

# The Bloodbath among the Geneva Workers

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## New Anti-Soviet Incitement in Great Britain.

By A. Komjat.

The intensification and deepening of the world economic crisis in spite of all the international economic conferences, the bitter fight for markets and colonies, the tariff wars and competition in armaments are driving the capitalist world more and more to seek a "solution" of the increasing contradictions by new imperialist wars, before all by a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. War against the land of Socialism as a "last resort", as the way out of the crisis: that is the criminal prospect which the imperialists of all countries offer toiling humanity.

In the front ranks of the war-mongers there march the most reactionary British Conservatives, the Diehards. They have again launched an increased campaign against the Soviet Union. This campaign is being participated in not only by the gutter press such as the "Daily Mail", but also by the "dignified" city organ "The Times". In its issue of November 8, the "Times" once again publishes a report from "its own correspondent in Riga", which reminds one of the anti-Soviet inventions at the time of Joynton Hicks. The report contains slanderous attacks on the Communist International, as well as hints which are intended to prove what the Diehards have been attempting for years to prove, namely, that the Communist International and the Soviet Government are identical.

It is true, the paper makes no attempt to substantiate these assertions. But, as the official organ of the Soviet Government the "Isvestia" reports from absolute reliable sources, the English Intelligence Service, already at the beginning of November, instructed its agents in Riga to fabricate documents showing that the Communist International, under Stalin's personal leadership, has organised the unemployed movement in England and the preparations for civil war in India. And the British Foreign Office, supported by the report of the "Times", has ordered its Moscow agents to obtain documents, either genuine or false, which could serve to confirm, even if only remotely, the accusations brought forward by the "Times".

The Diehards and their agents in the English Intelligence Service have already had long practice and experience in anti-Soviet forgeries, which have always been exposed as such by the Soviet Government. In their fanatical hatred of the Soviet Government the Diehards this time are having recourse to forgeries which are so absurd that they can only be designated as the products of a fevered brain. It is an undeniable fact that Stalin is the leader of the Soviet proletariat, that tens of millions of workers and peasants in the whole world regard him as their leader. But it is downright

grotesque to accuse Stalin of "leading" the English unemployed movement and preparing civil war in India. It only remains to make Stalin responsible for the ousting of the English textile industry from the Indian market by Japanese competition.

After their campaign against the "anti-religious matches", the British bourgeoisie attained the height of the ridiculous with their outcry against the "suspicious sticks" which the hunger-marchers carried with them on their march to London. At a trial of some of the arrested participators in this hunger-march it was ascertained that the accused were in possession of sticks which were ornamented with the "sign of the Russian Soviets". For lack of any other arguments, these sticks now serve the Public Prosecutor as evidence against the arrested. "Secret documents" regarding these sticks were found, which however only contain instructions to make use of them as little as possible. It is characteristic of this "stick" campaign that the reports of the British press regarding this question display a surprising unanimity. Not only the Diehard-press but also other big bourgeois papers, including the "Daily Telegraph", which is closely connected with the Foreign Office, publish reports about these sticks—a further proof that here there exists an organised campaign on the part of definite circles.

What, however, has caused the Diehards to commence their new pogrom-incitement against the Soviet Union? The Trade Agreement concluded between Great Britain and the Soviet Union in 1930 was recently denounced by the British Government. This notice terminating the agreement was, among other things, the result of the British Empire Conference at Ottawa. The British Government paid this price in order to keep Canada from a further approachment to the United States. Now this denunciation of the Agreement is not only a blow to the trade of the Soviet Union, but also runs contrary to the interests of certain British industrial circles. It is not surprising that considerable opposition to the Government was expressed in connection with the breaking off of trade relations. In order to repel this opposition, some groups of Conservative members of Parliament are preparing to make anti-Soviet interpellations in the House of Commons. The new forgeries are intended to serve as a basis for the anti-Soviet interpellations, which shall win "public opinion" and strengthen the position of the Government against the opposition.

The second reason why the English Conservatives are increasing their anti-Soviet campaign precisely at the present moment is to be sought in the actions of the British unemployed. These unemployed demonstrations, the hunger-march on London, have filled the British bourgeoisie with fear. The MacDonald Government is now preparing to launch a new attack on the standard of living of the unemployed, and thereby at the same time on the standard of living of the whole of the working class. The report presented a few days ago by the "Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance" recommends that employed workers shall be made to maintain their fellow-unemployed to a greater extent than hitherto. The period of unconditional benefit is reduced from 26 to 13 weeks. In future, only those workers who are temporarily unemployed or unemployed for a short time will receive full benefit. The unemployed army in Great Britain amounts at present to three million. There is scarcely a family which has not at least one member unemployed. Under the system recommended by the Royal Commission the worker's family will have to maintain the unemployed members out of their miserable income. In addition, the scale of benefit is to be reduced, especially for young workers.

The English bourgeoisie are quite aware that the carrying out of these new measures against the unemployed will increase the indignation of the unemployed to boiling point, and will more firmly weld the employed workers, who are also affected by these measures, in the united front with the unemployed. By means of this new anti-Soviet incitement, by means of the new forgeries and lying statements that the unemployed movement in England is the handiwork of Stalin, of the Russian Bolsheviks and of the Soviet Government, the Diehards intend on the one hand to unite the various fractions of the bourgeoisie on the line of increased fight against the Communist danger and against the Soviet Union, and on the other hand they wish by anti-Soviet lies to sow confusion among the less class-conscious sections of the working class.

From the point of view of foreign politics the new campaign of the Diehards, who are constantly striving to worsen relations between the Soviet Union and other States and to prevent the conclusion of the non-aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Rumania, aims at **disturbing the Soviet**

**Union's policy of peace.** The sharpening of the economic crisis in Great Britain and the revolutionary upsurge are impelling British imperialism more and more to attempt to cut through the gordian knot of its contradictions with a sword. The new campaign is a link in the chain of feverish preparations for war of intervention against the land of Socialism. It is not due to chance that a group of Conservative members of Parliament heard a lecture by Kerensky which was nothing else but incitement to intervention. It is also not due to chance that Lord **Denby**, supported by certain hastily concocted "Moscow instructions", intends to raise the question in the House of Lords, whether the Government intends in future to allow diplomatic exterritoriality to representatives of the Soviet Union in London on the same scale as at present. This is an open demand for a diplomatic breach with the Soviet Union. It is not due to chance that of late there has been closer co-operation between the Diehards and the white-guardist scum. A few days ago there appeared in London the first number of the "**Investigator**" which is edited by the notorious Hetman **Skoropadski**. Skoropadski wants nothing more nor less than to sell the Soviet Ukraine. Whether he has found buyers for it is still a question. The publication of this periodical coincides (not by chance), with the proposal of Lord **Rothermere** for the formation of a united front between England, France, Germany and Poland. The purpose of this united front would be carefully to prepare intervention against the Soviet Union. Poland is to annex the conquered Soviet Ukraine, and Germany is to be "compensated" by being given back the Polish corridor.

These plans must find the workers of the capitalist countries ready to defend the Soviet Union. They must realise that their **own** interests, their **own** lives, their **own** future are at stake and act accordingly.

## The "Isvestia" on the New Anti-Soviet Forgeries in England.

Moscow, November 13, 1932.

The leading article of to-day's "Isvestia" contains revelations regarding the new Anti-Soviet forgeries of the Diehards, the most reactionary wing of the English conservatives. In the article, which is entitled "How Forgeries are Prepared when Necessary", the "Isvestia" points out that since the denunciation of the Trade Agreement with the Soviet Union the British Government has given free course to a large-scale Anti-Soviet campaign. As is to be seen from the London telegrams, old acquaintances among the English secret police, who have constantly fabricated Anti-Soviet forgeries since 1919, are again active. The agents of the English secret police in Riga supply any forgery desired in return for suitable payment. Before such forgeries are published, however, the public opinion must first be prepared by means of the press.

The bourgeoisie, who are terrified by the unemployed demonstrations, believe everything the Diehard press writes. And thus the "**Times**" opens the ball by publishing a report from Riga, which, if it is not the first swallow is also not the last canard, that it is to help to prepare the pogrom-campaign in press and Parliament.

After pointing out that the forgery was prepared in feverish haste, which is bound to have an effect on the "quality", as was the case with Lord Curzon's forgeries, the "Ivestia" writes:

"We will not trouble to refute here the absurdity of the accusations levied against the Soviet Government and Stalin of having led the unemployed movement or of preparing civil war in India. Of these crazy products of a fevered imagination the only true thing is that in England there prevails a misery of which Fenner Brockway just recently gave an appalling picture in his book "**Hungry England**". The misery is so great that the unemployed are driven to actions such as England has never witnessed since the time of the Chartists. That this movement can only strengthen the Communist Party of Great Britain there is not the least doubt. It is a fact that the Diehards are not preparing but are already waging civil war in England. It is an indisputable fact that Stalin is not only the leader of the Soviet proletariat, but that tens of millions of workers and peasants throughout the whole world see in

him their leader. Does that mean, however, that Stalin is responsible for the closing down of the Ford Works, for the bankruptcy of the Insull Trust or the ousting of the English textile industry from the Indian market as a result of Japanese competition? Such a conclusion is an absurdity which the English secret police can only venture to submit to the Foreign Ministry in the expectation that it will not be made public."

The "Isvestia" further points out that the head of the English Foreign Office is **Sir John Simon**, who at the Disarmament Conference and in the Note regarding Germany's claim to equality of armaments has repeatedly proved his capabilities as a lawyer, and therefore ought to know that it is one thing to be the generally recognised spiritual leader of the international proletariat, and another thing to bear responsibility for the activity of the various Communist Parties in any part of the world. The "Isvestia" further emphasises that the Diehards are straining every nerve in order to disturb the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union; they are trying to prevent the conclusion of the Pact of non-aggression between the Soviet Union and Rumania, they are constantly working in order to worsen relations between the Soviet Union and Germany and other States.

The "Isvestia" concludes by stating: "The economic crisis has converted the Diehards of the whole world into a pack of hounds who are quarrelling over a bone. Their barking only does them harm, as it reveals their weakness to the whole world. In any event, we direct the attention of the whole world to these preparations for anti-Soviet adventures, to this new attempt to worsen relations with the Soviet Union. This new attempt finds us ready to defend ourselves."

## POLITICS

### The Blood-Bath in Geneva.

Geneva, the home of the League of Nations, the alleged centre of world peace, symbolised by the dove and the olive branch, was in the last few days the scene of a frightful bloodbath. On Wednesday the 9th instant counter-demonstrations of unarmed workers against the fascist "Union National" were broken up by machine-gun fire. A public meeting of this "Union National" took place under heavy police protection. The workers demonstrated in the neighbourhood of the hall in which the fascist meeting was taking place. They were addressed by the communist leader **Lebet** and the social democratic leader and deputy **Nicole** who is known as a left-winger. The masses cheered the Soviet Union and surged forward towards the hall in which the fascist meeting was taking place. Collisions took place with the police who were powerless to disperse the workers. A detachment of recruits of the Waadtlaender Regiment was then called out, but they were disarmed by the workers and their rifles flung to the ground and smashed on the paving stones. A machine-gun company on a motor lorry then opened fire on the closely packed masses killing twelve workers and wounding over sixty.

The news of the massacre spread like wildfire and protest demonstrations continued on the streets until late in the night. The Geneva council immediately called in another regiment and a battalion of the Landwehr.

The news of the massacre reached **Zurich** towards the end of a meeting in celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union. The masses surged onto the streets and protested indignantly. Collisions immediately occurred with the police who also opened fire on the workers.

The cantonal council of Geneva which has a reactionary majority declared martial law throughout the Canton until further notice. Police searches have taken place in the working class quarters of Geneva and a number of arrests have been made. The leader of the Socialist Party in Geneva, **Nicole**, who is also a deputy and as such entitled to immunity, was arrested the day after the bloodbath and is now being held in prison under a military guard.

The general strike demanded by the workers has been rejected by the leaders of the Swiss Socialist Party. Even for the day of the funeral of the victims the leaders declared "absence

from work" to be optional. A general protest strike lasting four hours took place in **Lausanne** on the 10th inst, but in this case the initiative came from the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition. The federal council in **Berne** has decided to hold the troops in all other cantons in a state of emergency as the indignation of the workers has created a strained situation throughout the country.

The **Communist Party of Switzerland** has issued an appeal to the workers of Switzerland in which it nails down the responsibility of the government for the mass slaughter and disposes of the lying attempts of the bourgeois press to whitewash the authorities and place the blame onto the murdered. The appeal points out that the Swiss bourgeoisie is engaged in a big attempt to depress the standards of living of the working class and deprive it of its political rights. The resistance offered by the workers has to be broken with all possible means. It was no accident that blood was shed in the streets of Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations and the meeting place of the international imperialists. "Law and order" must be maintained in Geneva at all costs; the streets of Geneva must be the uncontested privilege of the imperialists and the fascists. The workers of Geneva must organise their counter-offensive and carry out a general strike embracing all factories and undertakings as a protest against the cowardly and murderous slaughter. The appeal points out that the socialist leaders are still "conferring", that they refuse to act, that they are sabotaging the call for a general strike. It calls on the socialist workers to make common cause with their communist fellow workers in a revolutionary united front against capitalism, to organise mass meetings against the slaughter in Geneva, to hold meetings in the factories, the labour exchanges and the villages, to demand the release of the arrested workers, the withdrawal of the troops, the withdrawal of martial law and the arrest and punishment of the murderers.

A **protest strike** began in **Geneva** on November 12 under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition. On Thursday a conference of the reformist trade union leaders decided against a strike, but on Friday a delegate congress of the trade unions in Geneva decided with 80 against 57 votes in a stormy session for a 24 hour general strike on Saturday. The reformist and socialist leaders opposed the strike resolution and were practically howled down by the delegates. However, they have succeeded in preventing the majority of the municipal workers, including the tramway workers, and the railwaymen from joining the strike. The building workers struck solidly and a considerable section of the printers so that many bourgeois newspapers were unable to appear whilst others appeared in a reduced size.

The Communist Party called for a protest strike in **Zurich**. The strike was carried out solidly by the building workers and a number of other categories. Here also the reformist influence was strong enough to prevent the strike becoming general. In the afternoon a procession of 3,000 workers marched to the Helvetia Platz where a great protest meeting was held.

The communist daily newspaper "**Basler Vorwaerts**" was confiscated by the police in Basle on Nov. 12, owing to the fact that it published an appeal for a protest strike and demonstrations. Communist protest meetings took place in almost all Swiss towns on November 11 and were filled to overflowing. Two big socialist meetings took place in Zurich on Friday evening and there were angry protests against the attitude of the socialist leaders who have prevented any united expression of the fierce anger which is moving the workers of all organisations.

The days when the bourgeoisie could rely completely on its armed forces have passed. This is true of Switzerland also. Even amongst the soldiers of the battalion responsible for the bloodbath in Geneva there were many who obviously made no attempt to carry out the murderous instructions of their officers and who permitted themselves to be disarmed without resistance. On Saturday, the day of the funeral of the victims of the massacre hundreds of soldiers fraternised openly with the workers gathered in front of the Exhibition Hall in Geneva. The instances of **fraternisation** increased to such an extent that in the early afternoon instructions were issued for the strict confinement of the troops to barracks and after this only armed patrols were seen on the streets. On the morning of the day of the funeral **Colonel Lederrey**,

the man responsible for the massacre, inspected the troops under his command and addressed a speech to them in which he declared that they had the right "to shoot at undesirable elements without warning". At this open incitement to murder there were shouts of "Murderer!" from the ranks whereupon the Colonel hurriedly concluded the inspection and made off surrounded by his officers and N.C.O.'s. 22 soldiers have been arrested in Geneva and are to be charged with mutiny.

There was mass participation in the **funerals** of the victims of the Geneva massacre and although the authorities had strictly prohibited processions and demonstrations it was not possible to keep the masses off the streets and tens of thousands stood bareheaded in the streets when the coffins of the murdered workers passed. Amongst the killed was **Comrade Fuerst**, the chairman of the local revolutionary trade union opposition. Over 4,000 workers assembled in front of his home on Saturday in defiance of the prohibition of assemblies. They were addressed by the communist leaders **Humbert-Droz** and **Scherer**.

In **Basle** protest demonstrations took place on the streets despite the prohibition of all meetings and demonstrations in the open air. Police armed with carbines and protected with shrapnel helmets attacked the masses at many points, but they did not have it all their own way and on several occasions they were compelled to fly before the angry workers. Twenty-two arrests were made and a number of attempts were made to rescue the arrested. The disturbances took place throughout the afternoon and into the evening.

The **Communist Party of Switzerland** has issued a further **appeal** to the workers in which it calls on them to discuss the situation in the factories on Monday and to form united front committees in order to prevent any further success of the socialist efforts to sabotage the protest movement. It calls upon the workers to fight unitedly against the repressive measures of the government, against fascism and against wage-cuts, and to demand the withdrawal of martial law in Geneva, Lausanne and Basle, the withdrawal of the troops, the arrest of the military and civil persons responsible for the Geneva massacre, generous support and compensation for the relatives of the murdered men and full support for the wounded and their families, the dissolution of the fascist Union National and the Liga Aubert, complete freedom of speech and public assembly for the masses, the expulsion of the League of Nations from Switzerland as an imperialist instrument for war, and the immediate and complete diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union. A **special appeal** has been issued to the **soldiers** calling on them to refuse to shoot down their fellow workers and instead to fraternise with them.

## France and the Payment of Debts to America.

By Gabriel Peri (Paris).

On November 11, the French Ambassador in Washington handed over to Mr. **Stimson**, Secretary of State, a Note regarding the payment of 19,261,000 dollars owing by France to the United States and which in accordance with the **Mellon-Beranger** agreement has to be paid on December 15.

Even though the text has not yet been published it is generally assumed that the Note contains a reference to the moratorium and the considerable reduction of reparations debt granted to Germany at the Lausanne Conference by its European creditors, and points to the dangers which would arise for the economic and financial situation of the world as a result of paying over the sums in question on December 15. France more or less openly declares that it will not be in a position to make the proposed payment on December 15.

In order to strengthen its position, the Herriot Government first sent the expert **M. Bizot** to London and later, although this is denied, **Flandin** and **Malvy**, whilst **Henri Beranger** fulfilled a mission with Mussolini which is not unconnected with the same question.

The action of the **French** Ambassador in Washington was preceded 24 hours earlier by a visit to **Stimson**, by the **British** Ambassador, who submitted a Note from Great Britain which is said to contain a demand for a prolongation of the moratorium on the debt owing by Great Britain to the United States which likewise falls due for payment on December 15.

A similar Note to that of the British is said to have been sent by **Italy**, **Poland**, and **Czechoslovakia** to the United States.

What is the attitude of Washington to this offensive on the part of the debtor nations?

The economic crisis has assumed enormous dimensions in the United States. The budget shows a record deficit of 565 million dollars. The American bourgeoisie is therefore by no means inclined to renounce its claims resulting from the war, at least not without bargaining and concessions in other spheres.

The United States press endorses the statement of Senator **Reed** who declared that "any way Congress would not deviate from its present position against the reduction", and who further stated:

"Few people in Europe understand the debt situation. They do not realise that we have outstanding bonds covering the loans we made then, and if Europe does not pay we will have to . . . France sold our war stock which we turned over to them for more cash than the aggregate of all her payments to us on war debts, and still France is hollering that we are a harsh creditor."

The Democratic Party, at its Congress in Chicago, proclaimed the sacredness of the treaties and the fulfilment of obligations and treaties and pronounced against any annulment of the debts owing by foreign countries. The same tone is found in the recent manifesto of the Democrats and Senators **Robinson** and **Byrnes** and in numerous newspapers. Thus the "**News Chronicle**" states that everything indicates that there will be a big majority in both Chambers which will offer the fiercest resistance to any scaling down of debts.

In order to realise the importance of the questions raised it is necessary briefly to sum up the most important facts: France has concluded agreements with two of its creditors, the United States and Great Britain, which agreements are respectively known as the Mellon-Beranger and Caillaux-Churchill agreements.

The agreement now in question is the Mellon-Beranger agreement, which provides for annual payments to the United States over a period of 62 years. This Treaty was signed in Washington in April 1926. At that time Poincaré, Louis Marin and other good friends of M. de Wendel conducted a big campaign against the Treaty, which they described as humiliating for France. In the meantime, in the same year Poincaré formed a government which included Louis Marin and **Herriot**, and which was tolerated by the Socialist Party. For two years Poincaré, Herriot and Marin carried out the treaties without ratifying them. The ratification took place in the Summer of 1929, after the drawing up of the Young Plan and under the pressure of the United States, which demanded payment by August of the debts on account of the army stores and material left behind in France by the United States.

In the meantime the Young Plan, which established an actual connection between debts and reparations, collapsed with still greater rapidity than the Dawes Plan which preceded it. In June 1931 Hoover proposed that payment of debts and reparations be suspended for a year, and got his proposals accepted, France complying however very unwillingly. As the crisis became still more acute during the past year the moratorium had to be prolonged. But everything comes to an end, and on December 15 the debts again fall due.

But this is not all. There took place in Lausanne this Summer a reparations Conference. Now the treaties signed in Lausanne can only be carried out if an agreement is signed between the parties to the Lausanne treaties and the United States regarding the inter-allied debts.

France's annual payment to America falls due next month, and the French Government has commenced negotiations. We are faced with a piece of demagoguery against which the workers must be warned. The one side will appeal to the dignity of France, to national honour in order to tear up the debt agreements, whilst at the same time however they wish to maintain by force those treaties which oppress the people of Germany. The other side will call for the maintenance of the agreements in order to impose the burden of war debts on the proletarians of France.

The proletarians must oppose the one as much as the other. The proletarians are equally the enemies of the French usurers and the U.S.A. usurers. They feel themselves to be just as little the debtors of American capitalism as the creditors of the people of Germany. They are the victims of the debt agreements. They wish to tear up one as much as the other.



## The Breaking off of Anglo-Soviet Trade Relations.

By A. Kantorovitch.

The denunciation of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement concluded in 1930 has called forth greater consternation in broad circles of the British bourgeoisie than the initiators of this act anticipated. The Trade Agreement is in fact the only legal basis of trade between Great Britain and the Soviet Union and has resulted in a decided increase in exports from the former to the latter. The Agreement does not grant any special privileges to the Soviet Union which could have imposed on the other contracting party any restriction as regards the normal freedom of its customs and commercial policy. Apart from legalising the organs of State Soviet trade in Great Britain, the Agreement was confined mainly to securing to both parties a regime which is of advantage to the respective peoples. In addition, the Treaty contained a special guarantee for the normal carrying on of business in that it states:

"In concluding the present Treaty the undersigned parties are guided by the intention to avoid any formal discrimination in trade relations."

The Treaty did not prevent either of the parties from adopting general commercial political measures, and in particular contained nothing which would be incompatible with the Ottawa decisions.

In the 2½ years during which this Treaty was in force, the severe wounds which the policy of Chamberlain and Joynson Hicks in the years 1927/29 dealt not so much to British Soviet trade as a whole as to the English interests on the Soviet market, commenced to heal. The existence of this basis enabled British exports to the Soviet Union, according to British figures, to increase 100 per cent in two years, i. e. from 3.7 million pounds in 1929 to 7.1 million pounds in 1931. In the same period Great Britain's exports to all other countries have declined from 729.3 million pounds to 389.2 million pounds and are still continuing to shrink.

The Trade Agreement with the Soviet Union enabled the British engineering industry to find its best customers in the Soviet Union. As the representatives of this industry have repeatedly declared in the British Parliament, the exports of the products of the British engineering industry to the Soviet Union in the past year amount to four-fifths of its total exports. The Soviet orders provide employment for thousands and thousands of skilled British workers. If there had been an appropriate credit policy on the part of British capital, this commercial treaty would have undoubtedly secured a further considerable extension of the trade turnover with the Soviet Union and a further increase of Britain's share in supplying the growing requirements of our work of construction. It is no wonder that the termination of this treaty called forth protests in Great Britain itself and that the Government was called upon to give explanations.

These explanations were given by three Ministers, as well as by half a dozen official organs of the Conservative press. One cannot say they succeeded in proving that the Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty runs counter to the interests of Great Britain and that the denunciation of the Treaty was a necessary defensive measure against threatening dangers.

J. H. Thomas declared in Parliament on October 18 that the denunciation of the commercial agreement was simply a result of the Ottawa decisions, and was based on the necessity "of maintaining the effectiveness of the Ottawa preferences against State action by any foreign country which might stultify the intentions of preferences".

As is known, "State actions" in the sphere of foreign trade can assume various forms, and finally not only the form of Foreign Trade Monopoly existing in the Soviet Union. It is likewise known to everybody that the "dumping" referred to by Thomas is carried on everywhere with the open or concealed aid of the State power, and is at present employed on a large scale by all the capitalist countries who are feeling the effects of the crisis, Great Britain not excepted. All the capitalist countries are fighting each other on the greatly diminished world market, and are prepared to sell their goods abroad at ruinously cheap prices solely in order to maintain their trade positions and to continue their productive activity. Moreover, all foreign trade agreements entered into by Great Britain are based on the same principle of most-favoured-nation-treatment, whilst only the treaty with the Soviet Union

has been denounced. It is evident that the British Government does not wish to fight against "dumping" in general but only against "Soviet-dumping", under which term the Diehards mean any article exported by the Soviet Union to which they may take exception.

The bogey of "Soviet dumping" is one of the usual weapons of British and international reaction which is constantly employed in the fight against the Soviet Union. This weapon is employed especially by all those groups of capitalists whose interests or monopoly positions are endangered by the export of Soviet goods. As a result of persistent repetition, the calumnies and lies about Soviet dumping have not failed to have a certain effect, but this is not the case when they are in open and glaring contradiction of the facts. The facts say that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world which, owing to the nature of its socialist economy, knows no crisis of over-production and therefore, in contradistinction to the capitalist countries, has no need to carry on any dumping. The British Diehards are also quite aware of this and therefore in their accusation against the Soviet Union resort to the completely idiotic assumption that we place on the world market articles which we need ourselves solely in order to ruin the British Empire—as if Great Britain would have never experienced the crisis of capitalism if it had not been for us!

"Soviet dumping" does not exist. The reference to the necessity, in order to defend the British Dominions, of preserving a free hand for the fight against this phantastic spectre only proves what the "Manchester Guardian" has written, namely, the capitulation in Ottawa before intrigues whose sole aim consists in exploiting the British consumers.

On October 20, Mr. Baldwin made another declaration regarding the denunciation of the Trade Agreement which does not contain any reference to the Ottawa Conference and constitutes a repetition of the old and equally unfounded complaints of the Diehard press:

"But long before Ottawa we had investigated the existing agreement which was made in 1930. There is a drawback in that treaty which wants rectifying and we want to rectify it. It is based on the most-favoured-nation treatment. That means that we can export goods into Russia at tariff rates no greater than those levied on similar goods imported from any other country. In practice the most-favoured-nation clause as affecting both parties does not exist, for the very reason that trade is completely in the hands of the Russian Government and they can effectively exclude British trade . . . The result has been that the trade we do with Russia is but a fraction of the trade they do with us . . . We must safeguard our own position and see that, as the State of Russia is the sole arbiter of where orders go, we have a better proportion of the trade than we have had before and that we have the power, in the event of any import of goods being directed against any of our own industries, of stopping it."

The second reason advanced is more stupid than the preceding. Merely to put the question of equalising exports and imports between two countries is an economic absurdity. But even then we find that Mr. Baldwin has a particularly bad case when we examine the facts. According to the data of our trade statistics, our trade with England has been as follows in the last few years:

	Soviet exports to England	Soviet imports from England
	(in million roubles)	
1929 . . . . .	202.6	54.7
1930 . . . . .	279.9	80.1
1931 . . . . .	266.1	73.4
1932 (8 months) . . . . .	81.4	66.8

These figures clearly show how unfounded is Mr. Baldwin's assertion that England's trade with Russia is one-sided. In addition, the table shows that the excess of our imports into England over our purchases from England is uninteruptedly declining. If we take the figures of our trade balance with the whole British world Empire, the total result is still less unfavourable for England (in the first eight months of 1932 our exports amounted to 89.7 million roubles and our imports to 79.5 million roubles). But as is known, the trade balance is only a part of the payment balance, and in the latter English "invisible" exports, i. e., income from freights, insurance etc. play a considerable role. If these are

taken into account it becomes evident that, in the course of the present year at any rate, England has a favourable rather than an unfavourable trade balance with the Soviet Union.

But let us examine England's trade relations with other States.

	Exports to England	Imported English Goods	Percentage of English imports covered by exports
(in Million Pound Sterling)			
Australia . . . .	45.7	14.6	32.0
New Zealand . . .	37.8	11.2	29.6
Germany . . . . .	64.2	18.4	28.6
Argentina . . . .	52.8	14.8	28.0
Latvia . . . . .	2.9	0.6	20.7
Lithuania . . . .	1.5	0.3	20.0
U.S.A. . . . .	104.2	17.1	16.4
Finland . . . . .	11.6	1.6	13.8
Estonia . . . . .	1.9	0.2	10.5

These figures, taken from the latest edition of the "Statesman's Yearbook" for 1931, show that in the trade between England and the Soviet Union Soviet exports to England are covered up to 22.5 per cent by Soviet imports from England, whilst at the same time it should be remembered that here it is a question of the trade balance and not of the payment balance.

Behind the talk of "one-sided" trade with the Soviet Union there is hidden nothing else but the endeavour to lend a one-sided character to Anglo-Russian trade by artificially restricting imports from the Soviet Union. The fight against "Soviet-dumping" represents in reality an attempt to introduce political considerations into the regulation of Anglo-Russian trade. It is in the last resort a minor question whether this "freedom" is necessary in order, under the pressure of Ottawa, to favour the Dominions at the cost of the Soviet Union, and of course of the English consumers, or to satisfy the Diehards, whose policy is realised by the National Government. In any event it is clear that the breaking off of trade relations is not a defensive act against existing dangers and for the protection of threatened interests, but an act of aggression, an act which cannot be regarded as anything else but the precursor of new attempts to pursue the path of anti-Soviet economic adventures.

The instigators of the breaking off of trade relations are of course endeavouring to reassure those circles which are interested in the trade with the Soviet Union by urging that there is no intention of excluding or restricting trade with the Soviet Union, and that there is nothing to prevent the conclusion of a new trade agreement.

The Soviet Union will decide in good time what attitude it will adopt. But public opinion in the Soviet Union cannot pass over the fact that the British bourgeoisie, by breaking off trade relations, has committed a fresh hostile act against the Soviet Union, has taken a fresh step in the direction of renewing economic war and blockade. It is a fresh proof of the preparations of some circles of the British bourgeoisie to embark on an anti-Soviet adventure and further proves that our constant care to be prepared for any attack on the Soviet Union and its economic interests is justified.

## The Attack of the British Bourgeoisie upon the Unemployed.

By R. B. (London).

The report of the Royal Commission on Unemployment which has just been published constitutes a wide-spread attack, not only on the unemployed, but also on the entire working class who to a greater degree than ever before are to be made responsible for the maintenance of those in their ranks who are unemployed.

The period during which full covenanted benefit will be paid is to be reduced to 13 weeks, instead of 26. Only in most exceptional cases will it be paid for 26 weeks if the report is accepted. The whole scheme of unemployment insurance is to be applied only for occasional and short periods of unemployment. The remainder, that is the vast majority of the unemployed, will come under a Means Test based on family income and administered by Labour Exchange committees set up by the local authorities and controlled by the Ministry of Labour. Hundreds of thousands of workers now entitled to

benefit will be brought under a Means Test and an infinitely more vicious test than that in operation at present.

With the 3,000,000 unemployed workers in Britain to-day there is hardly a family without one of its members at least being unemployed. Under the new scheme the last coppers of poorly-paid workers will be taken to maintain their unemployed relatives.

The Commission reckons to save another £7,300,000 annually by the adoption of their recommendations.

A reduction of benefits, particularly for young workers, is recommended. Adult single males it is proposed shall be reduced from 15/3 to 15/-. Adult women 13/6 to 13/-. Boys between 16-17 from 5/6 to 5/-. Girls of the same age from 5/6 to 5/-. Boys between 17-18 from 8/- to 7/-. Girls from 6/9 to 6/-. Boys between 18-21 from 12/6 to 12/-. Girls from 10/9 to 10/-.

Allowances for children are to remain the same except that that for the first child allowance is increased from 2/- to 2/6. While the revised rates are estimated to save £1,000,000 a year, the additional sixpence will only increase expenditure by £340,000 a year.

The proposal to knock off benefit except in exceptional cases after 13 weeks is estimated by the committee to save a further £4,000,000. The exceptional cases will be of those workers who can show that prior to becoming unemployed they had been steadily in work for a long number of years. The worker who is to be most hardly hit is he who is already suffering most from a prolonged bout of unemployment. It is proposed to save another £2,500,000 per year at the expense of dockers and other short-time workers, by tightening up the regulations under which benefit is paid to them.

Another important recommendation is for the setting up of an Unemployment Assistance Scheme. Under this all workers not on standard benefit would apply to the Unemployment Assistance Committee. This would embrace all at present on the Means Test, and non-insured workers who receive a measure of poor law relief. The committee would be appointed by the local authority, but would be under the control of the Ministry of Labour. Taken in conjunction with the other proposals it becomes clear that the great majority of the unemployed will quickly be thrown on to the Means Test. In connection with the Test, it is laid down that a) assistance should be subject to proof of need and should be less than ordinary unemployment benefit; b) the need of applicant should be judged on resources of household of which he is a member; c) the amount of payment must be substantially less than wages. The committees are to have the right to put applicants to task work and to give relief in kind instead of money.

Under this scheme a certain number of workers will be transferred from the State to the Poor Law. To meet the additional charge local authorities are instructed to levy an additional Rate of 4d. The Exchequer will finance the scheme to the tune of £58 millions. It is hoped that by thus placing the responsibility for raising substantial sums on local authorities the latter will, having a financial interest in keeping down relief expenditure, be harsher than ever in their treatment of the workless.

There is one further major proposal. This is that a Statutory Commission shall be appointed which shall be required to keep under constant review the operation of the insurance scheme. The Commission would make suggestions to the Minister of Labour and would report to Parliament annually. This is a commission devised to be ever devising new ways and means of attacking the unemployed workers. Already the capitalist press is clamouring that the committee should be made paramount and should have power to enforce its decisions, not merely recommend them to Ministers.

## Roosevelt's Election as President of the U.S.A.

Moscow, November 10, 1932.

In its comment on the election of Governor Roosevelt as President of the U.S.A., the "Pravda" points out that the elections, no matter how distortedly they may reflect the actual relations of the fighting class forces, cannot be considered apart from the situation in the U.S.A. arising from the economic crisis and the growing mass movement. The "Pravda" then deals with the crisis in the U.S.A., which has

confronted the masses with the question of the way out of the crisis, and continues:

"Both parties of big capital—the Republican and the Democratic had and have no differences on this question. Both parties attempt to find a capitalist way out of the crisis by means of wage cuts, by casting the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the toiling masses and by means of direct subventions to the huge banks and trusts."

To these attempts of the capitalists the toiling masses of the U.S.A. are replying with a developing struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, which recently found expression in the unemployed hunger-marches, farmers strikes against heavy taxation, the march of the war-veterans for the bonus, etc.

In this situation the bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. applied on the broadest front that two-party-system which in the course of centuries was the chief method of government of the English bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. attempted by every means to divert attention from the disappointment caused by Hoover's policy by strengthening the second party of Wall-Street, the democratic party. Between these two parties there exist no differences of opinion, either as regards the question of their policy towards the working class, or the main questions of foreign policy. Roosevelt at the most made only vague promises regarding the "victims of the crisis". But behind these phrases there is concealed the same class policy of the American bourgeoisie as was carried out by the Hoover Government.

The election victory of the Democratic Party reflects the great disappointment of the masses in the policy which the American bourgeoisie has carried out hitherto. But the actual expression of the radicalisation of the masses is not to be sought in the vote cast for the democrats. These votes rather show that the illusion that the replacement of one capitalist party by the other can bring about a serious improvement in the situation of the working masses is still strong in the United States. The real proof of the radicalisation of broad masses in the United States is undoubtedly the growing vote of the Communist Party. By putting forward the demand for immediate relief for the unemployed and for social insurance, by the fight against discriminatory treatment of the Negroes and for the right of independence of the Black Belt, by the fight against the policy of war and starvation pursued by the American bourgeoisie, the Communist Party converted their election campaign into a mobilisation of the masses for the immediate fight against the power of the bourgeoisie.

What prospects exist for the Democratic Party which is now coming into to office? Roosevelt cannot overcome the crisis. The Democratic government will pursue the same line of economic and political attacks on the working masses. This repressive policy at home will be accompanied by the greatest activity of the foreign policy of U.S.A. capital. As Hoover's defeat is partly an expression of the discontent of the U.S.A. bourgeoisie with his irresolute foreign policy in face of the growing aggressiveness of Japan and the increasing Anglo-American rivalry, Roosevelt's policy will be characterised by greater aggressiveness, by the quest for new allies, by attempts to form new blocks and alliances."

## The Result of the Presidential Elections in Chile.

By L. C. (Santiago).

Almost a year after the election of President Montero, Arturo Alessandri was elected President on the last Sunday in October by an overwhelming majority.

The new President already occupied this post in the year 1920, when by means of demagogic slogans he obtained the reputation of being "Left". This time he considerably moderated his demands, and the main slogan of his campaign was "all must make sacrifices".

The English press welcomed the election of Alessandri, for at the time of his first Presidency he was a faithful defender of English interests in Chile. This time, too, his campaign was in accordance with the demands of the City of London: he promised the dissolution of the American Nitrate Co, the Cosach Trust. For this same reason he became very popular in the Nitrate district of North Chile, although the dissolution of the Cosach Trust will not in the least solve the burning questions in Chile: unemployment and hunger.

A number of signs portend a sharpening of social struggles

in Chile. There is increasing indignation among the unemployed on account of the bad food provided, and it has already come to two big unemployed demonstrations. The railway workers have launched a wage movement against high prices, and the building workers and teachers are also putting forward their own demands. The dockworkers in San Antonio, Corral and Valparaiso are refusing to load ships with cargoes of food for export so long as the population are starving. In the rural districts and among the Indians discontent is expressed in demonstrations, which will not in any way be quietened by the election of the new President. The provisional Oyanedek-Figueroa government, which has converted the town of Santiago into an armed camp, is fully aware of this. The number of police who have been brought into Santiago amounts to 7,500, according to government figures. In addition a fascist guard, "Guardia azul", has been formed and already numbers some hundred well-armed men.

Simultaneously with the presidential elections there took place the elections to the Senate and the Chamber. The results are not yet known.

The Communist Party, whose best fighters only returned from the banishment islands a few weeks before the elections, put forward its own candidates against the bourgeois candidates. The old revolutionary Elias Lafferte ran as candidate for the Presidency. He received altogether 4652 votes, three times as many as at the elections last year. It must be borne in mind in this connection that the "socialist" Grove is still able to maintain big illusions among the masses. It must also be taken into account that a great part of the unemployed electors of the Nitrate district, where the influence of the C.P. of Chile is strongest, are at present living in the South of the country and therefore are deprived of the possibility of voting.

In the Parliamentary elections the C.P. of Chile obtained the necessary number of votes to return a candidate in Antofagasta; Lafferte was elected to the Senate and the worker Vega was elected to Parliament. In Valparaiso the Party secretary Carlos Contreras Labarca was elected and in the coal district a former miner was elected. At the distribution of the superfluous votes in the final calculations attempts will be made to prevent these Communist deputies from actually obtaining seats.

In Antofagasta a considerable number of votes was polled for the renegade Manuel Hidalgo, who will now figure as a "Communist" senator.

## GERMANY

### The Election Victory of the C. P. G. in the Fire of Strike Struggles.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany has issued a declaration on the Communist election victory on November 6, which we print below in a somewhat abridged form. Ed.

The Reichstag election of November 6 resulted in a great and brilliant victory of the Communist Party, which is all the more important as the increased vote of the C.P. of Germany was achieved in spite of the fact that there was a decline in the general participation in the election. The revolutionary upsurge is gathering speed. That which the result of the previous Reichstag election on July 31 only hinted, has to-day become a plain fact: ... The forces of the proletarian front are growing at an increasing pace, whilst in the camp of the class enemy the decline of the social democracy, the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie, still continues, and in the fascist mass movement disintegration has set in on a large scale.

At this Parliamentary election an unparalleled terror on the part of the fascist reaction raged against the Communist Party and against the whole proletariat. But the increased attack of the class enemy was at the same time met by the comprehensive, bold counter-attack of the proletariat.

The Reichstag election took place at a time of successful repulse of attacks on wages in numerous enterprises, of the strike wave which swept the whole of Germany and reached its highest point in the traffic strike in Berlin. The result of the election reflects the dominating fact of the class struggle in Germany, the fact that, under the leadership of the Communist Party and thanks to the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, the strike front is being formed in

the whole country against the capitalist offensive and fascist reaction.

At the very moment when the bourgeoisie proclaimed through the mouth of Reichs Chancellor Papen that its aim was to "exterminate Bolshevism root and branch", the revolutionary party of the German working class increased its share in the total number of votes cast from 14.5 to 17 per cent, by rallying round the victorious banner of Marxism an army of 6 million anti-capitalist and anti-fascist fighters for freedom. The Communist Party of Germany has greatly widened the breach it made in the ranks of the working masses of the **social democracy** and at the same time captured considerable masses of national socialist workers. In addition, the C.P.G. penetrated the Catholic districts and was able, as a result of the Centre's coalition bargaining with the Nazis and the treacherous pro-capitalist policy of the Christian trade union bureaucracy, even to outstrip the **Centre** in some important places.

The advance, as reflected in the election victory of the Party, is also of great importance from the standpoint of the central strategic task of the C.P.G. to win the majority of the working class. This is all the more so as at this Reichstag election the vote of confidence in the C.P.G. recorded by the masses is more closely connected than ever with the practical realisation of the Communist slogans in the extra-Parliamentary mass fight, in the strikes and mass actions. This lends much greater revolutionary importance to the increased vote polled by the C.P.G.

The Party of the German Communists is uninterruptedly continuing its **victorious advance**. In the decisive centres of the class struggle it is uninterruptedly gathering the majority of the working class round its flag. The greatest successes of the Party in this election fight were achieved in Berlin, the centre of the fight for freedom of the German workers against the fascist dictatorship; in the Rhenish Westphalia, the centre of the heavy industry, but at the same time in South-Germany, where the advance of the Party is characterised by the successful penetration into the masses of small peasants. In Berlin and Hamburg the election victory is partly the result of the Party's having won considerable masses of employees.

Whilst the C.P.G., so far as regards the class content of its policy, has always been the only workers' party in Germany, it has become also numerically the strongest party of the German proletariat. In many industrial districts we have acquired a larger proletarian following than the social democratic party, which in the past was able by its policy to bind the greater part of the German working class to the capitalist system.

In Berlin, where on July 20 Papen and Bracht set up their dictatorship in Prussia and where during the election the whole apparatus of power of the capitalist State was directed against the striking traffic workers and the C.P.G., the C.P.G. has increased its vote by 140,000 as compared with the election of July 31.

The election victory of the C.P.G. was won under the slogan of proletarian internationalism. Thus it is a declaration by the masses of war against imperialist war and a proclamation of loyalty to the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism, the bulwark of the world proletariat and the haven of peace. The Communist election victory is the first answer of the masses to the increased **imperialist aggressiveness** of the German bourgeoisie, to the chauvinistic **war-incitement**, to the militarist **armaments policy** of the ruling class. The masses are realising more and more that nationalism and fascism do not loosen the chains of the Versailles system, but forge them still more firmly, and that only the Communist Party with its fight for the social emancipation of the masses from the yoke of capitalism can show the people the real way to destroy the Versailles slavery and to do away with national oppression. The fresh advance of the Communists is a vote of confidence for that **frontal attack** which the Communists of Germany and France opened with their joint **proclamation against Versailles** and imperialist war and the revolutionary speech of the leader of the C.P.G., Comrade Thälmann, before the Paris proletariat against the wave of chauvinism.

The social democratic party of Germany has lost votes at every Reichstag election since 1928. This time also its general loss of votes reflects the historical decline of the German social democracy. Its losses among the working

class electors are this time still greater than is expressed in the numerical decline of its vote, as probably a part of the loss of workers' votes is made up for by petty-bourgeois votes which have been won back from the Nazis.

In the defeat of the social democracy there is expressed the growing indignation of the masses on account of the miserable role played by the social democratic leaders on July 20 and the continued fawning of the social democracy on the fascist Papen Government.

Of all parties the **national socialists** have suffered the heaviest political defeat. Their **total loss of 2 million votes** clearly and visibly expresses the relatively rapid decline of the national socialist movement already signalised on July 31. Of special importance is the decline of the national socialist party in those States where they are in power. Here they have in every case **lost their majority**. Hitler's defeat is the result of the anti-fascist mass struggle, of the ideological offensive of the C.P.G. against national socialism; it is the **fruit of our revolutionary strategy and tactics** in the fight against fascism.

This fact is in no way contradicted by the circumstance that a part of the former **German nationalist** electors this time abandoned Hitler and returned to Hugenberg, as the German nationalists have not even approximately regained the strength they had in 1928, as their gain of less than 900,000 votes stands over against a loss of more than 2 million votes by the Nazis. Broad masses of former national socialist voters who have turned away from the Hitler Party in disappointment this time abstained from voting, because they were not yet ripe for coming over into the camp of the Communists. All the greater, therefore, will be the possibilities of the Communist Party, by tenacious systematic enlightenment work, to win over these and further masses of working class followers of Hitler to the revolutionary class front.

The most important feature is the fact that the **Communists are winning** whilst the social democrats and the national socialists are to an increasing extent **unable to retain the masses** and to harness them to the chariot of the bourgeoisie. The decline of the social democratic party in no way reduces its role as the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary, precisely because the Hitler party is at present losing followers from the ranks of the workers instead of penetrating still more deeply into the proletariat, the importance of the social democratic party for the fascist policy of finance capital increases.

The open inclusion of the national socialists in the government front and the increased fascist policy of the social democracy are a part of that offensive of the fascist reaction with which the bourgeoisie will undoubtedly reply to the popular revolt against the Papen-Schleicher rule. Even if Papen, after all the attempts of the Papen-Schleicher government to woo the masses at the elections have ended in such a **severe political defeat of the government**, disappears, his methods of rule will remain and be applied to an increasing extent.

The contemplated **restriction of the franchise**, the intensified **starvation offensive**, ever fresh blows at the social achievements and at all political liberties of the working class—this is what the masses have to expect from the ruling class. The criminal plan of the bourgeoisie to **prohibit the Communist Party**, the only leader in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, is more threatening than ever. All the more necessary, therefore, is it for the whole of the working class to defend their party of freedom and their revolutionary press with ever greater determination, boldness and energy against all attacks on the part of the class enemy.

Our election victory is the result of the courageous application of the tactic of the revolutionary **united front from below** by our party as a method of mobilising the masses for the fight, the result of our turning to increased inner-trade union work.

Thus the result of the election is at the same time a magnificent confirmation of the correctness of our **Bolshevist general line** which the Party has pursued under the leadership of the Central Committee with Comrade Thälmann at the head. The advance of the Party marks the commencement of the carrying out of those important decisions which were adopted by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the Party Conference of the C.P.G.



The Party had openly to correct certain erroneous views as, for example, those advocated by Comrade Heinz Neumann and other comrades regarding the questions of our mass policy, our estimation of national socialism and the application of the united front tactics from below.

Without for a moment resting on its laurels the Party will know how to use its election victory in order to increase the extra-Parliamentary fight and actions of the masses: the Communist Party will lead the united front action in all forms of mass resistance to the capitalist offensive and to the fascist plans to rob the masses of their political rights.

Over the present strike wave Germany is advancing to ever higher forms of the class struggle. The C.P.G., at the head of the proletariat, is at the same time rallying the allies of the working class among the rest of the working population round the flag of the proletarian fight for freedom. Conscious of its historic responsibility, the C.P.G. will in the coming fights lead the masses to **victory, to freedom, to Socialism!**

## The "Pravda" on the Results of the Reichstag Elections in Germany.

Moscow, November 10.

In an article analysing the election results in Germany the "Pravda" states that the Reichstag elections have shown, that the Communist Party is near to winning the majority of the proletariat in the decisive industrial districts. The proletariat of Germany is still split into three parts: a Communist, a social democratic and a part supporting the open bourgeois parties. Of these three parts the Communist is already the strongest. The Communist Party is already leading considerably more industrial workers than the social democracy; it is ahead of the social democracy in towns such as Berlin, in districts like the Ruhr district, Rhineland, Düsseldorf, central Germany.

This proves that the Communist Party has delivered a blow to social democracy, that the social democracy is losing its influence over the working masses. But even the winning of the majority of the working class at the elections to which the Communist Party is nearing, does not yet mean the winning of the working class for decisive class struggles. The Communists are still organisationally weak in the big factories. The social democracy is still strong in the reformist trade unions, in which Communist work is still very poorly developed. It is true, the trade unions comprise only a minority of the proletariat of Germany, but they play such a tremendous role in the life of the working class that unless the influence of the trade union bureaucrats is destroyed it is impossible to conduct a successful revolutionary fight. These tasks, which were laid down by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.L., are facing the C.P. of Germany in their whole magnitude.

The Communist election victory is due to the fact that the Communist Party succeeded in developing the strike struggle of the masses against the will of the reformists and achieving considerable successes in these struggles, in exposing the treacherous role of the social democracy and of the reformist trade union bureaucrats and thereby weakening their influence upon the working masses. The huge success of the Communist Party in Berlin is explained by the fact that the Communist Party succeeded in leading the Berlin traffic workers into the fight, in isolating the reformist trade union bureaucracy and in conducting the strike successfully against the employers, the capitalist State and the social democracy precisely during the election days.

This is the path to further successes of the Communist Party in winning the majority of the working class. This path is the organisational consolidation of the Communists in the big factories, the united front with the working masses who are organised in the reformist, christian and other trade unions, with the workers in the social democratic party, in the national socialist party and in the Centre party, and above all the isolation of the social democratic leaders by employing the tactic of the united front.

The "Pravda" records that the national socialist losses are heaviest in the most important industrial districts and concludes:

The last few months have shown the way to recapture the masses from the national socialists, namely, determined re-

pulse of fascist terror and resolute defence of the interests of the working masses by developing the strike struggle, while at the same time maintaining a constant fight against the Versailles system. And this method will now be all the more successful as the national socialists, owing to their class position, are compelled to follow still further the line of concluding agreements with the bourgeois parties, especially with the Centre and the social democrats.

The Communist Party is the united party of the proletarian revolution in Germany, and it is precisely as such that it has won these election successes. The masses are turning more and more to the Communist Party. They are beginning to recognise that only the Communist Party can lead the working people of Germany out of misery, poverty, hunger and disaster. The fascist dictatorship will not be able to maintain itself if the Communist Party, developing the strike movement, rallies round it the most important working masses and progressively does away with the split in the ranks of the proletariat caused by the social democracy. Ever larger masses of the working people are going over to the camp of revolution. Gigantic revolutionary struggles are approaching. From the present wave of economic struggles the way leads to ever more powerful strike movements of whole branches of industry and whole industrial districts, to the political mass strike and to the political general strike under the leadership of the Communist Party, to the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## INTERNATIONAL STRIKE WAVE

### The Great Strike of the Berlin Traffic Workers.

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

The tramwaymen, the underground railwaymen and the busmen of the Berlin Traffic Trust (B.V.G.), the **largest traffic undertaking in Europe**, have resumed work after a strike lasting five days.

The immediate cause of the strike was a wage cutting action of the B.V.G. The management of the Traffic Trust had concluded an agreement with the social democratic bureaucracy of the men's union (reformist trade union of the traffic workers, municipal workers etc.), according to which wages were to be reduced 2 Pfennigs an hour. This agreement was to be subject to a month's notice, and the management intended to undertake further cuts in the coming months. Since the Summer of 1931 the traffic workers of the B.V.G. have suffered three direct and three indirect wage cuts. Since last year the wage cuts put through amount together to 30 per cent., to which is now to be added a further 2 per cent. The wages of the B.V.G. workers, which amount on an average to about 140 marks a month, are to be cut still further.

The underlying cause of the strike is the **sharpening of the class antagonisms** in Germany. The bourgeoisie are endeavouring to realise their way out of the increasing economic crisis by placing ever increasing burdens on the working masses and holding them down by means of open dictatorship measures. The working masses are offering increasing resistance. They replied to the wage cuts of the past weeks with strikes, and thus repelled the wage-slashing offensive which proceeded from the Papen Emergency Decree of September 13. This strike movement and the growing indignation of the working masses against the Papen dictatorship increased the fighting spirit of the B.V.G. workers.

The **Red Trade Union Opposition** encouraged this fighting spirit and propagated the strike. The social-democratic trade union bureaucracy did not venture simply to place their wage cutting agreement before the workers. On the other hand they underestimated the militant determination of the traffic workers. They held a ballot vote in the hope of thus damping down and weakening the fighting spirit. The ballot vote resulted in a majority of 79 per cent. for a strike. The bureaucracy now attempted to carry out one of their usual manoeuvres and declared that the ballot did not show a three-quarters majority of the whole staff (they counted those men who were on holiday or absent through sickness or other

cause as votes against the strike). The representatives of the depots however, on the initiative of the R.T.U.O., decided on a strike and elected a **central strike committee** consisting of members of the R.T.U.O., trade union organised and unorganised, Communist, social democratic, non-party and also national socialist B.V.G. workers. The decision was carried out entirely and on November 3 traffic was brought to a standstill in Berlin, the capital town with a population of four million.

Right from the first day the bourgeoisie did everything in order to crush the strike. The Papen dictatorship and the management of the B.V.G. worked hand in hand with the social democracy and the social democratic trade union bureaucracy and were supported by the Hitler Party, which carried on a demagogic double game against the strikers.

The management and the trade union bureaucracy first obtained an arbitration award from the State arbitrator. This award provided that the collective agreement should remain in force till March 1933—this was already a success, even if a small one, as a result of the strike,—but the wage cut was upheld. The award was immediately declared to be binding. The Government declared the strike to be **"unlawful"**.

A police action was commenced on a big scale. The **"Rote Fahne"** was prohibited and its rotation machine, which had been released three days previously, was again sealed. The **"Welt am Abend"** was also suppressed and the traffic group of the district committee of the R.T.U.O. were arrested. Wholesale arrests of pickets were carried out. During the five days of the strike, 650 arrests took place. Heavily armed police were posted on the front and rear platforms of the dozen or so tramcars which the management attempted to run. In many cases police tenders accompanied the strike breaking cars on their journeys. The police had orders to shoot at once in case of necessity, with the result that four persons, including a woman, were killed by police bullets and over 50 were wounded. The Papen Government threatened and prepared to proclaim martial law in Berlin.

The chief work in crushing the strike was performed by the **social democratic trade union bureaucracy**. They who, when the men voted for a strike, had scornfully declared (**"Vorwärts"** of November 3) "it would be found that to give a 'radical' vote and to act according to it are two different things"—when the workers solidly went on strike, carried out the most contemptible strike-breaking. The social democracy have exposed themselves more drastically than ever as the chief social buttress of capital.

The **Hitler party** attempted to carry on a double game. Whilst they hypocritically pretended to support the strike, they at the same time endeavoured to shake and weaken the strike front.

In spite of everything the B.V.G. workers carried on the fight for four days with great determination. Non-party workers, the great majority of the social democratic, and nearly all the national socialist workers fought in a united front together with the communists and members of the R.T.U.O. The ultimatum of the management, issued on the second day, calling upon the workers to resume work at once on pain of dismissal, had not the slightest effect. On the third and fourth day of the strike the management, with the aid of strike-breakers, was able to run only an insignificant number of street cars (not even 5 per cent.), and even this skeleton service ceased running at 8 o'clock in the evening. The sympathy of the working population of Berlin for the strikers was very strong. Large numbers of unemployed fought together with the strikers against the attempts to run blackleg cars. A number of undertakings carried out solidarity action. Thus the Berlin dustmen entered on a solidarity strike, the tramway workers in Wuppertal (Elberfeld-Barmen) adopted a decision in which they threatened a solidarity strike; similar decisions were adopted by the Berlin coal porters, postmen etc. The small shopkeepers supported the strike by gifts of bread, meat, milk and money.

It was only on the fifth day of the strike that a fresh comprehensive action, above all on the part of the social democratic trade union bureaucracy, succeeded in shaking the strike front. The leaders of the reformist union played every trump card they had in order to get the members of the union to return to work. They thus finally caused a **breach in the strike front** and the Papen dictatorship did the rest; it brought up the whole of the police force and heavily armed policemen were posted at nearly every tramway stopping place.

The central strike committee thereupon decided to end the strike.

The Berlin traffic strike is of exceedingly **great importance** and will have very strong after effects even if it did not succeed in defeating the wage cut.

The strike of the 20,000 traffic workers in Berlin shows that the **strike wave** in Germany is still rising and is beginning to extend to the big undertakings. The strike wave, proceeding from the fight against the wage cuts dictated by the Papen Emergency Decree, is displaying an increasingly clearer **political character** and assuming higher and sharper forms.

The strike was decided on and carried out under the **leadership of the R.T.U.O.** in face of the sharpest sabotage and strike-breaking policy of the social democratic trade union bureaucracy. The influence of the R.T.U.O. has increased considerably. The solidarity actions in the factories and enterprises were still inadequate. The R.T.U.O. will overcome these weaknesses in its work, before all in the reformist trade unions and in the factories.

The strike has rendered the new wage-cutting offensive, which has been prepared by the employers in Germany, more difficult. It is a significant fact that the Berlin gas company withdrew a direct wage cut when, during the traffic strike, the gas workers rejected the cut by a three-quarters majority.

The strike has increased the **fighting strength of the working class**. The dismissals which have now been carried out by the management of the B.V.G., and the savage sentences pronounced by the Special Courts—2 and 2½ years hard labour for throwing stones at blackleg cars, although no persons were injured and no material damaged was caused as a result—far from intimidating, are only serving to increase the bitterness and resentment. The strike has promoted the united front movement and the **movement to the Left** of the workers, a fact which is reflected in the election results in Berlin, where the C.P. of Germany has become the strongest party.

The big strike of the traffic workers of Berlin is symptomatic of the ripening of the revolutionary crisis in Germany and the revolutionary upsurge on an international scale.

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

### The Budget Difficulties of French Imperialism

By Aimé Simon (Paris).

At the commencement of the present year, and also especially at the time of the elections, the bourgeoisie of France presented their financial and political prospects as follows: "We are faced with a budget deficit and difficulties in regard to State finances. It will be necessary to restrict expenditure, to reexamine social legislation and to adopt a number of inevitably unpopular measures. The National Union will be unavoidable, for no party will be able to take on such heavy responsibility alone."

Since then the crisis has become considerably worse and the State revenue shows a falling off from month to month. The peasants in particular, who are very seriously hit as a result of the disastrous drop in the price of grain, are no longer paying their taxes. In September the revenue from indirect taxes was 518 million francs less than that estimated, and the revenue from direct taxes amounted to only 412 million francs as compared with 1158 million francs a year ago.

Thus we see there is every prospect of a budget deficit next year amounting to 12,000 million. At the same time the position of the State treasury is very bad. 8,500 millions, in short-term treasury bonds have been brought into circulation, and further bonds, amounting to at least 3,000 million francs, will have to be issued shortly. Lamoureaux, the general reporter for the budget, stated in a sensational article published last month: 1. that instead of an amortisation, there had been an increase in the amount of the floating debt and that the talk of there being a reduction of the total debts since 1926 was only a legend; 2. In order to cover the expendi-

ture for 1933 the State must demand 15 to 20,000 million public credits, either directly or through the railways, the deficit on which will increase from 5,000 millions at the end of 1930 to 10,000 millions at the end of the present year; 3. Loans will become the regular means employed for balancing the budget.

**Herriot** announced in his government declaration that his chief concern was to restore the finances. But the task is not so simple. The French capitalists fiercely oppose any increase of taxes and even demand considerable tax reductions in order to be able to reduce costs of production and to export more goods. About 50 per cent of the public expenditure is devoted to armaments (20,000 millions), and of course there is no talk of reducing this sum. Economies can be effected only at the cost of the public services, pensions etc. These measures, however, will cause great discontent among the followers of the Radical Party, who consist mainly of State employees. The easiest solution which remains therefore is to raise loans, but the big bourgeoisie are opposed to this, because it is obvious that such a policy would endanger the stability of the franc.

In the last weeks of October the Ministers met almost every day in order to discuss drafts of bills, and at the same time published false news in the press in order to confuse public opinion. Finally, on October 20, **Germain-Martin**, the Finance Minister, laid his plan before the Finance Commission.

This plan provided for: 1. New taxes to the amount of 2,800 million, including 1,600 million on articles of consumption, which would result in an increase in the cost of living; 2. Savings to the amount of 1,445 million by reducing the salaries of the civil servants, war pensions etc.; 3. A loan of 3,700 millions in order to cover the expenditure, which will be transferred from the ordinary budget to a supplementary budget. When this plan was announced the representative of the Communist Parliamentary fraction in the Commission fiercely protested in the name of the workers, whose standard of living is to be reduced by the proposed measure, and declared that the Communist Party would do everything in order to organise resistance.

The Minister afterwards declared that his proposals were not final and that he would willingly consider amendments at the discussion on November 15. This wavering on the Minister's part is to be attributed to the powerful demonstrations of the victims of the economy measures which took place all over the country.

The increasing number of resolutions pouring in from trade union organisations of all shades clearly and plainly express their opposition to the proposed economy measures. Reformist trade unions are sending these resolutions to the "Humanité" for publication. The reformist teachers' union of the Drome department was the first to raise the question of a strike of the civil servants. Big meetings of state officials, railway workers and other public employees, often convened by reformist trade unions, are taking place every evening in all the provincial towns and often wind up with street demonstrations.

The united front of struggle is being formed among the masses. Five thousand postal employees of the Paris General Post-Office adopted a joint resolution, which was signed by the leaders of the revolutionary, reformist and autonomous trade union organisations, calling for resistance. Democratically elected committees of action have been set up at several big post offices.

We are at the commencement of a powerful movement in favour of united action, which is beginning to tear down the barriers which the reformist leaders had set up and wish to maintain among the employees of the State and of the public services. The revolutionary trade unions are energetically supporting this movement and are boldly pursuing a course which will enable them finally to destroy the sectarianism from which the revolutionary trade union organisations have suffered so much.

At a meeting of 2000 postal employees convened by the reformists on October 25, the secretary of the revolutionary postal workers' union, Comrade **Gourdeaux**, in spite of the resistance of the reformists, introduced the following motion: "Speedy convocation of a conference of all functionaries, convocation of a big joint meeting at which the masses shall decide on the means of struggle and organisation." The revolutionary railway workers' union cancelled their own

meetings when they had been called at the same time as the meetings of the reformists, and called upon the railway workers to take part in the latter; at several places they were able to obtain a hearing for their own speakers. They proposed to the railway workers in the reformist organisations to hold a national conference for the purpose of organising the struggle and to prepare a unity Congress which should lay the foundation for a united railway workers' union.

At the Party Congress of the **Radical Party**, which took place recently, numerous delegates expressed the profound discontent and great disappointment of the State officials; this however did not prevent them from unanimously approving Herriot's financial plan.

Under the influence of the energetic action of the revolutionary trade union organisations and of the Communist Party against the intended attacks on the workers' standard of living, the counter-offensive of the victims is being organised. This fight is of great importance not only for the State employees, because a defeat would be followed by a large-scale offensive on the part of the employers against the wages of the whole working class. It is of importance above all because the Communists are at last beginning to realise the necessity of intensive work in order to establish contact with those workers who are under reformist influence and to win them for common action.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Free the Scottsboro Negro Children!

New Scottsboro Trial—New Struggles!

By J. Louis Engdahl.

The United States Supreme Court has been compelled to grant a new trial to the Seven Scottsboro Negro Children facing the electric chair in Alabama. But there must be no illusion that the children have now escaped the judicial lynching that sought their lives. Death still threatens them. The fight now must be for their immediate release.

The Supreme Court decision was reached shortly after the hearing forced by the International Red Aid on October tenth but it was kept secret for two weeks in order to withhold any effect that it might have on the presidential elections. The republican party of President Hoover was seeking votes from the same elements that its high court in Washington was forced to rule against in the Scottsboro judicial lynching.

The decision forced from the dollar's highest judicial tribunal is one of the most important victories ever won by the International Red Aid. It came as the direct result of world-wide proletarian mass protest. This triumph is a stinging rebuke and sharp repudiation of the social-democratic and petty bourgeois attack against the mass protest policy of the International Red Aid. These elements, like the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People in the United States, controlled by white capitalists, and the European social-democracies, did their utmost to drive the Negro children to the electric chair through their attack upon mass protest and insistence that the Scottsboro case was a purely juridical matter, and that the best interests of the Negro children would be maintained through a purely legal struggle in the courts. These same elements declared that this persecution growing out of the whole regime of terror organised against the Negro masses, was not a political matter, and denounced the whole campaign of the International Red Aid to save the Negro children from the judicial lynch mob, as "an effort of the Communists to make political propaganda for the Communist movement".

It must be crystal clear to all workers that it was only the worldwide protest organised by the International Red Aid, and dramatised by the **Scottsboro Negro Mother's European Tour**, that saved the Negro children from the sentence of the Scottsboro court for "death by the passage of a current of electricity through your bodies".

There may be some difference of opinion as to whether or not the volume of Scottsboro protest in 1932 had reached the high level of the Sacco-Vanzetti protest of 1927. There can be no doubt, however, that the American ruling class

this year fears the Scottsboro mass protest more than the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign five years ago. That fear was the basis of the Supreme Court decision on June First to hear the Scottsboro appeal, and that is the basis of its decision now to reverse the Alabama courts and grant the demand for a new trial. It was in the midst of the wildest stock market speculation on Wall Street in 1927, when the American ruling class heralded to the world its "prosperity in perpetuity" that Sacco and Vanzetti were burned in the electric chair. Although carrying through today an increasingly murderous regime against the working class with President Hoover touring the country during the election campaign proclaiming he had saved the United States from going off the gold standard and the capitalist world from chaos, we see stock market values continuing to shrink, while the jobless army grows, hunger increases and the standard of living everywhere falls. This with the growing radicalisation of the working class at home, and the slippery footing of its international relations, especially the tottering dollar upon the world exchanges, was the background to the Scottsboro struggle that presented a dark outlook for the dollar imperialists. This is emphasized in the fact that the weakening of the dollar internationally grows out of the world-wide view of the America of hunger-marches, unemployed demonstrations, world-war veterans concentrating on Washington in their fight for the bonus, the world-wide struggle for "Scottsboro" and "Mooney", names better known the world over than that of the hunger president himself; farmers' strikes as well as terrific struggles of workers against wage cuts in basic industries.

Thus the tremendous political significance of the Scottsboro persecution and the struggle against it becomes quite clear.

The Supreme Court decision means that the seven Negro children whose cases were appealed, with the two youngest, Roy Wright and Eugene Williams will receive **new trials**. These trials must take place in the lynch-ridden state of **Alabama**. The fight will be made, however, to have the trial transferred from the small county seat of white landlords,—Scottsboro, in Jackson County, Alabama,—to some large industrial centre such as Birmingham, called the "Pittsburgh of the South", centre of steel and coal. The International Red Aid demands that a majority of the members of the jury that will try the children be Negroes, members of their own race, and that all members of the jury be workers. In the meantime the fight that has been started already for Roy Wright and Eugene Williams, will be carried on for all, to secure their release on bail.

In this situation the Scottsboro struggle must be increased manifold on the basis of a struggle for the **immediate release of all the imprisoned children**. If world-wide protest weakens, under the illusion that the Negro children are now free from the electric chair, the greatest disaster may envelop the Scottsboro campaign. Only mass protest can halt the mob courts of Alabama in their efforts to secure a second condemnation to death of the Negro children. The character of the Alabama courts was revealed when the highest tribunal in the state upheld, with only one dissenting vote, the infamous decision of the Scottsboro judicial lynchers.

The functioning of the mob courts was seen in the two trials of the aged Negro farm worker in Maryland, **Orphan Jones**, twice condemned to death, the second time after the International Red Aid had secured a reversal of the first death verdict in the Maryland state courts.

Southern "white superiority" will interpret the Supreme Court decision forced by the Red Aid as federal interference with what is considered as the inalienable right of "the South" to do as it pleases with "Negroes", to lynch and murder them at will, even as in slavery days. The struggle against the Scottsboro persecution must therefore, be broadened into a more intensive effort against all forms of white ruling class persecutions of Negroes, especially the bloody lynch regime, which increases its horrors with the deepening of the crisis.

Only growing protest will save the Negro children, now nearly twenty months in their death cells, from the savage prison regime that has already been intensified against them. **Andy Wright** was taunted by his jailers with the arrest of his mother on her European tour, in Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. When he resented their slurs and insults, he was beaten and put in "solitary", which means being placed in a solitary, damp, dark cell on a diet of bread and water.

A partial victory has been won in the decision forced from the United States Supreme Court. It would be the greatest defeat, however, to surrender to any illusions that the Negro children are now safe from the electric chair. The partial victory must be developed into the immediate and unconditional release of all the children. This becomes a central task of the **World Congress of the International Red Aid** now meeting in Moscow to commemorate this success and go forward to greater triumphs.

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### Anti-Armistice Celebration Demonstrations in England.

London, November 11, 1932.

A mass protest demonstration in **Edinburgh** today (armistice day) against the armistice celebrations received the backing of thousands of workers. It was attacked by a large contingent of foot and mounted police just before the two minutes silence. Two leaders were arrested, but the demonstrators stood firm and broke the silence by singing the "Internationale".

The unemployed held many armistice meetings at the Labour Exchanges in **London** this morning, explaining the hypocritical nature of the capitalist class in holding this ceremonial whilst at the same time they are preparing a new bloodbath. There was much support from the workers everywhere and no opposition whatever manifested.

At **Oxford** a large demonstration of students and workers marched to the centre of the town and sang the "Internationale", shouting slogans, "Down With Imperialist War", and "Prayers for the Dead but Batons for the Living". The demonstration got a fine response from the city's workers, so much so that the fascist elements in the University were impelled to refrain from any attempt to smash it up. At **Southampton**, a demonstration marched to the local Cenotaph with the N.U.W.M. banner at its head. They tried to place a wreath with the words, "To The Victims of Capitalist War From the Victims of the Peace", but were attacked by the police, who seized their wreath and destroyed it.

In **Paisley** (Scotland) the silence was interrupted by a number of workers who shouted "Down With The Means Test", "Release Our Prisoners" etc.

At **Croydon**, a worker who had been selling Communist literature to the crowds, started to sing the "Internationale" during the silence. He was immediately arrested by the police.

### Armistice Day Demonstrations in Paris.

30,000 Paris workers answered the appeal of the French anti-war committee and the Communist Party for anti-war demonstrations in Paris to-day as a counterblast to the hypocritical bourgeois armistice day celebrations. Ten speakers addressed the great mass meeting which took place in the forest of Vincennes. Comrades **Thorez** and **Vaillant-Couturier** spoke for the Communist Party and Comrades **Monmousseau** for the C.G.T.U. **Henri Barbusse** addressed the meeting and appealed for a united front of all workers for the carrying out of the Amsterdam congress decisions against imperialist war. The socialist and reformist trade union organisations were naturally not represented, but thousands of the rank and file members of these organisations were present. The meeting closed with the reading of the resolution of the Amsterdam anti-war congress which was repeated aloud by the masses.

Following this meeting collisions occurred with the police at the Dorée Gate. The police were pelted with stones.

In the 5th Paris district a demonstration of the socialist and trade union organisations was permitted by the police. About 7,000 persons took part. There was naturally not the slightest trace of any fighting character about this demonstration.



## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# **The First Rubber-Asbestos Combinat in the Soviet Union.**

By **W. M. Holmes (Yaroslavl).**

The pride of Yaroslavl, of the new Yaroslavl, the workers' industrial city which is rising out of the ruins of the ancient town, is the rubber works. This is not an ordinary factory. There are gigantic works for the production of tyres and so forth in America and Britain. But no country in the world contains such a creation as the **Rubber-Asbestos Combinat**, as the Russians call it. This word "Combinat" is used to indicate a combination of factories, in which all the operations of an industry, from the treatment of the raw material to the production of the finished article, are carried on.

The Rubber-Asbestos Combinat contains, as a matter of fact, no less than twelve complete factories. At the beginning of the Five-Year-Plan, its site, on the bank of the Volga, was a quiet woodland—Polushkinsk Wood, a favourite spot for evening strolls. Tall birches still rustle round the outer buildings of the great works, and beautify the new workers' settlement. The wood required centuries to grow, but, in five years, a wonderful new growth of brick and steel and concrete has covered the land. With it has come a complete new town. When the works is going at full capacity, it will employ 25,000 workers. With their families, they represent a population of 60,000—half as much as the entire population of old Yaroslavl. Dwelling-houses, baths, hospitals, schools, theatres—all the necessities of a modern town are in process of construction. The expenditure on these needs of the workers represents twenty-seven per cent. of the whole cost of the construction. This is one of the many wonderful creations of the Five-Year-Plan. It is more than a new industrial enterprise. It is a part of the building of the new social life.

For the textile workers, the backbone of the industry of old Yaroslavl, the new works opens a wide future. Within its system of factories comes a mill for the production of cord, the textile material used in making tyres. This also begins with the raw material, sorts and cleans the cotton by the latest mechanical devices, transports it by pneumatic tubes to the carding and spinning departments, weaves it into cloth in a thousand automatic looms, and passes it on to the neighbouring factory where the tyres are made.

Two thousand textile workers will find employment here, working a seven-hour day in clean, light, dust-free workshops. And, in addition, the old "**Red Perekop**" mill with its 10,000 workers, is being converted to the production of cord, exclusively for the new giant.

Thus, there is not only no fear of unemployment for the textile workers of Yaroslavl, but, on the contrary, the new works, with its modern machinery and its high-speed production, creates a demand for more labour, for more highly-skilled labour, for better qualified and higher paid workers.

More and more motor-car tyres are a necessity for the Soviet Union, in its process of becoming a highly developed industrial country. The eight million covers and tubes which the new works will turn out annually will not glut the market and lead to short time and reduced wages. This output will all be absorbed, and still there will be the demand for more. But the Yaroslavl giant is not concerned with motor-car tyres alone. The insatiable demand of the Soviet workers and peasants for **shoes** is well known. And Yaroslavl has already begun to answer that demand by producing its first pairs of vulcanised rubber shoe-soles. When the whole of the vast factory which is concerned exclusively with this product is working, it will produce 75 million pairs of soles a year. Does that sound improbable? It is certainly an astonishing figure. But the present population of the U.S.S.R. is 160 millions, and it is increasing rapidly. So that the output of this works represents only one pair of such soles per person in two years. An active person can wear out at least four pairs of rubber soles in that time. So, evidently the capacity of this works huge as it is, will not nearly satisfy the Soviet workers and

peasants demand for shoe-soles. There is, therefore, on this side also, no fear of unemployment at any time in Yaroslavl's new rubber town.

Soviet engineers and inventors have discovered ways of making many parts of motor-cars out of rubber and asbestos combined. Among the advantages of these inventions is economy of metal. Moreover, the Soviet Union possesses the richest deposits of asbestos in the world. Miners in the Urals and elsewhere are already employed in extracting this mineral for the Yaroslavl's giant. And here is a huge complete factory for the manufacture of the asbestos goods—great mills for making asbestos paper, textile machines for making asbestos cloth, presses and so forth. Again, it is the development of a new technique and the employment of an army of new workers.

In the whole of Europe there are very few factories which specialise in the production of valves for tyres. But the Yaroslavl works has such a factory all to itself. Here six hundred skilled metal workers find employment. And the Soviet Union is freed from the necessity to import a highly expensive product.

It is certainly safe to say that no rubber works in the capitalist world contains a factory which not only repairs but produces rubber-manufacturing machinery. But the mechanical department of the Yaroslavl works, employing 1,000 workers, performs this function also. With similar machine-building works in Leningrad, Moscow, Taganrog and Kostroma, it releases the Soviet Union from the need to import such machinery.

What of the supply of raw materials for this huge enterprise? Formerly the Soviet Union had to import large quantities of rubber, raw and manufactured, at great expense. But now, research has provided substitutes for the product of the plantations mainly monopolised by Britain and America. In Soviet Central Asia, plants which produce rubber of first class quality are being cultivated. That is one source. Secondly, an important part of the new works is a factory for the recovery and regeneration of old rubber. And thirdly, associated with the works is **the world's first factory for the production of synthetic rubber**. It is already working, and its product is good.

By these three means, the Yaroslavl giant will work with entirely Soviet-produced raw materials—rubber, cotton and asbestos. That is not only a triumph for Soviet science, but a great contribution to the raising of the Soviet workers' standards of life. The productivity of the country is raised; it is freed from the necessity to export products, in order to buy raw materials for this industry; thus, the products remain to enrich the producers. And, in the Soviet Union, there is no capitalist class to steal the greater part of the value of the products. The value comes back to the working class who made it.

This is a brief sketch of Yaroslavl's contribution to the Five Year Plan of socialist construction. A new industry; a new workers' town; a new population of workers who have no fear of unemployment, a great addition to the wealth of the workers' socialist republic.

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## **Seven Chinese Communists Executed.**

Shanghai, 13th November 1932.

Twelve Chinese men and women have been tried in Canton on a charge of being members of the illegal Chinese Communist Party. Seven of the accused were sentenced to death. The sentences were executed immediately.

## FROM SOVIET CHINA

### Women and Children in the Hupeh-Honan-Anwei Soviet District.

By T. H.

The establishment of the Soviet Power of the workers and peasants over a considerable area of China emancipated the women from the double yoke of economic misery and of slavish feudal habits and customs. They began to lead a new life. They are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk, on terms of absolute equality, for the defence and extension of the Soviet Power and for economic and cultural development.

The woman in our Soviet district of Hupeh-Honan-Anwei does not consider herself too weak to take an active part in the defence of the Soviet Power and energetically support the Red Army. She considers it the highest honour to be allowed to enter the Red Army herself. The Soviet women do not seek to keep their husbands, brothers or sons at home, but persuade and encourage them to join the Red Army.

In our Soviet district thousands of women have organised themselves into brigades for the purpose of providing the Red Army men with sandals. They often send gifts of food to the Red Army, especially to the wounded Red soldiers. In addition, they organise production-brigades for the purpose of aiding the families of Red Army men who are at the front to cultivate their land. Many villages on the Soviet frontier were often raided by the Kuomintang troops, especially in the Autumn, when they carried off the crops, but last autumn the crops were quickly got in with the aid of women who organised themselves as "reaping shock-troops". Thanks to this activity of our women, the whole of the rice crop was reaped and got in without a grain falling into the hands of the enemy. At the same time the women intensified the sowing campaign and fulfilled the slogan "not an inch of land shall remain uncultivated".

Our class enemy does not confine himself to carrying out raids and attacks on our Soviet territory, but also uses every means to weaken the Soviet Power from without and within. But the revolutionary women have taken over the task of combating counter-revolutionary spies and provocateurs. They organise groups to guard important places and maintain constant vigilance. They thereby greatly reduce the chances of Kuomintang agents entering our territory, and those who do manage to get in are quickly discovered. The women also keep a sharp eye on the counter-revolutionary rich peasants.

Young women in our Soviet district, in addition to their other activities, are specially interested in cultural-educational work. Numerous choral societies, dramatic circles, etc. have been organised by them. Every young woman shows an eager desire to attend a school or a reading circle. They also organise newspaper groups, study circles, discussion meetings, in order to raise their cultural and political level. They also understand correct sexual relations and fight against the old tradition of early marriages. Special attention is also attached to questions of personal hygiene.

Women are elected just the same as men to the village, district or regional Soviets, and many of them occupy the position of chairman. Precisely in these difficult times, when, on the one hand, we have to mobilise all our forces against the hostile troops and, on the other hand, however, have to carry on the constructive work in the Soviet district in spite of all difficulties—in this situation the women are proving that they are just as capable as the men in carrying out responsible work.

The young women display special enthusiasm, determination and courage in performing their revolutionary tasks. Very many of them are organised in the Young Guards. At the present moment there are over 40,000 young women in the Young Guards.

Even the children take an active part in all struggles; very many of them are organised in the pioneer groups.

At the last delegate Conference of the pioneers of the whole of the Soviet district there were present 120 delegates. At this Conference they delivered their reports, adopted decisions and exercised Bolshevik self-criticism with great zeal and earnestness. For example, they criticised the pioneers in a village for laxity while performing guard duty, as well as the pioneers in another locality for not having carried on good

agit-prop work. They opposed the action of certain parents who would not allow their children to attend the meetings of the pioneers. The pioneers decided actively to defend and support the Soviet Power. They adopted a resolution in which, among others, the following examples were cited as worthy of emulation:

1. A pioneer group in West-Anwei armed themselves with spears, co-operated with the Red Army and took part in protecting the autumn harvest.

2. The pioneers in the Huangkwon district formed production brigades and helped the adults to reap and thrash the rice.

3. The pioneers in the Southern Pao-an district discovered and arrested three spies of the Kuomintang.

4. The Pioneers of the Loshan district utilised their spare time in the intervals of guard duty in order to learn spelling.

51 pioneer delegates spoke at the Congress, in the course of which the mistakes and shortcomings of the past work were criticised and the future work decided.

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

### An Appeal for the Workers and Peasants of Northern Manchuria.

The Population of Northern Manchuria has suffered the calamity of an enormous inundation. To the horrors of war, and the misery brought about by war, is added the consequence of an inundation which has put one third of Northern Manchuria under water and affects **ten million persons**. In Harbin alone, 35,000 houses have been destroyed by the floods, 250,000 men and women in this town have been rendered homeless. The crops of the peasants have been destroyed, communications have been broken, and lack of food along with diseases such as cholera prevail among the population. The deaths from the cholera up to August 3 in the region of the railway line Ta-Ton and of the town Tonlau number 2,000.

In this terrible situation, the **Japanese Section of the Workers' International Relief**, which has recently carried out a relief campaign for the flooded areas in North East Japan and the island Hokkaido, has stretched out a fraternal hand to the suffering workers and peasants of North Manchuria and has issued a call for a large scale relief action with the slogans "hand in hand with the Chinese workers and peasants", "Against the misery of the workers and peasants", and "work through the international solidarity of the W.I.R." This appeal to the Japanese and Chinese workers and peasants for a comprehensive action of solidarity was issued over the heads of the warring generals, the profit grabbing capitalists and big land-owners of Japan.

This relief action of the courageous Japanese workers and peasants cannot be allowed to remain limited to these two countries. The International Committee of the W.I.R. accordingly directs an appeal to all workers, peasants and progressive circles in India, Korea, Pan-Pacific countries, Europe and America that they should hasten to the aid of the suffering masses in North Manchuria and by their active support demonstrate their solidarity with the victims of the Japanese war in Northern Manchuria, which war by its destruction of irrigation works, and neglect and destruction of dams has been the indirect cause of the present inundation catastrophe.

The appeal for help of the Northern Manchuria workers and peasants goes out to all men and women, organisations and groups. **It is the bounden duty of the world proletariat, it is the task of honour of all progressive forces, to make this relief action a protest movement against the Japanese onslaught on a peaceful population and to call into being a movement of solidarity which will develop into a mighty demonstration of solidarity with the struggling Chinese and Manchurian masses.**

For the Victims of the Northern Manchurian Inundation! Long live the international solidarity campaign for the Northern Manchurian workers and peasants!

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen (China), Klara Zetkin (Germany), Henri Barbusse (France), Willi Münzenberg (Germany), Prof. Dannert (America).

## Documents of the International

# Hitherto Unpublished Documents by V. I. Lenin.

*The first of the following documents, which was written by Lenin shortly before the July days, characterises one of the features of Lenin's fight against the Zimmerwald centrism and for the creation of a real Third International; the second document, which was written shortly after the October upheaval, points out the measures necessary in the fight of the proletarian dictatorship against the counter-revolutionary bourgeois press.*

Marx - Engels - Lenin Institute  
of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

## Letter to the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks)<sup>1)</sup>

17. 6. 1917.

Dear Radek,

Owing to ill-health I have been unable to follow the telegrams in the last few days, so that I am not quite clear regarding the Zimmerwald affairs.

If it is true that the miserable Grimm<sup>2)</sup>, who has become quite confused (we were right in never trusting this ministerial good-for-nothing), has handed over all the Zimmerwald affairs to the Left Swedes and that the latter are going to convene a Zimmerwald Conference in a few days, then I should like—speaking for myself personally (I write this solely on my own account)—urgently to warn against getting involved in Zimmerwald<sup>3)</sup>.

"It would be a good thing, however, to capture the Zimmerwald International now", said Grigorij<sup>4)</sup> today.

In my opinion this is an arch-opportunist and harmful tactic.

"Capture" Zimmerwald? This means taking over the dead weight of the Italian Party (the Kautskyites and pacifists), the Swiss Greulich and Co.<sup>5)</sup>, the American Socialist Party (still worse!), the various Pelusos<sup>6)</sup>, the Longuetists<sup>7)</sup> and the like.

This would mean to throw all our principles over-board, to forget everything that we have written and spoken against the Centre, to become entangled and to make ourselves ridiculous.

No, if the Left Swedes take Zimmerwald into their hands and if they become desirous of running into error, then we must submit to them an ultimatum: either they declare, on the first day of the Zimmerwald Conference, Zimmerwald to be dissolved and found the Third International, or we shall go.

In this way or another we must at any price bury the dirty (very "Grimmish"), Zimmerwald and found a real Third International only of Lefts, only against the Kautskyites. Better a little fish than a big black-beetle.

Read this letter to Orlovski and Ganetzki. Best greetings. Excuse my being so brief. Am sick.

Here it most resembles the eve of the June days of the year 1848. The Mensheviks and the S.R. have surrendered everything to the Cadets (= the Cavaignacs<sup>8)</sup>) and will surrender everything to them. Qui vivera, verro<sup>9)</sup>.

Yours  
Lenin.

## Draft of the Resolution on the Fight against the Bourgeois Press<sup>10)</sup>.

17 (4) November 1917<sup>10)</sup>.

By freedom of the press the bourgeoisie meant the freedom of the rich to issue newspapers, the confiscation of the press by the capitalists, which in fact everywhere, in every country, not excepting the (richest) freest, has led to the venality of the press.

The workers and peasants government understands by freedom of the press the emancipation of the press from the

yoke of capital, the passing of the paper factories and printing works into the possession of the State, the granting of equal rights to the use of an appropriate share of the stores of paper and a corresponding quantity of printing work to every group of citizens amounting to a certain numerical strength (for example 10,000).

As the first step towards the realisation of this aim, which is inseparably connected with the emancipation of the toilers from the yoke of capital, the Provisional workers and peasants government appoints a Commission of enquiry to ascertain the connections existing between the periodical publications and capital, the source of their means and income, the standing of their backers, the covering of their deficits and of the whole finance of the newspapers in general. Any concealment of books, accounts or other documents

<sup>1)</sup> The Foreign Bureau of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. (b) was set up in April 1917 when Lenin was passing through Stockholm, and consisted of V. Vorovsky, J. Ganetzky, and K. Radek. Lenin addressed letters to the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. to Karl Radek in Stockholm, who communicated their contents to the other members of the Committee of three.

<sup>2)</sup> Robert Grimm, Swiss social democrat, chairman of the Zimmerwald Union of the internationalists. After the February revolution he went to Russia. During his stay in Petrograd it transpired that before his departure for Russia he had undertaken a commission on behalf of the Swiss Government to sound opinion in the circles of the Provisional Government regarding the possibility of the conclusion of a separate peace between Russia and Germany. Grimm's cypher telegrams were confiscated by Kerensky and on June 15, he was expelled from Russia.

<sup>3)</sup> The third Zimmerwald Conference took place from 5th to 14th September, 1917.

<sup>4)</sup> G. J. Zinoviev.

<sup>5)</sup> Hermann Greulich, Swiss social democrat, rabid social chauvinist.

<sup>6)</sup> E. P. Peluso, Italian journalist, during the war years a member of the Swiss social democratic party, at present a Communist.

<sup>7)</sup> Longuetists, followers of Jean Longuet, leader of the Centrist opposition of the French Socialist Party.

<sup>8)</sup> Cavaignac (General) Minister for war in the bourgeois government of the French Republic after the revolution of 1848, hangman of the Paris workers. He crushed the July revolt of the proletariat.

<sup>9)</sup> Who lives will see.

<sup>10)</sup> In the first days following the October revolution the bourgeois press conducted a furious campaign of lies and calumnies against the Soviet Power. The energetic measures of the Revolutionary Military Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars, which were directed against the counter-revolutionary press—suppression of the „Rjetch“, „Djen“ and other bourgeois papers, as well as the decree of the Council of People's Commissars "On the press" of 10th (28th) October 1917—called forth sharp objections and protests from the petty-bourgeois parties. Some members of our Party also joined in these protests. During the discussion of the question of the freedom of the press at the meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on 17th (4th) November 1917, Comrade J. Larin brought in a motion for the suspension of the above-mentioned decree of the Council of People's Commissars. The All-Russian Central Executive rejected this motion.

After Lenin had read the draft of the resolution, which had been prepared by the fraction of the Bolsheviks (the draft was later adopted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee), he approved it and therefore did not submit his own draft of a resolution to the vote of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

from the Committee of Enquiry, and any intentionally incorrect statement will be punished by the revolutionary Court.

All newspaper proprietors, shareholders, as well as all employees, are obliged immediately to submit written reports and communications regarding the above questions to the Committee of Enquiry Smolny Institute in Petrograd, in order to discover the connections of the press with capital and the dependence of the press on capital.

The Commission of Enquiry consists of the following persons<sup>1)</sup>:

The Commission has the right to co-opt other members, to summon experts and witnesses, and to demand the submission of all books etc.

<sup>1)</sup> A space is left in the original for the insertion of the names. Ed.

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

# **The Situation of the Working Class in Czechoslovakia.**

By G. Friedrich (Prague).

## **5. The Situation of the Unemployed.**

According to official figures the total number of unemployed in Czechoslovakia amounted in June last, i. e. in the month of seasonal work, to 500,000. The official statistics, however, only take into account those unemployed who regularly register at the Labour Exchanges. In Slovakia and in the Carpatho-Ukraine there are only 13 such Labour Exchanges, and in many cases the unemployed must make a journey of two days on foot—they of course have no money for fares—in order to reach the Labour Exchange and receive from the mouth of the Labour Exchange clerk the stereotyped reply: "There are no jobs going." Even the Minister for Social Welfare was obliged to declare that the official figures are not correct, that many unemployed do not register at all, and that the actual number of unemployed is 50 per cent. higher than that given by the Statistical Office. Thus already in the Summer we had about 800,000 unemployed, and in the Winter months their number will exceed a million. As there are about three million wage earners in Czechoslovakia in normal times, it can be assumed that at the present time every third worker is unemployed. With their families this means one fifth of the whole population. How do these masses live?

There is no State unemployment insurance in Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, the Ghent system has been introduced. This means that only those unemployed who are organised in trade unions are entitled to unemployment benefit, and only then if they have paid their membership contributions without interruption for a period ranging from 26 to 52 weeks (according to the provisions of the various trade unions). If they fulfil these conditions, then they are entitled to draw unemployment benefit (1/3rd of which is paid by the trade union and 2/3rds by the State) for a period of 32 weeks. 15 per cent. of the unemployed receive unemployment benefit in this manner. As however the crisis has lasted for three years, it is perfectly obvious that many of the trade union organised unemployed are no longer entitled to draw benefit under of the Ghent system. After the 32 weeks have expired there commences the so-called productive relief, which consists in employers, municipalities and institutions carrying out relief work, and every worker engaged on which receives 10 crowns a day from the State. But only a small part of the insured unemployed who have run out of benefit are given relief in this manner, a fact which is to be seen from the figures. In the year 1931, 145,000 crowns were expended on this relief work, which means that only 50,000 unemployed, i. e., a third of the number drawing benefit under the Ghent system, were employed on this relief-work. The Ghent system is intended to serve the bourgeoisie for the purpose of creating a privileged class out of the organised workers who are under the influence of the reformist leaders. The Ghent system, which deprives 85 per cent. of the unemployed of all benefit, has already on several occasions called forth the indignation of the workers. Numerous demonstrations have taken place under the slogan of abolition of the Ghent system, including the demonstrations in Dux and Freienwalde, at which there were a number of killed and wounded. The social fascist leaders, to whom the Ghent system is of great advantage in that it compels the workers to remain in the reformist organisations,

have exerted their whole influence in order to prevent the abolition of this system.

What do the remaining 85 per cent. of the unemployed workers live on? They receive the so-called Czech cards, i. e. they receive food tickets to the value of 10 crowns a week for the unmarried and 20 crowns a week for the married, that is to say, they are supposed to receive so much. As a matter of fact, however, the local authorities do not receive sufficient means, so that the food tickets are distributed only twice a month. But even this is too much for the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois press, and in particular the press of the leading party, of the agrarians, is conducting a systematic campaign aiming at doing away with "unproductive" expenditure on unemployment benefit. The agrarians, in agreement with the social fascist leaders, placed the granting of unemployment benefit under the control of the gendarmerie, and now, again in agreement with the social fascist leaders, are demanding the introduction of compulsory labour for the unemployed. This is the purpose of the bill on the emergency fund, which Dr. Czech the social democratic Minister for Public Welfare brought in and which provides for the introduction of compulsory labour.

Thus the majority of the unemployed have to rely upon the local councils for support. The small municipal councils, however, have no money and the municipal law has placed the municipal administration under the supervision of the district authorities. If a municipal council decides to tax the rich for the benefit of the unemployed, then the chief of the district simply forbids this. If the municipality applies for a grant out of the relief funds of the provincial authorities, the application is rejected. Here an open policy of national oppression is pursued: German municipalities receive as a rule 5 to 10 per cent. of the sums they need, Czech municipalities however receive 15 to 20 per cent.

The following example shows how the unemployed have to fight. Bruch, a town in the centre of the brown-coal region, has a Communist mayor. As the town council has no premises of its own, the meetings of the council are held on the workers club premises, where they are of course closely followed by the workers. Thus the majority of the town council decided, under the pressure of the unemployed who came several times to the meetings of the council, to pay out a sum of 20,000 crowns for the benefit of the unemployed. The Communist mayor paid out the money in accordance with the decision of the town council. The Czech socialists and the fascists lodged a protest with the district authorities and declared that they adopted this decision because they were exposed to the terror of the unemployed. The chief of the district thereupon immediately ruled that the money had been paid out contrary to the law and that the mayor must refund the sum out of his pocket.

Unemployment is most prevalent among the glass workers. Fully 60 per cent. of the glass workers are unemployed. Then come the building workers with 40 per cent., the textile workers with 35 per cent., the metal workers with 30 per cent. and the wood workers with 25 per cent. Among the miners the percentage of unemployed is only 15, a circumstance which is due in the first place to the successful strike



in April, and secondly to the reformist manoeuvres in Ostrau, where the miners were not discharged but subjected to temporary lay-offs in rotation.

The policy of national oppression pursued by the Czech imperialists is expressed in the fact that unemployment is much worse in the German districts than in the Czech. In North Bohemia, in Silesia, and in Carpatho-Ukraine there are whole districts where 80 per cent. of the population are out of work. The German trade unions have 40 per cent. of their members unemployed, whilst in the Czech trade unions the percentage of unemployed is 15 to 20.

The results are: the cases of suicide, tuberculosis and under-nourishment are increasing. In East Slovakia and in Carpatho-Ukraine "brigandage" is spreading. The reports of the gendarmerie tell of "bandits" who hide in the woods and mountains and desperately seek booty, and that cases occur

where a masked robber armed with a revolver holds up a peasant and finding no money on him requests a piece of bread. The streets of the towns are full of beggars.

The unemployed are coming to recognise more and more that their way out from misery lies not in begging. Thousands of committees of action of the unemployed succeeded by means of demonstrations in obtaining relief, preventing evictions, obtaining supplies of coal for married unemployed and milk for children. In spite of the terrible unemployment there are hardly any strike-breakers. In the big miners' strike not a single unemployed miner stooped to strike-breaking, and in all the other strikes it is only creatures of the social fascists who engaged in blacklegging. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the unemployed and employed are fighting together against capitalism, for unemployment benefit at the cost of the State, and for the complete emancipation of the working class.

## ***In the International***

# **The Situation in the Philippines and the Tasks of the C. P. P. I.**

**By S. Carpio.**

More than one year has now passed since the formation of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands. This has been a year of concentrated historical events and development throughout the world. The world economic crisis of capitalism, unprecedented in duration and intensity, is entering upon its fourth year, working havoc with the productive forces of the capitalist world, sowing destruction, devastation, poverty, unemployment, pauperism and starvation along its path. And, while the period of relative stabilisation of world capitalism has come to an end, the economic and cultural growth and development of the U.S.S.R. is making such rapid progress that even the worst enemies of the First Workers' Republic are compelled to admit it as a fact. But, while the world economic crisis is becoming ever more acute; and as the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses is growing, the contradictions between the imperialist powers are becoming ever sharper (tariff wars, occupation of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism, conflict between Japan and U.S.A. between U.S.A. and Britain, mad race in armaments, etc.), and the preparations of a war against the U.S.S.R. are being carried on by the imperialist powers more feverishly than ever.

The effects of the world economic crisis were felt extremely by the toiling masses of the Philippines, as may be seen from the lowering of their standard of living, the worsening of the already terrible conditions of the poor peasants who are being driven off the land by the native and imperialist land-grabbers, and exploited by combined feudal and modern imperialist methods; the growing mass unemployment, the general capitalist offensive against the revolutionary trade union and political organisations of the Philippine workers and peasants.

We have been the witnesses of a definite **radicalisation of the toiling masses in the P.I.** During the past year there were serious mass movements of a definitely revolutionary character among the peasants (**armed peasant rebellions** for land and independence, and struggles of the poor peasantry and agricultural labourers in Pangasinan, Bataan, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, etc.). It is characteristic of the extent and depth of the peasants' movement that the native capitalist and landlord press, as well as the American imperialist press, which until quite recently was in the habit of characterising all peasants' rebellions and mass movements as "mere fanatic-religious bands", aroused and led by "bolsheviks", this time are compelled to admit more or less truthfully and soberly the true causes of the peasants' rebellions and movements, and to reveal to some extent at least the terrible conditions of exploitation, usury, land-grabbing and mass pauperisation to which the poor peasants are subjected. Even the official organ of American imperialism in the P.I.—the "American Chamber of Commerce Journal", finds it necessary to give publicity to

the recent peasants movements in the provinces of Bulakan, Nueva Ecija and Pampanga, where the so-called "Tangulan" movement against the terrible usury and "pasunod" practice, compelled the landlords of these regions to make some "concessions" in the planting, harvesting, marketing, and general tenancy terms. The seriousness and extent of the peasant movement of recent months may further be judged from the fact that, under the auspices of the Bureau of Labour, a group of reformist trade union leaders of the Congress Obrero and of the Oriental Labour Union (Messrs. Domingo Ponce, Hugo Ritaga and others) are being sent out to the central provinces of Luzon, where the agrarian movement is most serious, in order "to promote good-will among the tenants and land-owners", and "to lessen as much as possible the labour troubles arising from the widespread discontent among the farmers and factory workers in the provinces" . . . (Philippine Herald, August 3rd, 1932.)

During this period, since the foundation of the C.P.P.I., there were also serious **strike struggles** and mass movements by the proletariat of the P.I. (Transport workers in Iloilo, Occidental and Oriental Negroes, Cebu and Manisa, Railway workers in Iloilo, Oil and Tobacco workers in Manila, etc.). More recently there was the Malaban Sugar Factory strike, the Magdalena Cigar Factory strike, the La Helena strike, the La Yebana Cigar Workers' strike, the Nueva Ecija Autobus strike, etc.

This was also a period of intensification and further development of the **national independence movement**, in which all the bourgeois and landlord national-reformist parties and organisations revealed themselves more clearly than ever as agents and allies of American imperialism, who most of all fear the revolutionary upsurge of the proletarian and peasant masses, and who are interested directly and immediately in the getting of as large a share as the imperialist masters of the country will permit them from the profits and surplus profits derived from the combined feudal and modern plantation and imperialist methods of exploitation of the peasant masses and the working class.

The past year has brought with it further concrete developments in this field. Everything that has happened only serves to clarify and emphasise the following points:

1. American imperialism is preparing for the war which it considers inevitable against Japanese imperialism in the Pacific (recent developments in Manchuria and China generally have accelerated war preparations in the Pacific, and, as a matter of fact, Japan has been and is today carrying on a war of conquest in Northern China and Manchuria and thus preparing its imperialist attack against the Soviet Union.

2. American imperialism will under no circumstances give up the Philippines, its most important military and naval base in the Pacific. American imperialism may, and is compelled to,

manoeuvre in relation to the national independence movement, with various vague promises and intimations of "autonomy" and the like, especially now—when the perspective of war with Japan is drawing ever nearer.

3. The Filipino landlord and bourgeois classes have already openly capitulated and have officially given up their demand of Independence; they now speak only of "autonomy"—in full accord with the dictates of American imperialism. This open treachery of the national-reformist parties and leaders now serves as a springboard for various demagogic "left" national-reformist leaders whose aim it is to put up a dam against the radicalisation of the masses,—in the form of such organisations as the **Civic Union** (which pretends to be criticising Quezon and Osmena and Roxas for their treachery to the independence movement).

In the absence of a strong, well-organised C.P., well-rooted among the masses of workers and peasants and carrying on a consistent and systematic struggle against all forms and shades of national-reformism, such organisations as the Civic Union may, for a longer or shorter period, depending upon our strength and activities, succeed in paralysing the spontaneous mass movement for independence and to hold the anti-imperialist movement back from further radicalisation and revolutionary forms. From this arise definite concrete tasks for the C.P.P.I.

Actual facts and events of the past year glaringly illustrate and confirm this analysis: War Secretary Hurley's 1931 visit to the P.I. and his special report to Hoover, after which Hoover declared that "the time has not yet come for the independence of the P.I." The agitation for "independence" or "autonomy" by certain sugar and oil interests in the U.S.A. who are interested merely in putting up tariff walls against Philippine exports into the U.S.A. has, of course, been gladly taken advantage of by the national-reformist leaders in order to bring about any sort of "compromise" that would help them camouflage their treachery. Both the **Hare Bill** which was approved by Congress, and the **Hawes-Cutting Bill** which was adopted by the Senate Committee, make the vaguest of suggestions of "autonomy" after a certain period (8 or 15 or more years), in the meanwhile securing for the American sugar and other interests what they wanted (the restriction of Philippine exports).

But what is most important is the provision of both the House and Senate Bills that the U.S.A. retains sovereignty over the P.I., and the "right to retain and maintain its military and naval bases in the P.I. after independence is granted". Such is the "independence" American imperialism is manoeuvring with in the face of the growing radicalisation of the anti-imperialist and agrarian movement in the P.I. on the one hand, and in the face of the approaching war against Japan on the other. And it is such "independence" and "autonomy" that the official leaders of national-reformist parties and organisations are giving their blessing and approval to.

No wonder then, that for fear of their political positions at home, and of the radicalisation of the independence movement among the masses, a certain section of the national-reformist front, following the example of the "Left" national-reformists in other colonial countries, are trying to make capital out of the situation with unheard-of demagoguery, and even with threats of "General Strike" and "Boycott". In the manifesto of the latest national-reformist creation, the so-called **Civic Union**, we read the complaint that the "The Filipinos were terrible disillusioned by the inexplicable conduct of the constitutional leader of the Filipino people, the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, who on his own responsibility... submitted to the American authorities... the question of autonomy, in contravention of the express instructions which he received from the Philippine Legislature, as head of the Legislative Mission"... The Civic Union therefore goes on to threaten, to serve "as an instrument of our people in an Economic Boycott, General Strike or Civil Disobedience—without violence and within the bounds of law and order"...

The Civic Union frankly declare themselves followers of **Mahatma Gandhi**, and of his methods of non-violence, i. e., of the Indian national-reformist method of betrayal of the independence of the Indian cause.

Less than two years ago a similar step was taken by the national-reformist leaders, when the **Ang Bagong Katipunan** was launched with Roxas as its head. Now the A.B.K. is dead, Roxas approves of Hoover's schemes of "autonomy", and

the role of "Left" national-reformism is now taken over by such old hands at the game as **Gabaldon, Sandiko, General Aguinaldo** and Co. Only this time, developments have entered a higher phase, because the open treachery of the official leaders of the nationalist movement and of the politicians threatens to raise a new wave of discontent and radicalisation among large sections of the workers and peasants, and among the pettybourgeois intellectual circles.

The proposal of some of the Democrata leaders to organise a "**Labour Party**" in place of the now defunct Democrata Party; the launching of the so-called "**Catholic Workers' Federation**", which is nothing but an attempt by American imperialism and the native exploiters and the Catholic church to make capital out of the present situation for splitting the labour and national-independence movement still further and of diverting it to non-radical counter-revolutionary channels; these and other facts, such as the incident with the open series of radical pro-Communist articles in the "**Collegian**" (student organ of the Philippine University),—indicate the internal dislocations that are taking place among the masses, and the reaction of American imperialism and the native bourgeoisie to these events.

Such are the objective conditions, national and international, in which the C.P.P.I. has to work, and which determine the basis, the forms and content of the tasks and tactics of the C.P.P.I. The general tasks, both political and organisational, and the general tactics of the C.P.P.I. during the present period, were dealt with in detail in various Party documents (of the 1st Party Congress, etc.) and there is therefore no need of repeating them here. However, judging by reports and communications from the P.I., we are under the impression that the C.P.P.I. has not been able to use to full advantage the extremely favourable objective conditions for its activities, for the purpose of mobilising, organising and leading the revolutionary forces of the P.I., and of entrenching the C.P.P.I. among the masses. We realise, of course, the great obstacles and real difficulties created by the imperialist and native government organs, judiciary and police, which hampered the C.P.P.I. in its work by means of White Terror, persecutions and banishments. However, difficulties of this nature are there precisely for us to overcome them, for we know of no really revolutionary movement and of no Bolshevik Party which has grown and developed without difficulties.

In one of the letters received from the Philippine comrades after the first wave of persecution, we read:

"At the beginning we were at a loss, and knew not what to do to cope with the situation... Many of our comrades got scared and began to adopt a passive attitude... Under the circumstances we adopted the policy of legalism in order to fight within the law and inside the capitalist courts"...

It should be noted that even before the high wave of white terror, before and during the 1st Congress of the C.P.P.I., the serious attention of the Philippine comrades was called to the probable wave of persecution and to the organisational measures and methods of work necessary to adopt in order to establish the C.P.P.I. firmly in the shops, factories, plantations, in the city and country. Subsequent events seem to indicate, however, that after the first blow dealt at the C.P. by the capitalist and imperialist police and courts, the C.P.P.I. as a Party, as the only revolutionary political Party of the working class, the Party which declared itself to be the mobiliser, organiser and leader of the struggles of the workers and peasants went underground, and so deeply underground that it could not be said to have functioned as a C.P. at all. For instance, what was done by the C.P.P.I. to mobilise the masses in defence of the C.P. and its rights to legal existence, after the Party was outlawed and the votes it received in last year's elections declared nil? The C.P. received about 50,000 votes which were not legally recognised. At that time the Party counted nearly two thousand members, and yet, the C.P.P.I. has failed to use this circumstance to develop a real mass campaign in defence of the C.P. and of the revolutionary trade union and peasant organisations. In another document, the comrades of the C.P.P.I. attribute our weaknesses to the... "**Deep rooted fear characteristic of the colonial enslaved and oppressed masses**"... (!!!) This is not true. Not only the workers and peasants of China and India but the workers and peasants of the P.I. who have carried on two wars against Spanish and American imperialism and who have carried on serious struggles against the native cacique and usurer (see the peasant uprisings) and against the foreign imperialist

exploiters and oppressors, have demonstrated before the whole world that their "characteristic" is not "deep-rooted fear", but that whenever and wherever we succeed in freeing them from the ideological influence of imperialism and national-reformism, wherever the C.P. organises and leads their struggles, they follow our lead and fight heroically.

The Party membership at present is between 500 and 600, with about 130 local nuclei, with no provincial committees yet functioning. This tends to show that our comrades in the P.I. were unable to secure organisationally the political influence we had in the early months of the Party's existence, and even to retain the membership we then had (about 1500). We also notice that although the first C.C. meeting dealt with most of the political and organisation problems confronting the Party (for certain critical remarks on the resolutions adopted by that C.E.C. Plenum—see below), there were no reports on the work and activities of the various nuclei or local Party organisations. In future it will be necessary for the C.C. and P.B. to receive and hear regular and systematic reports from the local units and most important nuclei, to check this work, to give concrete leadership and make proposals for improving their work.

A most positive feature and achievement in the work of the C.P.P.I., is the opening of a workers school with over 160 enrolled students. It will be necessary to concentrate at first on a few of the more essential subjects, since, as the comrades themselves complain, they suffer from a lack of cadres. One of the first courses to organise is: "The Programme of the Communist International, the Programme of the C.P.P.I. and the decisions and resolutions of its 1st Congress. Other subjects of central and immediate importance are: the struggle against imperialism and imperialist war; the struggle for national independence and against national-reformism; problems of the Agrarian Revolution in the P.I., and the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and peasantry in the struggle against imperialism, capitalism and feudalism; tasks of the revolutionary trade unions of the P.I.; Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R. and defence of the Soviet Union against threatening intervention by the imperialists.

"Titis", the central organ of the C.P.P.I. which played such a tremendous role in the early organisational period of the C.P., and which was suspended for technical reasons and because of persecution, is not yet republished. This is a most serious setback. No effort should be spared to continue the publication of "Titis". The experience of the Russian Revolution, of the Chinese C.P. and of our revolutionary movement in all countries with an illegal movement, has shown that the regular publication and maintenance of the central organ of the Party is of the greatest importance, not only as an agitational, but as an organisational centre, around which the C.P. gathers all revolutionary elements, members and sympathisers. It is to be urged again and again to concentrate all efforts on the republication of "Titis".

Regarding the resolutions and decisions adopted by the 1st Plenum of the C.C., it is necessary to call the serious attention of the Party to the following important points:

The main general defect of the resolutions as a whole is that these resolutions are still too general, too abstract, too little concretised to Philippine needs and immediate tasks.

In the General Political Resolution adopted by the 1st C.C. Plenum there are formulations such as these:—"The peasants are becoming strong competitors of the town and factory workers... The peasants become the hopeless rivals of the industrial workers", etc. It is absolutely wrong and politically dangerous to characterise the impoverished peasants as "rivals" of the industrial workers". They are the victims of the most inhuman exploitation at the hands of native landlords, usurers, feudal barons, church estates on the one hand, and of imperialist land-grabbing, pauperisation and plantation slavery on the other. It is precisely the argument that the worker is the "rival of the peasant"—that is being used in every colonial and semi-colonial country for the purpose of putting up a Chinese wall between the peasant masses and the proletariat and to prevent the revolutionary proletariat from organising and giving ideological political leadership to the poor peasantry and agricultural labourers, who constitute our class ally without whom the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution is unthinkable. It is therefore extremely strange to read in the resolutions of the C.P.

that the "peasants become the hopeless rivals of the industrial workers". Not rivalry is the main element in the relation between these two classes, but the revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard, the C.P.—in the struggle against imperialism, capitalism and the remnants of feudalism.

In the resolution on the National Independence Movement, one of the immediate slogans put forward by the Party reads:

**"... The most important of all is the immediate organisation of local Soviets in every town and rural district."**

This fact indicates that there seems to be no clarity in the minds of even our leading comrades as to the true significance and content of the slogan "immediate organisation of Soviets" and of the term "Soviet" as such.

In the first stages of the revolution, in the concrete circumstances of the P.I., Soviets will be the organs of power of the proletariat and peasantry, with the perspective of being transformed into organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the process of the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

This means that in order to establish Soviets, the proletariat and peasantry, under the leadership of the C.P., must carry on a struggle for power, in other words, it means that Soviets can only arise out of revolutionary situations, that Soviets are created in the process of the revolutionary battles of the workers and peasants for political power.

Our Philippine comrades realise of course, that to put up such a slogan for the "immediate organisation of Soviets" at a time when the C.P. has until now extremely little contact, with the peasant movements in the most important rural districts, when our revolutionary trade unions can hardly be said to have rooted themselves among the real proletarian masses in the shops, factories, transport enterprises, plantations, etc., when the C.P.P.I. has not yet succeeded in securing a sound footing, and when both the objective and subjective conditions in the P.I. are not yet ripe for it—means simply to play with the slogan of establishing Soviets.

The idea of Soviets as organs of power of the workers and peasants themselves, must of course be explained and popularised, on the basis of the Russian and Chinese experience. But while popularising and explaining the slogan of Soviets, we must prepare the ground; but preparing the ground means to organise and lead the immediate, concrete daily struggles of the workers and peasants, for their immediate and direct demands (regarding rent, land, usury, debts, working hours, wages, unemployment, living standard, etc.). Only such work of organisation and leadership of the daily economic and political struggles of the workers and peasants, will make it possible for the C.P.P.I. to raise the ideological and political level of these struggles and to combine the daily economic struggles with the general class struggles of the masses against imperialism, and against native landlordism and capitalism. This is lacking in the resolutions of the C.C. of the C.P.P.I.

In the resolution dealing with the Manchurian situation, we find such a phrase as: "all wars are imperialist wars." This is wrong, and only plays into the hands of bourgeois pacifism and even imperialism. Not all wars are imperialist wars. The wars carried on by the workers and peasants against imperialism, for independence, against feudal and capitalist exploitation—are not imperialist wars. The revolutionary wars for national independence by the Chinese, Indian, Philippine, Korean, Turkish and other oppressed peoples are not imperialist wars; they are anti-imperialist, and therefore are to be supported by the toiling masses of all countries. The war of the Chinese Soviets against the native militarist and feudal barons and against the imperialists, is a revolutionary war and is therefore supported by the international revolutionary movement. The war of the U.S.S.R. against the imperialist interventionists and in defence of the Soviets of the First Workers' Republic, is also a revolutionary war in the interests of the International proletariat. Hence, it is wrong to pronounce "all wars—imperialist wars".

In the document addressed by the newly formed National Unemployed Committee to the Governor-General, we note first of all, that every time the danger of a new imperialist war is mentioned there is a definite tendency to speak only of Japanese imperialism (see point 7: "We protest against imperialist wars and possible imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union which is now being brewed by Japanese imperialism"). It is both wrong and dangerous to create any

illusions among the Philippine masses that American imperialism is playing any less active role in the preparation of war and intervention against the U.S.S.R., than Japan, or Britain, or France. That would only be playing into the hands of the American imperialists and of the enemies of Philippine independence, who use the argument of "Japanese danger" for their own imperialist purposes. The war started by Japanese imperialism in Manchuria and Northern China, the attitude and tactics adopted by American imperialism from the very outbreak of this war, and the policy pursued by the League of Nations, particularly by French and British imperialism, revealed clearly that Japanese imperialism started its Manchurian war with the full knowledge and approval of French and British imperialism, and that the American imperialists were doing their utmost to provoke a war between Japan and the U.S.S.R. The virtual conquest of Manchuria by Japan means that Japanese imperialism has made the first step for its attack on the Soviet Union (see the now famous Tanaka Memorandum where these plans are outlined in detail). The conquest of Manchuria by Japan, and the attitude adopted by the rest of the imperialist powers (U.S.A. included) means that the U.S.S.R. is in immediate danger of imperialist intervention.

In the same document of the National Unemployment Committee we find such a demand:

"If the Government of the P.I. is unable to provide work or adequate relief for its thousands of unemployed, we demand that those unemployed who wish to work and live peacefully and comfortably under the aid and protection of the workers' and peasants' Soviet State, should be given at least free passports and transportation to the Soviet Union."

We are of the opinion that such a demand, formulated the way it is, is not correct politically. It is of course very important to popularise the achievements of the Russian proletariat and the great unparalleled improvements in the condition of the Russian toiling masses, due to the revolution and to the great socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. But it is wrong to divert the attention of the unemployed masses in the P.I. from the necessity of fighting right there and then, jointly with the rest of the working class, against misery and poverty, against capitalism and imperialism, and for concrete demands for relief, for work or wages, unemployment insurance, etc.

These are only some of the more important points in the resolutions to which we thought it necessary to call the attention of our Philippine comrades. (To be concluded.)

## Decision of the Secretariat of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain on the Expulsion of Bullejos, Adame, Vega and Trilla.

"Frente Rojo", the central organ of the C.P. of Spain which appears as a daily evening paper in place of the suppressed daily paper "Mundo Obrero", published in its first number of November 5 the decision of the joint session of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. and of the International Control Commission concerning the expulsion of Adame, Trilla, Vega and Bullejos, along with a great appeal to all members of the C.P. of Spain, to all proletarians and revolutionary peasants, and also the following decision of the secretariat:

"The secretariat of the Central Committee endorses the decision of the Executive Committee of the C.I. and of the International Control Commission which expels the sectarian group of Bullejos, Adame, Vega and Trilla from the ranks of the Party and of the Communist International, as it considers it to be correct and in accordance with the line laid down by our Political Bureau at its meeting on October 5 and 6 according to which the group was to be allowed to remain in the party only on condition that they categorically condemned their mistakes.

"The Secretariat emphasises that the latest manoeuvre of the group which consisted in giving solemn undertakings to the C.I. in order afterwards to deceive it by concealing their mistakes from their own members, proved abortive thanks to the energetic measures of the Political Bureau, which openly stigmatised before the Party and the proletariat the sectarian policy of the group, which is hostile to

the policy of the C.I. For this reason the efforts of the group to deceive our highest body, the Communist International, proved abortive, as they were exposed by the Party, which after a big struggle forced the group to unmask itself and by this means to reveal their true counter-revolutionary nature.

"The Secretariat of the C.C., which only expresses the confirmation which the Political Bureau and the Central Committee will give to the decision of the Communist International, calls upon all organisations of the Party to launch a determined and decisive fight against this group of renegades and traitors, who at this decisive moment of the revolutionary struggle are going over into the camp of the counter-revolution.

"The Secretariat of the C.C. calls upon all active members of our Party to rally round the Central Committee and to fight fiercely and determinedly against all opportunists and counter-revolutionaries, traitors to the revolution, to the Party and to the International."

## Obituary

### Comrade Aliluyeva.

Moscow, November 10, 1932.

In the night of Wednesday to Thursday there occurred the death of Comrade Nadyeshda Sergeyeva Aliluyeva, the wife of Comrade Stalin. She was only a little over 30 years of age and was married to Comrade Stalin for 13 years.

Nadyeshda Sergeyeva Aliluyeva Stalin was born in 1901, the daughter of an old bolshevist and illegal revolutionary fighter. In 1918 she joined the Communist Party of Russia and devoted her energies to the revolutionary cause. In 1919 she was working in the Secretariat of comrade Lenin. During the civil war she was engaged in communist work on the Zarizin front. Later she was a contributor to the journal "Revolution and Culture" which is issued as a supplement of the "Pravda". The Communist Party sent her to the Industrial Academy and she was to have graduated on the 1st December. She would then have continued her studies at the Mendelyev Institute for Applied Chemistry.

With the death of Comrade Aliluyeva the Communist Party and the working class lose a steadfast and loyal bolshevist and one of the best shock group workers.

Comrade Aliluyeva was a good friend and companion to her colleagues. She was the leader of the Party group and member of the bureau of the students nucleus and greatly promoted shock-brigade work. She was the best shock brigade member in the fight for the best study of technique of production. Comrade Aliluyeva was endowed with the greatest gifts and enjoyed the authority and love of all colleagues on account of her steadfastness and modesty.

Moscow, November 11, 1932.

The body of Comrade Stalin's wife, Comrade Aliluyeva, was conveyed from the Kremlin to the premises of the Central Executive Committee where it lay in state for two days. Red and black flags draped the coffin, past which thousands of workers of Moscow, factory delegations, students and scholars defiled in order to pay their last respects to the closest friend of the leader of the world proletariat, Stalin. A long chain of workers stretched from the building in which the coffin was on view up to the Red Square and the adjacent streets.

The guard of honour consisted of Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Jenukidse and other leaders of the Party and of the Government, of professors of the Industrial Academy and of the Communist Academy. The funeral took place this afternoon and was attended by representatives of the working class and of the trade union organisations. The members of the Central Executive Committee, Molotov, Jenukidse and others carried the coffin which was followed by a long train of mourners, including the members of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., of the Soviet Government and the colleagues of Comrade Aliluyeva in the Industrial Academy.