would be about 3.5 million sick persons to-day who are without medical attention, either because they are afraid to admit they are ill or because they cannot raise the money for the sickness certificate. In actual fact, however, the number of sick persons has increased, and it may be estimated that to-day there are approximately 5 million sick workers not receiving any medical treatment.

Whilst the body of the worker is thus being continually weakened by insufficient nourishment, unhealthy conditions, and sickness, on the other hand exploitation increases, and the number of accidents in the shops and factories multiplies. As compared with the period before the crisis, the output of the fully employed factory worker has increased by almost 10%. At the same time the number of accidents has increased

to almost double that at the beginning of the rationalisation period in 1924.

But the situation of the unemployed is even more frightful than that of the employed worker. Official statistics show that there are 5½ million unemployed, in round numbers, in Germany. In reality the number is at least 8 to 9 millions. These workers have been ejected from the process of production, and have no prospect of finding places in it again. Their want and misery increase daily. Three years ago they still had an average monthly benefit of 90 marks. To-day they have scarcely 40 marks a month. Fewer and fewer unemployed receive the somewhat higher benefit of the unemployed insurance, and more and more receive the starvation benefit doled out by the public assistance committees. The overwhelming majority of the unemployed receive **monthly** a sum of about the amount calculated by even capitalist statistics as necessary for the **weekly** costs of subsistence of a worker's family.

In the summer of 1929 wages were at their highest. And yet even then their buying powers were not so high as before the war. To-day actual wages are only two thirds of those paid in the summer of 1929, whilst the buying powers of the wages paid are only about one half.

And from day to day the situation of the working class worsens. Day by day new wage cut awards are announced. Unemployment is beginning to increase again in many places, and during the next few weeks it will increase generally and greatly. At the same time prices are beginning to rise again, especially the prices of the necessities of life. Potatoes are dearer, salt and fats are rising in price. Vegetables too are becoming dearer.

When we remember how low the standards of living of the toiling masses have already sunk, how for many workers they have reached a level below that of bare subsistence, that in many families hunger has become a daily pain, then we realise that every pfennig off wages, and every pfennig higher prices, are of frightful significance.

### **2. The Situation of the Pitmen in the Ruhr Mines.**

Unemployment is more than 25 times greater than at the beginning of 1930. Almost half of the men still employed in the mines in January 1930 have been thrown out of work. 125,000 are registered as unemployed in the labour exchanges of the Ruhr District. Tens of thousands more have left the district. Now there are not even 200,000 employed.

The unemployed benefit is so small that within a few weeks the pitmen lose their ability to work. They exist in semi-starvation and lose all prospect of work. They are no longer able to perform the work which they formerly accomplished down the mines.

But even if they were still able to keep up their old output, still they would lag behind. For during the time that they have been out of work, the speeding up in the mines has intensified.

According to official statistics, there are only about one sixth of all unemployed in the insurance at the present time. Over 100,000 have run out of benefit. Those thus no longer entitled to benefit have been out of work for at least 20 weeks, many of them, however, as long as two years. What progress has speeding up made in the meantime? The official figures issued by the employers show the following increased outputs per man:

March 1930 . . . . .	1619 kgs
Year 1931 . . . . .	1897 kgs
March 1932 . . . . .	2070 kgs

Within two years the output per pitman has been speeded up by approximately 25%. 25% increased production, 25% speeding up (for the mechanical improvements play but a small role) within two years! This monstrous fact throws vivid light on the cruel position, in which both the employed and the unemployed miners are placed. For the unemployed find it increasingly difficult to find work—physically they are so weakened that they could no longer meet even the lower demands of two years ago. And for those still in employment the work in being made more and more to a hell.

The overmen urge the pitmen to the utmost exertions. The 200,000 miners still toiling in the pits are subjected to ever harder conditions, their exploitation is intensified from day to day, the danger of accidents increases, and wages sink lower and lower.

The daily wage due to the miners is frightfully curtailed by the deductions for social insurance, and by the large number of idle shifts. The wages per shift are lower at the present time than in 1925. The best paid full hewer was paid 10 marks per shift in the Ruhr mines in 1929, 8 marks in 1925, but now only 7.50 marks. And whilst in 1925 there were by no means so many unemployed miners nor so many idle shifts, to-day there are over 125,000 Ruhr pitmen out of work, and those still employed have to put up with approximately one million idle shifts in a month.

The unemployed are starving, and through this starvation they are incapacitated for work. The workers still employed are so frightfully exploited that they cannot keep up the pace for long, and break down in a few years—incapable of ever working down a mine again so long as capitalist exploitation reigns there.

At the same time the army of the victims of labour is growing. There is scarcely any industry in which there is such a frightful amount of accidents as the mining industry. The frequency of accidents has become so overwhelming to-day that about one half of all pitmen are gradually becoming wholly or partially incapacitated. Out of 100 young pitmen going down the mine for the first time, 5 meet with a fatal accident before their first year is over. And every year every fifth pitman is so severely injured that the accident has to be reported to the insurance.

400,000 Ruhr miners, some toiling down the mines, some starving in the streets, some dragging on a weary existence with their crippled limbs, and to these almost a million women and children, suffering from the cold in winter, starving all the year round, this is the situation of the Ruhr miners in the technically best equipped coal fields of the whole world.

### 3. The Situation of the Textile Proletariat.

What is the position of Germany's textile proletariat in general?

Hourly wages of 15 pfennigs (about twopence) and less are no rarity. In every part of the country, on the Middle Rhine (Euskirchen Cloth Industry), in Upper Hessen (the whole textile industry), in the Ruhr district (Duisburg, cotton and cotton plush weaving mills), in Saxony (West Saxon felt industry), in Brandenburg, in Lower Lausitz, wherever we look, we see wages (fixed by agreements (!) of 15 pfennigs hourly and less. And since to-day wages under agreement rates are frequently paid, it may be imagined how low the actual wages are.

According to Kuczynski's calculations, the average weekly wage of the textile worker is 14.90 marks weekly (taking into account part-time and unemployment). But the official index figures of the costs of subsistence are about 39.15 marks weekly. The average weekly wages are therefore not even one half of the officially recognised costs of living. In order to attain the level of the standard of living officially admitted as "suitable", the wages of the textile workers would have to be raised by approximately 165%, or more than double.

And this applies especially to women's wages. The women may perform the same work as the men, their work may be even higher skilled, but still they are worse paid than the men. The women have no rights, they are "inferior beings". And the more skilled the work or the older the woman, the greater the difference between the wages of men and women. Young workers between the ages of 14 and 16 frequently receive the same wages, but at the age of 16 to 18 it is very seldom that wages are the same; men have higher wages at once.

## How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

### Scheidemann and his Liturgies.

"I received letters from ministers of religion informing me that they had read extracts from my speeches in their churches. Just imagine that, ministers of religion read social democratic speeches in their churches!"

(Scheidemann giving evidence in the "Dolchstoß" proceedings in October 1925 referring to his peace speech in 1917.)

9 pfennigs hourly wage—10 or 11 pfennigs—and how many working hours? Very often only 32 in the week. In June approximately one third of all textile workers were working 17 and even more hours under "normal". But whilst hundreds of thousands of textile workers are working part-time, other are working 8, 9, 10, and even more hours daily.

The most frightful exploitation, lowest of wages, longest working hours, extensive part-time, bread instead of milk, eggs, and meat, potatoes instead of vegetables—this is the life of Germany's textile proletariat.

### 4. The Situation of the Metal Workers.

The engineering industry, as one of the basic industries of capitalism, is among those hardest hit by the crisis. But again and again the employers have been successful in backing out of any share of the burdens of the crisis, and in thrusting these onto the shoulders of the workers.

Since the reformist Metal Workers' Union has succeeded again and again—with the single great exception of the strike in Berlin in October 1930—in holding the metal working proletariat back from the struggle, or in strangling the struggles after they have broken out, the situation of the proletarians in the engineering trades has worsened to a frightful extent.

Whilst in 1928 the average income of the metal worker (including losses through unemployment and part time) still amounted to 43.85 marks weekly, by June 1932 it was only 19.25 marks. This is a reduction of much more than one half. If we compare this weekly wage with the official costs of subsistence, we see that the wages of the metal workers would have to be increased by over 100%, by more than double, in order to reach the level of even the officially calculated costs of subsistence.

The reductions in wages have been accompanied by a considerable worsening of the other conditions of work. The speed of work has increased steadily, every working process ruthlessly accelerated.

Approximately one million proletarians of the engineering trades are out of work, and have no hope of finding any. Not even one fifth of these are in the unemployment insurance, whilst over four fifths are obliged to live on what is granted them by the public assistance authorities—a sum so low as to be absolutely calculated to arouse rebellion, not even amounting in one month to the sum stated, by the State Statistics Office itself to be "suitable" for one week.

But whilst one million metal working proletarians are trailing about the streets out of work, others have to work overtime. One million unemployed—and the employed working up to 12 hours daily. Besides this, the employers are systematically replacing male labour by lower paid female labour.

This substitution of women for men has for the employer not only the advantage of bringing him greater profits, since they perform the same work at cheaper rates. It has for him the additional advantage that he can more easily impose worse working conditions on women, who are as a rule unorganised and less trained to resistance than the men. Cases in which men are out of work, whilst their wives are working in the engineering workshops at much lower wages, and under much worse working conditions, are by no means rare, and are becoming increasingly frequent.

One million unemployed metal workers wages cut down by half, increased speeding up, part-time and overtime, female labour replacing and not merely accompanying male labour, this is the situation of the proletarians in the engineering trades, which form numerically the leading branch of industry in every advanced capitalist economy.



## 5. The Situation of the Building Trade Workers.

There is no industrial group so severely affected by the crisis as the building trade. In all capitalist countries the position of the proletariat of the building trades has worsened to a greater extent than in all other trades.

This is due above all to the enormous prevalence of unemployment. According to the statistics issued by the reformist Trade Unions, unemployment in the building industry in Germany was as follows in June—actually the height of the building season, when most workers are employed: bricklayers 82%, builders' labourers 82%, underground workers 77%, carpenters 77% and painters 79%.

As early as 1930, almost one half of all building workers had been out of work for half a year and longer; to-day it may be estimated that far more than one half of all building workers have now been out of work for a year and longer.

Out of 100 building workers, 80 are unemployed at the present time, and over 40 have been out of work for over a year. Their claims to unemployment benefit have long since run out, they receive only the lowest public assistance rates. Once they belonged to the best paid categories of the workers, now they are amongst the most wretched of all.

And those still in employment? Their wages have been cut down brutally. Last year alone the wage agreement rates were reduced by as much as one third. And whilst this applies to the actual wage agreements, the wages paid in reality are as a rule much lower, especially in the small towns and in the country.

The average wage income, taking into account the wages losses through unemployment and part-time, is lower to-day in the building trade than in the majority of the other industries. If the yearly average is taken, the building workers will be found to be among the worst paid workers. Their weekly wages have sunk as follows: 1929 50.80 marks, 1930 39.10 marks, 1931 25.35 marks and 1932 (June) 14.20 marks.

Wages have fallen off by five sevenths, or over 70%, as compared with the times before the crisis. If we compare the average wage of the building worker with the officially calculated costs of subsistence, we find that these wages would have to be almost tripled if the families of the building workers are to expend even the sum stated to be "suitable" by official capitalist statistics.

During the last few months the situation of the building worker proletariat has been especially worsened by the fact that numerous unemployed workers have been set to relief and task work, thus depriving the actual building workers even further of their chances of employment. The employers are exploiting the unemployment insurance and the "voluntary work service" for the purpose of getting actual building work done, at the lowest of wages and under the most frightful working conditions, by out-of-work building workers, who are, however, not engaged as building workers, but as unemployed.

Whilst wages are being steadily reduced, and whilst the working hours of those still in employment are being ruthlessly lengthened, the employers are becoming more and more careless of the lives of the workers. Safety measures are being more and more neglected. The scaffolding has to be run up faster and faster, and is made less and less secure. The present proportion of accidents is such that 5% of all underground building workers and 3% of all other building workers are killed by accidents. 2 out of every 100 underground building workers are rendered totally or partially incapacitated every year by accidents, and not even one half of all building workers pass their lives without meeting with some accident greatly detracting from their earning powers.

In consequence of this frightful accident rate, a number of the building workers' accident associations are on the verge of bankruptcy to-day, although the pensions for the disabled building workers are being reduced steadily.

This is the situation of the building proletariat: At the height of the season 8 out of 10 workers are unemployed, whilst the remainder work up to 48 hours weekly at frightfully reduced wages, often without any allowances or payment for overtime. Tens of thousands are working at rates far below the wage agreements, in many cases quite officially as relief workers and task workers engaged by the state and municipalities, whilst tens of thousands more exist on a miserable pension—the cripples, the disabled, the victims of capitalist labour.

## How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

### The War as "A Progressive Social Factor".

"We were accustomed to regard war purely from the standpoint of its socially destructive forces, and in particular to regard a threatening world war exclusively as the dissolution of everything existing. However, the facts have taught us different. War creates situations which are not socially destructive, but to the highest degree socially progressive, situations which awaken social forces in all classes of the population to an undreamt of degree and eliminate anti-social tendencies . . .

The essential factor is that the necessity or unavoidability of securing a decision by force of arms is understood and recognised equally by all classes of the population and that the war is regarded as a national duty which no able-bodied man may evade without sinning against the people as a whole. At this stage the war is an affair of the whole people and it is calculated to advance the cause of socialism to a degree attained by hardly any other event . . .

A people at war must feel socialist, and above all think socialist and act socialist, and particularly a people which has made general compulsory military service the basis of its national defence."

("Correspondence of the General Commission of the Trade Unions" of Germany, No. 35 of the 5th September 1914.)

## 6. The Situation of the Chemical Workers.

The proletarians of the chemical industry speak of their places of work as poison hells. Hells of exploitation, with the added misery of slow poisoning, destroying the bodies of the proletarians.

But the profits of the chemical capitalists are higher than those of the majority of other capitalists. The I.G.-Dyes Trust is still pocketing net profits exceeding the 50 million limit, and the salaries of the directors and general directors run into hundreds of thousands.

The laws demanding safety measures for the workers, fought for by the organised workers for decades—how are they carried out by the capitalists? A few acid-proof overalls, hanging in rags. And thousands of chemical workers without even these rags.

The chemical capitalists have contrived, better than any other groups of capitalists, to train for their purposes a species of "sergeants" ready to increase the exploitation of the workers, to speed up work, to cut down wages, and to put every pressure on the workers, in order that they may gain a few pfennigs additional wages for themselves.

When the intensified anti-war campaign of the C.P.G. and of the R.T.U.O. commenced a few months ago, what did the chemical capitalists do? They regrouped a number of the categories of workers, giving some of them rises in wages of a few pfennigs. Wage rises in the midst of the crisis! And granted voluntarily by the capitalists! But the object was obvious: The great mass of the chemical proletarians are to be the more severely exploited, and the stratum of better paid workers is to "keep them in check". As a matter of fact, this manoeuvre has recently enabled a new wage cut to be imposed on the great mass of the chemical workers.

Working conditions utterly detrimental to health, and a small army of "sergeants"—these are two factors contributing greatly towards worsening the situation of the chemical proletariat.

Let us glance at the report given by a worker employed in one of the I.G.-Dye Trust undertakings, referring to the wage cuts:

"Up to 17th June 1929 54 hours were worked weekly. The ninth hour was paid for daily with 25% overtime allowance. A skilled worker in full work earned 65.10 marks weekly.

On 18th June 1929 working hours were reduced to 48 without wage compensation. The skilled worker now received only 57.90 marks weekly instead of 65.10.



On 24th November 1930 working hours were again curtailed, to 40 weekly, and again there was no wage compensation. The gross earnings of the skilled worker dropped to 48.05 marks weekly.

Now the Leuna magnates opened the attack on the hourly wages. These were adapted to the wage scale of 1st May 1928. But the chemical proletarians, by means of determined mass action, forced the granting of a compensatory allowance for part-time. On this the trust proceeded to reduce piecework pay by a system of sharpest calculation.

In December the Brüning Government intervened with a decree of a 15% wage cut for the chemical workers. The gross earnings of the skilled workers were now only 40.26 marks.

Shortly afterwards the trust cancelled the piecework rates, reduced the bonuses, and did away with the output allowances, the value allowances, and a number of other allowances. Gross earnings have dropped to about 35 marks for the skilled workers."

Since this the part time too has been cancelled. About 5 to 6 marks must be deducted from the gross earnings for taxes, insurance dues, etc. To-day the wage of a fully employed skilled worker in the most up-to-date chemical factory in the world is scarcely 30 marks weekly.

But how many chemical workers are in steady full work? Even though the chemical industry is comparatively occupied, in consequence of the increased war armaments of the whole capitalist world, still there are other factors causing the employers to discharge tens of thousands of chemical workers, as for instance the ruin of the farmers who are unable to buy fertilisers any longer. Approximately one third of all chemical workers are out of work, 34.4% of all men and 28.8% of all women.

The proportion of unemployed men is greater. As in all industries, in the chemical industry too male work is being replaced by female. The women are paid much lower wages than the men—and women are much more exploited than men—therefore out into the street with the men and into the factories with the women! Then profits will accumulate even quicker.

At the same time unheard of overtime is worked. In one factory one department has to lay off, whilst another works overtime. A worker correspondent reports:

"... In this department most of the overtime is worked. In one month alone about 20 workers employed in the high pressure department had to work 450 hours, whilst in the other departments the workers have to lay off alternately for 13 weeks."

In one and the same undertaking overtime and the stagger system—wage cuts reducing wages by more than half—acid-proof overalls hanging in rags—foremen speeding up and driving in their role of sergeants of capital—these are the conditions under which the chemical workers work and live. (To be concluded.)

## **How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.**

### **Denunciation of "A certain Heckert".**

War Office (Leipzig Branch).  
Br. B. No. 481. R. A. Secret.

Leipzig, 26th January 1918.

Herr Haack of the Metal Workers Union (Dresden) requests Captain Kegel per telephone to do his best to secure the immediate release of the trade union official Arthur Jung, who has been chosen as official in Crimmitschau and reclaimed, from his troop unit, the third company of the 134th Infantry Battalion in Plauen, or should his release take some time, then to secure immediate leave for him up to the time of his release. Herr Haack adds that the situation in Crimmitschau at the moment is very tense owing to the fact that a **certain Heckert** is engaged in very active propaganda there on behalf of the Independent Social Democratic Party..

Under these circumstances it would be of very great importance if the reclaimed Jung could resume his activity in Crimmitschau as quickly as possible.

## **THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT**

### **The Conference of the Executive of the Co-operatives' Alliance.**

By Heinrich Oswald (Hamburg).

The **International Co-operatives' Alliance** recently held its Conference in **Prague**. This Conference took place during a period in which the co-operative movement of the capitalist countries has been shaken as never before.

The turnover of the consumers' co-operatives has fallen off greatly. The members withdraw their savings, and the co-operative societies are falling into a more and depressed economic and financial position. A number of consumers' co-operatives earn no profits, others actually work at a loss, others again have ceased payment, etc.

The consumers' co-operative movement of the capitalist countries, which increased its returns during the period of relative stabilisation, and invested large amounts of capital, has a great part of its capital invested in objects not available for ready money. The economic crisis which commenced in 1929 stemmed the development of the co-operative societies.

The results of 1930 and 1931 brought a great disappointment. But the greatest falling off has been in 1932. It is most conspicuous in the industrial districts, amounting here at times to 30 and 35%.

The Conference of the Executive of the Co-operatives' Alliance had the intention of finding a way out of the crisis into which the co-operatives of the capitalist countries have been plunged, but only succeeded in exposing its complete helplessness.

At the **Strassburg** Conference of the Alliance, which took place in February this year, the Secretariat of the Alliance was commissioned to institute an inquiry into the question of the **influence of monopolist capital on the prices and consumption of articles of daily use**. The Secretariat submitted a comprehensive written report to the Executive in Prague, enumerating the largest monopolist organisations, giving statistics on their capital, etc.

Speaking on the question of the nature of monopolist capital, the representative of the co-operatives of the **Soviet Union** declared that there is no sense in inquiring into this matter without drawing the corresponding conclusions, and that such manoeuvres solely served the purpose of distracting the attention of the masses from the activities of the monopolist capitalist undertakings. The monopolist character of the great capitalist undertakings is generally known. The question is, how are they to be combatted. The methods employed by the reformist leaders are simply calculated to consolidate the position of monopolist capital.

A special point on the agenda of the session was formed by the question of **night work in the co-operative bakeries**. In a number of countries the laws prohibit any baking at night. These laws are observed by the co-operative bakeries, but ignored in every way by the private undertakings. These laws were the achievement of many years of struggle on the part of the proletariat, and it is characteristic for the social fascists that it is now precisely the reformist consumers' co-operative leaders who demand that these laws be repealed. The Co-operatives' Alliance has appealed to the **International Labour Office of the League of Nations** to settle the question.

The bureaucracy which thus abandons the rights won by the workers for the bakeries must be energetically combatted. The social fascists must be exposed.

The representatives of the Alliance, as also the representatives of the agricultural consumers' co-operatives, belong to the **Amalgamated Committee of the Consumers' and Production Co-operatives**. Although this Committee has already existed for two years, and this in the midst of the severe crisis of the agricultural co-operatives, it has not yet achieved any results whatever in any question.

The representative of the co-operatives of the **Soviet Union** pointed out in his speech that there are representatives of the agrarian magnates on this Committee, and that their interests run absolutely counter to those of the workers'

consumers' co-operatives. In this connection he proposed that contact with this Committee should be given up, and the lower co-operative organs called upon to enter into direct communication with the lower agricultural co-operative organs. This proposal was rejected.

At the **Strassburg** Conference in February it was resolved to send a representative to the "**Disarmament**" Conference. A memorandum was sent so the Chairman of the "Disarmament" Conference on behalf of the Alliance. This memorandum received no reply. The representative of the Alliance attended the Conference only as a guest. The representative of the co-operatives of the **Soviet Union** stressed in his speech that such measures as this, confined to sending off memoranda, only did harm. The "demands" of the memorandum are much more modest than those of the imperialists.

The representative of the co-operatives of the **Soviet Union** referred further to **events in the Far East**, to the **provocative attitude taken towards the Soviet Union**, and to the **bankruptcy of the "Disarmament" Conference**. He made the following proposals:

1. In future all connection with the **League of Nations** and its organs is to be relinquished.
2. The international consumers' co-operative movement gives its full and complete support to the proposals of the **Soviet Union** on complete or partial disarmament.
3. Closest contact is to be established between the international consumers' co-operative movement and the anti-

imperialist organisations really fighting for disarmament, these are to be joined in the struggle against the war danger and for the defence of the **Soviet Union**.

4. The international of the consumers' co-operatives is in duty bound to carry on propaganda on a wide scale against the war danger, as also propaganda against armaments and in defence of the **Soviet Union**. For this purpose meetings, demonstrations, and the like, are to be organised. The co-operative press is to be pressed into the service of this struggle. These proposals were rejected.

The representative of the co-operatives of the **Soviet Union** proposed that the following questions be placed on the **agenda of the coming International Co-operatives Conference**:

1. The struggle against the war danger and against the attack on the **Soviet Union**.
2. The struggle against unemployment, and the organization of an international co-operatives relief for the unemployed.
3. The struggle against fascism.

The consumers' co-operative societies in the capitalist countries will not play any part in the struggle of the proletariat until the millions of proletarian members of the co-operatives join the broad united front of the world proletariat under the leadership of the **Communist Party**, and carry on a relentless struggle against the reformists, renegades, and opportunists in the consumers' co-operative movement.

## The World Economic Crisis

# Farm Crisis and Farm Population in the United States.

By **A. G. Bosse** (New York).

During the eleven years of the **Farm crisis** in the United States ending January 1, 1932 over 33,400,000 persons moved from farms to cities and vice versa. This is greater than the present farm population of the country, which at the beginning of this year totaled 31,260,000. Last year 1,472,000 persons left the farms, while 1,679,000 moved from the cities to the country. This, together with the surplus of births over deaths, resulted in an increase in agrarian population of 648,000. The movement to farms was the second largest for the past dozen years, exceeding the previous peak year 1924 and being only slightly below the record movement of 1930.

For the first seven years of the past decade the migration each year from the farms was greater than that to the countryside, due to the chronic agricultural crisis and "prosperity" in the cities. With the general world economic crisis at the end of 1929 this movement shifted, and 1930 was the first year to show a greater movement back to the farms than away, though a slight excess (39,000). Last year showed a movement toward the farms larger by 207,000, and this year will doubtless show an intensification of this tendency. It is a hopeless attempt for those going to the farms and makes the lot of the farmers still worse, if that is possible, by increasing competition for the sale of their products.

The **movement of population between farms and cities** during the past five years was as follows:

	To Farms	From Farms	Total Movement	Net Movement
1931 . . . .	1,677,000	1,472,000	3,149,000	+ 205,000
1930 . . . .	1,766,000	1,727,000	3,493,000	+ 39,000
1929 . . . .	1,257,000	1,876,000	3,133,000	- 619,000
1928 . . . .	1,347,000	1,923,000	3,270,000	- 576,000
1927 . . . .	1,374,000	1,978,000	3,352,000	- 604,000
Total	7,421,000	8,976,000	16,397,000	- 1,555,000

In addition to the movement tabulated above there is that of a million persons from one farm to another each year, due undoubtedly in most cases to economic "distress", for otherwise farmers do not move so readily. There is also a tremendous movement, likewise untabulated, of "part-time farmers", i.e.,

of those who take up farming on a small plot, not commercially, but to get some extra food, shelter and cheaper rent. This makes up a large part of the back-to-the-farm movement, especially since the general crisis began after some eight years of agrarian crisis. The report issued this year by the **U.S.D.A. (U.S. Department of Agriculture)**, says of this type of farming:

"Many city and town families are now planting subsistence gardens of  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 2 acres where formerly they purchased all their foods. Some of these families have moved to abandoned farms as a means of lowering their house rents in addition to raising some of their foods. Others have obtained small plots of ground close enough to their present homes to avoid moving."

In some cities relief agencies have tried to get rid of their responsibilities for aiding the unemployed by giving them some seed, fertiliser, tools and the use of a bit of land, and in other cases have them moved out to the suburbs. The **U.S.D.A.** statement goes on to say that this method saves the agencies money,

"gives the unemployed something to do, and for some of the children it means an opportunity to benefit by an abundance of fresh air and sunshine."

These children probably have plenty of fresh air living without heat all winter, and of sunshine in the scorching summer days without a roof over their heads. But the government of **Hoover** and **Wall Street** is nothing if not euphuistic. Similarly Secretary of the Interior **Wilbur** solved the unemployment problem recently by urging the unemployed to visit the national parks and improve their health. He merely carelessly neglected to suggest where they would get the food, clothing, shelter, and transportation incidentals.

This brings us to a problem recently "discovered" by another agency of this same beneficent government. The **Children's Bureau**, part of "Deportation" **Doak's Department of Labor**, is like Jesus known for its policy of "Let the little ones come to me", in order to turn them over to the manufacturers' sweatshops and child labor paradise. This Bureau,

after three years of the crisis, in which whole families have been wandering blindly over the country by the millions, has found that there are now over half a million "bezprizorni" roaming about the country. Just when the U.S.S.R. has fully solved the last of its problem of its war- and famine-orphaned children, U.S.A. capitalism has created this problem. Hoover & Co. have opposed federal unemployment and other social insurance with the hypocritical statement that the dole was a terrible thing, and the specious claim that state and local relief agencies would solve the problem of caring for the jobless. The answer to the latter is, in the words of the "New York World-Telegram" summarising the report of the Children's Bureau, that

"the lack of funds in almost every city and state has led to a complete collapse of this system and the children are becoming people without a home—almost without a country."

These children, including girls, travel from place to place on freight trains, "hitch-hike" on automobiles, etc., sleeping in jail basements, hoboes' "jungles", shanties and deserted buildings. At first they roved about looking for jobs, but when this became hopeless they gave up and became "professional" hoboes.

This throws some light on one aspect, and result, of the migration of millions of persons between cities and farms. Many of those included in the Department of Agriculture farm population movement figures are ex-farmers who have gone to the cities in search of jobs, and then been forced back to the country, where things were equally bad. Their next step was to room the country in their cars, sleeping in the open or in tents until many of their families were broken up. In its annual release of February 19, 1931 the U.S.D.A. admitted that "the trek farmward is considered a reflection of the industrial unemployment situation", but this year it didn't make such an explanation, though it is for more true. Incidentally, this year the farm population figures were not released until July 15, because it was a presidential year and Hoover suppressed the report for about five months.

If added explanation of the cause of this mass migration is necessary one can point merely to farm prices: In 1931 the farmer paid \$1.26 for goods bought while receiving \$0.63 for a similar amount of good sold (his dollar was worth only 63 cents). During 1930 his dollar was worth 80 cents. By June of this year it dropped to 47 cents, after showing an almost steady decline for a decade. After nearly a decade of agrarian crisis the farmer of the United States has also had the three years of the world crisis added to his burdens. One of the results is that on August 15 the papers had to report that farmers striking for higher prices in Sioux City, Iowa, were

## **How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.**

### **Albert Thomas: "The Spirit of War Works Wonders."**

"The spirit of war is the spirit of sacrifice, the spirit of self-denial, the consciousness of the common duties which rest upon all of us, the subordination of individual interests to the interests of the community as a whole, the recognition of a discipline, and the will to exert all energies for the welfare of the Fatherland. **This spirit of war has already worked wonders amongst us, and not least in our industrial organisation and in the relations of the State to industry.** And you, you working men and working women, have you not also felt the flame of the spirit of war rise in your breasts? You have offered the peoples of the world a wonderful example of what a proletariat filled with the spirit of national defence can accomplish. To-morrow, however, you may recall the rights you have won, but you will have learned to measure them against the spirit of the war period, the spirit of organisation and harmony which fills all hearts in the common work for the welfare of the Fatherland. **Industrial harmony must survive the war. . .**"

(Speech of Albert Thomas, the French Socialist Leader and Minister of Munitions, to the workers of the armament factory Creuzot on the 15th April 1916.)

shooting scabs transporting milk at the prices that were ruining them (1 cent a quart for milk retailing at 8 cents and more). Tax marches and demonstrations against bankruptcy sales are also becoming more frequent. Under the banner of the left wing farmers the agricultural masses are being aroused to revolt, although slowly and with difficulty.

## **Fascist Italy in the Clutches of the Crisis.**

By A. Montanari (Rome).

Of late the Italian press has occupied itself almost exclusively with the problem of foreign policy, and this has taken the foremost place at the sessions of the governmental and other organisations. This circumstance, combined with the various antagonisms in the trade policy of Italy, show the extent of the confusion into which the leading economic circles have been thrown by the ever spreading crisis.

Until lately Italy has pursued a policy of moderate protectionism in the sphere of duties and tariffs. The change commenced in 1931. Besides an abrupt increase in the duties, on agricultural products for the most part (wheat, maize, meat products, butter, etc.), and besides the imposition of a super-duty of 15 per cent. of the value of the goods imported, the Italian government has taken measures which, though not formally bearing the character of foreign trade measures and not placing restrictions on the import of goods from abroad, still in actual fact cut off a number of foreign products (wheat, cattle, meat products) from entering the country at certain times of the year.

A decree issued on 10th June 1931 enacts that the foreign grain imported may not exceed 5 per cent. of the total amount of grain ground in the country. When the home reserves are exhausted, this proportion is increased. To-day, now that the new crops have been harvested, the restricted percentage is in force again.

The official substantiation of this measure is the necessity of securing high grain prices for the peasants, who are in an extremely difficult economical position. But in actual fact the measure has not brought about this result, and cannot bring it about, for the peasantry have to pay taxes, and are besides deeply in debt, so that they cannot hold back their grain and put in on the market in lots from time to time. The grain grown by the peasantry is thrown on the market immediately after the harvest, at the lowest possible prices. The proportion of grain imports permitted, which has been of great material detriment to the countries accustomed to exporting grain to Italy, has thus benefitted nobody but the big agrarians and big farmers. The position is similar with regard to livestock products. Here the amount of foreign animals imported for the meat market has been reduced to 15 per cent. by a decree of 21st December 1931.

The higher duties and other restrictive measures are accompanied by a tendency in the press, and on the part of the leading governmental organs, to advocate a system of "equality of exchange of goods" (equilibrium of export and import). A session of the National Committee of the *corporazioni* took place in November of last year under this slogan, which actually raised fresh barriers against foreign trade. It may, however, be already clearly observed that the endeavours of the Italian government in this direction have been unsuccessful. And this is only natural. If an equality of the trade balance is an advantage to Italy in intercourse with countries which export more to Italy than they buy there, this is, however, not the case regard to countries which import more from Italy than they sell to it.

The increased duties have also failed of the desired result. Whilst they have had the effect of causing a general decline in Italy's imports, on the other hand the similar measures taken by the other countries have taken the same effect on Italy's exports. This fact is confirmed by the data of the Italian customs, referring to the first five months of each year (in millions lire):

	Imports	Exports
1930 . . . . .	7550	5171
1931 . . . . .	5237	4019
1932 . . . . .	3747	2765

It is therefore not to be wondered at that the retreat is being official bugled in fascist Italy. The latest declarations of the Government stress expressly the necessity of "removing all obstacles from the path of international trade". After the decision of the Great Fascist Council, which lays down that the barriers of international trade traffic must be removed before they have caused the complete extinction of all commerce among the countries, the most remarkable document on the matter is a memorandum submitted by the Italian delegation to the last Lausanne Conference. In this memorandum we read:

"In the sphere of economics, the Italian delegation is of the opinion that a gradual razing of the customs barriers, and of the recently multiplied obstacles in the way of free traffic in goods, form the fundamental elements for the beginning of the work of reconstruction."

The memorandum also contains the significant sentence:

"It may well be assumed that on this point general agreement obtains."

As to this "general agreement" to clear away the obstacles in the way of international trade, it may be observed in passing that on 17th July, after the Lausanne Conference, France took measures for reducing the imports of fruit and vegetables from Italy by a tenth and a fifth. The counter-measures taken by Italy on 19th July for a number of French goods have been termed "compensatory measures", but in reality they bear witness to an actual economic war between Italy and France.

## **Proletarian Youth Movement**

# Appeal For the 18<sup>th</sup> International Youth Day.

Comrades!

Young toilers of the world!

On the 4th of September, the revolutionary youth the world over, faithful to the cause of the undying struggle against the bourgeois system, will celebrate its annual International Youth Day.

This is a day of struggle against the threatening new imperialist wars and intervention.

This is a day of struggle for the defence of the only working class state in the world, the U.S.S.R., a day of struggle against the bourgeois offensive and fascist reaction.

The International Youth Day has always been a militant day for the revision of the advanced columns of the fighting youth. On this day the toiling youth demonstrate under the banners of the Communist International and Young Communist International their undying faithfulness to the cause of the proletarian revolution, to the cause of struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed from the yoke of capitalism.

The International Youth Day has been born in the midst of the imperialist war, as a sign of protest on the part of the revolutionary youth against the useless massacre of fellow brothers.

To-day the danger of a new imperialist war and intervention against the U.S.S.R. is greater than ever.

"Capitalism means war." War and plunder is unavoidable under capitalism.

Since the last imperialist war, which, according to the assurance of the social democracy and of the bourgeois pacifists should have been "the last war", 52 military conflicts took place, and the expenditure on war "needs" in all the countries has increased by more than 70% at the expense of the working class whose wages have been robbed.

To-day, at the time of "peace" the Japanese army a hundred thousand strong is oppressing the toiling masses of Manchuria. Bloody battles are daily taking place in China. The British imperialists are sending new warships to Arabia.

Such facts as these are scarcely calculated to awaken credence in the "general agreement" felt as to the razing dawn of protective tariff barriers. But apart from this episode, throwing light on Franco-Italian relations, it may be observed that since the April session of the Fascist Council, which issued the decision above cited, Italy has not only maintained the customs and other barriers, but has extended these by further measures—the regulations making it difficult and indeed almost impossible to import foreign goods, especially grain, livestock, and livestock products.

The policy of understandings with separate countries cannot lay claim to being in harmony with the above solemn declarations with regard to foreign trade. On 23rd June an agreement for a trade agreement between Italy and Hungary was signed in Rome (the press published the notice in the second half of July, however). According to a notice in the "Regime Fascista" of 17th July, Italy undertakes to buy 200,000 tons of wheat in Hungary. Hungary's Minister of Agriculture declared in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 19th July of this year that the Italo-Hungarian agreement guarantees Hungary the export of 50,000 head of horned cattle and a number of other agricultural products to Italy, besides the quantity of wheat already mentioned. But the text of the agreement between Italy and Hungary, which has since been published, makes no mention of the obligation undertaken to purchase wheat, nor of the other privileges referred to by Hungary's Minister of Agriculture. This confirms the fact of a non-official supplement to the agreement.

But all these measures cannot save the situation. The crisis continues, and no manoeuvre on the part of the fascist regime is in a position to alter the fact.

There is a war between Bolivia and Paraguay. The war factories, the death factories are working at full speed at the time of the crisis and depression in all the other industries, at the time of starvation, misery and unemployment of millions of toilers.

All this proves that imperialism is unresistingly floating into a period of new wars which may at any moment develop into a new imperialist world massacre. Capitalism which is being devoured by the crisis is seeking salvation from its doom in new wars and intervention against the U.S.S.R.

At the time of the decline of the whole capitalist system, at the time of starvation and misery of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in all the capitalist countries, the working class of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has made the greatest achievements in the building of socialism. The basis of socialist economy has been built in the U.S.S.R., the realisation of the second Five Year Plan and the building of a society without classes have commenced. The Soviet Union has finally established itself as a country of socialism.

Within the three years of crisis of the capitalist world, the workers of the Soviet Union have built up such gigantic plants as Dnieprostroy, Magnitogorsk, the automobile plant named after Stalin, the Nijni-Novgorod plant, the Ball-Bearing and other such plants which have no equal in Europe. The Soviet Union has the largest and most advanced agricultural economy in the world. The great enthusiasm of the working class of the U.S.S.R. has brought about quite new socialist forms of labour. In the U.S.S.R. work has become a thing of "pride, virtue and heroism".

The toiling youth under capitalism have no future. Their conditions are becoming worse with every day.

Unemployment amongst the youth has reached unprecedented dimensions. The starving young unemployed are cut off unemployment benefit.

In all the capitalist countries the bourgeoisie is robbing the workers of their already miserable wages.

The toiling youth have two ways:

One is to follow the fascists and the social democracy in their attempts to save capitalism, it means starvation and misery, it means to remain slaves forever.

The other way is the way shown by Lenin, the way followed by the toiling youth of the Soviet Union, the way which leads to socialism, through class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, of the Young Communist League, through the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship.

To-day, on the eve of the 15th anniversary of the great October Revolution, unemployment, starvation and misery are already unknown to the youth of the Soviet Union. They are struggling in the first ranks for the building of socialism; the doors to study science, art and culture are wide open for them.

The five millions strong Leninist Youth Communist League of the Soviet Union has, under the leadership of the Communist Party, become a school for the wide training of the youth for state activity. Never has the young generation had such possibilities, such perspectives as the youth have in the country of the victorious workers.

In the economic competition between capitalism and socialism, capitalism as a system has been defeated and is now attempting to regain its bygone power through war and intervention, through the armed defeat of the Soviet Union. All the military preparation of the bourgeoisie is now centered on the intervention against the U.S.S.R.

All the "disarmament" conferences, all the pacifist and social democratic declarations of peace cannot obscure the danger of war and intervention.

Only the revolutionary working class under the leadership of the Communist International and Communist Parties will put an end to war by overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

Every year our International Youth Day marks a new step forward on the road of organising the masses of the revolutionary youth for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the imperialist wars.

Young workers, young toilers of the world!

We are celebrating the 18th International Youth Day on the threshold of decisive class struggles.

We are fighting for our future, we are fighting for socialism, we are fighting for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship. The fascist terror has taken from our ranks, from the ranks of the revolutionary youth movement our best comrades. Comrade Sasho (Bulgaria), Comrade Bebeliak (Yugoslavia), Comrade Furet (Hungary), member of the E.C.Y.C.I., and hundreds of other young comrades have been murdered on their posts by the gendarmes.

The capitalist prisons are full of revolutionaries. Comrade Botte (Italy) and thousands of other young soldiers of the revolution have been condemned to tens of years of imprisonment.

Within the last few days hundreds of young revolutionaries have been killed by the fascist murderers in Germany.

Six hundred Japanese revolutionaries are facing the Japanese military court.

The French police, which patronises Gorgulov and thousands of other white guardist provocators, has thrown into prison the Secretary of the Young Communist League of France, Comrade Raymond, for anti-war work.

The Young Communist Leagues of Czechoslovakia and Austria have been made illegal. The same danger is facing the Y.C.L. of Germany. But despite all this the revolutionary organisations, and the will to struggle for the victory of the working class are growing. The working class has shown to the bourgeoisie that it is prepared for the decisive struggle, during the strikes in Brûx, and Dombrowa, in Belgium and Lancashire, in Detroit, in Shanghai and Japan, by its resistance to the fascist bands in Altona and Berlin during the last elections in Germany.

To-day the attention of all the toiling youth is concentrated on the events which are developing in Germany. The bourgeoisie is attempting to maintain its undermined class domination with the help of the fascist dictatorship and military regime. But the working class is evermore readily

joining the united front of struggle against fascism led by the Communist Party, in the struggle for a workers' and farmers' government, against fascism.

The Young Communist League of Germany is mobilising the social democratic, the farming and non-Party youth into the ranks of the united red front to struggle against pauperisation, forced labour and fascist terror.

In Spain and South America the struggles of the workers and farmers are taking on more severe forms with every day.

The four attacks of Chang Kai Shek and world imperialism against the revolutionary movement in China had been defeated. Soviet China is extending and becoming stronger, it is already covering a territory with over 70 million population.

Comrades! We call upon you to extend still more the struggle against the attack of the bourgeoisie, against fascist terror and the treachery of the social-fascist bureaucracy.

We call upon you to stand up for the defence of the revolutionary youth organisations, to struggle against the prosecution of the Young Communist League and of the revolutionary youth in Czechoslovakia and Austria, to struggle against the attempts to drive underground the revolutionary youth movement in Germany.

Young workers, unemployed, peasants, employees and students! No matter to what political organisation you belong to-day, every one of you is experiencing on his own shoulders all the "advantages" of living under capitalism. The fascists with all their demagoguery backed by machine-guns, the social democrats and their youth league who are the most active supporters and "doctors" of the capitalist system, who are clearing the road for the fascists to come into the government in Germany, with all their tales about the "lesser evil" and demagoguery about the era of "peaceful transition to socialism", will not show you a way out from your bad conditions, will not free you from slavery.

Only under the leadership of the Communist Party and Young Communist League, through the armed overthrow of capitalism, through unflinching struggle against opportunism and conciliation in the labour movement, on the basis of the Leninist principles of merciless class struggle, you will win what the youth of the Soviet Union already have.

Twenty-five years ago in Stuttgart, the young workers of various countries had united for the first time. These twenty-five years of the working class youth movement has shown in practice the value of the words and promises of the young social democrats.

Only the Young Communist movement which keeps to the best revolutionary traditions of Stuttgart and Liebknecht is leading the masses of the youth under Lenin's banners towards the decisive struggles and victories.

We call upon the toiling youth, upon the members of the social democratic, Christian organisations and the non-Party young workers to join the powerful revolutionary united front of struggle against the bourgeois offensive, against the threatening imperialist war and fascism.

**Comrades! The E.C.Y.C.I. calls upon you to come out on the 4th of September for struggle, for militant action.**

All toiling youth under the banners of the Communist International and of the Young Communist International!

Under the banners of the proletarian revolution!

Build the united front of struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, against the bourgeois offensive; against the fascist terror!

Down with the imperialist war!

Not a penny off wages! Unemployed benefit to all the unemployed youth!

Defend the fatherland of the world working class, the U.S.S.R., to the last drop of blood! Defend the Chinese people from the imperialist plunderers! Defend Soviet China! For the proletarian revolution! Long live the dictatorship of the working class throughout the world!

Long live Socialism!

E.C.Y.C.I.